NONSTANDARD LEXICAL KNOWLEDGE AND USE IN A WEST YORKSHIRE COMMUNITY

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CHAPTER VI

THE INTER-GENERATIONAL CASE STUDIES : RESULTS AND ANALYSIS

Relevant appendix : Appendix J

CHAPTER PREFACE

The Inter-generational Case Studies (IGCSs) were carried out on six families, each family with representatives in three successive generations. It was anticipated that the IGCSs would produce data which would help illuminate and explain some of the results and trends revealed by the General Study.

This Chapter presents and examines the data collected by the IGCSs. Firstly, the data obtained from each generation and each separate family is treated 'vertically'; that is, the family's generational representatives are reported on in turn and a summary of that family is presented. The intention is to explore the processes, experiences, attitudes and values which have operated within each family in relation to spoken language. In particular, the analysis of the data will look for factors which may have either facilitated or hindered the knowledge and use of the local community's nonstandard speech variety, and inter-generational transmission. Secondly, it is anticipated that there will be revealed issues and trends which are shared by two or more families - or individuals in different families - and these 'horizontal' links will be sought and examined.

The chapter concludes with an identification and discussion of those points emerging from the IGCSs which may have some explanatory relevance for the results and findings of the General Study.

The interviews produced a great deal of recorded discourse. Because of the open, informal nature of the interviews, much of the dialogue was of an 'enabling' kind, used simply to keep the discourse flowing. Inevitably, this produced much material which is not relevant and its inclusion in its entirety would simply hinder readability, obscure the foci, and contribute little to the aims or analysis of the

results of the research. The data will, in the main, be presented here as charts and tabular extracts, which are supported by interview extracts. The interview extracts have been selected from the transcripts for their relevance and importance; these are interspersed and summarised with analytical commentary.

Each family case study will open with a tabular extract giving family membership, generational relationship, age group, sex and Social Index data, together with a bar chart which summarises the family's nonstandard word experience data.

This will be followed by brief biographical sketches of the informants.

SECTION A - REVIEW OF THE AIMS AND METHODOLOGY OF THE INTER-GENERATIONAL CASE STUDIES

Relevant appendix : Appendix D and K

Aims

1.1 The main aims of the IGCSs were, firstly, to identify and explore the mechanisms, linguistic behaviour, attitudes and values which have facilitated or hindered the knowledge and use, within families, of the community's nonstandard speech features and, secondly, to seek factors which occur across different families. These two dimensions will be referred to as 'vertical' and 'horizontal' respectively and are dealt with in that order in this chapter. It is anticipated that the IGCS will help illuminate and, in part, account for, some of the results and findings of the General Study.

Data collection

1.2 The IGCS data was collected by informally interviewing family informants, providing eighteen interviews in total. The rationale and detailed methodology have been fully described in Chapter IV. Interviews were audio tape-recorded where informants consented to this; otherwise, manuscript notes of the interviews were kept. The interviews were of an informal, semi-structured nature, guided by the format shown at Appendix D. But in the interests of maintaining an open, free-flow of discourse, the format was allowed to be flexible. In advance of the interviews, the informants completed the same survey list of nonstandard words and the socioeconomic questionnaire used in the General Study. Scores for the various categories of word experience, and Social Index scores, were arrived at in exactly the same way as in the General Study. It was considered, though, that it would be unrealistic to confine interview content to the topic of nonstandard words. To stimulate free-flow responses from informants, a whole range of language features and life experiences was felt to be legitimate as interview content. It would have been difficult to maintain a fluent exchange in interview discourse if informants had been restricted to talking solely about lexical items. With no intention of being condescending to the informants, it is clear that they see the nonstandard speech of the area as a 'package' of

integrated speech behaviour, with neither motive nor necessity to analyse this into distinct linguistic components. What they define as 'broad Yorkshire' is a composite of accent, pronunciation, nonstandard lexical items and vernacular phraseology and, though this research is centrally concerned with nonstandard words, it would have been unrealistic in the interview context to attempt to confine discussion to this one component. There was also foreseen the possibility that informants' views, opinions and experiences of one aspect of language (say, grammar) might correlate with other aspects, such as the use of nonstandard words; or, alternatively, that distinctions might be revealed which could throw light on, for example, why nonstandard vocabulary knowledge and use has diminished, while regional accent has not been lost.

The sample

1.3 Unlike the General Study, which accepted a sample of informants whose only territorial qualification was current residence in the area, the IGCSs demanded informants who had been born, raised, educated and still resided in the area. The General Study is a 'snapshot', a temporal point-sampling of nonstandard language knowledge and use, which had to allow for migration and other effects; subjects who are relatively new to the area are an integral part of such a picture. The IGCS informants, on the other hand, had to have spent all (or most) of their lives in the community on which the research is focused. Short-term absences, such as military service or attendance at university, were accepted as it was felt that these did not unduly interfere with the informants' sense of what constituted their 'home place'.

1.4 This local origin and residential qualification was necessary as a control, to ensure that all the informants had been exposed to (more or less) continuous local cultural influence, particularly the language of the community, with the overlap of three generations.

Content analysis

1.5 The interview transcripts were content analysed and, from this, a number of broad issues were identified which are explored in this Chapter. These issues, and their contributory topics, are:

a. Inter-generational transmission - *parental and grandparental language behaviour and attitudes; 'upward' and 'downward' censuring of speech; gender differences.*

b. Educational influences - *The role of schools and teachers; the notion of being 'educated' and its linguistic implications.*

c. The work linguistic environment - *Type of employment; the workplace linguistic environment; the local textile industry as a maintaining and conserving agent.*

d. The social status dimension - *aspirations and the 'improvement' motive; social judgements and impressions through speech.*

e. Regional identity and cultural loyalty - *defence of geographical origin; exaggeration of stereotypes; identity conflicts and tensions; peer group influences.*

Informant identification and generational relationship

1.6 In this Chapter, and its associated appendices, informants are referred to by a number code which indicates their family membership and generational position. For example, Family 1 consists of informants 1/1, 1/2 and 1/3. Of these, 1/1 is the oldest informant, representing generation 1; informant 1/2 is the next generation's representative, while 1/3 is the youngest informant from Family 1.

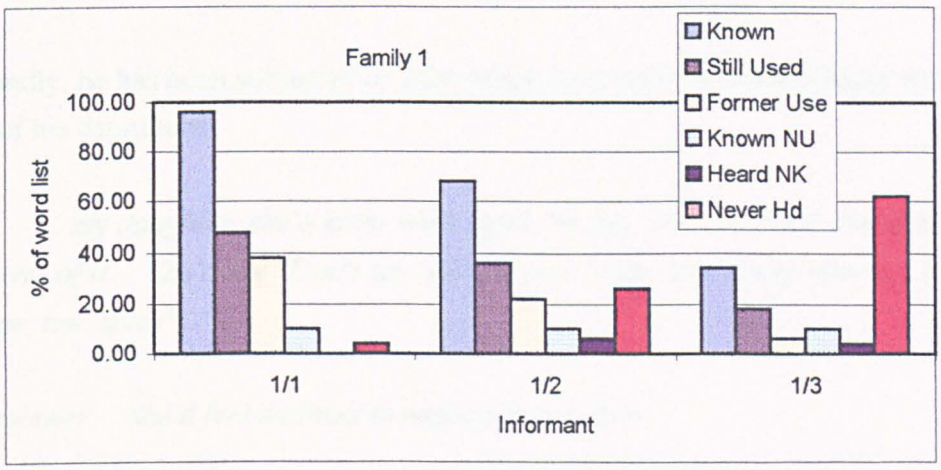
SECTION B - PROCESSES, TRENDS AND PATTERNS WITHIN THE IGCS FAMILIES

FAMILY 1

1.1 *Figure* **VI.1 (i)**

Family/Gen Code	M or F	Age Gp	SI
1/1	M	>80	7.75
1/2	M	40-59	13.00
1/3	M	0-19	12.00
Family totals			32.75
Family Means			10.92

Figure **VI.1 (ii)**



1.2 Informant 1/1 had for most of his working life been a printing compositor and had, at one time, also taught the trade part-time in a technical college. He is involved in the Methodist church and served for a time as secretary of the local retired men's group. He has always lived in owner-occupied property. Informant 1/2, the son of 1/1, is a college lecturer, having had a grammar school and higher education. He is married to a high school teacher and is involved in youth work, school governorship and the church. He has always lived in owner-occupied property. Informant 1/3, the son of 1/2, is still in attendance at a local high school, where his mother works as a teacher.

1.3 Informant 1/1 knows 96% of the nonstandard words on the survey list but claimed to habitually use only half of what he knows. As a printing compositor he had, by definition, a high level of functional literacy and needed in his work to be very well-acquainted with the rules of grammar and punctuation of Standard English. His knowledge of the nonstandard word list, and his former use score of 38% shows that in the past he was, despite his obviously close occupational familiarity with Standard English, an habitual, everyday user of nonstandard features. He accounts for his abandonment of much of his nonstandard vocabulary in two ways. Firstly, he feels that many of the nonstandard words have acquired low status and become unfashionable:

1/1 : It's....a little bit, shall we say, downgrading, to modern use...

Secondly, he has been subjected to what might be termed 'upward censure' from one of his daughters:

1/1 : ....my daughter, she'd know what 'spice' meant, but...er...well, she wouldn't approve of it. She'd say "Don't say 'spice'....say "Give them some sweets. It's sweets, not 'spice'...."

Interviewer: She'd feel inclined to make a 'correction ?

1/1: Yes, aye. [1]

Interviewer: But did you use 'spice' to...(this daughter)..when she was young? Would you expect her to know 'spice' ?

1/1 : I'd expect her to know 'spice', aye.

Interviewer: How old is she now ?

1/1 : Forty-five...er...forty-six, I think.

1.4 Informant 1/2 has clearly grown up with some familiarity of nonstandard words, knowing almost 70% of the survey list and claiming continued usage of 38% of it. He does not recall there being any undue pressure from his parents to abandon nonstandard features but thinks that the home environment was more of a bidialectal one, where the different varieties were acknowledged as appropriate in different contexts. He feels that his nonstandard usage underwent a predictable erosion as he attended, first, a selective grammar school, then higher education. His knowledge and usage are, however, greater than might perhaps be expected for his occupational group and social status. This may be a result of his father choosing to use many nonstandard features, though having ready access to standard alternatives.

1.5 Informant 1/3 knows and uses more of the nonstandard word list than do his age/sex counterparts surveyed in the General Study (*Figure* **VI.2**):

Figure **VI.2**

	known	***still used***
Informant 1/3	34.0%	18.0%
Mean 0-19 males in General Study	20.8%	8.2%

He is well aware of the differential status accorded to language varieties and of how he code-switches according to the circumstances. His speech did receive criticism from his mother, particularly glottal-stopping the definite article and medial /t/ and using /n/ rather than /ŋ/ in final position. His perception of some speech varieties being *"...proper"* and others being *"..wrong"* or *"...incorrect"* seems to have been acquired - or at least strongly reinforced - by his mother, who is not of local origin. This at times creates a tension between what he knows his mother approves of and the language variety used by his peer group. This is probably brought into more prominence by his mother teaching at his school and being wholly familiar with the pupils' speech patterns:

Interviewer: Your friends at school speak in a way your mother disapproves of?

1/3 : I know she's always said, "When you get with your friends you always speak differently".....I speak in a way she disapproves of...!

Interviewer: What sort of reactions would you expect from your friends....if you started speaking in the way your mother wants you to ?

1/3 : They'd think I was posh.....if I spoke like that, with all the /t/s in and everything pronounced correctly...they'd think I was, you know, posh. Or plum-in-the-mouth or whatever.

Interviewer: Would that make you feel uncomfortable ?

1/3 : Yes, it would make it sort of, like, you know....

Interviewer: Outside the group ?

1/3 : Yes, yes....that's why people speak like that.

This informant had some awareness of the differences between the 'modern urban dialect' speech of his peers and the long-standing, nonstandard style of his grandfather's speech, but reported that his mother expressed blanket disapproval of anything that was not more or less Standard English. He was also clearly aware of the in-group/out-group implications of using a speech style which was unlike that of his peer group.

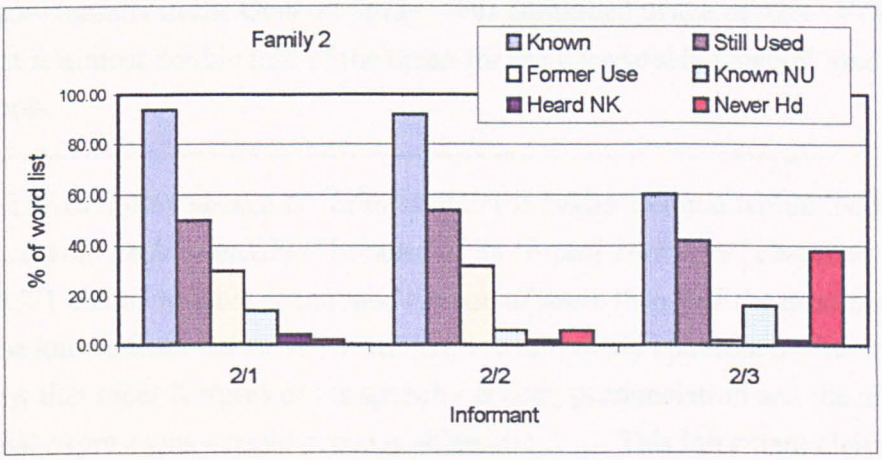
1.6 This is a family in which relatively high percentages of the nonstandard lexicon have apparently been transmitted from generation to generation down the male line. This has happened despite an inter-generational advance in occupational and social status (starting from a base which was not particularly low in the first place) and in the face of both 'upward' and 'downward' censure from females. This family is preserving knowledge and use of the nonstandard lexicon to an extent which would not, perhaps, be expected in view of the relatively high Social Index scores they return. Individuals in the General Study having similar social characteristics to these informants appear to have contributed to the lack of high negative correlations between Social Index scores and ***known/still used*** scores reported in Chapter V.

FAMILY 2

1.7 *Figure* **VI.3 (i)**

Family/Gen Code	M or F	Age Gp	SI
2/1	M	>80	2.80
2/2	F	60-79	4.80
2/3	M	20-39	8.33
Family totals			15.93
Family Means			5.31

Figure **VI.3 (ii)**



1.8 Informant 2/1 is a 90 year-old male who had received elementary education. The first thirty years of his working life were spent in textiles, as a handloom weaver, pattern weaver and boiler tenter. [2] After this he worked as an assistant in a relative's newsagent shop. His father had been a foundryman/iron moulder. Now a widower, his wife had been a textile spinner. He has always lived in rented accommodation, mostly workers' back-to-back housing in childhood and early adulthood, later in better-quality, privately-rented, then council-owned, property. A very low SI reflects his educational, occupational and housing characteristics. Informant 2/2 is the daughter of 2/1. She did not continue her formal education beyond elementary school. From an early childhood start in workers' back-to-back housing, her accommodation history has progressed through council housing, privately-rented through-terrace housing and on to owner-occupancy. Her working life has been exclusively as a

pharmaceutical shop assistant. She married a joiner who progressed to be a drawing office manager. She is active in a wide range of leisure activities: caravanning, sport, choral singing and the church. Her knowledge of the nonstandard word list items is, at 92%, close to the mean for her age/sex counterparts in the General Study. But her usage - both as a percentage of the total list and of what she knows - is much higher than the corresponding General Study means. Informant 2/3, a male in the 20-39 age group, is the son of 2/2. He was educated to comprehensive secondary school level then went on to gain City and Guilds qualifications as an engineering craftsman. His accommodation history covers better-quality privately-rented housing and, now, owner-occupancy. His main leisure activity is caravanning and this takes him and his family overseas for annual holidays. His knowledge of the survey word list items is, at 60%, more than ten percentage points higher than the mean for his age/sex group counterparts in the General Study. His continued usage of 42% of the word list is almost double that of the mean for the comparable General Study informants.

1.9 The everyday speech of Informant 2/1 is acknowledged within the family to be *"...barely understandable"* because of its *"broad Yorkshire"* character. Though 2/1 claims to have abandoned the use of more than half the nonstandard words he knows from the survey word list, it was quickly apparent in the interview that other features of his speech - accent, pronunciation and the use of colloquial expressions - could prove problematic. [3] This informant claims his mother and father both "*...spoke broad Yorkshire*", too, and indeed that *"...everybody did"*, though mill foremen and managers tended to be *"not quite so broad"*. He claims he never made any concessions to the standard when conversing with mill foremen and managers and still does not do so with professional people such as his doctor. Neither he nor his wife made any conscious attempts to influence their children's speech. His wife, he reported, employed more or less the same speech style as himself. Any differences between his own speech and that of his children and grandchildren he ascribes to extra-familial influences such as education and geographical, occupational and social mobility.

He has no recollection of teachers trying to modify children's speech; as the teachers were almost invariably of local origin, they apparently had no comprehension difficulties with the children.

1.10 Informant 2/2 is acknowledged by the rest of the family to be the only effective 'interpreter' of 2/1's speech. She was not self-conscious about her own nonstandard speech until she left school and started work in a local chemists' shop:

2/2 : ....the people I came in contact with, I sort of realised that they did speak differently to me....so I made...a conscious effort to improve....Well, what I **thought** *was improvement...I don't know. It was, you know, "These people speak nicer than I do".....I felt it was nicer.* [this referred to both customers and the girls she worked with who were, in the main, *"grammar school girls"*].

Interviewer: You thought that others would judge you by the way you spoke ?

2/2 : Yes, yes.

Interviewer: So it became important to get rid of these signs of what might be regarded by some as low social status, lack of education, that sort of thing ?

2/2 : Yes...that would be part of it...yes....It was "I can speak just as well as they can and I didn't go to grammar school"....that sort of attitude.

This informant agreed with her father that neither he nor her mother had sought to impose any particular type of speech pattern on her or her siblings, though her siblings did not *"....speak as broad"* as she did and she put this down mainly to geographical and social mobility. As with her father, it does not appear that the local elementary school was a place where strenuous efforts were made to alter children's speech :

2/2 : I don't remember... (that)... at school. They weren't particularly bothered. I don't think they tried to stop you speaking like that. Most of our teachers were local, anyhow.....They understood - and they understood your background.

This informant had experienced some doubts about the status and legitimacy of her 'native' speech variety :

2/2 : Has it... [dialect]... *died out because people thought, like I did, that it was slovenly speech....You know, "Ooh, it's horrible is the Yorkshire dialect"....the accent, I should say ?*

Interviewer: Where do you think that impression came from ?

2/2 : I don't know, but I always....you know...later on, I thought "Oh it's slovenly".

These self-doubts and perception of the 'deficiency' of her nonstandard speech variety played a part in her conscious attempt to 'improve' when she started work. The sense of speech inferiority was compounded by others' views:

2/2 : They'd say, "It's just slovenly speech"....and I got that impression, you see.

This informant realises that this affected her attitude towards her own children's speech and she adopted the habit of 'correcting' them. But, later in life, she had an experience which caused her to reappraise her attitude and feelings about her 'native' speech :

2/2 : .....it must have been quite a number of years ago, I heard Stanley Ellis [4] *on the radio and he was explaining a lot of words, why we use them, you know, and I thought "It isn't slovenly at all...and I'm not going to drop this". I thought, "This is something that's passed down, is this, and you can't do with getting rid of it".*

As a result of this experience and re-evaluation, this informant now says she has fewer inhibitions about including nonstandard features in her speech, though she concedes that it is *"...nowhere near as broad as it was"* when she was a schoolgirl.

1.11 Informant 2/3, the son of 2/2, recalls being 'corrected' by his mother on certain aspects of his speech:

2/3 : She used to correct us on dropping our /t/s.

Interviewer: In the middle of words ?

2/3 : Yes - words like 'butter' and 'better'.

Interviewer: Did your father intervene ?

2/3 : No, not as much as my mother.

The informant was asked about his reactions to the speech of his grandfather, 2/1 :

2/3 : It used to fascinate me, listening to him....because, me and my brother, we hadn't a clue what he was on about sometimes. If he'd get wittering on at us, we had no idea at all.

Interviewer: Because you didn't come across that style of speech in your everyday life....at school ?

2/3 : No. There were some words we really used to dwell on....He used to say "Coil oil.....Dahn in t'coil oil". We used to think it was ace, that.

Interviewer: I noted that your grandad still talks about his living room as 'the house' and his sitting room is 'the room'. That's a very old-fashioned Yorkshire way of referring to the rooms in a house. He also calls afternoons 'afternooins'.

2/3 : Yes....I always think of Yorkshire dialect as being lazy, a lazy way of speaking.....(but)....'nooins' is a longer word than 'noons', isn't it ? You add an extra bit in....so it can't be lazy, can it ? [5]

The interview went on to discuss the informant's school experiences :

Interviewer: .....at school, were you ever get 'corrected' in your speech by teachers ?

2/3 : Not with any great impact, I would say.

The issue was raised of making social judgements of people by the way they speak :

Interviewer: Do you...tend to judge people by the way they speak ?

2/3 : If somebody talks posh....?

Interviewer: By that, do you mean Standard English, with a middle class accent?

2/3 : Yes....like they've got a plum stuck in their mouth.....If somebody talks like that, I don't feel inferior to them but I'm sort of...sort of...I'm not comfortable talking to them. I couldn't sit and have a chat with them....not at first.

The informant went on to relate a holiday experience :

2/3 : We were down in this little village in France last year...staying at a caravan site. We'd pulled our caravan up and this bloke came over to help us and he was from Hampshire....And he spoke really posh and he said "Can I give you a hand moving your caravan ?" and I said, "Oh, if you don't mind helping", because we had to move it up a bit of a gradient. He helped us pull it up. Then another bloke appeared with a big caravan and we both went over to see if he wanted a hand. Now he was from Hunslet, this bloke....from Hunslet, and as soon as he spoke I associated with him. We clicked it off right away....me and this Mick we were chatting away and having a right laugh, you know....The bloke from Hampshire, he's out of it.....We got to be a right good group, you know, the

three of us....We were right good together....but he was an outsider. If we were in the middle of Pudsey, I don't know if it would be the same thing. But because we were hundreds of miles away.....

Interviewer: So, you've got a sort of link with your own region. You've got someone who speaks more or less like you do....the same kind of accent...he'd use some of the words ...(on the word list)...perhaps that you know and use and you'd understand him. But your guy from Hampshire would be a bit lost.....he wouldn't know what 'thoil' meant and if you said 'siling' he'd be completely lost....

2/3 : ...And he wouldn't know what a ginnel was !

Interviewer: But if you'd found yourself amongst a crowd of four or five people from Hampshire, how.....would you feel ?

2/3 : Among them I'd be more 'Yorkshire' than I normally am, I think.

Interviewer: You'd be 'defensively' Yorkshire', almost ?

2/3 : Yes....'defensively Yorkshire', yes.....Because it happened to me, in Morocco, with a group of southerners.

Interviewer: Did you start using obscure words ?

2/3 : Oh, aye, yes ! A lot !

Interviewer: Why do you think you did that ?

2/3 : I think it's because....because southerners - or most southerners - still think we're with clogs on....and flat caps.

Interviewer: Why do...(you)..play up to the caricature, then.....playing the flat caps, pigeons and whippets thing ?

2/3 : It's because you don't want to become one of them...you want to remain..I've never tried to convince anybody I'm something I'm not. I'm a working class bloke. I never try to put on airs and graces.....except when...[his

firm's]...*clients come round....Then I put in my /h/s and /t/s, like my mother told me.*

Interviewer: Because you're conscious of how people are judging you, by the way you speak ?

2/3 : Mm, yes...That's only initially though, isn't it, on initial meeting ?

Interviewer: But imagine if it's a conversation taking place over a telephone.....

2/3 : I do 'phone down south quite a lot. Swindon in particular. And I really rib them about it....

Interviewer: About their Wiltshire accents ?

2/3 : Yes. There's one in particular and he goes on about clogs and whippets and stuff. So I go on about wearing smocks and having straws in their mouths !

1.12 As a family, these informants return mean ***known*** and ***still used*** scores which are far superior to the overall means of the General Study (*Figure* **VI.4**) :

Figure **VI.4**

	known	***still used* A**
Family 2 means	82.0%	48.7%
General Study means	59.0%	24.0%

The family's mean Social Index score of 5.31 is below that of the General Study mean of 8.11.

1.13 The three generations studied here present a picture which is a mixture of confirmation of expectations, contrasts and contradictions. The modest SI score would support the expectation of *'lower social class = greater knowledge and usage of nonstandard language'*, a situation which was not found overall in the General Study.

1.14 The oldest member, 2/1, claims to make few, if any, concessions to Standard English, even when engaged in dialogue with professionals such as doctors and solicitors. In the interview, it was apparent that the nonstandard nature of his speech was manifested more in pronunciation and grammar, and the use of colloquial expressions, rather than in the vocabulary. [6] Apparently, it is features of grammar and pronunciation which this informant does not compromise on for, by his own estimate, he has abandoned the use of around 32% of the listed nonstandard words he knows and his daughter, 2/2, substantiates this. In fact, his daughter claims slightly greater ***still used*** **A** and ***still used*** **B** scores than her father does.

1.15 Informant 2/2's ***known*** score is only 2% (i.e. one word list item) less than her father's, suggesting that a high level of inter-generational transmission of nonstandard language took place in the home. Her mother died young and it may be that this exposed 2/2 to more 'undiluted' nonstandard language than might otherwise have been the case. There appear to have been two major linguistic events in this informant's life. Firstly, on starting work she found herself in an environment which brought her into face-to-face contact with the wider public, amongst other girls who had received a more prestigious education and used a different speech variety. She made a conscious effort to modify her own speech towards the standard and came to perceive her 'native' speech as unattractive, socially stigmatising and a 'deficient' variety. From the comments of her son, 2/3, it is clear that there was a great deal of 'downward' censuring of his and his brother's speech during their upbringing and they would be 'corrected' by their mother for employing nonstandard features. The second important linguistic event in Informant 2/2's life was the rediscovery of the legitimacy of her 'native' speech variety. Once she has been assured that her original speech was 'different', rather than 'deficient', and that there was a socio-historical explanation for its existence, she was able to reappraise her attitude, be more comfortable and less self-conscious as she started once more to use some of the language features of her childhood, to such an extent that she now uses more than her father does, as *Figure* **VI.2 (ii)** clearly shows. Informant 2/2 may be regarded as a 'born again' nonstandard language user, but this rebirth came too late to affect her censorious attitude to her own children's speech.

1.16 Informant 2/3, son of 2/2 and grandson of 2/1, has a ***known*** score which is more than ten percentage points greater than the mean for his comparable age/sex

group in the General Study. In ***still used* A** and ***still used* B** measures, his present usage is also much higher than his General Study peers (*Figure* **VI.5**):

Figure **VI.5**

	known	***still used* A**	***still used* B**
Informant 2/3	60.0%	42.0%	70.0%
General Study 20-39 male means	49.0%	23.0%	47.0%

His exposure to his grandfather's language, though this often had to be interpreted by his mother, may well have promoted his knowledge of nonstandard features. His occupation as an engineering craftsman may also have placed him in an environment where male, 'macho' attitudes might be found, helping to conserve nonstandard linguistic features and where some cultural transmission could be expected to take place from older to younger workers. It would probably be impossible to separate out the differential effects of family and workplace influence here. Certainly, this informant and his brother took a delight in their grandfather's use of language, perhaps in the perverse way children tend to do in the face of what is forbidden and likely to bring a reprimand from their parents. His mother's labelling of nonstandard language as 'lazy' or 'slovenly' had clearly made an impression on this informant. However, 'downward' censuring does not seem to have unduly hindered acquisition of *knowledge* of the nonstandard words used in the survey word list. Additionally, it may be the linguistic 'correction' which took place in the home was more than offset by the legitimacy afforded to nonstandard usage in the workplace.

Informant 2/3, like his grandfather, claimed to make few concessions to the use of the standard, though Trudgill would no doubt class him as more of a 'modern' than a 'traditional' dialect speaker.[7] This reluctance to compromise seems to be symptomatic of a strong loyalty to his class culture and to his home region. In the case of the latter, this develops at times into an aggressive defence of 'Yorkshireness' - sometimes to an exaggeration of the supposed characteristics of a regional stereotype, as a kind of 'reverse refutation' of outsiders' perceptions. At the same time, this seems to be a way of sending out signals which say, *"I'm*

not like you, I have no wish to be like you and you have to take me or leave me for what I am". This, perhaps, is - at least in part - why this informant feels more comfortable in discourse within his own, or a closely similar, linguistic variety as reported in his holiday anecdotes.

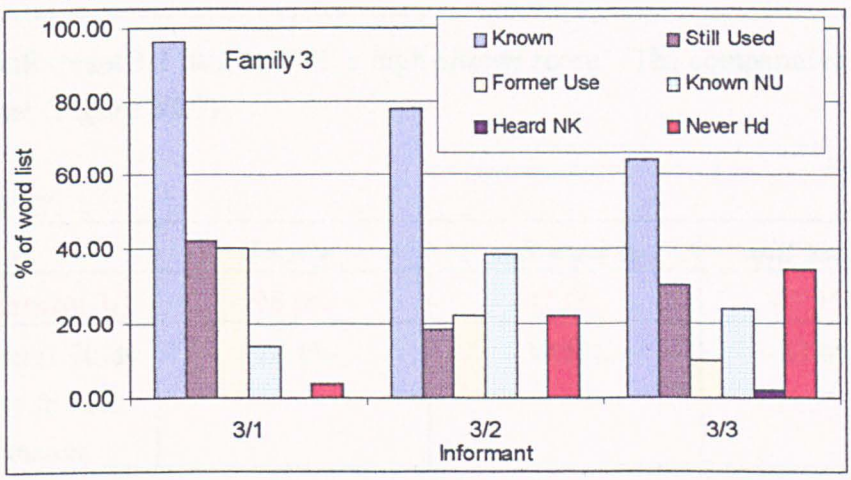
FAMILY 3

1.17

Figure **VI.6 (i)**

Family/Gen Code	M or F	Age Gp	SI
3/1	F	60-79	2.30
3/2	F	40-59	7.10
3/3	F	20-39	6.50
Family totals			15.90
Family Means			5.30

Figure **VI.6 (ii)**



1.18 Informant 3/1, in the 60-79 age group, spent her childhood and early adulthood in a variety of rented accommodation; later in life she lived in an owner-occupied house and, latterly, in a council flat. She had worked mainly in the printing industry; her husband spent most of his working life as a woolsorter until he, too, took a job in printing. State elementary school was the extent of her formal education. She became a Girl Guide leader and is involved in the church. In later life, she took up goose egg decorating as a hobby and now gives talks and demonstrations on this craft. She has also delivered talks on life in Stanningley in pre-war and World War Two times. Informant 3/2 is the daughter of 3/1 and she is in the 40-59 age group. She was educated at secondary modern school and had some full-time further education, reaching RSA and vocational diploma level. On leaving school she became an office worker but in the last few years she has acted as a foster mother. Her husband was a car salesman who later became a bus driver. In childhood and early adulthood she lived in owner-occupied

housing, later moving into rented council and privately-rented accommodation before returning to owner-occupancy. She has been accustomed to overseas holidays and travel, sometimes independently arranged. In the 1960s she participated in the Duke of Edinburgh's Award Scheme and achieved the Gold Award. She has taken part in, and taught, Scottish country dancing. The daughter of 3/2 is Informant 3/3 and she is in the 20-39 age group. She attended local primary and comprehensive schools, working to CSE/GCSE level. After leaving school she worked in an office, first as a junior, then as a buying clerk. Since 1994 she has been a self-employed dressmaker. Most of her life has been spent in privately-rented accommodation. She has experienced some overseas travel. She has no particular leisure interests.

1.19 Informant 3/1 had, at 96%, a high ***known*** score. The comparative mean figures are (*Figure* **VI.7**) :

Figure **VI.7**

	known	***still used* A**	***still used* B**
Informant 3/1	96.0%	42.0%	43.75%
General Study 60+ female means	92.4%	30.5%	33.0%

As can be seen, her ***known*** score does not vary greatly from the General Study mean. However, she continues to use more of the survey's listed nonstandard words, and a higher percentage of what she knows, than does the average member of her age/sex group. These scores seem somewhat at variance with what this informant had to say about her linguistic experiences :

3/1 : Compared to families that I mixed with, we didn't seem to speak broad Yorkshire. People would say to us "Do you come from Yorkshire ?" because we never seemed to speak broad.

Interviewer: But you have the accent. So when you say 'broad Yorkshire' do you mean the dialect words ?

3/1 : That's right. I clearly remember going to a house one day, to see this lady, and the old man came to the door and he said to me, "Shoo baint in an Ah

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nooan knaw when shoo'll be in" and I didn't know what he was talking about. And that was someone in Stanningley !.....We never spoke like that !

Interviewer: Are you saying you spoke more a form of Standard English ?

3/1 : Yes.

Interviewer: Albeit with a Yorkshire accent ?

3/1 : Yes....(we used)...Yorkshire words that were in common use, really.

Interviewer: You didn't consider them dialect words ?

3/1 : No, no.....to me we just spoke ordinary English.

There seems to be a hint here that even seventy or eighty years ago different 'local' speech varieties coexisted within the working class community :

Interviewer: How did your parents speak ? I mean, your mother was born in Stanningley.....

3.1 : Yes. But if they thought we were speaking broad Yorkshire they would pull us up.

Interviewer: What reasons did they give you for that ?

3/1 : No reason, other than they thought it was broad Yorkshire, you know.

Clearly there was more to be explored here about definitions and perceptions of what constituted acceptable speech and some further, more focused questioning was needed to tease this out :

Interviewer: Why do you think...(your parents)...saw....(broad Yorkshire)... as not being a desirable thing ?

3/1 : Probably because they thought, you know, ...they wanted perhaps to be a bit above that sort of thing. Although.....we were ordinary working class people,

they didn't want us classed as 'common', in other words.

Interviewer: Right. So they would have seen someone who spoke like the man you mentioned, who answered the door....?

3/1 : ...Yes, yes...

Interviewer: .....they would have seen him as being 'common' ?

3/1 : That's right, yes.

Interviewer: Your parents were trying to improve your social standing....by passing on to you a particular speech pattern which they didn't think of as 'common' ?

3/1 : Very likely, yes...I should think they probably did.

What is emerging here, apparently, is that there existed at the time of this informant's childhood some subtle distinctions amongst speech varieties in use within the working class community itself. There were powerful social status connotations attached to these different working class speech modes, the main distinction being between what represented 'respectable' and 'common' working class status and speech. As Romaine writes, in a social class context, *"Some variables will serve to stratify the population more finely than others"* and the classification of working class people (and their speech) as 'common' or 'respectable' seems to serve this function here. [8] Gordon also makes the point about 'respectable' working class being distinguishable from 'non-respectable working class', how George Bernard Shaw in *Pygmalion* described these as the 'deserving' and the 'undeserving' poor, and how such labels also often carry moral connotations :

> *..(for some)..the 19th century stereotype of the promiscuous and immoral classes is still alive.* [9]

With such perceptions, it would clearly be important for 'respectable' working class and middle class women to avoid using linguistic features which may be regarded as 'low-prestige', for fear of being judged, among other things, as being

sexually promiscuous and having low moral standards.

The informant found it difficult to articulate what the distinguishing characteristics were of these two main divisions 'respectable' and 'common'. Accent did not seem to be important - most working class people of local origin shared more or less the same accent. Grammar did seem to be important, with 'respectable' working class people eschewing constructions which were too far removed from the standard. The sounding of initial /h/ and medial /t/, and the avoidance of glottal-stopping, seem to have been indicators of 'respectable' working class speech. Alternative pronunciation of standard words also seemed to reflect social status differences, with 'shoo' for 'she', 'finnd' for 'find', 'neet' for night, and so on, being seen as markers of 'broad' speech, equating with 'common' working class status.

Words themselves were also used to differentiate sectors of the community. It seems that certain nonstandard words were quite acceptable and could be safely used by 'respectable' working class people, while others were markers of 'common' working class status. It is only with later, wider exposure to a greater variety of speech that Informant 3/1 became aware that many of the words she considered 'ordinary' and 'respectable' were, in fact, nonstandard and somewhat geographically restricted in use. [10] Informant 3/1's 'respectable', 'ordinary' vocabulary still includes such nonstandard items as 'mash' (to brew tea), 'jiggered' (fatigued) and 'twind' (to wrap around, e.g., string). But others are perceived as 'common' :

3/1 : My little granddaughter, the one who's only three, will insist on saying "It's mucky", which is a word we never used.....We keep telling her it's 'dirty' yet she will insist it's 'mucky'.....We can't persuade her to say anything's dirty, it's.... (always)... 'mucky'.

Interviewer: So, you'd look upon this word 'mucky' as being a 'common' expression?

3/1 : That's right, yes. We were never allowed to say 'mucky'.....

The interviewer suggested other word possibilities, such as 'laik' (play) which is still in everyday use by even quite young children in some parts of the research

area:

3/1 : Now that's the sort of thing my mother would have stopped us saying. She'd say it was 'play', you see.

1.20 Informant 3/2 has clear recollections of being 'corrected' and having standards in speech set by her mother :

3/2 : We weren't allowed to leave the /t/ out of the middle of words....we weren't allowed to leave the ends off words. She said that was 'Lazy Leeds'.

Interviewer: 'Lazy Leeds'....What did she mean by that, do you think ?

3/2 : She thought it was slovenly....It wasn't right to speak like that.

Interviewer: Were there people you know who spoke like that.....that you went to school with...that you played with ?

3/2 : Yes.

Interviewer: What was you mother's attitude towards....(their speech)...?

3/2 : I suppose she disapproved of it.

This informant agreed that her mother's distinction between 'respectable' and 'common' working class had existed, as a function of the particular speech variety used, but she thought that this distinction had weakened during her own childhood. She did, though, point out that 'respectable' and 'common' working class distinction was signalled by a whole matrix of standards, values and behaviours, of which speech was just one element :

3/2 : There were some things we were not (allowed to do)....not just to do with speech but that....(some other)... children did. We weren't allowed to play out on a Sunday....My mother would never have hung her washing out on a Sunday....And I was never allowed to play out....it was one of my ambitions....to play out after dark, when nobody could see what you were doing !

Interviewer: (How)....has this affected your attitude towards your own children's speech ?

3/2 : I do the same.

Interviewer: You 'correct' them, the same way your mother 'corrected' you?

3/2 : Yes, yes....but it only partially works !

1.21 Informant 3/3, daughter of 3/2 and granddaughter of 3/1, discussed her speech experiences at school:

Interviewer: Were you ever conscious of teachers 'correcting' the way you spoke?

3/3 : Not really.
Interviewer: Were you aware of any children at school - apart from Asian immigrants - who spoke differently ?

3/3 : No, no....I don't think so....but we've got a lot of relatives from Bath...I can't always understand them !

The interviewed moved on to workplace experiences :

Interviewer: When you went to work [this was in an office] *did you become conscious of the way you spoke ?*

3/3 : Yes...on the telephone.

Interviewer: What features of your own speech were you most conscious of?

3/3 : The accent. It sounds awful when you hear it....when you hear it coming back at you.

Interviewer: Did you ever deliberately try to do anything about it ?

3/3 : Yes....You try to make it sound a bit more proper.

Interviewer: How did you do that ? In what ways ?

3/3 : (You)...think about what you're saying...sort of, think about words.

The substance of this part of the interview is that the informant's speech modification on the telephone was directed at producing 'whole' words, rather than truncated or glottal-stopped sounds. When questioned about her motivation and purpose for modifying her speech in the work environment, especially on the telephone, her response was that it was not so much to avoid being misheard or misunderstood, but because of the perception the listener would have of her :

3/3 : They'd think that you weren't educated, that you were thick. I used to have to chase orders....You used to find they responded better...if you put your 'telephone voice' on.

From the interview it was apparent that this informant had a largely nonstandard speech style, but this owed more to her use of 'modern urban dialect' rather than what might be termed the 'traditional' form. Notwithstanding this, she returned a ***known*** score (64%) which is ahead of the mean of 49.1% for her age/sex counterparts in the General Study. This means that she was familiar with the meanings of 32 of the 50 words on the survey nonstandard word list, words which had been in common use around the end of World War One. She feels that she acquired much of this knowledge from her father who, according to her mother, was a 'broad Yorkshire' speaker.

1.22 Once again, the three generations of a family present a complex picture. Their ***known*** and ***still used*** scores, as a family, are ahead of the means for females in the General Study (*Figure* **VI.8**):

Figure **VI.8**

	known	***still used*** **A**
Family 3 means	79.33%	30.0%
General Study all-female means	62.2%	24.1%

In usage however there is an interesting pattern, for the youngest generation representative claims to still use 30% of the survey word list, whereas her mother uses only 18%. This may reflect a situation where both 3/1 and 3/2 acquired a nonstandard vocabulary knowledge, but in an effective 'downward' censuring environment where usage was inhibited; 3/3, on the other hand, not only acquired a greater knowledge than her average peer, but has a usage level which may have been influenced by her father's speech in a less effective 'downward' censuring environment.

1.23 Perhaps the most important issue to arise from this particular case study is the notion of 'respectable' and 'common' working class speech varieties, and their accompanying social status, giving a more finely-grained picture than the sociolinguistic stratification which has been presented in some literature. It is evident that the distinguishing features were well-understood and highly visible to the actors, though they are difficult to define and explain to outsiders and, by this time, they may resist the penetration of all but the most sophisticated and focused research to expose them. It appears, though, that the two salient distinctions concerned the pronunciation of standard words, and the status accorded to individual lexical items.

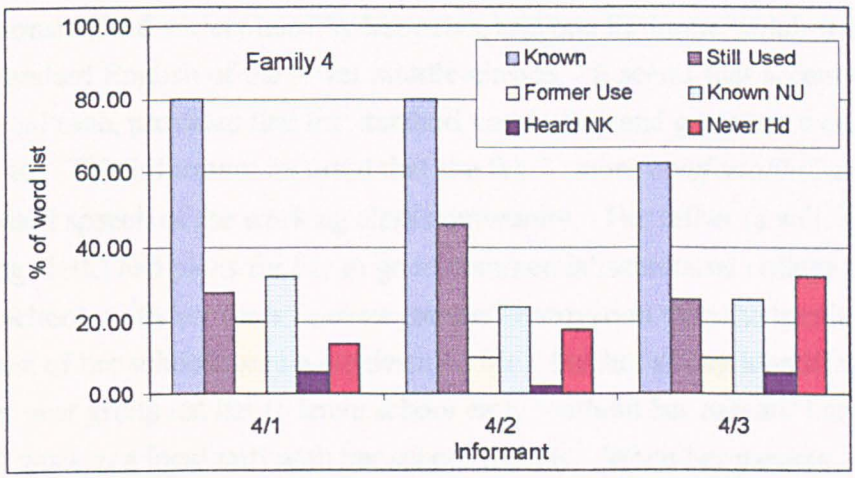
FAMILY 4

1.24

Figure **VI.9 (i)**

Family/Gen Code	M or F	Age Gp	SI
4/1	F	60-79	8.75
4/2	F	40-59	10.20
4/3	F	20-39	14.00
Family totals			32.95
Family Means			10.98

Figure **VI.9 (ii)**



1.25 Again, this was an all-female case study, with generational representatives in the 60+, 40-59 and 20-39 age groups. The senior representative, 4/1, attended state elementary school and went on to part-time and full-time further education, gaining RSA qualifications and pursuing secretarial employment for the whole of her working life. For a time, she was president of her local NALGO branch. Her husband had been, first, a regular soldier, then a production control engineer. In childhood and early adulthood she lived in privately-rented accommodation but, since marriage, had lived in owner-occupancy. 4/2, the daughter of 4/1, was educated at a selective grammar school up to GCE 'O' Level. Her working life was spent in banking and accountancy and she married a local authority building inspector. Throughout her life she has lived in owner-occupied property. She is accustomed to foreign travel and holidays and has held office in various capacities in the 'friends' group of a local special school. 4/3, the daughter of 4/2, was

educated to honours degree level and, at the time of her interview, was undergoing teacher training with the intention of becoming a primary teacher. Earlier, she had spent some time as a hotel receptionist. She is married to a self-employed businessman and has lived in owner-occupancy all her life. She has community involvement as a Brownie Guide leader and as a parent governor at a local primary school.

1.26 Informant 4/1 reported that her parents had been *"....very strict"* in all matters relating to social status, including speech. They had been disappointed at this informant's failure to secure a grammar school scholarship and disapproved of many of the friends (from local working class families) she subsequently made at the county school. The informant was quite clear in her recollection of using two distinct speech varieties - one for school, where she generally subscribed to the largely nonstandard variety used by her peers, and one for home which was close to the Standard English of the lower middle-classes. It seems that accent was not an issue at home, provided that the standard vocabulary and grammar were adhered to. This informant reported that she felt *"...more comfortable"* using the nonstandard speech of the working class community. Her father (a solicitor's managing clerk) had plans for her to go to commercial/secretarial college on leaving school, to fit her for a *"...more genteel"* occupation than the textile mill work most of her schoolmates were destined for. But her strong identification with her peer group led her to leave school early, without her parents' knowledge, and start work at a local mill with her school friends. When her parents eventually discovered this, they allowed her to continuing working at the mill, provided she found employment in the office rather than in the spinning or weaving sheds. The informant believes that this was because, despite the social posturing, the family was always on the brink of poverty and the ten shillings a week she brought in was secretly welcome. Subsequently she did receive commercial training and took up secretarial work which she maintained throughout World War Two in the WAAF. Her perception of her parents' values and motivations is that they had social pretensions and were determined to 'improve' their children's social standing and occupational prospects through education and, not least, by strictly controlling their speech style. Though the informant claims that she secretly resented this, she admits to taking a similar stance with her own two daughters to enhance their career and social prospects. Part of the strategy was *".....to save all year so we could have a fortnight's holiday at a Trust House hotel so....(the daughters)...could experience something of a*

better way of life". This seems to have, at least in part, achieved something like its objectives, for one daughter married into *"....a good, hotel-owning family and she and her husband run their own hotel in the Channel Islands".* But when the informant visits this daughter and mixes with the hotel guests, she says she feels very self-conscious of her Yorkshire accent, giving her a feeling of inferiority and making her uncomfortable and insecure. On the other hand, she feels more relaxed and *"....at home"* with her other daughter (Informant 4/2) who lives nearby in Farsley:

4/1 : It's more Yorkshire....I feel I can be myself.

1.27 Informant 4/2 was asked about her mother's 'downward' censuring :

Interviewer: What aspects of your speech did your mother used to 'correct'?

4/2 : Grammar.....She's very good at words, my mother. She'd correct things.

Interviewer: I believe she does a lot of word games.

4/2 : Crosswords....And she's won a lot of competitions with slogans. She used to correct grammar, things like 'different from' when she said 'different to'.

The interview with 4/1, this informant's mother, had revealed a tension between speech at school and in the mill, on one hand, and speech at home on the other. The interview with 4/2 looked for a repeat of this situation :

Interviewer: Was there any tension between the language you used with your friends, out on the street or at school....and what you used at home ?

4/2 : Yes, yes....Some missing 'the' out, like children do [glottal-stopping the definite article]. *My mother didn't like anything like that so, yes, I was probably more careful at home, what I said.*

The interviewer asked whether the same situation existed between 4/2 and her own children :

4/2 : I play pop with...[her younger daughter]*...many a time because she drops*

her /h/s.....and she misses 'the' out....I've been on to her today about it....

Both this informant and her mother had returned relatively high ***known*** scores of 80% on the nonstandard word list and, in view of the repeated inter-generational 'downward' censuring and suppression of nonstandard speech, this was queried:

Interviewer: How do you account for your knowledge of quite a lot of...(the words on the list)....even though you may not use them ?

4/2 : My mother has a wonderful store of words....Possibly from there.

Interviewer: Because she simply likes words, as opposed to choosing (the nonstandard variety) as a mode of speech ?

4/2 : Yes, yes....It would be just her interest in words. My guess is that she wouldn't confess to **using** *very many, though she knows a lot.*

In fact, her mother, 4/1, 'confesses' to using 28% of the word list (35% of what she knows); she has also abandoned use of a further 20% of the list and there is 32% she knows but has never used. By contrast, Informant 4/2 claims to still use 46% of the word list (57.5% of what she knows) and has abandoned only 10% of what she formerly used of the list. This is clearly illustrated by *Figure* **VI.9 (ii)**. Informant 4/2 has views about what constitutes 'slovenly speech, which she feels is quite distinct from *"...genuine dialect"* :

4/2 : I don't like slovenly speech. It's not the actual words they use, it's just...well...I don't like missing 'the' out....I like to hear 'the', that sort of thing.

In general, nonstandard words are acceptable to this informant, provided they are used within more less standard grammatical structures. Dropped /h/, glottal-stopped medial /t/ and definite article, and *"missing"* word endings, were 'slovenly' or 'lazy' speech and carried connotations of lack of education :

4/2 : It's not intelligence....More of an educational thing.

1.28 Informant 4/3, elder daughter of 4/2, has a ***known*** score which is almost ten percentage points of the survey word list greater than the mean for 20-39 females in the General Study, though her ***still used*** score, at 26%, is fairly close to the 24.13% mean for her corresponding General Study age/sex group. The interview with this informant showed that, like her grandmother, 4/1, it was an interest in language, particularly in words *per se*, which seems to have led her to such a relatively high ***known*** score. She is well aware of having been 'corrected' by her mother, 4/2, and, with her aspirations to become a teacher, considers that she perhaps attracted less criticism of her speech than does her younger sister. She sees a regional accent as non-problematic and can, like her mother, accept the inclusion of nonstandard words in speech, provided they are set in a grammatically 'correct' context. She reports that her own low rate of usage, together with an abandonment of 10% ***formerly used*** and 26% ***known but never used***, has more to do with the archaic nature and functional obsolescence of many of the words, than with judgements about their sociolinguistic status.

1.29 A salient characteristic of Family 4 is the very strong 'downward' censuring which has prevailed across at least three generations. However, as a family, they outperform the overall female means (and the male+female means) for the General Study, in the ***known*** and ***still used*** categories, by some margin (*Figure* **VI.10**) :

Figure **VI.10**

	known	***still used* A**
Family 4 means	74.0%	33.33%
General Study all-female means	62.0%	23.8%
General Study males+females means	58.9%	24.0%

1.30 A second interesting characteristic of this family is the suggestion that interest in language, and words in particular, has produced the knowledge of the items in the word list, probably by sharpening awareness of features of speech going on around them. All three informants draw a distinction between what they perceive as 'genuine dialect' and 'slovenly/lazy speech', though they find it

difficult to attribute sharp distinguishing characteristics to these.

1.31 It appears that, in their perception, the quality of 'genuine dialect' is vested in the lexicon, provided the words are embedded in something which approximates to Standard English rules of grammar and syntax.

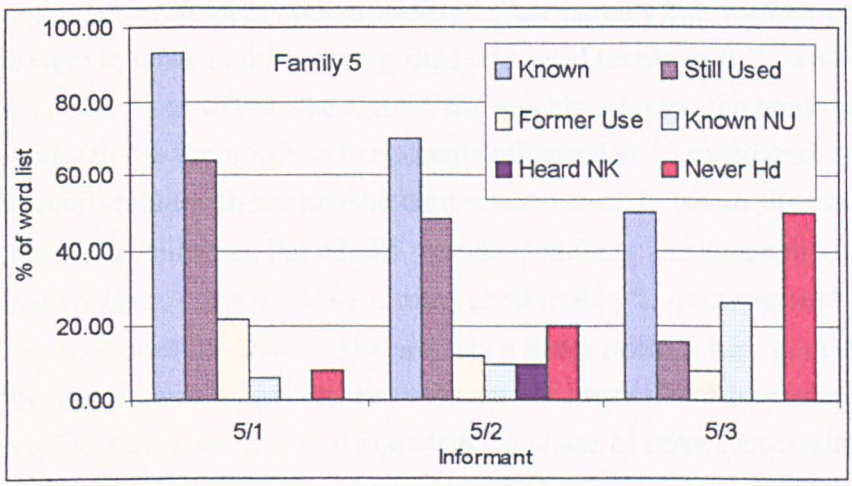
FAMILY 5

1.32

Figure **VI.11 (i)**

Family/Gen Code	M or F	Age Gp	SI
5/1	F	60-79	9.12
5/2	F	40-59	10.30
5/3	F	0-19	9.00
Family totals			28.42
Family Means			9.47

Figure **VI.11 (ii)**



1.33 Informant 5/1 left school at 14 years of age and did not undergo any further formal education. She has worked in a variety of occupations: textile weaving, hairdressing, engineering office and as a local authority Social Services warden. Her father had his own motor engineering and sales business and throughout her life she has lived in owner-occupied housing. Her husband was a refrigeration engineer. Informant 5/2 is the daughter of 5/1 and lives close by. She attended a state comprehensive school up to CSE level and went on to gain RSA secretarial qualifications at a further education college. She also returned to FE college ten years ago to add GCSEs to her qualifications. She has worked in a variety of jobs - estate agency clerk, civil servant in the Department of Social Security, child-minding and, latterly, part-time in telephone marketing. She is married to a painter and decorator. Throughout her life she has lived in owner-occupied housing. She is involved in church life, particularly in church music,

and is a registered first-aid practitioner. In her present employment she acts as team leader and is accustomed to giving 'in house' presentations as part of her duties. Informant 5/3 is the daughter of 5/2 and in the 0-19 age group. She attended a state comprehensive school, to GCSE level, and at the time of her interview was pursuing GNVQs leading on to NNEB nursery nurse training. At school she was keen on sport and played in rounders, netball and soccer teams. She lists her current recreational interests as *"...music and pubs"*. Throughout her life she has lived in owner-occupied housing.

1.34 The senior representative of this family reported that her father had been *"...very well-educated, in Harrogate....and....he spoke posh...pronounced all the letters of words, though he did have a Yorkshire accent"*. This informant had been placed in a hairdressing apprenticeship by her parents but, without informing them, she went to work in the weaving shed of a local textile mill *"....where the money was better"* and where, she claims, she quickly adopted the nonstandard speech variety in use there, which her parents criticised as *"...awful and common"*. She feels comfortable with her nonstandard style of speech, which she has retained since her mill days, but admits to code-switching and accommodation in some social contexts. She says she is most comfortable *"...speaking with people who are as 'Yorkshire' as I am"*. She projects a fierce pride in her 'Yorkshireness' and readily associates regional identity with certain linguistic characteristics, including a *"Yorkshire accent"* and knowledge and use of other nonstandard features. Without these markers, she considers one's credentials as *"...a real Yorkshire person"* to be suspect. She is derisive of people who *"...try to put it on"*, by which she means adopt speech styles which are not 'native' to them and delights when they *"...end up tripping over their /h/s* [hypercorrecting]". But she is also critical of her granddaughters, who employ what might be termed 'modern urban dialect' ; she does not find this attractive or acceptable because *"...it's not proper Yorkshire dialect"*. Though her parents criticised the speech variety she acquired in the weaving shed, they did not make any strenuous attempts to persuade her to alter it, though they did warn her that it would *"...have social consequences"*. When she started in the mill she had what she describes as *"...give or take, ordinary standard speech"*. The other mill girls did not ridicule her for this:

5/1 : They knew my speech was right for the situation I was coming from, hairdressing, and my father being a businessman".

The mill girls did not put any pressure on her to adopt their speech style and the changes she made were entirely on her own initiative :
5/1 : I wanted to feel part of things...to be one of the mill girls.

Her husband, she reports, has a marked West Riding accent, though he is *"...less broad"* than she is, which is probably a reflection of his occupation bringing him into contact with the wider public, instead of the relatively confined working environment of the textile mill. She did not try to directly influence her children's speech though she does 'correct' her grandchildren, for glottal-stopping medial /t/, and similar features. Her ***known*** and ***still used*** scores are high at 93% and 64% respectively, of the nonstandard word list, though she has abandoned the use of 22% of the words on the list which she formerly employed in her everyday speech.

1.35 Informant 5/2 thinks that the most significant characteristic of her speech is the tendency to *"...go from being working class to upper class"*. She was invited to amplify on this code-switching issue:

5/2 : Well, you'd just tend to talk less 'Yorkshire' than you normally would...You'd try to correct your grammar...Your 'Sunday best' voice, I suppose.

Interviewer: Where do we get this notion of 'correctness' from, do you think?

5/2 : Well....maybe from my work circumstances, where I'm actually speaking to people from all over the country....so they understand me better. Because, on occasions, I've had people who say to me "I just haven't understood what you've said - it must be your Yorkshire accent ".

Interviewer: Is it accent, rather than the words you're using ?

5/2 : Well...I've got a 'telephone voice'.....you talk posher, you put on your posh voice, don't you, over the 'phone ?

Interviewer: Why do you think you use descriptions such as 'posher', 'more upper class' and 'more correct' ?

5/2 : Maybe you don't like your roots as such when you're speaking to people who aren't from round here....

Interviewer: You think there's a sense of inferiority ?

5/2 : Yet I'm very proud of where I come from.....I'm very proud of my roots. I wouldn't move from here....Yet I know that I **have** *got a 'telephone voice'....*

Clearly, this informant was experiencing tension and uncertainty arising from a whole matrix of feelings concerned with regional loyalty, cultural identity, social and occupational status, and language.

The uncertainties and tensions are further exposed in this informant's attitude to her husband's speech :

5/2 : .....he speaks very broad and I can be with people from Yorkshire and I'll pull him up. I'll say "Don't say that. It sounds awful. Don't speak like that". My husband will say 'watter' instead of 'water'. Now is that Yorkshire or is that lazy? What I'm saying is - maybe it's the snob side of me, I don't know - but I will correct him or pull him up later and say "That sounded terrible, the way you were speaking there".

Interviewer: There seems to be this dilemma, with one part of you wanting to acknowledge that there's something that identifies you with the region - and some of it's to do with speech - but the other part is that when you're dealing with people...(outside the region)..there's a feeling that somehow this isn't quite correct, it's not right, it's inferior....And with your husband...Though he uses a local speech style, you're sometimes embarrassed by it....

5/2 : Mm, ...and yet, if I'm speaking to somebody on the telephone, like a southerner, and he says "You must be a Yorkshire lass because I can pick it up in your speech", you know, I'm not ashamed of it in any way.

The interview returned to the question of code-switching, particularly in view of the informant claiming to still use nearly half the nonstandard words on the survey list :

5/2 : If I met somebody new....I wouldn't use a lot of Yorkshire terms at all. I would deliberately not use certain words.

Interviewer: You wouldn't want to be misunderstood...?

5/2 : It would be more than that with me....My kids have actually said to me, when we've met somebody, "Why were you talking posh, then ?"

The interview went on to explore the degree of 'downward' censuring :

5/2 : I've done it with my children, you know...I've corrected them.

Interviewer: So, there's a pressure to move towards a sort of speech that's not their 'natural' one ?

5/2 : Yes, I'm sure that's it....It's awful, really, isn't it ? It's like giving up your heritage....but I'm doing it ! But I love to think of my roots and that I belong....to delve into all that....I'm very proud of what I am.

Interviewer: But there seems to be a gradual shift towards a style of speech which is not 'comfortable' for some of us....

5/2 : Because, when you put on this...in inverted commas...this posh voice...it's hard work to do it, you know. It doesn't come natural at all....you're not relaxed in it.

The informant was asked about any social judgements she made of people in response to their speech :

5/2 : You can almost say, "Yorkshire accent, working class", can't you ?

Interviewer: (Do you mean)...that we associate a Yorkshire accent and a particular variety of speech - and particularly the use of nonstandard words - with the working class ?

5/2 : Yes.

Interviewer: Is the accent important ?

5/2 : No, it's the words themselves.

Interviewer: Is this why your husband's 'neet', 'coit' and 'watter', perhaps, are unacceptable ?

5/2 : Yes. He's comfortable with that, whereas I tend to change.....My husband, on the 'phone, is exactly as he would be if he was sat talking to you.

Interviewer: Would you like to be able to speak Standard English with Received Pronunciation, that is, with no detectable regional accent ?

5/2 : No ! I want to be identified with where I come from.

Interviewer: You want to keep your Yorkshire identity through your accent, but not through the use of nonstandard words ?

5/2 : Yes.

Interviewer: Even though you know a lot of them ?

5/2 : Yes.

1.36 Informant 5/3 is the daughter of 5/2 and the granddaughter of 5/1. Her interview took place shortly after she had left high school and was engaged in work experience related to her FE course. Her ***known*** score of 50% is higher than the mean for her age/sex group in the General Study (34.62%), though her ***still used*** score of 16% is very close to the mean for her General Study counterparts. The interview revealed that this informant's speech might best be described as 'modern urban dialect' and she is sometimes the subject of criticism for it by her grandmother (5/1). She is well aware of what some others consider to be her 'deficient' speech and concedes that she does code-switch in some circumstances :

5/3 : Yes, sometimes. In (job) interviews I would....sound words more properly. You know, sound all the letters.

Interviewer: Why would you do this ?

5/3 : Because they expect you to speak better, don't they ?

Interviewer: If you felt that by...(permanently)...altering your accent and way of speaking you could get a good job, would you do it ?

5/3 : Oh, yes. You'd have to, wouldn't you ? For the sake of the kids you'd be looking after....The parents wouldn't keep you on, would they, if they thought you were setting a bad example to the kids ?

'Downward' censuring of her speech was discussed :

5/3 : Dad will sometimes say "Say this, not that". Like, if I say "She's took some", he'll say "It's 'taken' some, not 'took' some". But he only does it like, you know, when he's in a bad mood.

Interviewer: What comments does your mother make about your speech ?

5/3 : ....She says I sound dead common.

Peer group speech behaviour and attitudes were explored :

Interviewer: Do your friends speak like you do ?

5/3 : Yes, mostly. There are some who talk a bit posher, talk more proper.

Interviewer: Suppose you went away to work, say for three years, and your speech did change. How would your friends react...(when you returned)...?

5/3 : They'd take the mickey at first....The girls would...but then they'd soon forget about it. The lads wouldn't, though....they'd go on about it.

Interviewer: Do you think that girls feel more obliged to alter their speech in certain circumstances ?

5/3 : Yes....Like if I go to somebody's house, a friend's where I haven't been before...I'll try to talk better. Boys don't....well, one or two do, but mostly they just carry on the same. If it's somebody's house where I know them right well [11]*, I don't change, though.*

This exchange reinforces the suggestion that a variety of speech styles exist amongst the young people in the community and the young people themselves are conscious that some of their peers speak 'posher' than others. While this does not seem to put pressure on others to permanently alter their speech style, it does seem to lead to selective code-switching in certain social situations.

1.37 This is a family in which there exists a variety of linguistic behaviours and attitudes. The oldest representative had deliberately abandoned the middle class speech mode of her parents so she could be *"...one of the mill lasses"* and has come to see her nonstandard speech style as a badge of regional identity. Her daughter, 5/2, shares the sense of regional identity, being achieved in part through speech, but she clearly has problems reconciling much nonstandard speech with the 'loyalty/identity' package. This informant also struggles to differentiate between what her mother would regard as legitimate, acceptable 'dialect' and what some would describe as 'slovenly' or 'lazy' speech. The situation is complicated for her by her husband's uncompromising use of 'broad Yorkshire', which seems to be close to the notion of 'traditional dialect', yet which she is clearly socially troubled by, and her daughter's 'modern urban dialect' which attracts criticism from both parents and the grandmother.

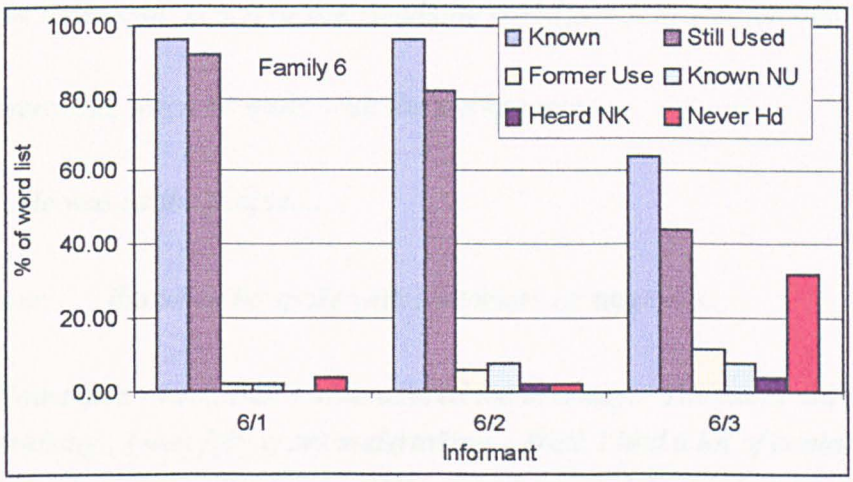
FAMILY 6

1.38

Figure **VI.12 (i)**

Family/Gen Code	M or F	Age Gp	SI
6/1	M	>80	4.80
6/2	F	60-79	5.75
6/3	F	20-39	11.00
Family totals			21.55
Family Means			7.18

Figure **VI.12 (ii)**



1.39 Informant 6/1 is a male in the 80+ age group. Practically all his working life was spent in employment with the same local family joinery/undertaking business. He has lived in privately-rented and council housing. He was educated at state elementary school and went from there straight into a joinery apprenticeship. He served in the Royal Engineers in World War Two and returned to his pre-war occupation and company on demobilisation. Informant 6/2 is the niece of 6/1. She spent several years working in a local textile mill before moving to clerical work. She married a baker who later become a motor trade manager. In childhood and early adulthood she lived in workers' back-to-back housing; in later life she has lived in owner-occupied property. Her education was at a local state elementary school. Informant 6/3 is the daughter of 6/2. She went to a local secondary school, had some full-time further education, and went on to higher education. A nurse by occupation, she has worked in both

the National Health Service and in the army, in the Queen Alexandra's Royal Army Nursing Corps.

1.40 Informant 6/1 has a declared interest in language. He has written and published a book about the history of the joinery company which employed him for most of his working life. He returned one of the highest ***known*** scores in this entire research (96%) and claims to still use 92% of the nonstandard words in the survey list. He spoke of the linguistic environment of the workplace when he started there, just after World War One :

6/1 : Oh, aye, when I started work at X they were a right family....a family of them... (the family proprietors of the business) ....and the old man, he could speak both ways. He could give it to you rough, he could give it to you smooth.

Interviewer: So, when he spoke with the workpeople...

6/1 : ...He was as the people....

Interviewer: ...But when he spoke with customers or suppliers...

6/1 : Now that's when...that's what altered me in a way. You see, I did most of the undertaking...I was fifty years undertaking....Well, I had a lot of contact with the public. You see, you had to be a bit sympathetic and that's what altered...(my way of speaking)...I lost most of it...[the locally-used nonstandard speech variety]*..It all depended where you went. If you went on here...(the local neighbourhood)...you spoke in the old Yorkshire language. But if you went up to the top end, say Leeds Road....and around Fartown...you'd to put it on.....Being undertakers you'd to be that way.*

Interviewer: But what about on an evening or at weekends, when you went out with the lads ?

6/1 : Well, it was back to the local language, aye.

This contextual code-switching issue was pursued further :

Interviewer: Are there any situations where you feel more comfortable than

others, using your.....(nonstandard)...speech.....thinking, "I can relax here" ?

6/1 : I feel uncomfortable having to do it...[code-switching]*...I mean, if you go in a pub, into the best room...sometimes I don't like having to alter. But in the tap room you can talk ordinary.*

He was asked about language and education :

Interviewer: Were you 'corrected' for your speech, at all, at school ?

6/1 : No, not really.

Interviewer: Do you think schools **should** *do anything about local speech?*

6/1 : I should leave them alone....as long as they can read and write and put it down as teachers tell them. They should be able to speak both ways.

This informant felt that his wartime service in the army had been significant in relation to his speech :

6/1 : The army altered me more than anything. You see I was in the Engineers.....

Interviewer: ...And that's not like being in a county regiment, is it ?

6/1 : No.....And I mixed with quite a few of these, what I call top-class men, and I mixed with officers of other regiments, you know. I was shifted from one unit to another...spent quite a while with a South African unit, and a Scottish unit, and it changed things completely as far as speech was concerned.

Interviewer: You were away what, five years ?

6/1 : Just short of six.

Interviewer: When you came back, when you went back to work at X, what happened to your speech then ? Did it go back...?

6/1 : Well, yes, in certain cases it went back. It depended who you were with.

Interviewer: Would you say that it went back to what it had been...(pre-war)..?

6/1 : No, not quite. But I had to check myself

Interviewer: So the army had some sort of lasting effect ?

6/1 : Well, I've always said that the army changed me entirely.

Interviewer: But your speech is still noticeably 'Yorkshire'...You've said that you've been to many parts of the world [often on cruises since he became a widower] *and people have quickly detected that you are from Yorkshire....*

6/1 : Oh, aye....and I can still mix with the lads.

Interviewer: So what has altered, do you think ?

6/1 : The words you use, you see. You use 'yes' and 'no' instead of 'aye' and 'nay'....and anything like that.

Interviewer: It's moved more towards what we would call Standard English ?

6/1 : That's it, yes.....I mean, it all depends on the company you're in. You can always tell...you can soon pick up what they're talking about....and if they're talking in the Yorkshire language, then that's what you switch to.

Two significant events are identifiable in the informant's linguistic experience. When his joinery work shifted more towards undertaking, with the responsibility for 'public relations' which went with this, he felt it necessary to become a user of a more standard form in some of his face-to-face contacts. There was a sensitivity to what constituted 'sympathetic' speech and this tended to be embedded in something more like the standard form. Yet there was still a recognition that, even in funereal circumstances, some local people were more comfortable with an undertaker who could speak the local, nonstandard language variety. The second event was his army service, which found him working in a more cosmopolitan environment and bringing him into contact with people from a

wider range of social and linguistic backgrounds. Though his return to civilian life and work saw some reversion to his earlier nonstandard speech variety, he had consolidated his bidialectal capability and can code-switch and accommodate with ease. However, he claims he still feels *"...more comfortable"* when operating in his 'native', nonstandard variety,

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1.41 Informant 6/2 talked of the linguistic behaviour of her maternal grandparents and of her parents :

6/2 : Grandma and grandad were very broad.....Grandma was, really...the words she'd use, like you've got there [indicating the survey word list].....*Grandma had a saying she used when somebody had been on the booze the night before and they looked a bit bleary. "Ee, lad", she'd say, Thi een look as if ther bunged up wi red wossit!"* [12] *....stuff like that she used to come out with.*

Interviewer: What about your own parents ? Did they have the broad speech style of your grandparents ?

6/2 : My Mum, yes. Not quite as much as my Gran and Grandad. My Dad, though, he was little bit more, what do you say, refined ?

Interviewer: Was he local ?

6/2 : Came from Hunslet....but he was mixing with people, more management, in the tailoring. He was ordering and speaking with buyers and things like that, so I think, really, he had to go a bit posh. But my Gran - on my Dad's side - she was broad, but...(she used)...different words to what my other Gran in Pudsey used.

The school linguistic environment was discussed :

Interviewer: Were you 'corrected' or reprimanded by teachers for your speech ?

6/2 : We were on certain words, if we used them at school...Probably the grammar and pronunciation...."I haven't got none"...They'd pull you up....

This informant went to work in a local textile mill on leaving school but had a

circle of friends which included non-textile workers :

6/2 : ....all the gang of us...if you got us all together....I would think I was the broadest. But probably their parents or backgrounds were different....They didn't have any mill workers in the family....

Interviewer: Do you think the mill-working background of family and friends was important...(to the speech variety)...?

6/2 : It's important in a sense.....It's a more friendly crowd than some of those that worked in offices and places like that....Like, you live in a street...when you live in semis, like this, you don't neighbour the same....Round here, to neighbour you just pass the time of day.... [13]

Interviewer: When you were working in the mill, you were working alongside people you lived amongst ?

6/2 : Yes.

Interviewer: The sort of language you used...(in the neighbourhood)...tended to be maintained in the mill, did it ?

6/2 : Yes....We all used to go on holiday together. We used to go out dancing on a Saturday night, with the lads, to Pudsey baths.....Not necessarily the lads that worked at the mill....but they were all part, you know...

Interviewer: ...of the culture, of the community...?

6/2: Yes...They knew what you were meaning when you used to talk about work...like when you'd had a 'trap'. [14]

Discussion about the workplace went on to explore the differences in status and speech which were locally well-recognised. Up to the 1950s, most local girls, on leaving school, went to work in the textile mills in some capacity or other. As a very broad generalisation, girls of lowlier social status tended to work in the spinning or weaving sheds, while 'better class' girls normally found work in the mending department, where conditions were less noisy and less physically

demanding. Sometimes, like this informant, a girl could find herself 'promoted' to work in the mending department :

Interviewer: When you went into mending, what altered in terms of speech? Were people speaking in the same way ?

6/2 : You were able to converse more because you didn't have the noise. They were a little...a bit more refined. When you were a newcomer into the mending you sort of listened to the older ones, how they talked. They still talked local but there was just a little edge to it, to what it was in the weaving and warping sheds.....when you went through into the finishing (mending)...they were more or less 'ladies' in there....Go through the weaving shed door and you were in another world !

Interviewer: So, it wasn't only status, it was the language that went with it?

6/2 : Oh, yes.

Interviewer: And when you went into office work ?

6/2 : Oh, that was another world altogether ! The people in there.... the office manager had a desk in the office with you....You were answering telephones and talking to people on the telephone and you had to moderate your language....and that was real hard.

Interviewer: You found it hard ?

6/2 : At first....until I got used to it. Like, sometimes, like you do now, you "Oh, you've put on your 'telephone voice' !"

The interview moved on to discuss possible reasons for the erosion in knowledge and use of nonstandard words, such as those represented by the survey word list :

6/2 : Well, there are so many come into the area, from other areas. I've neighbours that come from Liverpool...and Scotland...., places like that....So you get a real mixture of their, if you like, dialects, mixing with Yorkshire speech....(and)...mixing with ordinary [standard]*...English. You get other words*

coming in.

Interviewer: So there are words that were 'local' to them and they've imported them....(to this area)...?

6/2 : Yes. They still use them....They're incomers...lots of words that they use sound strange....

The question of code-switching and accommodation was raised :

6/2 : When I'm working now, if the boss is there or if customers are there, I talk a bit posher than I do to you.

Interviewer: You switch ?

6/2 : Yes....but I feel more comfortable talking like I'm talking now. It's harder work for me, putting it on a bit, if you like.

Interviewer: You've never made any attempt to...(permanently)...alter the way you speak ?

6/2 : No....If I pick up a 'phone and I know they're a little bit different, speechwise, then I alter my speech.

She perceived her uncle (6/1) as *"...a proper Yorkshire speaker...traditional dialect...He's great to listen to"*. Yet she also scored 96% ***known***, the same as her uncle and claims to still use 82% of the nonstandard word list - not quite as much as her uncle's 92% but still well ahead of the ***still used*** **A** mean for her parallel age/sex group in the General Study (*Figure* **VI.13**) :

Figure **VI.13**

	known	***still used*****A**
Informant 6/2	96.0%	82.0%
General Study 60+ female means	92.4%	30.5%

Her ***known*** score is not much greater than her General Study counterparts and this

shows that her much higher ***still used*** score is a result of her not abandoning as many formerly used words and not neglecting to bring into use as many other ***known*** words (*Figure* **VI.14**) :

Figure **VI.14**

	formerly used	***known but never used***
Informant 6/2	6.0%	8.0%
General Study 60+ female means	39.0%	23.2%

In this respect, this informant is not typical of her age/sex group in the community.

Perhaps the most significant feature of Informant 6/2's case study is the support she gives to the notion of the textile workplace being a potent agent for the maintenance of the nonstandard speech variety, with the implications this had for speech in the community as a whole.

1.42 Informant 6/3 is in the 20-39 age group. Like her mother, 6/2, she views her great-uncle's speech as representative of the *"...true local dialect"* and she, too, delights in listening to him speak in family and relaxed social contexts :

6/3 : Uncle J ! Listening to Uncle J speaking, when I was young - I mean really young .....I used to go round...I used to be fascinated. I used to just sit there, waiting for these words to drop out. Brilliant!....It's not just the dialect words, it's the way he speaks just ordinary words. It's the accent....I think it's wonderful.

Surprisingly, she had never thought of her mother as having a particularly 'Yorkshire' speech style, even though her mother had returned a ***still used*** **A** score of 82%.

The early part of this interview focused on this informant's school experiences :

Interviewer: Did teachers...(at high school)...do anything about your speech ?

6/3 : No.

Interviewer: They didn't try to intervene at all ?

6/3 : Certainly not, no.

Interviewer: Even when you used things like double negatives : "We haven't got none"....?

6/3 : Oh, yes, they'd correct that...(but only)...in English. They'd say, "Oh, that means you **do** *have it then !"*

Interviewer: What about things liked dropped /h/ and missing final /g/ ?

6/3 : I can only remember the English teacher correcting us on that.

Interviewer: Nobody else bothered ?

6.3 : Not that I can remember. I can remember an English teacher doing it and she was the world's worst for doing it, but **she** *used to correct* **us** *!*

Interviewer: Do you think schools **should** *do anything about children's speech ?*

6/3 : Other than correcting dropped /h/s and things like that ? I think they should correct things like that but not for people using, like, Yorkshire terms....As long as the child's aware that... (it is not Standard English)....

On leaving school, this informant went on to train as a nurse and started work at Leeds Infirmary:

Interviewer: Now you're moving into a different...a professional...environment and you perhaps become more aware of language, different language, different speech varieties. Did it have any effect on your own speech ?

6/3 : Well, yes....You started using abbreviations and so on.

Interviewer: But what about ordinary, conversational language ?

6/3 : Well, the set I was with was from all over England. If you'd said a word they didn't know....(they would say)..."What do you mean ?"

Interviewer: So, you did find yourself still using bits of local speech ?

6/3 : You can't help it....but when someone says, "What does that mean ?", you're aware that you've used it then.

Interviewer: So, you gradually stop using it ?

6/3 : Not necessarily....I suppose you try and alter your language for the people you're with.

Interviewer: (In the hospital)....did you take any positive steps to do anything about....your West Riding accent ?

6/3 : No.

Interviewer: Did anyone ever comment on it ?

6/3 : Only when I joined the army. They were surprised that I got to be an officer with an accent like mine.....and I don't class myself as having a strong accent and that made me worse ! I would put on the accent more.....

Interviewer: Were you, sort of, 'mischievous' with it ?

6/3 : Yes !

Interviewer: Why do you think people do that...(criticise a regional accent)...?

6/3 : They're just trying to run you down...."You don't speak the Queen's English like what I do" - I can remember someone actually saying that ! And someone told me...[going on army pre-selection]*...."I'd try and speak a little less broad if I were you". I was conscious of not saying "yeah" and saying "yes" instead.*

Interviewer: When you were in the army, then, you were conscious of some people thinking of your speech style as 'inferior'.....But your reaction to that was not to move towards the standard but to reinforce your 'Yorkshire' speech ?

6/3 : I would with certain people.....If it was with senior officers and I wanted to get on, I wouldn't. But if it was people being prats.....

Interviewer: Have you ever given any thought to altering the way you speak....on a permanent basis ?

6/3 : Not on a permanent basis. I'll do it person-to-person....like, if I go for an interview...(I would be)...careful what I said.

The discussion returned to the matter of exaggerating one's 'Yorkshireness' through speech:

6/3 : My brother...he lives down in Eastbourne....When you visit him he puts on his accent so it's beyond what a normal Yorkshire accent is. I think "If you were at home...in Pudsey....you wouldn't speak like that. You're just doing it to prove your identity in an alien environment".

1.43 With Family 6 it was not possible to secure a direct, in-line, three generational representation of informants. But Informant 6/1, the uncle of 6/2 and great-uncle of 6/3, has always had a close relationship and involvement with the other informants and lived in close proximity to them, so it was considered acceptable to include him in this case study. Four main issues, perhaps, emerge from this family study. Firstly, there is the matter of the occupational environments variously playing a maintaining or an inhibiting role in the use of nonstandard language and, by implication, the knowledge and continued use of nonstandard words. Secondly, there is strong evidence for the way in which regional loyalty and cultural identity are signalled and reinforced by the use - and sometimes the exaggeration - of speech characteristics. Thirdly, these three informants - along with several others studied in the IGCSs - demonstrate a sensitivity to a perceived need to code-switch and accommodate in some contexts. Finally, there is a suggestion of the eroding effect which inward migration might have on the local nonstandard lexicon.

SECTION C - PROCESSES, TRENDS AND PATTERNS OF AN INTER-FAMILY NATURE.

The issues identified by content analysis

1.1 In the first section of this Chapter it was reported that a number of issues had been identified through content analysis of the IGCS transcripts.

1.2 The second section of the Chapter presented and examined some of the data which emerged from each family's case study - what has been called here the 'vertical' dimension.

1.3 This third part of Chapter VI re-examines the data but here the search is for evidence of inter-family, 'horizontal' links. What is being sought are topics and elements which are common to two or more case studies and which may have a significance for the processes, attitudes and behaviours operating in the wider community.

1.4 The issues identified through the content analysis of the IGCS transcripts will be discussed in turn.

Inter-generational transmission of nonstandard language features

1.5 *'Downward' and 'upward' censuring* - An important process hindering the transmission of nonstandard language features from one generation to the next, in the community being researched, is the censure applied to a person's speech. This can operate in one of two directions: what may be called 'downward' censuring takes place when an older generation criticises, or controls by reprimand, a younger generation's language behaviour; 'upward' censuring occurs when a younger generation rebukes or makes comments of disapproval on the speech of an older generation. Working in either direction, this process can exert powerful constraints on the speakers' perceptions of what is socially acceptable, what is 'correct', and the features of speech which should be avoided.

In the IGCS families, numerous examples and varying degrees of 'downward' censuring were revealed - varying, too, in their effectiveness. Informant 2/1 reported that no attempt had been made by his parents to modify his nonstandard

speech variety and he and his wife did not themselves make any effort to censure their children's speech. His daughter, however, made determined attempts to have her sons abandon features of a nonstandard variety. In Family 3 there was a strong social motivation to avoid being stigmatised as 'common' by speech and this clearly had an effect on the oldest and middle generation representatives; though operating from middle to youngest generation it did not appear to have had as much effect. Again, a strong social incentive had characterised Family 4's attitude towards the use of nonstandard speech features, from one generation to the next and, while this had not seriously inhibited acquisition of knowledge of the nonstandard lexicon, it did affect usage. In this family, the aim was clear and unequivocal : to enhance educational, occupational and social opportunities. In other families, the reasoning was not made as clear and explicit, but carried an underlying tone of it *"...not being a good thing"* to use the local, nonstandard speech variety. Sometimes, as in the case of 5/1, disapproval was strongly expressed but unaccompanied by any other positive action to affect matters.

There were two cases of 'upward' censuring found. In Family 1, the oldest generation representative was at times mildly rebuked by his daughter for his use of nonstandard words in discourse with his grandchildren. A similar situation existed in Family 6, where the middle generation representative was also criticised for using local nonstandard speech with grandchildren. Interestingly, in both cases the older generation representative chose deliberately to inject nonstandard features into their conversation with younger relatives. In the case of 6/2 it is seen as almost a 'patriotic duty' to counter the cultural and speech acquisition effects of her grandson's *"...down south"* existence.

Only two informants made specific mention of older relatives as role models for nonstandard speech :

Interviewer: Where would....(your children).... have got their (nonstandard) speech characteristics from, if not from you ?

3/2 : From their Dad.

and

5/2 : .....and my eldest girl...I think a lot of her speech is bordering on

laziness...but she's, sort of, more inclined towards...(her father's) way of speech than mine.....

As far as discouraging nonstandard speech is concerned, no specific mention was made of parents or grandparents as role models, though it is clear that 'downward' censuring has in many cases coloured the informants' perception of what constituted a speech style which would meet with parental approval.

1.6 *Gender*- In the IGCS research we are mainly dealing with generations where the mother still played the more significant role in the rearing and socialising of the children, so it is not suprising to find that most references made to speech 'correction' or criticism relate to a mother's behaviour. Father's censuring roles were implicit in some cases, where there was a general family 'tone' of social values and behaviour established (Family 3 and Family 4, for instance) and, in the case of Family 5, the father's intervention - albeit inconsistent and irregular - was specifically mentioned. In the main, though, informants' reports of 'downward' censuring refer primarily to mothers, and sometimes grandmothers.

1.7 Notwithstanding this, there are instances where it is clear that the women were in the forefront - or at least on equal terms with the menfolk - in the use of nonstandard language features. Informant 1/1, for example, when asked about his parents' use of nonstandard language replied,*"Oh, yes. Particularly my mother"*. Informant 6/2, also reported that her mother was more of a *"...broad Yorkshire"* speaker than her father had been. Female subscription to use of the nonstandard is evidenced in the ***still used*** scores of IGCS informants 2/2, 5/1 and 6/2, all of whom claim to continue to use 50% or more of the survey word list.

The educational dimension

1.8 Two issues will be treated here. One is the role of schools and teachers in affecting speech variety. The second is informants' views of *"...proper speech"* in relation to the notion of 'the educated person'.

1.9 *Schools and teachers* - Contrary to the 'received wisdom' of schools and teachers operating as powerful agents of inhibition in the use of nonstandard language, the IGCSs data suggest that teachers were in many cases indifferent to

the speech style of their charges or, at most, intervened in only a limited way. Informant 2/2 reported, "*I don't remember at school they were particularly bothered, no....*"

Informants 2/1, 2/2, 6/1 and 3/3 claimed no awareness of teachers 'correcting' children's speech during their schooldays. Others told of only limited intervention, usually on quite specific features, such as dropped /h/, glottalising medial /t/ and the definite article, and using /n/ rather than /ŋ/ in final position.

It seems that school intervention tended to be mainly at the 'technical' prescriptive level, of concern only to specialist teachers of English:

Interviewer : Do they...[teachers]*...ever 'correct' pupils' speech ?*

1/3 : English teachers would, yes.

Interviewer: Just English teachers ?

1/3 : Mainly. Other teachers don't really care.

Similarly, Informant 6/3 reported that only in English lessons was there any criticism or 'correction' of pupils' speech. Her mother, 6/2, remembers that only in *written* composition were errors of punctuation and grammar ever commented upon.

1.10 *The notion of the 'educated person'* - Several informants felt that nonstandard speech was - or was perceived as - an indicator of low educational attainment and, conversely, the more standardised a person's speech, the higher their educational level. Informant 5/2 feels that her husband's 'broad' speech sends out signals that he is "*...uneducated*". Informant 4/2 feels quite strongly that the use or non-use of Standard English is educationally related. Informant 1/1 holds the view that, in talking to business associates and clients, "*They're inclined to think that your education isn't up to standard because you're talking in dialect....*"

This view held across the generations, in different families :

3/3 : ....they'd think that you weren't educated, that you were thick...

and

1/3 : That's something I would say about Yorkshire accents....it makes them sound a bit uneducated....

Informant 2/3 felt that someone who spoke Standard English with no detectable regional accent would be *"....of higher status than I am, educationally"*.

The work linguistic environment

1.11 Two salient topics were identified in the IGCSs in relation to the work linguistic environment. The first concerns the place of employment and the type of job performed. The second concerns, specifically, the role of the local textile industry as an agent for the maintenance of the local nonstandard speech variety.

1.12 *The place and type of employment* - Work which brings the speaker into face-to-face contact with the general public, customers and clients was cited as being important in suppressing the use of nonstandard speech. Informant 1/1 talked about the *"...poor impression"* that business associates would have of one if they were addressed in a nonstandard speech variety. Part of Informant 2/2's motivation to modify her speech towards the standard came from her hitherto unaccustomed contact with people from a wide variety of backgrounds, as customers in the chemists' shop where she started work. Moving up the occupational status ladder, as Informant 6/2 did from weaving, to mending, to office work, necessitated the mastery of different speech characteristics, each successively moving more towards the standard.

In some instances the process was reversed, as when Informant 5/1 migrated from hairdressing to the textile mill and deliberately set out to adopt more of a nonstandard style so that she could become *"...one of the lasses"*. Though a short-lived experience, Informant 4/1 also took up mill work in an attempt to remain associated with and identified with her nonstandard-speaking schoolmates, a style which she found *"....more comfortable"* than the one she had to maintain at home.

Informant 5/2 feels that her painter/decorator husband's 'broad Yorkshire' speech clearly identifies him as *"...a working man"* and Informant 2/3 hints that nonstandard speech is the norm in his engineering workplace, except when the firm's clients may be touring the workshop and engaging people in conversation.

Employment sometimes brought about a bidialectal capability, where performance and skill in a more standardised form was necessary for communication with people from a wide variety of social and linguistic backgrounds. Informant 6/1's experience, at first in undertaking, then in the army, is an example of this. His great-niece, too, tells of how she had, at times, to 'filter out' aspects of her nonstandard speech in the hospitals and military environments where she worked, but without losing her fundamental capacity for operating in the local, nonstandard mode.

The telephone has clearly played an important part in promoting the acquisition of a distinct speech style which is removed from the nonstandard. Informants 2/3, 5/2 and 6/2 all report their possession and use of a 'telephone voice' in their work. Others' expectations of the appropriate speech style to be used become important in situations such as interviews (mentioned by Informants 5/2, 5/3 and 6/3) and the work environment itself - Informant 5/3, who had ambitions to become a nanny, had an awareness of the expectations of parents, as prospective employers, while 6/3 had received clear signals about the speech style appropriate to her status as an officer in the armed forces.

1.13 *The textile workplace and nonstandard speech* - Given the former extent and importance of the textile industry in this area, it is hardly suprising that this particular work environment seems to have had an important role as an agent for the conservation of the local, nonstandard speech variety. Informant 4/1's surreptitious move from school to mill was, partly, in expectation of being able to continue practising the nonstandard speech variety of her working class schoolmates. She clearly recognised that there was a seamless continuity amongst speech in use in the streets, in the schoolyard and in the mill. Informant 5/1 rapidly realised that, if she were to be identified with her beam- and elbow-mates, [15] she would have to quickly acquire the speech patterns of the other girls, the same speech they used both within and without the mill. The generation representative with one of the longest histories of textile work in the IGCSs, Informant 2/1, reports that virtually everyone shared the same speech variety, both

inside and outside the mill, except that foremen and managers sometimes were a little less 'broad' than the workers. He claims that his own speech (though almost incomprehensible to the modern ear) presented no problems in his interactions with workmates, overlookers, foremen or managers; [16] and his wife, a spinner, spoke as he did. Nonstandard speech was not, in the early part of this century, solely the province of working class people. Informant 6/2 provides the strongest evidence for the close correspondence between mill and neighbourhood culture. In an area where the majority of people worked, or had relatives or friends who worked, in the textile mills, not only was the everyday conversational speech shared but even non-millworkers were familiar with many of the technical and esoteric terms in use in the industry.

The social status dimension

1.14 Mention has already been made of how informants saw speech style in relation to the speaker's level of education, and how the motive for censure was normally implicitly related to perceptions of social status. The following discussion pursues the social judgement issue further. It examines the impressions the informants think listeners obtain from nonstandard speech varieties, how and why code-switching and accommodation take place, and what influence peer groups have. It looks, too, at how even single lexical items can carry status connotations in themselves.

1.15 *Social status judgements* - Informants are generally conscious of the social signals sent out by different varieties of speech :

Interviewer: Do you think that people perceive...(speech)...as relating to things like social status ?

1/1 : Mm, yes.....You'd expect more use of dialect among working men....more than, shall we say, middle class.....

and

5/2 : It's to do with class, isn't it ?

Informant 5/1 found that the mill girls she joined accepted her more standardised

speech, as it was what would be expected of a hairdresser, the daughter of a businessman. Her parents, on the other hand, labelled the mill girls' speech *"...awful and common"*. Informant 6/3 found that some acquaintances were surprised that, having a detectable west Yorkshire accent, she was accepted for commissioning as an officer in the QARANC, demonstrating that certain expectations remain attached to speech in relation to occupational status.

1.16 From the content analysis of the interview transcripts, it is possible to identify a number of recurring, value-laden descriptive terms which informants applied to nonstandard speech on one hand and to more standardised varieties on the other (*Figure* **VI.15**) :

Figure **VI.15**

Descriptive terms applied to nonstandard variety	***Descriptive terms applied to more standardised forms***
horrible	proper
slovenly	correct
lazy	nice(r)
broad [17]	better
working class	good speech
awful	normal
common	refined
coarse(r)	snobbish
	plum-in-the-mouth

Nowhere in the interview transcripts is an unambiguous, positive-value descriptive term used in connection with the nonstandard speech variety, though some neutral terms such as 'ordinary' and 'everyday' are occasionally found. Only 'snobbish' and 'plum-in-the-mouth' might be considered approaching negative evaluation of more standardised varieties of speech. Mugglestone (1995) notes that :

> *.....language itself will...commonly evince...complex patterns of binary absolutes: 'good', 'bad', 'right', 'wrong', 'prestigious', 'vulgar', [h]-fulness, [h]-lessness, and it is these in which people tend to believe...* [18]

The overall message here carries the implication that the local, nonstandard speech variety is frequently perceived (even by users) as a socially inferior and deficient form of communication, a legitimate target for 'correction'. Writing of such attitudes, Mugglestone says :

> *....ordinary users of the language will....regularly give credence to the idea of inviolable norms of 'good' usage (often discrediting their own habitual linguistic behaviour in the process and thereby overtly subscribing to the notions of an absolute standard...)".* [19]

The nonstandard variety becomes associated with low social and occupational status, social incompetence, lack of education and, sometimes, intellectual inferiority :

1/3 : I think, on TV...and they're speaking like that..I'd think they'd probably have a lower level of intelligence.

Informants 4/1 and 5/2 also report on nonstandard speech carrying, respectively, connotations of social incompetence and social inferiority. A more standardised form, on the other hand, is thought to relate to higher social status, better education and social competence and confidence, and is often viewed as a worthwhile target for 'improving' towards, for its speakers are often perceived as having highly-valued qualities, regardless of whether they possess these or not, simply because of the way they speak :

Interviewer: You perceived...(more standardised speech)....as being 'nicer'. Presumably you felt that other people also regarded it as 'nicer' as well...and...they would tend to judge you by how....(well)...you spoke..(it)... ?

2/2 : Yes, yes.

Two of Family 3's informants made specific mention of the social status and the perception of 'incorrectness' associated with the nonstandard speech variety :

3/1 : (Our parents)....wanted us to be above that sort of thing...

and

3/2 : (We were taught that)...it wasn't right to speak like that.

while in Family 4 there were clear and unambiguous social aspiration motives in parents wishing to control the speech style of their offspring. Informant 1/3 said that he did not consider his normal, everyday speech to be *"...proper speech"*.

These, however, were descriptions which applied to the whole package of nonstandard linguistic features : lexicon, grammar, and accent and pronunciation. Specific elements attracted a mixture of comment. Accent in particular evoked reactions which include dislike, discomfort, embarrassment and pride. (The 'pride' factor is dealt with more fully below, in the paragraphs on regional identity and cultural loyalty; here, the less positive aspects will be treated). Critical comment on accent came from Informant 1/3 :

1/3 : If I listen to someone on TV from Yorkshire I don't like it....It sounds a bit...droning...I don't know...droning a bit. I don't know how you'd say it....

Interviewer: Not pleasing to the ear ?

1/3 : No, no.....(but)....I think Scottish accents and Newcastle accents are alright.

and from 3/3:

3/3 : ....it...(the west Yorkshire accent)...sounds awful when you hear it....

Lexical items themselves may have status, some being regarded as socially acceptable, others as unacceptable. Family 2, for example, regard 'mucky' and 'laiking' as undesirable nonstandard cognates of 'dirty' and 'playing'. Informant 1/1 feels that the inclusion of nonstandard words and expressions may have a *"downgrading"* effect on modern speech. Individual nonstandard words may sometimes act as markers of social status, differentiating 'respectable' from 'common' speech and social status, within the working class. Informant 6/2 had also detected differences of speech and social status within the working class of her own childhood days :

Interviewer: You were aware of....(there being)....different levels of local speech?

6/2 : Certainly, yes.....It depended on, shall we say, poorer parts of the same area....more poverty....kids we knew at school who came from homes like that.....they seemed to talk a lot coarser than we did....

Regional identity and cultural loyalty

1.17 When speech modification was discussed with informants, responses frequently made reference to regional identity and cultural loyalty, and the part speech (particularly accent) played in legitimising and reinforcing this. Informant 6/2 spoke of being a *"...traditionalist"* and expressed her belief that one should continue to speak in the style acquired during upbringing in a particular area. Informant 6/2 clearly associates speech variety with local identity and sense of 'place' :

Interviewer: Has...(your speech)...anything to do with a sense of belonging' ?

6/2 : I'm Pudsey born and bred...I'm a Yorkshire girl and I'm proud of it...

Informant 5/1 holds an uncompromising view on what constitutes 'Yorkshireness' and the contribution that accent, and knowledge and use of the nonstandard lexicon, make to this. Her daughter, 5/2, has a confused attitude to nonstandard language - she is critical of her husband's 'broad' speech as a whole, yet not embarrassed by her own regional accent, seeing it, rather, as a positive feature, supporting her geographical and cultural identity. Informant 6/1 feels that children should be encouraged to be bidialectal and his great-niece, 6/3, also feels that she would not wish to see the elimination of regional nonstandard speech varieties.

Informant 1/1 says of his accent *".....I don't think that's anything that should be lost....I'm proud of it"*. Similar sentiments were expressed by Informants 2/2, 2/3, 6/1 and 6/2. Others, though not seeing the west Yorkshire accent as a particularly positive feature, accepted philosophically their possession of it, had no strong motivation for ridding themselves of it, and did not see it as something which necessarily interfered with what they thought of as 'good' or 'proper' speech

performance. In other words, the accent is acceptable, provided the vocabulary, grammar and syntax are close to those of Standard English.

Several informants remarked on the 'discomfort' they experienced when either code-switching towards the standard in certain contexts or finding themselves in situations where a variety of speech other than their 'native' one predominates. Conversely, they feel more relaxed and at ease in their own linguistic environment. Informant 5/1 expressed this as being *"...more comfortable.."* when speaking with people *"...who are as Yorkshire as I am"*. Informant 2/3 also feels more at ease when conversing with people who share more or less similar speech characteristics to his own and his anecdote about his French caravan-site experience vividly illustrates this. Though subjected as a child to a strict home regime of language 'correction' and 'downward censure' - and subscribing to a similar regime for her own daughters - Informant 4/1 neverthless declares that she feels *".. more at home"* in the speech environment of her home area of Farsley and *"...not as comfortable"* amongst the more standard-speaking clientele of her younger daughter's hotel in the Channel Islands. Informant 6/2 referred to the interview context itself, where conversation was - on both sides - being conducted mostly in the nonstandard speech variety of the locality :

6/2 : I feel more comfortable talking like I'm talking now.

The IGCSs revealed that regional loyalty manifests itself at times in an aggressive defence of the 'in-group' when identity is perceived as implicitly or explicity under attack by the 'out-group', and this is often exercised as a deliberate exaggeration of speech features, such as accent and the the use of nonstandard words and vernacular phraseology. Informant 2/3 related how he consciously employed this tactic when he found himself the lone 'northerner' amongst a crowd of 'southerners' on holiday. Informant 6/3 also selectively 'broadened' her west Yorkshire speech when subjected to perjorative comments or teasing about her accent as an officer in the army. She relates, too, of how her brother, living in southern England, will at times over-emphasise features of his 'native' west Yorkshire speech to reaffirm his regional identity *"...in an alien environment"*.

The 'out-group' triggering defensive use of the nonstandard need not always be geographically distinct. Both Informant 1/1 and Informant 6/2, for example, tell of 'upward censure' from younger family members, in response to which they

deliberately and *"...mischievously"* employ nonstandard speech features when conversing with grandchildren :

1/1 : Sometimes I'll say it on purpose, really....Yes, mischievously I'll use a dialect word.

and

6/2 : Well, my grandma used to say little...(dialect poems)...to me and I don't see why I shouldn't pass it on. They've moved away from Pudsey...to me, they're going to have the children brought up to speak that bit better "dahn sarf". The little one, now, he's just started school so he's going to start picking things up, mixing with other kids down south. But he's a northerner and I think "Right, you're not going to lose all of this".....and I do it, sort of deliberate.

It seems clear that these 'mischievous' actions are designed not only to assert regional and cultural identity, but to try to keep open for younger generations of the family an awareness that an alternative linguistic mode does exist and that they are entitled to some share in the cultural 'ownership' of it.

The importance of the peer group in shaping and maintaining speech variety was well recognised, particularly by the younger informants. Faced with the hypothetical question of what would happen if their speech style changed (perhaps through a lengthy, though temporary, absence from the area) and they came into contact once again with their local peer group, they were quite clear that they would be ridiculed :

5/3 : They'd take the mickey.....

and

1/3 : They'd think I was posh.

Interviewer : Would that make you feel uncomfortable ?

1/3 : Yes.....If lads speak differently they're going to sound out of place.

Informant 4/2 remembered that, in her schooldays, her peers used to say *"She's a snob"* because of the speech style she had been obliged to adopt through rigorous 'downward' censuring at home. Being labelled as a 'snob' or someone who 'spoke posh' puts the speaker in danger of being denied 'in-group' membership. In the workplace context, 5/1 had quickly recognised the importance of making her speech more like that of the mill girls if she were to be accepted as one of them, being quite prepared to pay the price of strong parental criticism and the threatened *"social consequences"*. Informant 4/1 approached this issue from a different angle, choosing the *workplace* so that she could be amongst her working class former schoolmates and thus continue to use their speech variety.

SECTION D - RELEVANCE OF THE INTER-GENERATIONAL CASE STUDIES FOR THE GENERAL STUDY

1.1 At the beginning of this chapter it was declared that the main purpose of the IGCSs was to provide information which would, potentially, help illuminate and explain some of the results and findings of the General Study.

1.2 The process of examining the IGCSs 'vertically' and 'horizontally' has now been completed and, in the previous section of this chapter, data relevant to the issues identified by content analysis have been presented. This section will now relate the IGCS data to the General Study, to examine where the IGCSs findings appear to have relevance. It is worth reiterating that data of the kind obtained in the IGCSs is subjectively interpreted and lacks the power of generalisability. However, as has been argued in Chapter IV (Methodology), such data can both *supplement* and *complement* data obtained by more positivist methods and it is towards this end that the following examination and discussion are directed.

1.3 *The workplace* - A most significant normative influence on nonstandard speech in this research locality appears to have been the textile mill working environment. In Chapter II, the point was made about the close historical relationship between the home and the textile workplace. From the earliest existence of textile production in west Yorkshire, the home *was* the textile workplace and so the language of the home was also, inevitably, the language of the working environment. Later, from the Industrial Revolution, there was an increasing concentration of cloth production in mills and fewer home-based, 'own account' clothiers. Nevertheless, the close relationship between mill and neighbourhood was sustained. The home and the workplace were not only in close spatial proximity, but - as the demographic data in Chapter II show - the great majority of the population in the area of Pudsey/Bramley area was engaged in some capacity or other to do with textiles. Entire extended families could be found working in the same (or at least neighbouring) mills and it would be surprising in these conditions if the speech of the workplace did not continue to be the speech of the home, each context sustaining and maintaining the other, contributing to, and becoming a feature of, the *social networks* of the community. The effect was reinforced by the local self-recruiting employment pattern of the industry. Chapter II, again, shows that recruits came from the fairly circumscribed geographical Pudsey/Bramley area and a relatively limited number

of families and would, therefore, be likely to share a common or closely-related speech variety, which was used both at work and in the neighbourhood This situation continued throughout the nineteenth century and into the twentieth century until local textile manufacturing started to decline from the 1950s. Even in the late 1950s, the textile mills continued to provide employment for an important minority of local school-leavers, though employment opportunities in the mills were by then rapidly declining. The IGCSs provide ample evidence to support the claim that the mills and the neighbourhood enjoyed - and hence maintained - the same nonstandard speech environment. The case studies also provide evidence that not only textiles played a working environment part in maintaining the nonstandard speech variety of the area. Lack of occupational, geographical and social mobility prior to World War Two could keep workers in the same general occupational group - and the same kind of workplace environment - for much of their working lives. Even non-textile concerns often had business links with textile mills, providing goods and services for the industry, and most working people had family or friends employed in the mills. This meant that the speech variety of the textile industry and its neighbourhood was shared by other occupational groups, reinforcing its maintenance.

Where the textile mills and other manual workplaces may have acted as maintaining agents for the nonstandard speech variety, other occupational contexts had the opposite effect. Employment which brings people into face-to-face contact with the wider public or clients (such as shops and service industries), into telephone contact with extra-regional locations, into contact with higher echelons of a business concern, job promotion, or where there is an implicit subscription to a more standardised linguistic medium (as in offices, commercial and educational concerns), will weigh against the use and perpetuation of the community's nonstandard speech variety. It seems clear that the working environment has the potential to either maintain or erode nonstandard speech varieties, including the lexical stock.

1.4 *Personal choice and social status* - The IGCSs show that, in some cases, even where Standard English is readily accessible as an alternative, people sometimes choose to continue to use nonstandard speech features. Clearly, in families where this is the case, strong possibilities for inter-generational cultural transmission will exist. In at least one home, bidialectal capability was acceptable and, if nothing more, this appears to have promoted *knowledge* of

nonstandard words, even where the social status indicators do not immediately suggest that this would be likely.

In the analysis and interpretation of the General Study data, it was found that there appeared to be no significant correlation between social class (as measured by the Social Index) and knowledge and use of the nonstandard lexicon represented by the survey word list. Only older males displayed any negative correlational trend to suggest that knowledge and use of the nonstandard is inversely related to social class, and this was only a moderate trend. In fact, there were more correlations which showed a trend in the direction of positive, carrying the suggestion that, if anything, knowledge and use of the nonstandard grows in magnitude with increased Social Index score amongst the informants for the General Study. In the IGCSs, Family 1 (all male informants) provided some illumination of this unexpected phenomenon. This family returned a mean SI score of 10.92. The two youngest generations have mean SI scores of 12 and 13, which are amongst the highest in both the General Study and the IGCSs. Yet their family mean ***known*** and ***still used*** scores outstrip those for both all males and all informants in the General Study (*Figure* **VI.16**) :

Figure **VI.16**

	Social Index	***known***	***still used* A**
Family 1 means	10.92	66.0%	34.0%
All males in the General Study	8.65	55.6%	24.4%
All informants in the General Study	8.0	58.9%	24.0%

This is a family where 'upward' censure is brought to bear on the oldest informant, but is largely ineffective as, despite a high level of functional literacy in the standard, he chooses to continue, sometimes 'mischievously', incorporating nonstandard words and expressions in his discourse with younger family members. The second generation representative claims to have lived in a bidialectal home environment and (not surprisingly, given his father's habitual choice of the nonstandard in the home) has acquired and continues to use the nonstandard in some contexts, though in his profession his medium is Standard English. The family's youngest representative is still at high school and, despite

strong 'downward' censuring from his mother, employs 'modern urban dialect' with his peers and also knows and uses a more than average number, for his age and sex group, of the nonstandard words in the word list, acquired no doubt from his father and grandfather.

Family 4, where the interest in language and words *per se* was important (see below), also returned ***known*** and ***still used*** scores which go against what might be the expected trend, given their family's mean Social Index rating (*Figure* **VI.17**) :

Figure **VI.17**

	Social Index	***known***	***still used* A**
Family 4 means	10.98	74.0%	33.3%
All females in the General Study	7.4	62.2%	23.8%
All informants in the General Study	8	59.0%	24.0%

Family 5, with a more modest mean SI of 9.47 (but one which is still above the General Study overall mean), returned a mean ***known*** score of 71% and a mean ***still used* A** score of 42.67%.

The IGCS families are not as representative of the area's population as the more randomly selected General Study informants and, therefore, direct comparison of survey word list and socioeconomic questionnaire scores across the two methodologies would not be valid. However, the function of the IGCSs is to *supplement* and *complement* the General Study material, in the expectation of being able to illuminate and account for some of the General Study results. With these caveats in mind, there may still be a suggestion that, if three out of the six IGCS families can produce results which run counter to the expected trend, then attitudes and processes leading to similar effects may be at work in a sufficient number of families in the wider community to upset the high negative correlations which would otherwise signal *"higher social class = less knowledge and use of the nonstandard"*.

1.5 *Linguistic interest* - Two dimensions (not necessarily mutually exclusive) of what might be called 'linguistic interest', are suggested by the

IGCSs. Firstly, there is evidence that, even in the face of strong 'downward' censure and social aspirations, knowledge of the nonstandard lexicon can flourish in response to an interest in language for its own sake, and in words in particular. An example of this phenomenon is provided by the all-female Family 4, where generation-by-generation 'downward' censuring and control of speech style in pursuit of social status gain operated, yet an almost academic interest in language - and in words in particular - has contributed to a higher than average knowledge and use of the community's nonstandard lexicon.

Secondly, there is what might be called the 'nostalgia/entertainment' appeal of nonstandard language, manifested in the IGCSs by informants' reports of how they get pleasure from listening to 'traditional' speakers conversing in the nonstandard variety of the area. These interests can only act as a maintaining influence.

1.6 *Regional identity and cultural loyalty* - This is potentially another strong maintaining influence. The 'in-group'/'out-group' effect is evident in the testimony of some of the informants, with the fear of ridicule for using a more standardised speech variety, or being seen to identify with the 'out-group', raising the possibility of cultural alienation. There is also evidence from the IGCSs of immediate peer group influence being brought to bear to maintain nonstandard linguistic features, though, today, this is more in the direction of the 'modern urban dialect' used by younger people.

The abstraction of 'Yorkshireness' clearly embodies a speech element, though in some cases this is in relation to accent rather than lexicon. The over-emphasis or exaggeration of supposedly 'Yorkshire' characteristics, including speech, is seen to be employed as a way of establishing or defending regional, cultural and, on occasions, class identity. [20]

The feeling of relaxation and comfort when operating in the local nonstandard speech variety, as against the tension and discomfort of code-switching or accommodating towards the standard (or being in a speech variety minority) will also have acted as a maintaining influence.

1.7 *The state and status of individual lexical items* - This is an equivocal factor, as it can both facilitate and hinder the maintenance of nonstandard words.

Some words which are not perceived as having lower working class speech connotations may be beneficiaries here, being preserved and culturally transmitted because they form part of 'respectable' or 'normal' speech. Conversely, individual words which have become associated with the speech of the lowest social stratum are perceived as 'common' or 'coarse' and their use, from the evidence of the IGCSs, has been discouraged in families with raised social aspirations.

Informant 2/1, who has a family reputation for being 'broad' beyond the point of ready comprehensibility, has, by his own estimate, abandoned the use of 30% of the nonstandard words he formerly used; there is a further 10% which he knows but has never used. Scores for all first generation informants in the IGCSs are (*Figure* **VI.18**) :

Figure **VI.18**

Informant	***known***	***former use***	***known but not used***
1/1 (male)	96.0%	38.0%	10.0%
2/1 (male)	94.0%	30.0%	14.0%
3/1 (female)	96.0%	40.0%	14.0%
4/1 (female)	80.0%	20.0%	32.0%
5/1 (female)	93.0%	22.0%	6.0%
6/1 (male)	96.0%	2.0%	2.0%
Means =	**92.5%**	**25.33%**	**13.0%**

These figures confirm that the rates of abandonment of words ***formerly used*** and the rejection of words ***known but never used*** are relatively high amongst the oldest generation of the IGCSs (though 6/1 does stand out as an exception and, for 'neglect', 5/1 also scores low). Over 38% of the nonstandard words in the survey list are, for this group of informants, not an active part of their lexical stock. This supports the interview accounts of some of these and other IGCS informants, who admit that there are many nonstandard words which they no longer employ in everyday speech. There are also instances where code-switching results in a deliberate, temporary abandonment of ***known*** words. Informant 5/2, for instance, told how, when meeting someone for the first time (even though they may have been local and the context informal) there are certain nonstandard words she would not use when conversing with them. Clearly, any code-switching and

accommodation situations are going to result in at least temporary abandonment and this may eventually lead to permanent abandonment. Obviously, such processes and situations are not conducive to nonstandard words being conserved and inter-generationally transmitted.

The perception of certain words as being not relevant, appropriate or 'fashionable' in the modern linguistic context is clearly an influence which will encourage abandonment and the IGCSs provided evidence of this happening.

If nonstandard words have not been, or have ceased to be, used, it is a predictable consequence that they will eventually fall out of the community's lexical stock through failure to be culturally transmitted. The General Study found that, not only is knowledge of the nonstandard lexical stock diminishing, but it is doing so at an accelerating rate. The General Study informants know, in general, far more nonstandard words than they employ in everyday speech. *Knowing* nonstandard words does not attract the same reprimand or censure as using them. The words can be acceptably known for their intrinsic interest, socio-historical, entertainment or romantic sentimentality value, without attracting the social judgements that their use would bring. The IGCSs showed that there do exist opportunities for the youngest generation to hear and acquire nonstandard words though, understandably, they do not hear as many as their forefathers because of diminishing use.

An important feature of the General Study was the finding that younger females, on average, tend to both know and continue to use more nonstandard words than do their male age group counterparts. The IGCSs did not shed any light on why this should be so.

1.8 *The educational system* - The IGCS informants generally dismiss the effects of schools and teachers on nonstandard speech. The same kinds of messages came from all the generations and therefore represent the 'real time' picture over about eighty years: teachers - other than specialist English teachers - do not appear to have been particularly assiduous in 'correcting' or modifying the nonstandard speech of the locality. The IGCS material suggests that the education system, if nothing else, has been neutral in its influence. It may be that teachers (apart from English specialists) have generally abandoned attempts to intervene in pupils' speech, other than reprimanding for obvious obscenities and

crude vulgarities. If so, the realisation of the limits of their effectiveness has been a long time coming for, as long ago as 1863, Robinson warned

> *If any teacher expects that he will ever be able to eradicate all traces of such errors, I am afraid that he will be sadly disappointed. The time will never come, most likely, when all the people of Great Britain....will speak exactly alike, and yet it is for this unfathomable uniformity that men are struggling.* [21]

1.9 *Family influence and the social status dimension* - Family attitudes and values may operate in either a maintaining or a hindering way. It appears from the IGCSs that in some families nonstandard language role models have been provided by grandparents, parents and other relatives. Females seem to feature as nonstandard role models at least as often as do males. In such families, the inter-generational transmission of nonstandard words might be expected to be effective.

'Upward' and 'downward' censure is the other side of the 'family influence' coin where, rather than establishing an environment which encourages the use of the nonstandard (or is at least neutral in this respect), powerful erosional pressures are applied to eliminate or minimise nonstandard speech. 'Downward' censure was the process most often revealed by the IGCSs, usually in the form of parents insisting on a more standardised speech variety in the home and deprecating the nonstandard speech used in other sections of the community. The pressure was often reinforced by the use of messages - sometimes implicit, sometimes explicit - which clearly attached negative social values to the use of a nonstandard speech variety. This factor appears to have had a very powerful erosional effect from the accounts given by several of the IGCS informants. IGCS informants were almost always aware of the social judgemental implications of speech, associating the locally-used nonstandard varieties (and often their own speech) with perceptions of social inferiority, lack of education and, sometimes, low intellect. More standardised forms were, however, regarded as 'proper' or 'correct', or accorded other positive characteristics. Clearly, such perceptions will encourage more use of speech varieties approaching the standard and, at the same time, inhibit the use and inter-generational transmission of the nonstandard variety. Deliberate home speech strategies to 'improve' speech, or control it in the direction of the standard, with explicit social aims, were also revealed by the IGCSs.

1.10 *Perceptions of speech 'attractiveness'* - There were several instances in the IGCSs where informants exhibited linguistic 'insecurity' or 'self-hatred'. [22] At the same time, they acknowledge the greater 'attractiveness', not only of Standard English, but also of some other distinct nonstandard speech varieties found in other regions of the UK. Such perceptions must operate as a hindrance to the maintenance of nonstandard speech in a particular community.

1.11 *Geographical, social and occupational mobility* - A number of IGCS informants provided evidence that these three kinds of mobility (often interrelated) had operated in their families to the detriment of the maintenance of the nonstandard speech variety. Inward migration was mentioned in the IGCSs as having a 'diluting' effect on the nonstandard speech of the local community. Temporary absences in distant or more cosmopolitan environments, such as military service, were also cited as having altered informants' speech styles.

1.12 *Confused attitudes* - Macaulay detected a *"...confused and incoherent attitude..."* towards speech in Glasgow and the IGCSs provide evidence of a similar situation in relation to the speech of this present study's area. [23] There was one report of a completely uncompromising dislike by a parent of anything that did not closely approximate to Standard English but, in the main, IGCS informants struggled to cope with the ambiguities provided by the co-existence in the community (and sometimes within the one family or even an individual) of a variety of speech forms.

The main area of confusion seems to be in distinguishing between 'traditional' or 'real dialect' (which is generally regarded as an anachronism but more or less acceptable for its 'sentimental', entertainment, or identity-reinforcing appeal) and the 'modern urban dialect', often referred to locally as 'Lazy Leeds', which elicits almost universal criticism (including by some of its users) and is condemned as a 'slovenly' form of English. [24] But as the 'modern urban dialect' has antecedents in the 'traditional' dialect used in the area, and has seamlessly developed from it, critics are frequently unclear about what it is they are, in fact, criticising. Chambers points out that *"...the most voluble critics of non-standard speech often rationalize their prejudices by contending that the speech they despise is "sloppy" or "lazy" or "slovenly."* [25] It would probably be safe to say that there will be little occurrence in 'Lazy Leeds' of the nonstandard words used in the survey word list. But, as has been demonstrated in Chapter II, even late

nineteenth/early twentieth century works which were supposedly a 'traditional local dialect' medium, such as the *Weyvers Awn* [26], were notable more for the paucity than the preponderance of nonstandard words used. Accent does not seem to be too much of a problem in informants' perceptions of what constitutes acceptable speech, so this would seem to suggest that it is pronunciation and grammar at which the main thrust of criticism is directed. Yet Informant 5/2, for instance, criticises her husband's use of 'watter' for 'water', which is possibly a closer preservation of the pronunciation of the Old English *waeter* than is the standard variant and must therefore, by any criteria, have a claim to be 'traditional'. At the same time, 5/2's husband makes his own criticisms of his daughters' 'Lazy Leeds' speech, as does 5/2's mother who claims to be a 'real Yorkshire' speaker. But 5/1's own parents labelled the mill girls' speech *"...awful and common"* at a time when these weaving and spinning mill-hands were operating in a speech mode which some might now regard as 'genuine, traditional dialect'.

The two oldest generation informants of Family 3, and Informant 6/2, were quite confident that there existed marked differences between 'respectable' and 'common' working class speech though, when pressed, no informant could clearly explain what these differences were and how they manifested themselves. The one verbatim example of 'common' speech given by Informant 6/1 would undoubtedly be regarded by some as an example of 'traditional dialect' usage. The confusion issue is compounded by the fact that some IGCS critics of nonstandard speech themselves returned relatively high ***known*** scores and, in most cases, comparatively high ***still used*** scores, too. It is argued here that this kind of confusion over what constitutes 'good' or 'proper' speech will tend to lead people away from the use of *all* nonstandard speech features (whether 'traditional' or 'modern') to move more towards the relative 'safety' of something approximating Standard English, with all this implies for the loss of inter-generational transmission.

Chapter VI summary

1.13 This chapter has examined and discussed the data emerging from the Inter-general Case Studies. This has been related, where appropriate and relevant, to the findings of the General Study, in an attempt to explain and illuminate some of the attitudes, linguistic behaviour and processes at work. A number of issues

have arisen in Chapter VI. Some of these were fairly predictable, supporting the findings of other sociolinguistic research Others, perhaps, were less expected and appear to contradict some of the conventional wisdoms which have developed in the field. Some of these issues will be returned to in the concluding chapter of this work.

1.14 The analysis, interpretation and discussion of this and the previous chapter have focused on the informants, their performance on the survey word list and socioeconomic questionnaire, and their verbal accounts of their language experiences. The work will now refocus on the other key component - the words themselves. The ultimate aim of this research is to arrive at some measure of the present state of nonstandard words which were in everyday use in the community some eighty or so years ago. Chapter VI has already made the point that words may become obsolete, or unfashionable, or become associated with notions of substandard speech, with the resulting potential of becoming permanently lost to the community's lexical stock. It is clear from the findings presented so far that levels of knowledge and use of certain nonstandard words are diminishing generation by generation, and doing so at an accelerating rate. From the General Study, it is apparent that some words are now known by relatively few people, while - at the other extreme - some appear to be enjoying comparatively greater recognition and use. Chapter VII will, mainly, analyse and discuss the 'health' of the representative sample of words which were used in the construction of the survey word list and, in particular, will attempt some prediction of their survival chances.

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[1] It is a quite common habit in older people in the community to use a double affirmative in this way, first the standard 'yes' followed by the archaic 'aye', though this format is not followed for the negative equivalent.

[2] Boilerman.

[3] Had the interviewer himself not been raised in a local nonstandard linguistic environment, it would have been very difficult to conduct this interview !

[4] Stanley Ellis, MA, FIL, currently Vice President of the Yorkshire Dialect Society.

[5] This is an interesting insight into how this particular informant was capable of reflecting on and analysing nonstandard speech. Chambers points out that criticisms of nonstandard speech often utilise terms such as 'sloppy', 'lazy' and 'slovenly' and *"the relevance... to ease of articulation*

is obvious". But, says Chambers, nonstandard features are not necessarily always more economical (which, of course, is what this informant is pointing out) and, in fact, standard varieties often contain economies of articulation (Chambers (1995), 5.6.2).

[6] This is reminiscent of the results of content analysis of the *Weyver's Awn Comic Olmenac'*(Chapter II, Part C, 2), where the supposedly 'local dialect' passages contained relatively few nonstandard words and were characterised more by variation in the pronunciation of Standard English words and by the use of nonstandard grammatical structures.

[7] Trudgill (1990).

[8] Romaine (1994), p. 72.

[9] Coates (1997), pp. 49-50.

[10] The researcher's elder daughter, who lives in the research area and claims to know very little of the community's nonstandard vocabulary or to use any of it, was recently overheard describing her daughter's hair as 'luggy' . This item featured in the survey word list, with the meaning of 'knotted hair'. When challenged on her use of this term, she was surprised that it was not a 'normal' expression, used universally in English. She had not thought of it as being a geographically-restricted, nonstandard word. Similarly, a Leeds geriatric nursing sister of the researcher's acquaintance habitually entered the word 'ruttly' on the medical charts of her charges. When asked by a (non-local) doctor to clarify such an entry, she was surprised to find that it was not in common use to describe a congested chest. She even thought of it as a legitimate medical term.

[11] The use of the intensifier in *"right well"* is a common speech feature in this community.

[12] "Red wossit" = red worsted yarn.

[13] To 'neighbour' = an expression in this locality which represents a range of interactive behaviours amongst people living in close proximity to each other, including lengthy chats and gossiping ('kalling' [kalɪn]), in the street or over the yard wall - sometimes over a cup of tea; passing on local news and gossip; keeping an eye on someone else's children during a mother's absence; visiting sick or elderly neighbours; and so on. To 'neighbour' was a behaviour associated with the older, high density, back-to-back and workers' cottage housing of the area (where whole extended families were often to be found within a few streets), one which has largely disappeared, as this informant indicates, with social and occupational pattern changes. This interaction would probably have played an important part in sustaining *social networks* and exerting a normative influence on the nonstandard speech variety.

[14] 'trap' = a situation in weaving where the shuttle, instead of passing cleanly through the 'shed' formed by the weft threads, bursts out through them, bringing the loom to a halt. 'Traps' were feared by weavers, being notoriously difficulty to untangle, with time lost on the piece, and necessitating the attention of a loom tuner to rectify matters.

[15] Beam-mates = those in a weaving shed who operate the looms in front of and behind one. Elbow-mates = those who operate the looms to either side of one.

[16] This supports Informant 6/1's report that the proprietor of the local joinery company he worked for could switch readily from using nonstandard speech with the workforce to using a more standardised form with customers, suppliers and other outside agencies.

[17] In terms of value-judgements, this was sometimes used derogatorily but at other times it was neutral in connotation.

[18] Mugglestone (1995), p.p. 54-55.

[19] Op. cit. , p. 55.

[20] Bouris and Giles (1997), pp. 199-120.

[21] Robinson, R. (1863) *A Manual of Method and Organisation: Adapted to the Primary Schools of Great Britain, Ireland and the Colonies*, quoted in Mugglestone (1995), p. 312.

[22] Macaulay (1975), pp. 147-161.

[23] Op. cit., p. 154.

[24] 'Lazy Leeds' is not a new term It was applied to local speech at least as far back as the 1950s, and possibly even earlier, sometimes with reference to what would now be considered 'traditional dialect' forms. Today it refers to the 'modern urban dialect' most often associated with adolescents and young adults.

[25] Chambers (1995), p. 233.

[26] Bruskitt (1875-1908).

CHAPTER VII

LEXICAL ANALYSIS

Relevant Appendices : Appendices F, G, H, I and J.

CHAPTER PREFACE

So far in this work, the focus has fallen mainly on the informants' performances, and the linguistic behavioural patterns and trends their responses have revealed. The other element in the equation, the nonstandard words used in the survey list, have, of necessity, been treated *en passant*. In this chapter attention will be directed at the words themselves. The sample of nonstandard words used in the survey, it may be argued, can be taken as representative of the nonstandard lexical stock which existed and was used some eighty or so years ago in the Pudsey/Bramley community.

The related metaphors of *survival*, *health* and *extinction* of nonstandard words will be introduced and used, against the background of claims that the vocabulary of 'traditional dialects' is being eroded :

> *...the dialect vocabulary of modern England is currently shrinking quite rapidly, and much of this diversity will probably eventually disappear.* [1]

Evidence has been presented in Chapter V that both knowledge and use of nonstandard words in this research's population sample do, indeed, exhibit a marked decline over the period of *apparent time* examined. In *real time* terms, this represents the period since around the end of World War One. But these findings say nothing about the differential *survival* patterns of individual words. There are clearly questions which may be raised about the lexical content of the research, including :

- Which nonstandard words, specifically, are quantitatively least or best ***known*** - and used - by the informants ?
- What sort of relationships, if any, do these words have with age groups ?
- Is there any sex differential pattern in knowledge, and preference for use, of certain nonstandard words ?
- Are certain words closely contextually- or situationally-related ?
- Can individual survival and extinction predictions be arrived at for the nonstandard words used in the survey list ?

The intention here is to explore such questions and the issues arising from them, in the expectation that this will provide indications of the survival prospects, not only of the particular words used in the survey, but also - and in a more general sense - the nonstandard lexical stock from which they were taken. The reduction in use of nonstandard words inevitably leads to their failure to be culturally transmitted from older to younger generations, and eventually their disappearance from knowledge and use. Consequently, the nature of the lexical stock from which speakers can make choices is changed and it may be thought useful and instructive to examine some of the trends currently affecting it. One purpose of this chapter is to suggest and introduce a simple mathematical methodology by which – based on current usage levels – some prediction may be made of the survival and extinction prospects of lexical items.

Preliminary analysis of the nonstandard words used in the survey list suggested that they might be usefully clustered according to identified shared characteristics. This clustering has influenced the format of the presentation and extensive use will be made of line charts which graphically illustrate the 'career to date' of the words. The data used to construct these line charts can be seen in their entirety at Appendices F and G. To facilitate and clarify discussion of knowledge and use of the words, and their survival and extinction forecasts, it has been found useful to envisage the line chart plot area as a series of zones, each of which can be 'scored' as shown in (*Figure* **VIII.1**) :

Figure **VII.1**

Zonal terminology and scoring

used in relation to the survival profile line charts

Percentage range	Zonal description	Zonal score
90.1-100	Very high	6
70.1-90	High	5
50.1-70	Moderate-high	4
30.1-50	Moderate-low	3
10.1-30	Low	2
0.1-10	Very low	1

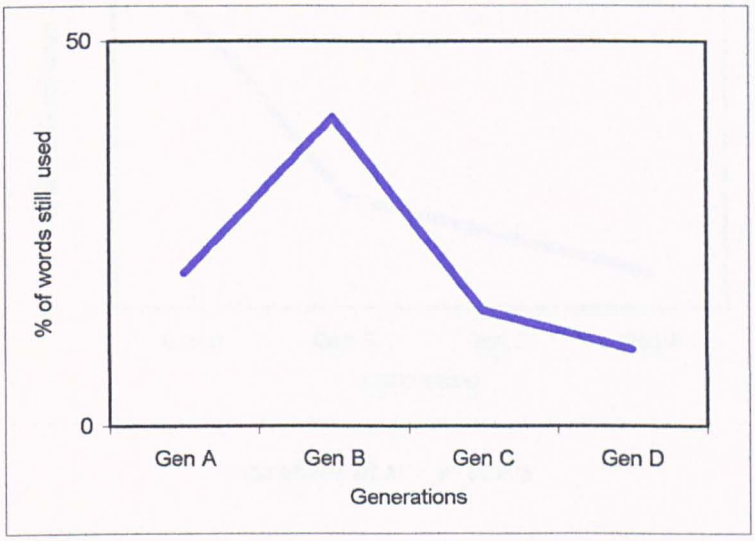
0 = Extinction

The values assigned to the different zones will be referred to as 'zonal scores' and it is these which form the mathematical basis for charting the *apparent time* 'career' and calculating the future prospects of each word. The complete prediction tables and accompanying charts can be found at Appendices H, I and J. The titles of the zones – 'Very high', 'Moderate high', 'Very low', and so on, will also be utilised in the commentary and discussion which accompany the presentation of each cluster of words.

The making of predictions about the survival or extinction prospects of any particular word is problematic and, of course, rests upon one very important assumption: that is that the informants represented by the various age groups will continue their present linguistic behaviour as they become older. We cannot be certain of that - and this is where the *apparent time* instrument is weak. [2] Over time, people may make different choices from their available lexical stock in response to fashion, social pressure, the introduction of new variants, or for other reasons. These motives need not necessarily be the sole preserve of the younger generations. Two salient possibilities may be envisaged. One is that the successive generations will continue to behave linguistically as they do now, so the *survival* profile of the continued use of a particular corpus of nonstandard

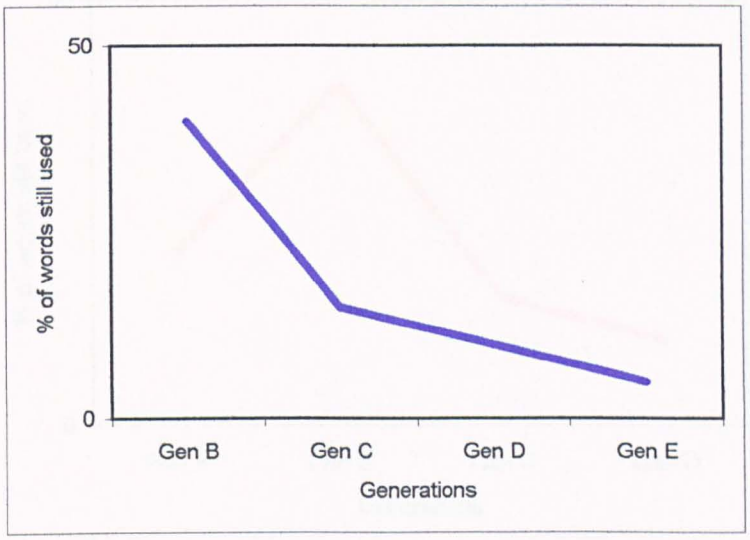
words would appear as if moving from right to left in a 'wave' form (*Figures* **VII.2 A** and B) :

Figure **VII.2 A**



Situation at Year x

Figure **VII.2 B**

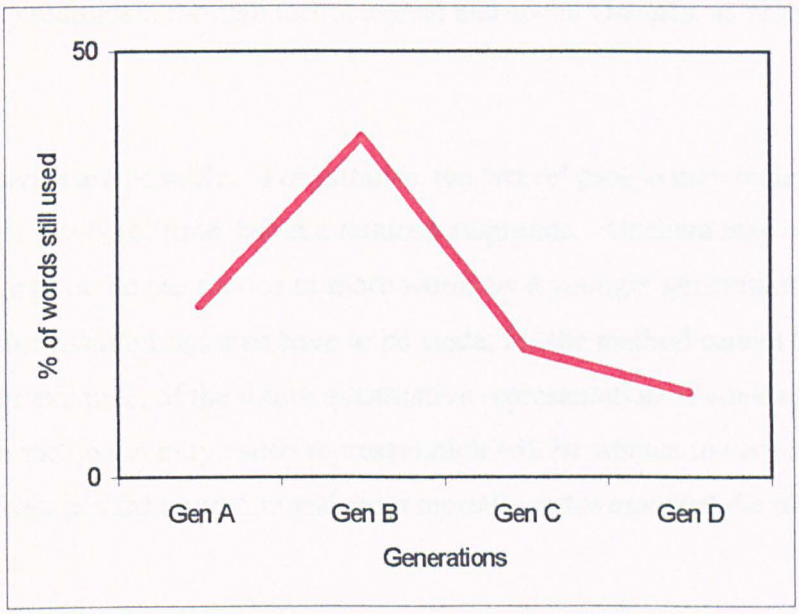


Situation at x + y years

This profile shows, over a space of ***y*** years, each generation maintaining its *status quo* of percentage use of the words, with a fresh generation, E, being drawn into the profile, as Generation A expires.

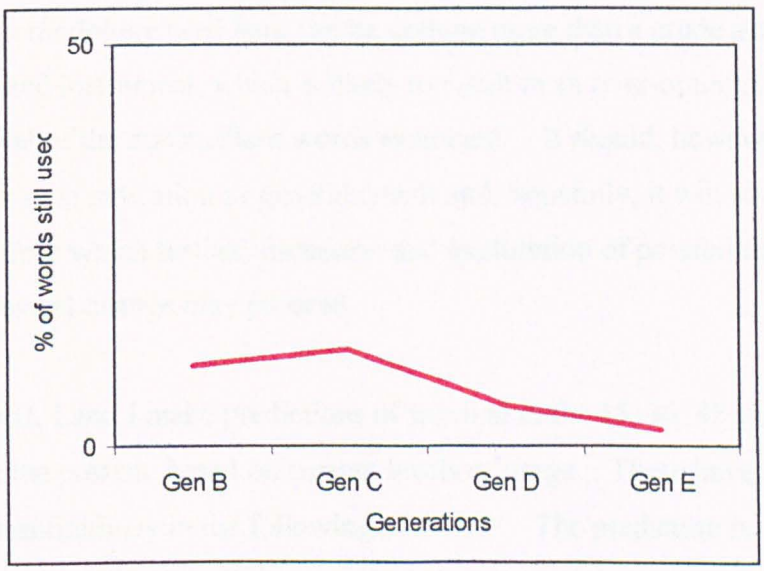
The second main possibility is that one or more generations will, onwards from ***Year x,*** change their linguistic behaviour in terms of choices from the available lexical stock (*Figures* **VII.3 A** and **B**) :

Figure **VII.3 A**



Situation at year x

Figure **VII.3 B**



Situation at x + y years

Here, the profile at ***Year x*** has not moved leftwards at the same amplitude and at ***x*** + ***y*** years the shape has 'collapsed' as generations B, C and D have altered their

lexical choices. Lexical items, for instance, may be in the process of being superseded by more modern and fashionable variants, or they may have become functionally redundant through technological and social changes, as discussed in Chapter II.

Other scenarios are possible. For instance, the 'wave' profile may maintain its shape over a period of time, but at a reduced amplitude. Or there may be a minor 'revival' surge in the use of one or more words by a younger generation. Demographic assumptions also have to be made, for the method cannot take account, for example, of the future quantitative representation of nonstandard speakers in the community; such representation will be subject to variation, for instance, from inward migration and from mortality rates amongst the older generations.

With these caveats in mind, the predictions in this chapter are based on the scenario depicted in *Figure* **VII.2** above, where the generations maintain their respective levels of lexical choice. It is acknowledged therefore that the prediction methodology used here can be nothing more than a crude and unsophisticated instrument, which is likely to result in an over-optimistic forecast of the survival of the nonstandard words examined. It should, however, provide some quantitative indication of general trends and, hopefully, it will also provide a datum-line from which further discussion and exploration of possibilities for predicting lexical change may proceed.

Appendices H, I and J make predictions of survival at the 15, 30, 45 and 60 year points from the present, based on current levels of usage. These have been arrived at quantitatively in the following manner. The prediction for the 15 year point assumes that a sufficient number of representative users of all the present age groups used in this research will be alive at that time, so the 'zonal scores' for all four age groups are aggregated.[3] The 30 year point prediction is based on the aggregated 'zonal scores' of age groups 40-59, 20-39 and 0-19. The prediction for the 45 year point aggregates the 'zonal scores' for the 20-39 and 0-

19 age groups, while the 60 year prediction uses only the 0-19 age group's 'zonal scores'.

In **SECTION A** of this chapter **(WORD SURVIVAL PROFILES)** the word clusters have themselves been grouped under main- and sub-headings, as follows:

WORDS WHICH ARE STILL IN USE AT THE YOUNGEST AGE LEVEL.

WORDS ACHIEVING PEAK USAGE AT AGE GROUPS LOWER THAN 60

WORDS ACHIEVING PEAK USAGE AT AGE GROUP 60+

WORDS WHICH ARE NO LONGER IN USE BY THE LOWEST AGE GROUP

WORDS SHOWING EARLY REDUCTION TO ZERO USE.

WORDS SHOWING INTERMEDIATE REDUCTION TO ZERO USE.

WORDS SHOWING LATE REDUCTION TO ZERO USE.

The profile line charts have been constructed from ***still known*** **A** data, as it is the total word survey word list which is the subject of the profiles and predictions. The ***known*** and the ***still used*** **B** scores would be inappropriate for this purpose. However, the commentary and discussion accompanying each cluster make reference to informants' mean percentage ***known*** scores (and occasional ***still used*** **B** values) so that the charts may be viewed in some relation to individual word use compared with individual word knowledge.

SECTION B of this chapter carries out further analysis and discussion of the major issues emerging from **SECTION A**. In particular, the knowledge and use of those nonstandard words employed in the survey which appear to be

differentially associated with the sexes, age groups, stages of life and other situations and contexts.

SECTION C is a summary and interpretation of the lexical analysis.

SECTION A - WORD SURVIVAL PROFILES

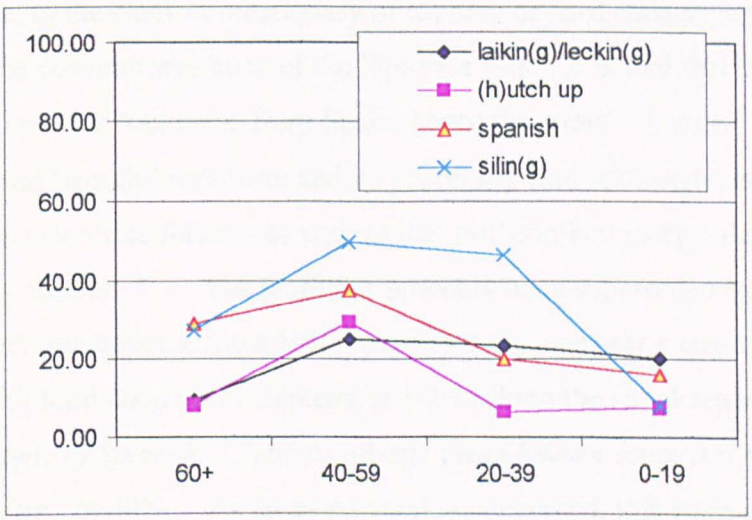
WORDS WHICH ARE STILL IN USE AT THE YOUNGEST AGE LEVEL

WORDS ACHIEVING PEAK USAGE AT AGE GROUPS YOUNGER THAN 60.

Cluster 1 (*Figure* **VII.4**)

Profile characteristics: Very low/Low zonal position at 60+ age group with a peak at the 40-59 age group.

Figure **VII.4**



1.1 These four words are positioned in the Very low or Low zones at the 60+ age group, their use peaks at the 40-59 age group, then falls off through the 20-39 to the 0-19 age group.

1.2 'Laiking' [4] (or 'lecking' as it is sometimes idiolectally realised in this research area), meaning 'playing', is one of the words mentioned in the IGCSs as being associated with the 'common' speech of the lower working class. The evidence from the IGCSs is that it was one of the nonstandard lexical items whose use was discouraged in 'respectable' working class speech, as far back, at least, as

the late 1930s. It has nevertheless remained resistant to extinction and a possible reason for this may lie in its association with child behaviour, which would perhaps explain its relatively steady continued use in the 0-19 'childhood' age group and the 20-39 parenting age group. It has an all-age mean ***known*** score of 80%, scores ranging from more than 90% with the males of the 60+ age group to a little over 53% with the 0-19 females, demonstrating that it is a word which is familiar to the majority of informants in this research. This *survival* profile reflects a substantial abandonment of the word by informants aged 60+, compared with relatively high levels of continued usage in the younger age groups. The prognosis is that this word will continue to remain 'alive', albeit at a Low level of use, and will resist extinction into at least the middle of the 21st century.

1.3 'Spanish' is given by Kellett [5] as 'liquorice' and the term is applied, in this research area, to the black confectionery of rubbery or hard consistency, containing the concentrated juice of the liquorice root. It is said that the original supplies of liquorice root came from Spain, hence the name. Today, 'Spanish', in its unprocessed 'woody' root form and its processed hard stick state, is rarely seen, but it was to these forms – as well as the 'soft' confectionery – that the term was formerly applied. [6] The word has probably been superseded by 'liquorice' in the younger generations, though the researcher did overhear a customer in a Shipley health food shop on 11 September 1997 asking the shopkeeper for her *"...usual supply of Spanish..."* and its all-age mean ***known*** score is the same as that for 'laiking', at 80%. As far as survival is concerned, this word appears to have the prospect of continued existence at a Low level until the middle of the next century.

1.4 'Siling' looks set to continue in a reasonably healthy state at a Low-moderate level of usage up to the 30 year point, thereafter declining steadily to the 60 year point. Its all-age mean ***known*** score is 70.8%, but the 0-19 age group records a ***known*** score of only 19.9%. This is reflected in their Very low use of the word and the steep descent of the graph from the 20-39 age group. This suggests that

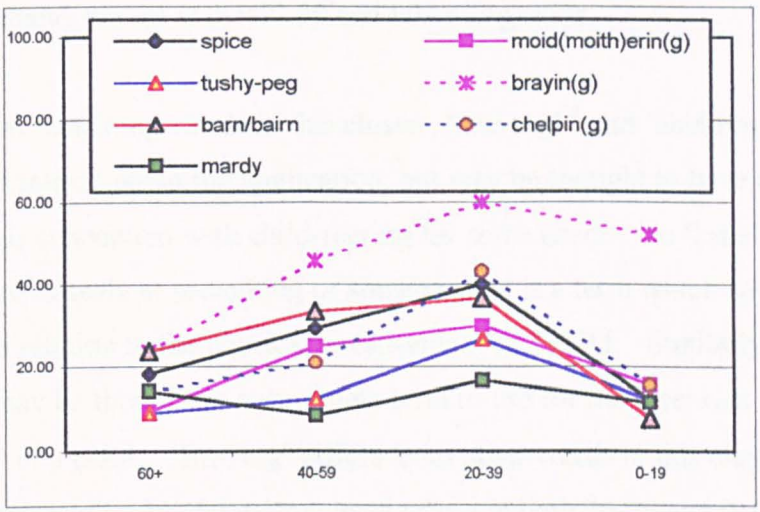
the youngest informants have adopted lexical alternatives for the 'raining heavily' meaning this word carries.

1.5 '(H)utch up' (move over, make room) has prospects of survival in the Low zone until the 30 year point; thereafter it drops to the Very low zone where it remains until the 60 year point where it is in danger of extinction. This expression has an all-age ***known*** mean of 66.8%, within a relatively close range, the highest score being that of the 60+ age group females at 100%, with the lowest score being that of the males of the age group 0-19 at 50%.

Cluster 2 (*Figure* **VII.5**)

Profile characteristics: Very low/Low zonal position at the 60+ age group, rising to a peak at the 20-39 age group

Figure **VII.5**



1.6 These seven items have Very low or Low zonal positions at the 60+ age group, then peak at 20-39, before (with the exception of 'braying') plunging sharply to the 0-19 age group.

1.7 What is noticeable about this cluster is that five of the seven words (like 'laiking' in Cluster 1) have definite associations with childhood objects and behaviour. 'Spice' is used for 'sweets' (confectionery). 'Moidering' (sometimes 'moithering'), for 'annoying', though it can be used in a more general sense about anyone's behaviour, is particularly used to describe a young child's effect on a parent. 'Tushy-peg' (sometimes 'tussy-peg') is an infantile term for 'tooth'. 'Barn'/'bairn' are terms for a young child, though the first (Old Norse) variation is not often heard today. [7] 'Mardy', says Kellett (1995), is a variation of 'marred' and is used to describe a child who is spoilt, or someone who is moody or sulky. It can therefore be added to that corpus of words identified with child-rearing, for

it displays a profile (albeit at a Low level) in which the 20-39 (parenting) and 0-19 ('childhood') age group ***still used*** **A** scores exceed that of the 40-59 year olds. Its survival forecast shows it existing at a Low level of use right up to the 60 year point. It has an all-age mean ***known*** score of 51.9%, with the scores for the three oldest age groups being contained within a range of nine percentage points (67.3%; 58.4%; 66.7%), with a drop to 15.4% at the 0-19 age group. Given the 'child-rearing' connotations of these five terms, it may not, therefore, be surprising to find their use peaking at the 20-39 age group, with evidence of substantial abandonment at the 40-59 and 60+ age groups.

1.8 The two remaining words in this cluster, 'braying' [8] and 'chelping' [9], have less of a specialised parenting application, but may be thought to have at least some tenuous connection with child-rearing for some users. To 'bray' is to beat or to strike repeatedly at something or someone and is a term which could be employed in relation to the physical chastisement of a child. Similarly, 'chelping' may be thought an appropriate term to use for the incessant 'chirruping' of a child. 'Braying' differs from other words in this cluster by continuing to record a Moderate-low level of use at both 20-39 and 0-19 age groups, showing that it is a term not only in current use by young parents but also by children of school age.

1.9 The issues of parenting and child-associated words will be returned to later in this chapter.

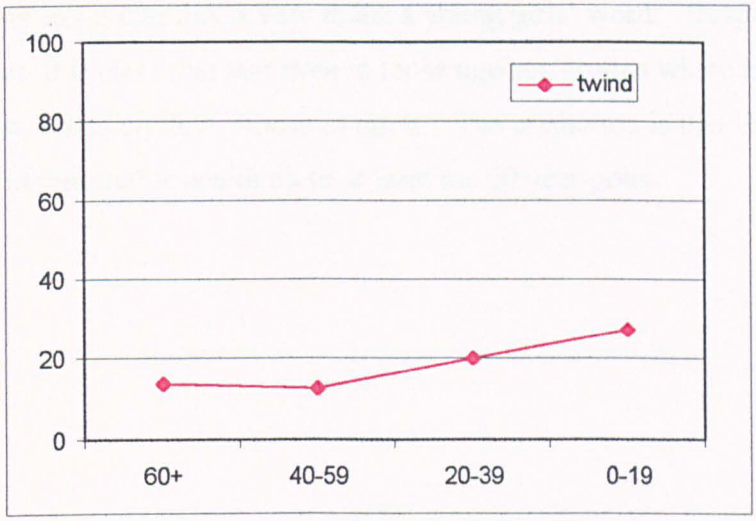
1.10 The respective all-age mean ***known*** scores for these seven words are : 'moidering' 75.9%; 'spice' 90.5%; 'tushy-peg' 85.1%; 'chelping' 76.7%; 'braying' 97.1%; and 'barn/bairn' 87.6%. Generally, then, these are all well-known words amongst the informants. Even the youngest, 0-19, age group records Moderate-high (or greater) ***known*** scores for all except 'moidering' (31.4%), with 'braying' having a Very high zone score of 96.2 % for this age group. The survival prospects of 'moidering', 'tushy-peg', 'spice' and 'chelping' remain steady in the Low zone throughout the prediction points of 15, 30, 45 and

60 years. 'Braying' remains in reasonable health right up to the 60 year point. 'Barn'/'bairn' maintains a low but steady survival status up to the 45 year point but then nears extinction at the 60 year point.

Cluster 3 (*Figure* **VII.6**)

Profile characteristics : Very low/Low zonal position at the 60+ age group, peaking at the 0-19 age group.

Figure **VII.6**



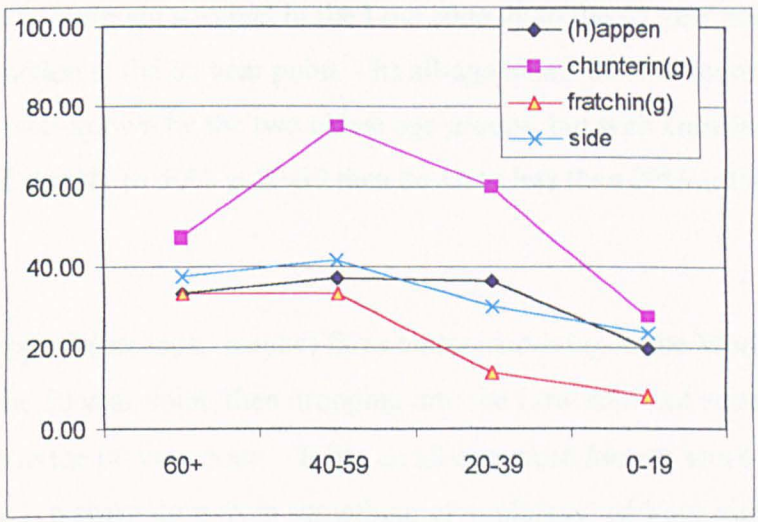
1.11 Not technically a cluster, but a single item, presented separately here because of its unique profile. 'Twind' [twaɪnd] means to turn, twist or wrap around and is used especially of yarn, string, cord or rope. Thus, one might 'twind' string around a cricket bat handle to give a grip. But one could also 'twind' a handle, as on an old-fashioned mangle, as the word can also be used in a more generalised way. A 'twinder' is one who turns the rope while others skip [10] and this perhaps gives a clue to its unusual profile, for it survives particularly as a young girls' word today, being virtually obsolete in the general sense yet retaining its more specialised meaning in relation to skipping. Its use, therefore, we can expect to find mainly at the childhood level (represented here by the 0-19 age group), with some residual use at the parenting age group of 20-39 and this is precisely what the profile shows. Its lower levels of use at the two oldest age groups may reflect its residual application to broader applications, such as

'twinding' handles or wrapping string around something. Kellett (ibid) states that it is a variation of 'wind'[waɪnd]. Its all-age mean ***known*** score is 80%. The two oldest age groups return ***known*** scores in the High zone, showing that they have largely abandoned the use of this word which is very well-known to them. The 20-39 parenting age group has a mean ***known*** score of 80%, where, incidentally, the balance of knowledge rests firmly with the females at 93.3% against the males' 66.7%. A similar pattern is found in the 0-19 group, where the females have a ***known*** score of 92.3%, while their male peers record only 33.3%, demonstrating again that this is very much a young girls' word. Despite the high ***known*** scores, it is clear that that even in those age/sex groups where its continued use is highest, relatively few choose to use it. The prediction is that this word will remain in reasonable health up to at least the 60 year point.

Cluster 4 (*Figure* **VII.7**)

Profile characteristics : Moderate-low zonal position at the 60+ age group, peaking at the 40-59 age group.

Figure **VII.7**



1.12 These four words have close scores at a Moderate-low level at the 60+ age group, exhibiting most use in the 40-59 age group with diminishing use thereafter.

1.13 'Side' [11] does not seem to justify its position in the –3 Standard Deviation category of the survey word list (see Chapter IV Methodology), thus classing it as a little-known nonstandard word. From subjective observation and its all-age mean ***known*** score of 71.3%, it appears to be well-known throughout the community. This is borne out by its profile which – though generally low across the two younger age groups – shows it is still in reasonable health and enjoys Moderate-low to Moderate-high usage in the two oldest age groups and has a prospect of survival to at least the 60 year point, though approaching extinction there. The researcher's impression is that this word should at least have been in the –2 Standard Deviation category, and possibly in the +1 and it is difficult to

explain why it did not receive the requisite citations in the construction of the survey word list to effect this. [12]

1.14 'Chuntering' (grumbling or muttering, at length) remains robustly healthy up to the 30 year point, thereafter declining steadily to the Low zone at the 60 year point. It has a Very high all-age mean ***known*** value at 91.6%.

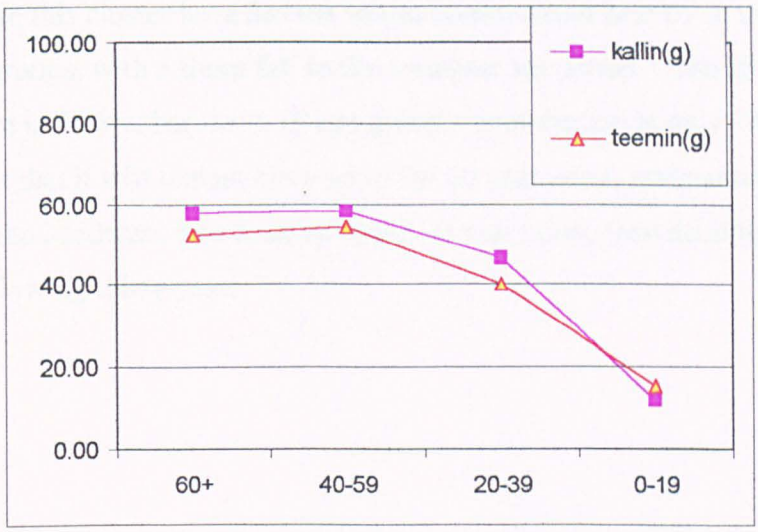
1.15 'Fratching' (arguing; quarrelling) is not as healthy as the previous word but manages to maintain survival in the Low zone up to the 45 year point, before nearing extinction at the 60 year point. Its all-age mean ***known*** score is 62%, the word being well-known by the two oldest age groups, but with knowledge dropping off sharply to 50% at 20-39 then down to less than 20% at the youngest age group.

1.16 '(H)appen' (perhaps; maybe) fares better, surviving in the Moderate-low zone up to the 30 year point, then dropping into the Low zone but remaining at this level up to the 60 year point. It has an all-age mean ***known*** score of 82.4%, though there is a sharp drop from something of a 'plateau' of Very high/High values for the three oldest age groups to less than 40% at 0-19.

Cluster 5 (*Figure* **VII.8**)

Profile characteristics : Moderate-high zone at the 60+ age group, peaking at the 40-59 age group.

Figure **VII.8**



1.17 The 'peak' at the 40-59 age group is not very pronounced but, mathematically, it does exist. The profile is more plateau-like at the two oldest age groups before descending to the two youngest groups.

1.18 'Kallin(g)' [kalɪn] (=gossiping) is predicted to remain in good health up to the 30 year point before dropping into the Low zone, where it remains until the 60 year point. This item has probably been a collateral casualty of the demise of 'neighbouring' reported in the Inter-generational Case Studies, of which 'kallin(g)' was an essential behavioural component. Its mean all-age ***known*** score is 75.3% and this is another example where ***known*** scores are heavily concentrated at Very high/High zonal levels with a sharp fall to the 0-19 age

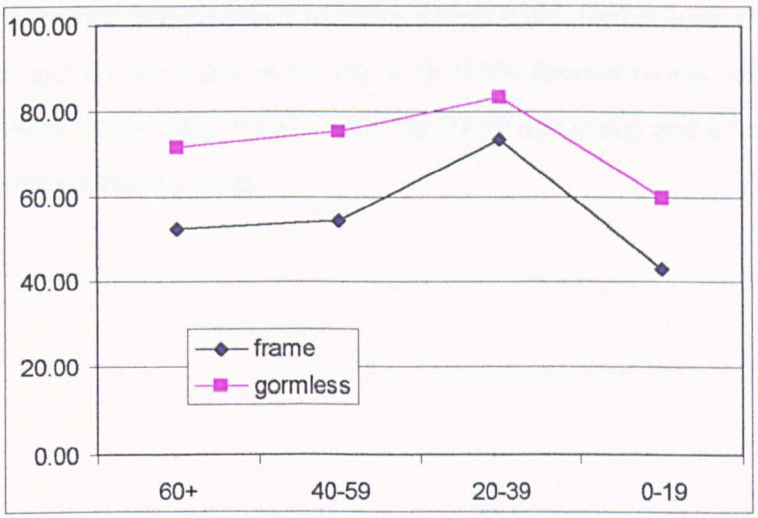
group. The 40-59 age group, in fact, returned a 100% ***known*** score, whereas the youngest age group has only 23.7%.

1.19 'Teeming' [13] has in recent decades become associated more with 'raining heavily' (*"It's teeming down"*), though at one time it was in general use to describe any pouring process or action (*"Teem it down the sink"*). Possibly because it has acquired this more specialised and narrow meaning, it may have been displaced by modern, coarser terms (*"It's pissing down"* - *cf* 'siling' in Cluster 1) and the more generalised meaning seems to have been all but lost. Both items in this cluster have ***known*** scores concentrated heavily in the three oldest age groups, with a sharp fall to the youngest age group. The all-age mean ***known*** score is 74.3%, but the 0-19 age group's contribution is only 19.3%. The prediction is that it will remain alive up to the 60 year point, maintaining a position in the Moderate-low zone up to the 30 year point, then declining to Low over the following thirty years.

Cluster 6 (*Figure* **VII.9**)

Profile characteristics : Moderate-high zone at the 60+ age group with a peak at the 20-39 age group.

Figure **VII.9**



1.20 'Frame' (to) : to get organised; to get oneself sorted out; to start acting responsibly and in a 'proper' manner; frequently used as an admonishment as in *"Frame yersen, lad!"*. [14] The peak at 20-39 is difficult to explain as this is generally regarded locally as a somewhat 'old-fashioned' term and it might be thought that it would be in more use by the 40-59 and the 60+ age groups. These two groups, however, appear to have abandoned or neglected its use far more than the 20-39 group and it may be that both words in this cluster have 'parenting' connotations, an issue which is returned to later in the treatment of other clusters. 'Frame' has an all-age ***known*** mean of 83.4%; the ***known*** scores for the two oldest age groups are in the Very high zone, reinforcing the notion that their contribution to the survival profile reflects significant abandonment of use of the word by them. The 20-39 age group, on the other hand, has a ***known*** score of

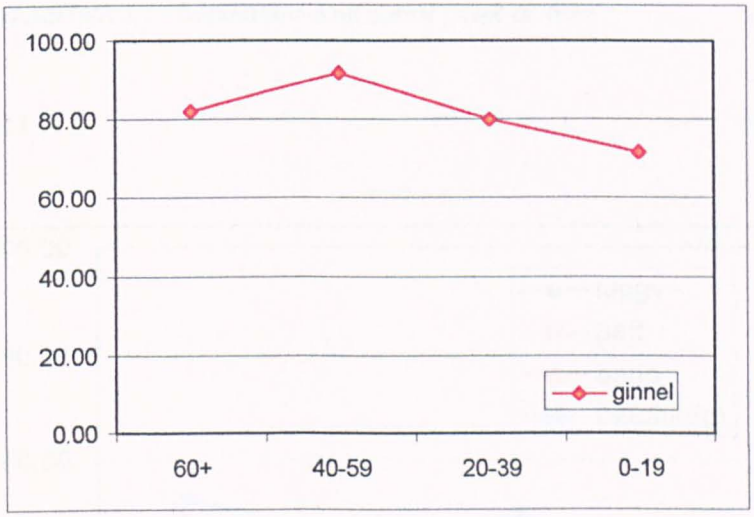
83.4% for this word and their ***still used*** peak in the High zone shows that it is a popular lexical choice for those who know it. Thanks to this popularity with the 20-39 age group, the prediction for this item is that it will remain quite healthy in the Moderate-high zone until the 45 year point, dropping to Moderate-low by the 60 year point.

1.21 'Gormless' (sometimes orthographed as 'gaumless' = stupid, lacking in common sense) is predicted to remain in robust health in the High zone until the 30 year point, before dropping to a Moderate-high level until at least the 60 year point. Its all-age ***known*** mean is 93.3%, with 100% ***known*** scores being returned by the two oldest age groups, 93.3% with the 20-39 age group and a healthy 79.8% with the youngest group.

Cluster 7 (*Figure* **VII.10**)

Profile characteristics : High/very high zones at the 60+ age group, peaking at the 40-59 age group.

Figure **VII.10**



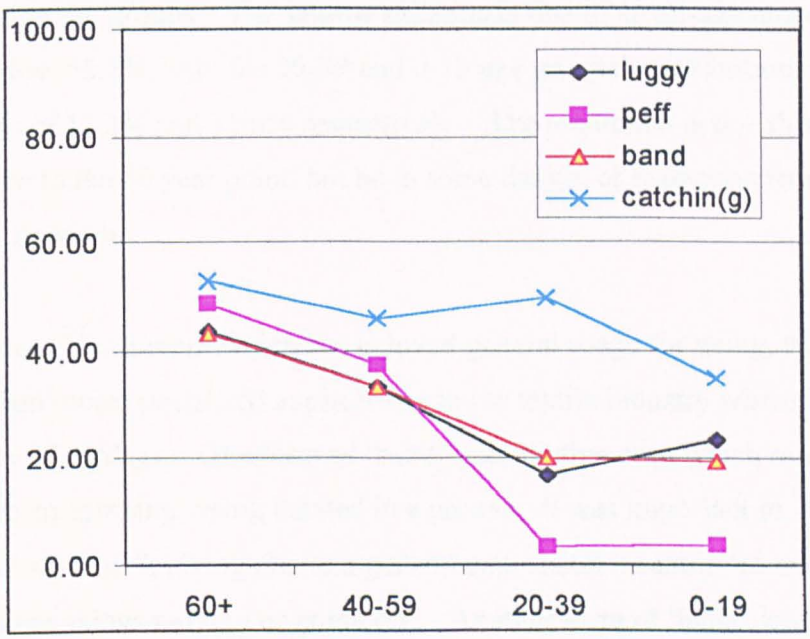
1.22 'Ginnel' (a narrow passage between buildings or walls) is another one-item 'cluster' because of its unique characteristic of remaining in the Very high/High zones throughout the profile, peaking in usage with the 40-59 age group. This word may be regarded as almost a 'regional standard' lexical item. [15] In fact, it returns an all-age mean ***known*** score of a Very High 98.1%, showing it to be ***known*** by almost every informant in the survey; even the youngest age group has a ***known*** score of 95.9% for this word. Inevitably, the prediction for its survival is that it will enjoy extremely good health and will still be in use in the High zone in the mid-21st century. This word promises the longest life expectancy of all the items in the survey word list.

WORDS EXHIBITING PEAK USAGE AT AGE GROUP 60+

Cluster 8 (*Figure* **VII.11**)

Profile characteristics : Moderate-low zonal peak at 60+

Figure **VII.11**



1.23 'Luggy' [16] is used to describe the condition of hair which is difficult to comb or brush because of all the 'lugs' (knots, tangles) in it. To *"...lug things around"* indicates a more generalised use of the generic term, meaning to drag, carry or pull. In the survey word list, this word was presented in the more specialised 'knotted hair' sense, which is used by mothers when combing or brushing children's hair and this may account for its profile 'recovery' at the 0-19 age group. The all-age mean ***known*** score for 'luggy' is Moderate-high at 63.3%, with a Moderate-low 38.8% at the 0-19 age group. The 'recovery'

profile leads to the prediction that this word will survive in use, albeit at a Low level, up to the 60 year point.

1.24 The profile for 'peff' (a minor, irritating, persistent cough) almost reaches zero use after the 40-59 age group. Informal conversation with informants in the 0-19 age group revealed that the same word is now in use by younger people of those *'showing resentment'*, who are *'in a fit of pique'* or *"have the hump"* and, in this sense, may be a variant of 'peeve(d)'. The semantic confusion which would surround these two nonstandard uses could account for its employment in the older sense being abandoned, and the Very low zonal position of the word, in the two youngest age groups. The ***known*** situation is one of an all-age mean of a Moderate-low 42.3%, with the 20-39 and 0-19 age groups' contributions being Low scores of 13.3% and 11.6% respectively. The prediction is that this word may survive to the 60 year point, but be in some danger of extinction from the 30 year point onwards.

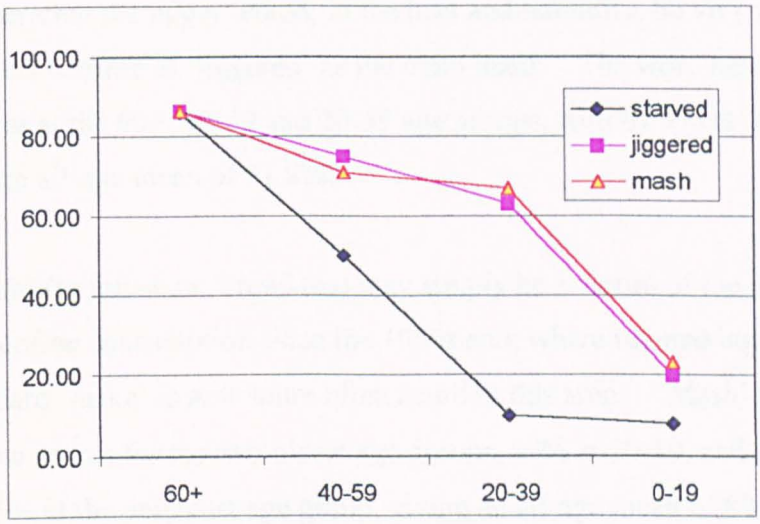
1.25 'Band' [17] is a word which has enjoyed general usage for string, twine or rope, but had more specialised applications in the textile industry where it referred to a variety of cordage. One form of 'band' was the fine cord which rotary-drove the bobbins in spinning, being located in a groove; it was important to *"...keep the band in the nick"*, giving rise to a general expression meaning 'to maintain the effort, to keep things moving or going on'. Another form of 'band' was the ropes used as driving belts, running in pulleys on shafts, which transmitted power to textile machinery. It is likely that the reduction in the more generalised use of this term accompanied the demise of the more specialised use as the textile industry contracted. Small boys today are more likely to have cyberpets in their pockets than conkers, marbles and a 'bit o' band'! It has an all-age mean ***known*** score of 67.8% with the youngest age group returning a score of less than 40%. However, it is predicted that the word will survive at a Low level until the 60 year point.

1.26 'Catching' (used as an adjectival alternative for 'infectious'), though decaying in use from the 40-59 age group downward, maintains a place in the Low-moderate zone up to and including the 0-19 age group. This, again, is a term frequently connected with children and their infectious illnesses, such as chicken pox and measles, and so may owe its survival profile to some of the same usage behaviour noted in Cluster 2's parenting words. Likewise, its continued use by the 60+ age group may indicate its relevance to another sector more prone to illness, the elderly. It has an all-age mean ***known*** score of 72.7% but knowledge is heavily concentrated in the three oldest age groups; the 0-19 age group has a ***known*** score which, at 35.3%, is less than half that of the 20-39 age group. The prediction is that this word will remain in good health and survive up to at least the 60 year point.

Cluster 9 (*Figure* **VII.12**)

Profile characteristics : High zonal peak at 60+.

Figure **VII.12**



1.27 The profiles of these three items can be seen to fall continuously (and in the case of 'starved', very steeply) from their peak in the High zone at the 60+ age group.

1.28 'Starved' is used to indicate the state of a person being very cold or frozen, rather than the same word's Standard English meaning of being short of nourishment. Kellett has it as deriving from the Old English *steorfan* (to die; suffer intensely). [18] It has an all-age mean ***known*** score of 64.9%, and a very wide range, with 100% knowledge at the 60+ age group to a mere 8% knowledge at the youngest age group. The prediction is that it will suffer sharply-declining health after the 30 year prediction point and be in danger of extinction before the 60 year point.

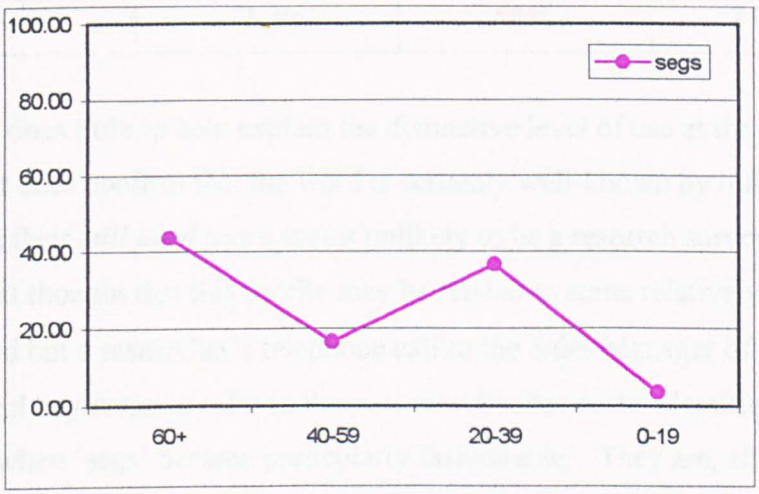
1.29 'Jiggered' (exhausted, tired out, flabbergasted) has slightly better survival prospects than 'starved' and it is predicted that it will remain alive at a Low level of usage as late as the 60 year point, after a steady decline from Moderate-high. It is likely that this term has been largely superseded in the younger age groups by modern colloquial alternatives such as 'knackered'. Kellett offers no etymology for 'jiggered' but it is possible that it originated in the textile trade, where a jigger is a machine which felts cloth, working with rollers over a flat plate in a very hot, steamy atmosphere. [19] It is not difficult to imagine that the working conditions for those operating the jigger would, in the heat and humidity, be very enervating, so the workers became as 'jiggered' as the cloth itself. The word has 100% ***known*** scores at the 60+, 40-59 and 20-39 age groups, with 67.3% at 0-19, giving it a Very high all-age mean of 91.8%.

1.30 'Mash' (to infuse or 'brew' tea) may simply be a victim of the general increase in coffee consumption since the 1950s and, where tea-making is referred to, the standard 'make' is now more often heard in this area. 'Mash' returns 100% ***known*** scores for the two oldest age groups, 90% at 20-39, and a steep fall to only 31.5% at the youngest age group, giving an all-age mean of 80.4%. It is predicted that its future survival profile will be similar to that of 'jiggered', though faring slightly better at the 30 and 45 year prediction points.

Cluster 10 (*Figure* **VII.13**)

Profile characteristics : Moderate-low zonal peak at 60+ age group with a significant 'trough' at the 40-59 age group.

Figure **VII.13**



1.31 Once more, this example is not a cluster but a single lexical item. It is difficult to account for the profile of this one word. 'Segs' , suggests Kellett, is derived from the ON *sigg*, meaning a piece of hard skin or callous.[20] It is not difficult to envisage the hard, rounded and crescent shapes of callouses leading to the term being adopted for the similarly-shaped, hard-wearing, metal boot and shoe protectors hammered into the sole. The word was very well-known and used locally in the past – not surprisingly, for a major manufacturer of 'segs' is Blakey's, in nearby Armley.

Some informants annotated their returned questionnaires, querying whether this was a 'dialect' (sic) word at all, rather than a brand name, as 'Blakey's segs' was used by locals to refer not only to the manufactured items, but to the factory itself (the company's name is really Blakey's Boot Protectors). There is no obvious explanation for the significant rise in usage at the 20-39 year point. The ***known*** all-age mean score for 'segs' is 63.5%; the ***known*** scores for the separate age groups are interesting in themselves:

60+	40-59	20-39	0-19
95.5%	71.3%	**80%**	7.7%

1.32 This does little to help explain the distinctive level of use at the 20-39 age group, but it does confirm that the word is certainly well-known by informants of this age and their ***still used*** score seems unlikely to be a research survey anomaly. It was at first thought that this profile may be related to some relatively recent fashion trend but a researcher's telephone call to the Sales Manager of Blakey's did not reveal any surge in sales in the past two decades or the identification of any period when 'segs' became particularly fashionable. They are, after all, an austerity/utility product, designed to prolong the life of footwear – a function which is hardly compatible with the modern consumers' 'throw away' attitude. Some informal questioning of people in the 20-39 age range, who were not 'official' informants for this research, showed that they were almost all well acquainted with the nature, appearance and purpose of 'segs'. The 20-39 peak of the profile gives the word some chance of survival up to the 45 year point but, thereafter, it will enter the danger zone for extinction, with some small chance of surviving to the 60 year point. This may be an example of the survival a word for local reasons, raising the issue of some lexical retention and erosion being local or regional, rather than general.

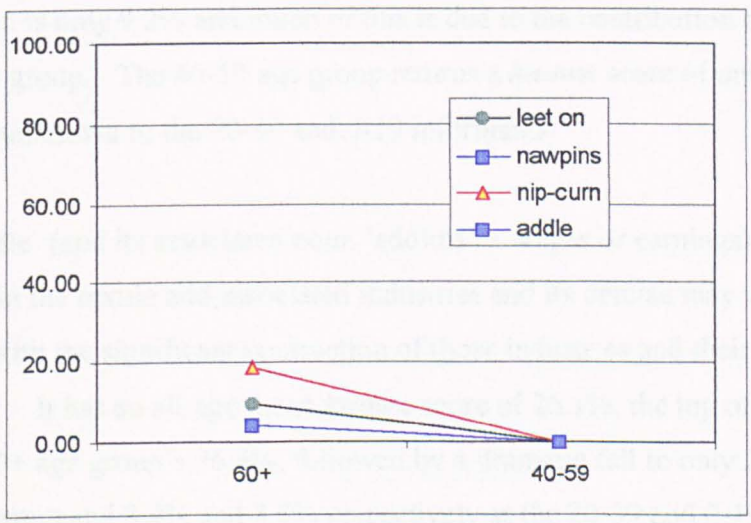
B - WORDS WHICH ARE NO LONGER IN USE BY THE LOWEST AGE GROUP

WORDS SHOWING EARLY REDUCTION TO ZERO USE

Cluster 11 (*Figure* **VII.14**)

Profile characteristics : Low or Very low at the 60+ age group and exhibiting early reduction to zero use (i.e. at the 40-59 age group).

Figure **VII.14**



*(**Note**: 'nawpins' and 'addle' have identical profiles, so share the same line colour and point marker attributes in this chart)*

1.33 From Low and Very low zonal positions at 60+, these four terms expire before the 40-59 age group, where informants reported no usage. 'Leet on' is given by Dyer as *"...to alight on, to settle upon, to come across a thing or person"*, from the OE *alihtan.* [21] This term has a Low ***known*** all-age mean of 26.9%, the highest return being 70% by the 60+ age group. The 20-39 age group

has a Very low ***known*** score of only 3.4% and the term is unknown by the 0-19 informants.

1.34 'Nip-curn' is probably apocryphal, possibly based on the miserly behaviour of grocers who would 'nip a currant' in half rather than give more than the exact weight. [22] It came to be used of anyone who was mean or miserly. It has an all-age ***known*** mean of 21.2%, the highest scores being 90% by the females and 54.5% by the males of the 60+ age group. Thereafter, it is hardly ***known*** at all with only 12.5% at 40-59 and zero scores at 20-39 and 0-19.

1.35 'Nawpins' (a free handout; something obtained for nothing) was very much in use in the heyday of the textile industry in the locality but is rarely heard today, even in the speech of the oldest members of the community. Its all-age ***known*** mean is only 9.2% and much of this is due to the contribution of 28.7% by the 60+ age group. The 40-59 age group returns a ***known*** score of only 8.4% and the word is unknown to the 20-39 and 0-19 informants.

1.36 'Addle' (and its associated noun 'addlins' = wages or earnings) was a term much used in the textile and associated industries and its demise may well be connected with the significant contraction of those industries and their workforces. It has an all-age mean ***known*** score of 26.1%, the top of the range being the 60+ age group's 76.4%, followed by a dramatic fall to only 20.8% at the 40-59 age group and 3.4% and 3.9% respectively at the 20-39 and 0-19 age groups.

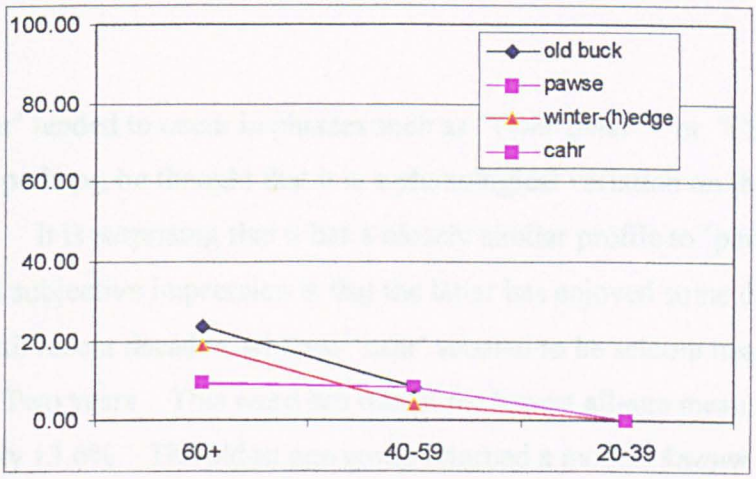
1.37 All four of these words would be regarded as 'very old-fashioned' in the research area today and may, in fact, simply be the victims of fashion in lexical choice. As might be expected, these words are not in good health; they are predicted to remain on the edge of extinction up to the 15 year prediction point, disappearing from use before the 30 year prediction point..

(2) WORDS SHOWING INTERMEDIATE REDUCTION TO ZERO USE

Cluster 12 (*Figure* **VII.15**)

Profile characteristics : Low/Very low zonal position at the 60+ age group and showing intermediate reduction to zero use (i.e. at the 20-39 age group) .

Figure **VII.15**



*(**Note :** 'pawse' and 'cahr' have almost identical profiles and the line chart is not fine-grained enough to separate them, so both have been given the same line and point marker attributes here)*

1.38 These four words returned no ***still used*** scores from the 20-39 and 0-19 age group informants. All these items show profiles of continuous descent from oldest to youngest age groups.

1.39 'Winter-(h)edge' (wooden clothes-horse) appears to be a word which has lost ground as a result of technological innovation in the form of the tumble dryer and the habit of drying clothes on domestic heating radiators. Lightweight metal/plastic devices for holding clothes while drying are today more likely to be called 'clothes airers'. In some parts of the research area, among some sectors of

the community, the term 'maiden' was used as a variation. [23] 33.3% is the all-age mean ***known*** score, with a range from 76.8% at the oldest age group to 8% at the 0-19 age group.

1.40 'Old buck' was at one time frequently heard, with the meaning 'cheek(iness)', particularly in relation to 'answering back' : *"Don't give me any of your old buck !"*. It has, no doubt, been overtaken by more modern alternatives. The all-age mean ***known*** score for this term is 39%. ***Known*** scores range from a Very high 95.5% at 60+, through 45.9% at 40-59, dropping steeply to 6.7% at the 20-39 age group, with a small recovery to 8% at the youngest group.

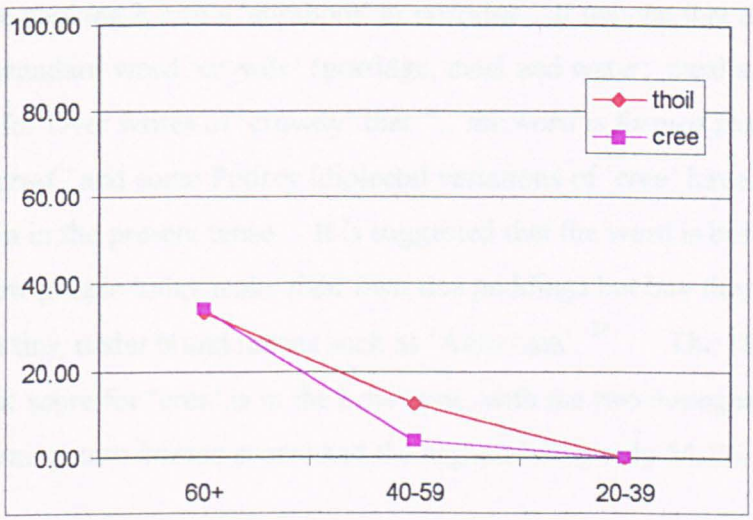
1.41 'Cahr' tended to occur in phrases such as *"Cahr quiet !"* or *"Cahr down!"* and it may, perhaps, be thought that it is a phonological variation on the standard 'cower'. [24] It is surprising that it has a closely similar profile to 'pawse', for the researcher's subjective impression is that the latter has enjoyed some degree of usage up until recent decades, whereas 'cahr' seemed to be seldom heard in post-World War Two years. This word has one of the lowest all-age mean ***known*** scores at only 13.6%. The oldest age group returned a modest ***known*** score of 41.8% and there were zero ***known*** scores from the two youngest age groups.

1.42 Inevitably, with no reported usage by the 20-39 or 0-19 age groups, the prediction is that all four of these words will, at best, have a precarious existence up to the 30 year point, becoming completely extinct shortly thereafter.

Cluster 13 (*Figure* **VII.16**)

Profile characteristics : Moderate-low zone at 60+ age group, showing intermediate reduction to zero use.

Figure **VII.16**



1.43 'Thoil' seems to be one of those nonstandard words often cited as an example of 'true dialect', for it encapsulates in one word a concept which can be expressed in Standard English only by means of a sentence or more. Kellett defines it as *"...to be willing to give up; to afford; to endure, tolerate, put up with; allow (usually in the negative)...(*OE *tholian)"*. But 'thoil' seems to carry a more complex semantic message when used in phrases such as *"I saw this nice cardigan in the market. I would have liked it but I couldn't thoil it"*, which does not mean that the speaker could not afford the item but could, perhaps, afford it yet not bear to part with the money. The sentiment *"...I couldn't bear (or suffer) to part with the money"* seems to have more semantic affinity with the Icelandic *þola* (to suffer; to endure; to stand) and the Swedish *tåla* (to bear) than with the narrower Standard English 'tolerate', though all may have a common historic

Germanic root. Though it was in widespread use in the days when people had to be 'careful' with their money, 'thoil' is probably a victim of mid- to late-20th century affluence. With an all-age mean ***known*** score of 32.8% it cannot be classed as a little-known word, though the scores for the two lowest age groups at 3.4% and 4.2% are Very Low.

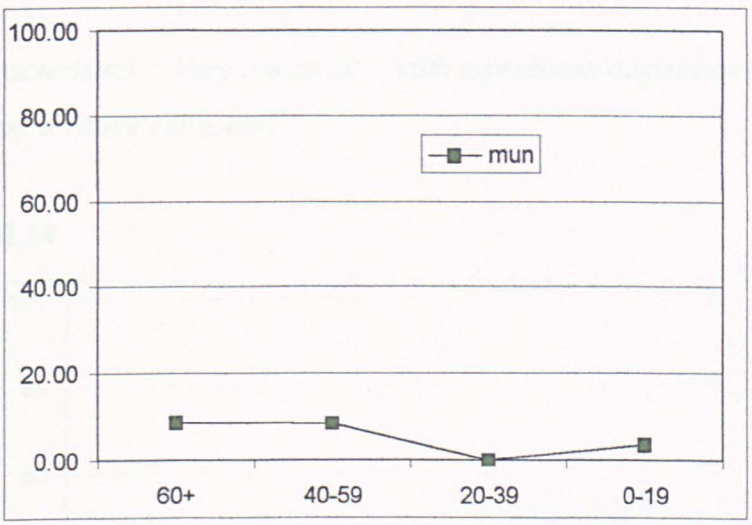
1.44 'Cree' (to partly cook rice pudding at low heat in the oven, to soften the grains before cooking at greater heat) undoubtedly derives from a generic term applied to much older food preparation processes, such as soaking grain in milk or water before cooking it into a 'stirabout' or porridge. It may be that the North Riding nonstandard word 'crowdy' (porridge; meal and water; meal and milk) is associated, for Dyer writes of 'crowdy' that *"...the word is formed from curd, by metathesis crud"* and some Pudsey idiolectal variations of 'cree' have it as 'creed', even in the present tense. It is suggested that the word is becoming extinct as few people today make their own rice puddings but buy them ready-prepared, in tins, under brand names such as 'Ambrosia'. [25] The 18.7% all-age mean ***known*** score for 'cree' is in the Low zone, with the two youngest age groups returning zero ***known*** scores and the highest being only 54.1% at the 60+ age group.

1.45 Both these words have similar short-term survival prospects and are predicted to perish before the 45 year point.

Cluster 14 (*Figure* **VII.17**)

Profile characteristics : Low zone at 60+ with apparent intermediate reduction to zero use, followed by a late revival.

Figure **VII.17**



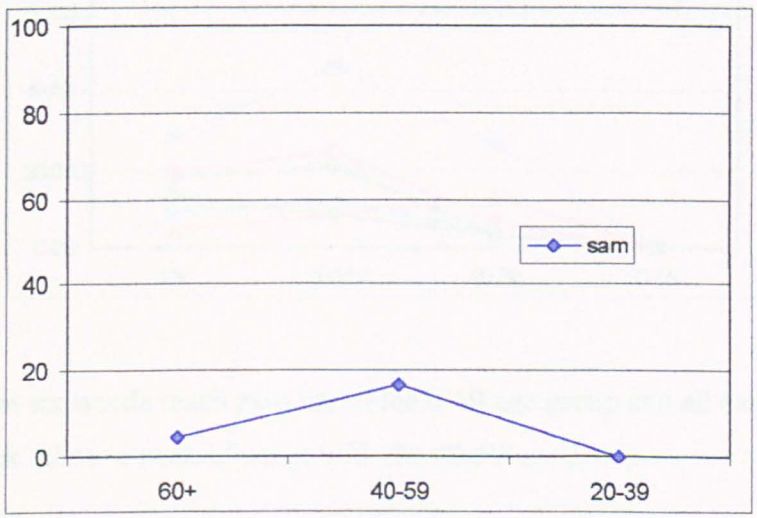
1.46 This is another 'one-off' profile which is difficult to explain. Though the whole profile sits in the Very low zone, the apparent slight 'remission' at the youngest age group is unexpected. It is, however, unlikely to be a significant occurrence as the response which created the 'remission' was the result of just one 0-19 age group female informant's response. 'Mun' (must, will, shall) probably derives from ON. It is represented in modern Icelandic as *munu, mun, munum, mundi* (shall, will, may), as in *"ég mun fara" = "I shall go"*, which has a clear resonance in the sort of phrase one could hear frequently used by older people in the research area not too long ago: *"I mun go get my pension this afternoon"*. Despite its Low use profile, it is not an unknown term, having an all-age mean ***known*** score of 46.7%. The ***known*** scores of 90.4% and 58.3% for the 60+ and 40-59 age groups respectively are probably in line with what might be expected. The two lower age groups, though, have interesting ***known*** scores, with the 20-39

age group's 13.4% being surpassed by the 0-19 age group's 24%. So, even though the profile's slight 'recovery' at the lowest age group may be due to the response of just one informant, it seems to be a valid reflection of the situation when *knowledge* of the word is taken into account. Surprisingly, given its unimpressive zonal position, the prediction is that this word will manage to survive at the Very low level until the 60 year point.

Cluster 15 (*Figure* **VII.18**)

Profile characteristics : Very low at 60+, with a pronounced peak at 40-59, followed by mid-range extinction.

Figure **VII.18**



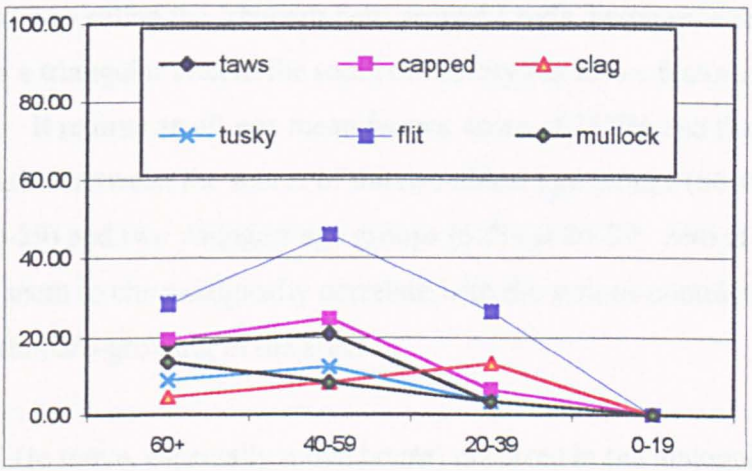
1.47 Once more a single-item profile chart is required for this word shares its ***still used*** characteristics with no other in the survey. The reason for the peak of 'sam' at the 40-59 age group is not clear, though it may survive at this Low level usage amongst older people in the workplace, as it is very much a manual workers' term, to do with carrying, lifting and picking things up. Its all-age mean ***known*** score is low at 24%, with 66.8% at the 60+ age group, 29.2% at 40-59 and zero ***known*** scores at both the 20-39 and 0-19 age groups. It is predicted to become extinct shortly after the 30 year point.

WORDS SHOWING LATE REDUCTION TO ZERO USE

Cluster 16 (*Figure* **VII.19**)

Profile characteristics : Low or very low zonal position at the 60+ age group with late reduction to zero use (i.e. at the 0-19 age group).

Figure **VII.19**



1.48 These six words reach zero use at the 0-19 age group and all except 'clag' and 'mullock' show a peak of usage with the 40-59 age group.

1.49 'Taws' (marbles and the game of marbles) was certainly in common use amongst both adults and children up to the 1950s and its low zonal status at the 60+ age group suggest that, like other words in this cluster, it has been the subject of abandonment by that age group, for it would be well-known during their childhood and adolescent years. This is, in fact, borne out by the 60+ age group's ***known*** score of 90.4%, with the 40-59 group returning an even higher 91.7%. The ***known*** scores then drop dramatically to 26.7% at the 20-39 age group with a mere 3.9% at the 0-19 age group.

1.50 'Capped': the verb (to) 'cap' is given by Kellett as *"...to surprise, astonish; to beat, surpass...* OE *caeppe* from Latin *caput*, head". [26] Dyer translates *"I'm fairly capt"* as *"I'm really puzzled in the head"* [27] and *to beat/surpass* seems to represent a semantic development from the earlier meaning. The all-age mean ***known*** score is 51%, with Very high/High zonal scoring for the two oldest age groups, followed by a significant drop to 30% at age group 20-39 and down to only 3.9% at the youngest age group.

1.51 'Tusky' (rhubarb)[28] has probably been a collateral casualty of the major reduction in rhubarb growing, which was at one time carried out on an agricultural scale in what was called the 'rhubarb belt' around Leeds, being especially important in a triangular area to the south of the city but also a feature in Bramley and Pudsey. It returns an all-age mean ***known*** score of 33.7% and there is a marked division between the scores of the two oldest age groups (86.4% at 60+; 41.7% at 40-59) and two youngest age groups (6.7% at 20-39; zero at 0-19). This would seem to chronologically correlate with the serious contraction in large-scale rhubarb-growing in the area.

1.52 'Flit' (to move, especially move house) occurred in the dialogue of episodes of the BBC television situation comedy *Bloomin' Marvellous*, which is set in Yorkshire, on 13th October 1997, with the meaning 'to move house'. Interestingly, the character using the word was supposedly in her forties and this would be completely in accord with the profile for this word in the research area, which peaks in usage with the 40-59 age group. Though it is displayed here as having zero use at the 0-19 age group, it remains active with older age groups – especially the 40-59s – which gives it some chance of at least short-term survival. Its popularity may have declined as it acquired an unfortunate, narrower association with *"doing a moonlight flit"* (leaving a house, by night, with rent still owing), a situation which was overtaken by growing home ownership from the 1960s. Knowledge of this word shows a dramatic division between the 0-19s and the other age groups :

60+	40-59	20-39	0-19
100%	100%	83.4%	0%

So, although there is an all-age mean ***known*** score of 70.8% for this word, it is completely unknown to the youngest informants.

1.53 'Clag' (to stick) may be onomatopoeic. It is especially used to describe foodstuffs which stick to the teeth or roof of the mouth. Toffee is described as 'claggy'. Alternatively, it could simply be a corruption of 'clog', as in *"to clog something up"*. It seems to have acquired some wider application, being used for anything which is sticky or gum-like. Its all-age mean ***known*** score is 46.9%. Again, there is a marked division between the 0-19 group's knowledge and that of the other informants, though not as dramatic as that for 'flit' :

60+	40-59	20-39	0-19
72.3%	58.4%	53.4%	3.9%

1.54 To make a 'mullock' of something is to badly manage it or to make a mess of it. It can also be used as a verb, as in *"to mullock about"*. Its survival forecast shows it continuing at a Low level up to the 45 year point, then becoming extinct by the 60 year point. It has an all-age mean ***known*** score of 32.1%, with an 86.4% value at the 60+ age group but this drops immediately to 25% at the 40-59 age group, descending through 13.3% at the 20-39 age group and scoring a mere 3.9% ***known*** at the youngest age group.

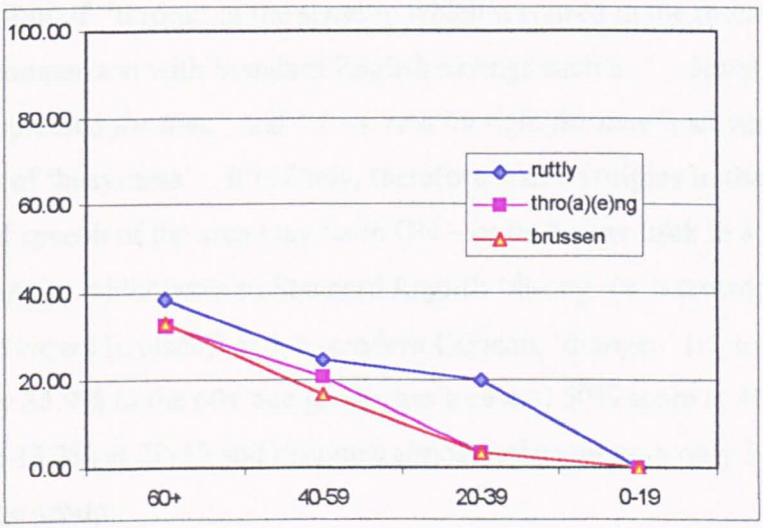
1.55 Of the six items in this cluster, 'flit' seems to have the best short-term survival prospects, though a steep fall after the 30 year prediction point leads to it surviving only precariously at the 45 year point, with extinction before the 60 year point. 'Clag', 'taws', 'tusky' and 'mullock' are predicted to remain in use up to the 45 year point, with extinction within the following fifteen year period. The prediction for 'capped' is that it will become extinct between the 30 and 45 year

points. 'Tusky' and 'taws' share a similar prediction, which is Very low level survival up to the 45 year point, then extinction.

Cluster 17 (*Figure* **VII.20**)

Profile characteristics : Moderate-low zone at 60+, with late reduction to zero use.

Figure **VII.20**



1.56 The three words in this cluster show a continuous fall in use from the 60+ age range, though 'ruttly' does decelerate between the 40-59 and the 20-39 age groups and this may be because this is a (possibly onomatopoeic) term which is used to refer to a 'chesty' condition and, though it is equally applied to the old and infirm, it may be regarded also as another child-rearing word. 'Ruttly' has an all-age ***known*** mean of 49.7%, though it is unknown by the 0-19 age group. While here it is being tentatively linked with parenting, the 40-59 group in fact returns higher ***known*** (79.1%) and ***still used*** scores for the word than does the 'child-rearing' 20-39 age group where it is reported as ***known*** by one-third of the informants and used by 20% of them. This suggests that, though it is a word

which may be associated with child-rearing, it is falling out of favour as a lexical choice, even by those with young families.

1.57 'Throng' (sometimes idiolectally realised as 'thrang' or 'threng' in the research locality) is a nonstandard word for 'busy'. Kellett associates 'throng' with a legendary 'Throp's wife' who was supposedly always frenetically busy - *"as throng as Throp's wife"*. The cognate *þröng* occurs in Icelandic, with the meaning 'crowd; narrow pass'. Swedish gives us *trång* (narrow, tight), while *trengsel* in Norwegian carries the meanings 'crowd, crush, narrow pass; a situation of adversity or trouble'. Amongst these might be detected the possible semantic origin of 'throng' in the sense in which it is used in the research area. There is a comparison with Standard English sayings such as "...*being hard* pushed, "...pressed *for time*" and "...*we're a bit* tight *for time*", all variations on the concept of 'busy-ness'. It is likely, therefore, that its origins in the nonstandard speech of the area may lie in ON – or be further back in a common Germanic origin, which gave to Standard English 'throng' (*n.* a crowd; *v.* to throng or to crowd [a place]) and, to modern German, 'drängen' (*v.* to crowd). It is ***known*** by 85.9% in the 60+ age group, has a central 50% score at 40-59, then drops off to 13.3% at 20-39 and becomes almost un***known*** with only 3.9% at the youngest age group.

1.58 'Brussen' is, in this area, normally used to indicate the condition of an over-full stomach, or having eaten too much. Two informants in this research appended notes to say that they also know it from the Bradford area in the sense of pomposity or being full of one's own importance, boastful of belligerent. Kellett gives both definitions with an etymology from OE *borstan*, to burst. [29] In all the cases, the implication is one of having reached bursting point, whether it be with food or self-importance. The 'over-full stomach' meaning is ***known*** to 76.4% of 60+ informants, but the score drops sharply to 29.1% at 40-59, to 13.4% at 20-39 and 3.9 at 0-19, giving an all-age ***known*** mean of 30.7%.

1.59 Both 'throng' and 'brussen' narrowly avoid a zero use state at the 20-39 age group but reach it at 0-19. Predictions : 'throng' and 'brussen' have similar prospects, becoming extinct shortly after the 45 year 'Ruttly' fares a little better then the other two words in this cluster, yet will apparently still reach extinction by the 60 year prediction point.

SECTION B – FURTHER ANALYSIS AND DISCUSSION OF CURRENT USE AND THE SURVIVAL PROSPECTS OF THE SURVEY WORD LIST ITEMS

The ***known/still used*** **A** 'gap' of Clusters 1 to 7

1.1 The presentation and discussion of the General Study results in Chapter V observed on the fact that the informants do not generally choose to use the majority of what they know of the survey list's nonstandard words. The rate of abandonment of formerly used words, and the failure to bring into use other ***known*** words, is particularly noticeable with the 60+ age group. From **PART 1** of this present chapter it can be seen that Clusters 1 to 7 inclusive display profiles where the current use of the nonstandard words used in the survey peaks at age groups other than the oldest one; there is continued use of all the Cluster 1 to 7 words at the 0-19 age group. In total, these clusters account for twenty-one i.e. 42%) of the fifty items used in the survey list, the constituent items being :

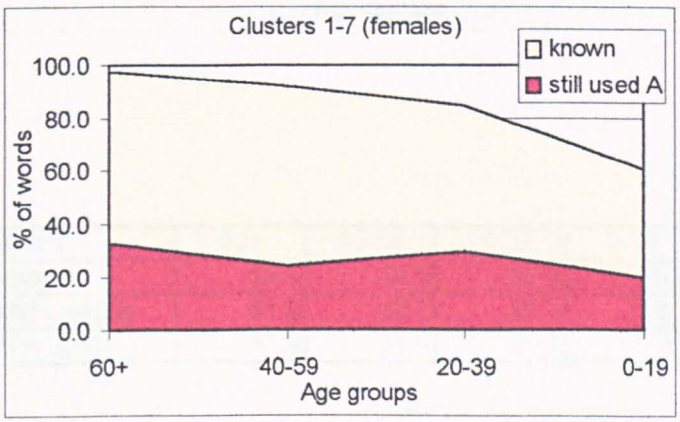
laikin(g)	(h)utch up	spanish
silin(g)	spice	moid(moith)erin(g)
tushy-peg	brayin(g)	barn/bairn
chelpin(g)	mardy	twind
(h)appen	chunterin(g)	fratchin(g)
side	kallin(g)	teemin(g)
frame	gormless	ginnel

1.2 Some idea of the relative rates of abandonment, and/or failure to bring into use, ***known*** words, across the age and sex groups, can be obtained by calculating the differences between ***known*** and ***still used*** **A** scores for the words in Clusters 1 to 7, aggregating and arithmetically averaging these, and presenting the results as percentages. The resulting values are a way of quantifying the ***known/still used*** **A** 'gap'. *Figures* **VII.21 A, B, C** and **D** display the data in graphic and tabular form :

Figure **VII.21**

The ***known/still used*** **A** *differences for Clusters 1 to 7, as percentages of the total word list. This gives an indication of the abandonment of formerly used words (or the failure to bring into use* ***known*** *words), by age groups. The areal extent of the light yellow shading gives an indication of the 'gap' between* ***known*** *and* ***still used*** **A** *values :*

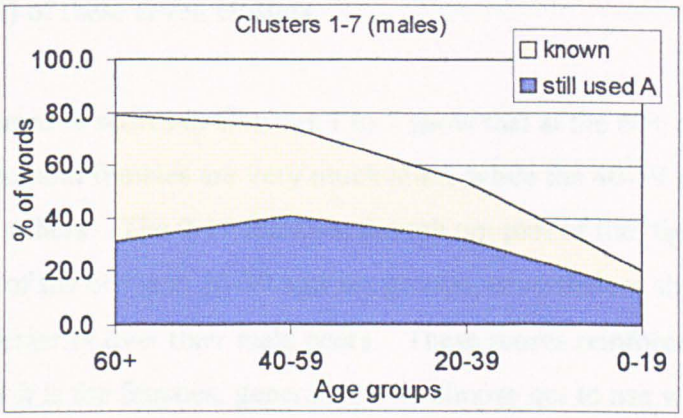
A: Females



B : Females

Females	60+	40-59	20-39	0-19
known	97.6	92.5	84.8	60.8
still used A	32.4	24.2	29.8	20.1
The 'gap'	65.2	68.3	55.0	40.7

C : Males



D : Males

Males	60+	40-59	20-39	0-19
known	79.1	74.5	53.4	20.0
still used A	31.2	40.5	31.7	12.7
The 'gap'	47.9	34.0	21.7	7.3

1.3 What is clear is that males and females record quite different responses to the words in these seven clusters, both in terms of knowledge and continued use. In the first place, the females obviously have better overall knowledge of these words than do the males. The 60+ females return a ***known*** score for the twenty-one words in these seven clusters of almost 100%, whereas the males' highest ***known*** score is less than 80%. Similarly with the lowest scores, where the females return 60.8% at the 0-19 age group as their lowest (see *Figure* **VII.21**), while the males have 20% in the same age group.

1.4 The second notable point is the extent of the ***known/still used*** **A** 'gaps'. The females show much greater 'gaps', demonstrating that they are more likely than the males to reject the use of words they know quite well in Clusters 1 to 7. The point was made earlier that it is the 60+ age group overall which shows the lowest ***still used*** **A** scores for these twenty-one words.[30] It can now be seen that it is the 40-59 age group females who, in fact, display a slightly larger 'gap' than the

older females and it is only the much shorter 'gap' by the 40-59 males which rescues the age group as a whole from the lowest ***still used*** **A** position in at least some (if not all) of these seven clusters. [31]

1.5 The ***still used*** **A** scores in Clusters 1 to 7 show that at the 60+ and 20-39 age groups the males and females are very much alike, while the 40-59 males' score exceeds all the others. The 0-19 females, though not part of the 'tight', similar-scoring cohort of the 60+ and 20-39 age/sex groups, nevertheless show a substantial superiority over their male peers. These scores reinforce the impression that it is the females, generally, who choose not to use what they know of the words in these clusters.

1.6 Are there, then, any particular characteristics of the words in these seven clusters which might account for the females' greatly superior overall ***known*** scores ? It will be seen that eight of the words have definite associations with childhood and the parenting phase of life :

laikin(g)/leckin(g) = playing
tushy-peg = tooth
mardy = moody, sulky (esp. of a child)
spanish = liquorice (sweet confectionery)
moider(moither)in(g) = annoying
barn/bairn = a young child
twind [twaɪnd] = to turn (especially the rope in girls' skipping games); the commentary accompanying the Cluster 3 profile chart has already suggested that this is very much a 'young girl's' word.

1.7 Three others are at least partially associated (though certainly not exclusively) with children's behaviour :

chelpin(g) = answering back; chattering on about something
brayin(g) = hitting repeatedly

fratchin(g) = arguing

1.8 Five of the words in these clusters (including four of the above) are concerned with communicative behaviour :

moider(moither)in(g)
chelpin(g)
chunterin(g)
fratchin(g)
kallin(g) = gossiping

and one is domestically contextual :

side = to clear away (e.g. the things from a table); to tidy up.

These account for fourteen of the twenty-one words in Clusters 1 to 7.

1.9 With no intention of invoking any notion of stereotyped gender roles, which are increasingly inappropriate today, there does nevertheless appear to be some coincidence of female knowledge of such words and their association with children's behaviour, childrearing, linguistic behaviour (which is sometimes proposed as being more of a 'female' concern) and domestic activity. If there is something of this sort of correlationship, then some questions about cultural transmission of the knowledge of these words, and their use, may be posed. It seems likely that the child-associated words are used mainly by females in the 'childhood' (0-19) and the parenting (20-39) age groups, probably confined largely to verbal interaction between young mothers and children, between child and child, or amongst young mothers. They then appear to be progressively and quickly discarded as women move into their middle and late years and become distanced from direct child-rearing activity. It might be expected that the 'grand-parenting' years would see some renewal of the use of some of these nonstandard words and, in fact, such activity was reported by two informants in the Inter-

generational Case Studies. This could be an explanation for the 60+ age group females' having a somewhat higher ***still used*** **A** score than the 40-59 females, whereas both groups' ***known*** scores are not too dissimilar. Is cultural transmission (and, hence, knowledge) of such words something which takes place mainly in the two lowest age groups ? If so, it would seem to be a remarkably efficient process, sustaining as it does the relatively high ***known*** scores right across the female age groups, actual usage being confined to the Moderate-low zone. This would have implications for the survival prospects of these words, for it suggests that widespread knowledge of them may not necessarily be a direct function of frequent and sustained use.

1.10 The male response to the twenty-one words in these seven clusters appears to be a fairly straightforward case of men rejecting the use of an increasing number of words relative to what they know as they get older until, at 60+, their ***still used*** **A** score is lower than that of both the 40-59 and the 20-39 age group males.

1.11 Overall, for these seven clusters of ***known*** words, there is a general picture of increasing rejection of use with age and this would suggest that the *status quo* 'wave form' scenario suggested at *Figures* **VII.2 A** and **B** would be invalid and this, in turn, would necessitate some reappraisal of the mathematically-calculated survival prospects for these words presented at Appendices H, I and J. But to complicate the picture, the knowledge transmission process amongst females, which apparently leads to them sustaining higher ***known*** scores against those of the males, despite modest levels of usage, could help to reintroduce some optimism into the survival predictions.

<u>Patterns of use in Clusters 8 to 10</u>

1.12 Eight words make up Clusters 8 to 10 and they are :

luggy = knotted, tangled hair

mash = to make or brew tea

jiggered = tired out, fatigued

peff = a minor, persistent, irritating cough

segs = metal boot/shoe sole protectors

band = string, yard, cord, twine

starved = to be very cold

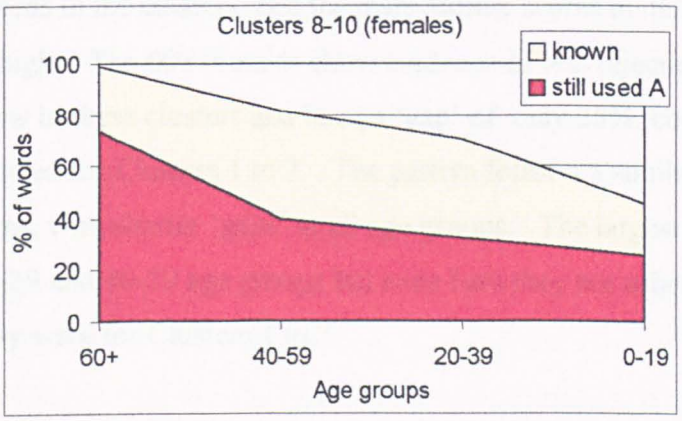
catchin(g) = infectious

1.13 The shared characteristics of Clusters 8 to 10 are that all the words show continued use at the 0-19 age group but, unlike Clusters 1 to 7, usage is at a peak with the 60+ age group.

1.14 *Figures* **VII.22 A, B, C** and **D** illustrate the ***known/still used*** **A** situation of these three combined clusters :

Figure **VII.22**

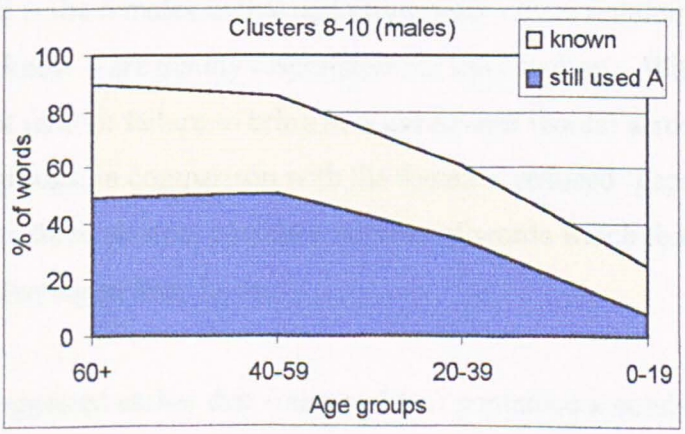
A : Females



B : Females

Females	60+	40-59	20-39	0-19
known	98.8	81.3	70.8	45.2
still used	73.8	39.6	32.5	26
The 'gap'	25	41.7	38.3	19.2

C : Males



D : Males

Males	60+	40-59	20-39	0-19
known	89.8	85.4	60.8	24.7
still used	49	51	34.2	8.3
The 'gap'	40.8	34.4	26.6	16.4

1.15 Females again generally register high scores for knowledge of the nonstandard words in the clusters. But the male ***known*** scores on this occasion are also relatively high. The 60+ females show evidence of less rejection of the words they know in these clusters and have a 'gap' of only 25%, compared to the 65.2% they showed for Clusters 1 to 7. The pattern follows a similar trend across the female scores, with shorter 'gaps' at all age groups. The largest female 'gaps' occur at the 20-39 and 40-59 age groups but even here they are substantially shorter than they were for Clusters 1 to 7.

1.16 The males, on the other hand, increase their ***known/still used*** **A** differences at all age groups other than 60+, though the 60+ males do record the second-highest 'gap' (40.8%) for all the age/sex groups, just behind the 41.7% of the 40-59 females.

1.17 The 'shape' of the male ***still used*** **A** plots in *Figure* **VII.22 C** is similar to those in Clusters 1 to 7 line charts, where use peaks at age groups other than 60+. In these three present clusters the peak usage score does occur at 60+, it appears, therefore, that it is the females in that age group who – by maintaining their use of the words they know – are mainly responsible for the situation. With higher rates of abandonment (and/or failure to bring into use ***known*** words) across three of the four male age groups, in comparison with the females' reduced 'gaps', it would appear that these three clusters contain a number of words which females, generally, are electing to keep in use.

1.18 It was suggested earlier that Clusters 1 to 7 contained a number of words which might be associated with female roles, even though these tended to

diminish in use once the 'child-rearing' stage was left behind. Do the three clusters presently under scrutiny reveal any similar characteristics ? Three of the eight words might be tentatively associated with child-rearing/caring functions:

luggy - knots and tangles being more common in girls' long hair, this is probably an expression they are exposed to as their mothers brush and comb it for them. The male mean ***still used*** **A** score for this word is 20.6%, whereas the females record 38%, demonstrating quite clearly that this is a 'women's word'.

peff - the kind of persistent, irritating cough, perhaps most likely to be found amongst children and elderly, but usage is high only with the 60+ females and this may be due to some extent to the potential semantic confusion with the younger informants' use of the same word for another purpose as already noted. A female mean ***still used*** **A** score of 25.7% gives them a slight superiority over the males' 21%, but probably not sufficient to class it unequivocally as a word used mainly by women.

catchin(g) - parents of young children, and the elderly, are perhaps the ones with greatest awareness of diseases that are 'catchin(g)' and the highest group mean ***still used*** **A** scores are indeed to be found with informants of the parenting age group and the 60+ age group (though males of the 40-59 group record the highest ***still used*** **A** score at 58.3%). Overall male use of this word records a mean of 43.5%, while the female mean is 48.45%. Again, there is no overwhelming female superiority in the use of this word.

1.19 With its domestic associations, 'mash' might be expected to show higher female use, but in fact the male and female ***still used*** **A** scores are not too dissimilar at 59.4% and 64.2% respectively. This does, however, conceal one very dramatic differential at the 0-19 age group where the females record 38.5% while the males record only 8.3%. Male usage is highest in the 20-39 age group (73.3%) and the 40-59 age group (83.3%) and it might be speculated that these are

the years when men in the workplace - especially predominantly male working environments - are likely to 'mash' tea, so reducing the purely domestic association of the word.

1.20 None of the other words in these three clusters suggest themselves initially as having any particular sex group associations. Scrutiny of the detailed scores, however, presents a different picture:

	Male	Female
jiggered	56.5%	**65.8%**
segs	21.0%	**29.4%**
band	24.5%	**33.5%**
starved	38.4%	38.6%

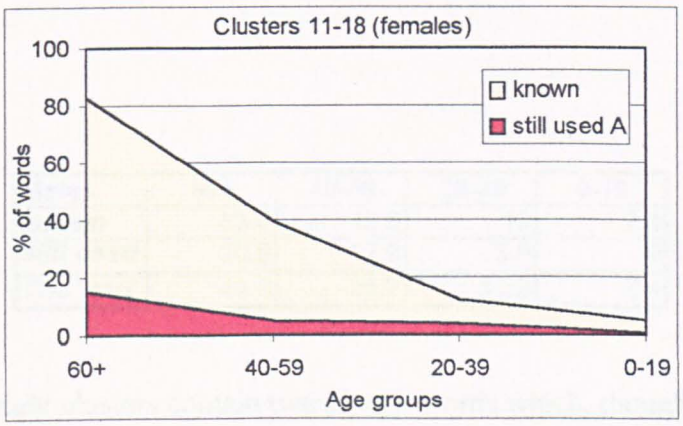
Three words show clear female superiority of use (by around 9% of the survey word list total). Only 'starved' records closely similar levels of use amongst males and females.

Clusters 11 to 18

1.21 The shared characteristic of these clusters is that all the words record some use by the 60+ age group but record zero use at one of the other age groups.

Figure **VII.23**

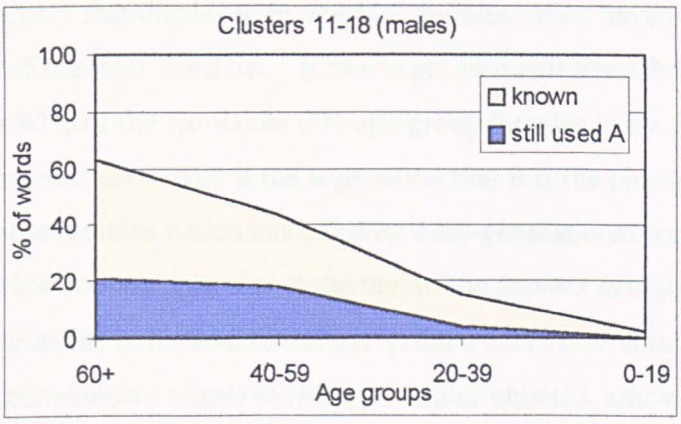
A : Females



B : Females

Females	60+	40-59	20-39	0-19
known	82.6	39.2	12	4.8
still used	15.2	4.8	4.1	0.4
The 'gap'	67.4	34.4	7.9	4.4

C : Males



D : Males

Males	60+	40-59	20-39	0-19
known	63.4	43.6	15	2.4
still used	20.8	17.9	3.8	0
The 'gap'	42.6	25.7	11.2	2.4

1.22 These eight clusters contain twenty-one words which, though all in use at 60+, reach zero use at one or other of the younger age groups. Inevitably, amongst these are the least-known of all the words in the survey word list, though the 60+ females' ***known*** score of 82.6% is still relatively high. All other age/sex groups return ***known*** and ***still used*** **A** scores which are much reduced in comparison with the values for Clusters 1 to 7 and Clusters 8 to10 and the 60+ female ***still used*** **A** score is also much reduced from the earlier clusters.

1.23 The 20-39 and the 0-19 age groups, both males and females, can be omitted from any further discussion about these present clusters, for their ***known*** scores are so low, and so severely-restricting in their latitude for making any lexical choices, that they render their ***still used*** **A** scores meaningless. Also, by definition, the words in these clusters have reached zero use at, or before, these age groups.

1.24 The most dramatic 'gap' between ***known*** and ***still used*** **A** values in these clusters is obviously that displayed by the 60+ females; they have rejected the use of almost 70% of the total word list. If this is put into ***still used*** **B** terms, it represents over 80% of the words the 60+ age group females know in these clusters and this must carry with it the suggestion that it is the change in linguistic behaviour of these females which has affected inter-generational transmission, resulting in the low values right across the rest of the age/sex groups. By contrast, it is the males in the two oldest age groups who contribute more to the survival of the nonstandard words in these particular clusters, albeit at a Low level, by making greater use of the words known to them. The 40-59 age group males, in particular, help redress some of the words ***known*** rejection rate of their female peers.

1.25 As with the two previous sets of clusters, an exploration may be made of some of the words to see if they carry any particular associations of usage. Only two words appear to be primarily part of the female lexical domain:

cree = the preliminary, slow cooking of rice pudding.

ruttly = descriptive of a congested respiratory system.

1.26 The first of these, 'cree', has already been discussed in the commentary accompanying its particular cluster. Not only is it a 'women's word', but it is an *older* women's word - neither of which is surprising, given its culinary connotations and its present-day 'food-technology' redundancy. The 60+ women record a 60% ***still used*** **A** score for the word. The next nearest score is 18.2% by the 60+ males, while the only other score is returned by the 40-59 females at only 8.3%. 'Ruttly' is very much a 'carer's' word - again, a role mainly associated with women and, in particular, with the parenting and elderly age groups. Earlier mention was made of 'peff', and 'ruttly' has similar associations, though it has been suggested that 'peff' did not fulfil its usage expectations because of possible semantic confusion with use in a quite different context by younger people.

'Ruttly', however, does fit the expected pattern, with a 50% ***still used*** **A** score by the 60+ females and 40% by females in the parenting age group of 20-39. Both males and females in the 40-59 age group return scores of 25% and the 60+ males record 27.3%.

1.27 A third word in the list might have been expected to show substantially superior female knowledge and use (particularly amongst the older females), because of its clear domestic associations, and this is 'winter-(h)edge' (= a wooden clothes horse). Knowledge of the word is certainly concentrated in the older age groups, with female superiority :

60+ Males	60+ Females	40-59 Males	40-59 Females	20-39 Males	20-39 Females	0-19 Males	0-19 Females
63.60%	90.00%	33.30%	50.00%	6.70%	6.70%	8.30%	7.70%

but the ***still used*** **A** scores present a much different picture :

60+ Males	60+ Females	40-59 Males	40-59 Females	20-39 Males	20-39 Females	0-19 Males	0-19 Females
18.20%	20.00%	8.30%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%

Male and female levels of usage at 60+ are very similar, while the 40-59 females have abandoned the word (or failed to take up its use) altogether. What might, then have been anticipated as a 'women's word' turns out instead to be simply an 'older people's' word.

1.28 'Nip-curn', with its apparent origins in grocery shopping, might have been expected to show some female lead in knowledge and use, particularly at the older age groups. In the event, though the 60+ females score it at 90% ***known*** against their male peers' 54.5%, they return a ***still used*** **A** score of only 10% for it, whereas the 60+ males score 27.3%. There are Very low/Low ***known*** values for the other age/sex groups and all of these record zero ***still used*** **A** scores.

1.29 No other words in these clusters immediately suggest special female linguistic associations though there are three which do return values markedly favouring the females. 'Pawse' (to kick), for example has a 60+ female ***known*** score of 80%, against the 60+ males' 63.6%, though the male ***still used*** **A** score for this word is 18.2% and the females record zero. At 90% the 60+ female ***known*** score for the word 'clag' (to stick, to adhere) is well ahead of the other age/sex groups but their ***still used*** **A** score is again zero, reflecting a significantly large (indeed, total) rejection of this word. The difference in 60+ male and 60+ female ***known*** scores for 'capped' is not too great, with 81.8% for men and 100% for women; the ***still used*** **A** values differ greatly, with the females scoring 30% against the males' 9.1% and the scores for this word in other age/sex groups are interesting :

	40-59 M	40-59 F	20-39 M	20-39 F	0-19 M	0-19 F
known	83.3%	75.0%	26.7%	33.3%	0%	7.7%
still used **A**	33.3%	16.7%	0%	13.3%	0%	0%

Overall, this word is slightly better-known by females and all-round use (though modest) favours the females. Yet the 40-59 age group males return the highest values for both ***known*** and ***still used*** **A** and this is clearly one of several words which contributed to this age/sex group compensating for some of their female peers' rejection rate in these clusters, as noted earlier. Following a similar pattern, the following words also display 40-59 year group male ***still used*** **A** scoring superiority :

sam = to lift, pick, carry.
tusky = rhubarb.
flit = to move (esp. to move house)
throng/threng/thrang = busy; hard pressed.

Two of these ('sam' and 'throng') have strong workplace associations and, perhaps not unexpectedly, their use peaks with these older, working-age males.

Interestingly, in only one of these ('flit') do the 40-59 males enjoy parity of ***knowledge*** at 100% with the 60+ males and females, and with the 40-59 females; otherwise, their ***known*** scores rank third in magnitude in each case.

1.30 There are no instances in these clusters where any male ***known*** scores exceed those of the 60+ females but there are several words not previously mentioned here where 60+ males record notably higher ***still used*** **A** values than females in any age group :

mun = must, will, shall.

taws = marbles; the game of marbles.

mullock = a mess; confusion.

1.31 For 'mun' and 'mullock', the second highest ***still used*** **A** scores are also returned by males, in the 40-59 age group. 'Taws', however, provides something of a surprise, for the second-ranked users are females in the 40-59 age group, yet the 60+ females do not use the word at all. 'Taws' were, historically, very much a boyhood preoccupation, as reflected in the 60+ males' scores and it is difficult to account for the 40-59 age group's females ***still used*** **A** score for what might have been expected to be very much a 'men's' word. A full scoring extract for 'taws' is set out below :

	60+ M	60+ F	40-59 M	40-59 F	20-39 M	20-39 F	0-19 M	0-19 F
known	81.8%	100%	91.7%	91.7%	46.7%	6.7%	0%	7.7%
still used **A**	**36.4%**	0%	16.7%	**25.0%**	6.7%	0%	0%	0%

1.32 In the foregoing paragraphs of this Part 2 of Chapter VII, reference has been made in several places to words appearing to be particularly associated with specific situations and environments and it would, perhaps, be useful to now look at this idea in a more structured way.

1.33 The notion of there existing distinct sex-roles in most aspects of life is having to be reappraised as women and men increasingly accept a wider range of domestic and occupational duties and responsibilities, often encroaching on the 'traditional' gender functions. Though the situation is changing with some rapidity, it is nevertheless still a general truism that certain activities are gender-related. Caring and child-rearing functions remain primarily the concern of women. Breadwinning and the world of work are still associated more with the male than the female role. Young mothers inevitably spend a great deal of their time in interaction with children and with other young mothers, while men of all ages, together with many young women, and women past child-bearing age, tend to spend much of their time in working environments. The working environments may sometimes be predominantly of one sex. It might be expected that these differing life experiences would affect linguistic behaviour and, in the particular context of this research, affect the available lexical stock and the type, range and frequency of nonstandard words known and used.

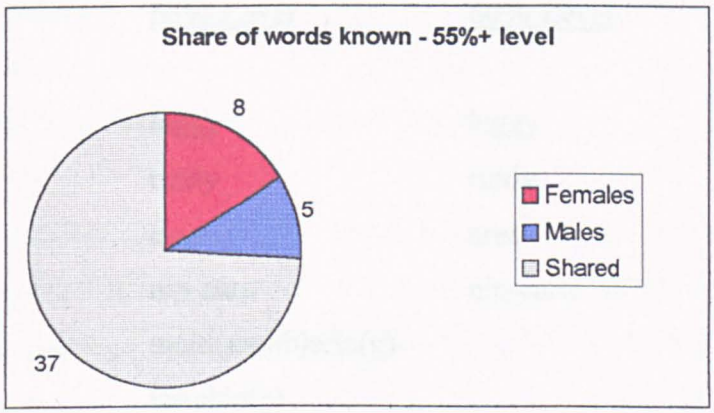
'Women's' and 'men's' words and words related to gender-roles and activities

1.34 It has been demonstrated in the foregoing paragraphs that 'women's' words need not necessarily relate specifically to female roles and activities. The supposition is that there exist nonstandard words, amongst the total list of fifty used in the research survey, which one sex prefers to choose and use from its available lexical stock and which are not chosen and used to the same extent by the other sex. To isolate and identify such words, a quantitative measure will be applied. The pie charts at *Figure* **VII.24 A** and **B** show the raw numbers of informants of each sex recording ***known*** scores which exceed 55% and 60%, respectively, of the total number of informants recording the word as ***known.*** [32] The same measures and graphic illustration format will be applied to the ***still used*** **A** scores. The interpretative significance of the values at these two levels is that, at the 55% threshold, the body of words represented may be considered as being

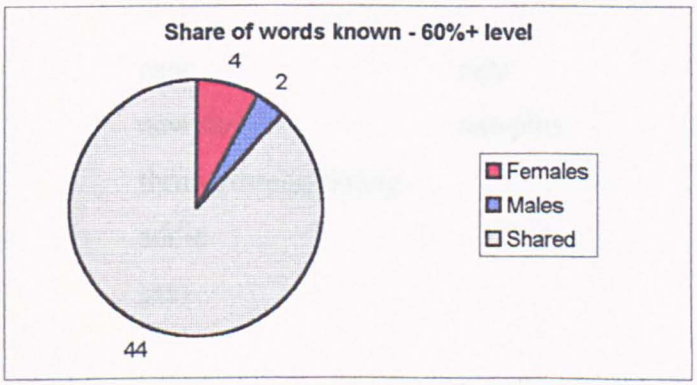
'strongly' in the possession of one or other sex. At the 60% threshold, the body of words represented may be regarded as being 'very strongly' in one or other sex's possession. It is emphasised that the 55% and 60% thresholds used here do not represent absolute quantitative knowledge and usage in relation to the whole sample of informants. They are percentages, relevant to *the total number of informants* (i.e male + female) who know, or use, the identified word(s). The only function of this process is to identify the bodies of words which may have sex-differentials in knowledge and use.

Figure **VII.24** **Share of words *known* - all informants**

A :



B :



1.35 *Figure* **VII.24 A** shows that if a 55% threshold level is employed, the females have numerical superiority for eight of the fifty words in the survey word

list, the males have numerical superiority in five of the words, and the rest of the words may be regarded as 'shared' (i.e. neither sex shows numerical superiority of 10% or more, in numbers of informants knowing the word).

1.36 If the threshold level is raised to 60% (*Figure* **VII.24 B**), female numerical superiority is recorded for only four words and male superiority is shown for only two words.

1.37 The following is a summary of the words showing differential male and female 'ownership', as far as knowledge of them is concerned, at the two threshold levels:

	55% Level	**60% Level**
Females	luggy	luggy
	ruttly	ruttly
	cree	cree
	nip-curn	nip-curn
	moid(moith)erin(g)	
	fratchin(g)	
	winter-(h)edge	
	twind	
Males	cahr	cahr
	nawpins	nawpins
	throng/threng/thrang	
	addle	
	sam	

1.38 In terms of knowledge of the nonstandard words used in the survey list, it appears from the above data that neither sex may be regarded as having overwhelming 'ownership' of its own distinctive corpus. There is, however, the

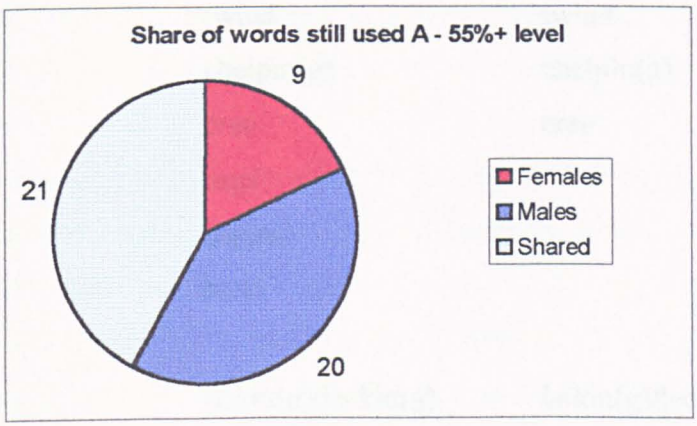
suggestion of trends which may reflect sex-differential knowledge based on specific environments and situations associated with the words. Seven of the eight 'women's words' at the 55% level may be regarded as associated with 'traditional' female roles as carers/child-rearers or housekeepers and the remaining one, 'twind', has already been noted as particularly associated with girls' skipping games. Four of these words retain their female 'ownership' at the 60% level. Of the 'men's words' at the 55% level, all except 'cahr' may be thought of as having strong workplace associations and one of these, 'nawpins', carries through to the 60% level.

1.39 In summary, by and large neither sex demonstrates overwhelming 'ownership' in knowledge of a distinctly large corpus of the nonstandard words, though there is evidence of a latent pattern of such a differential. It may well be that this was more visible in the past when people knew, and used, a greater number of nonstandard words in their everyday speech.

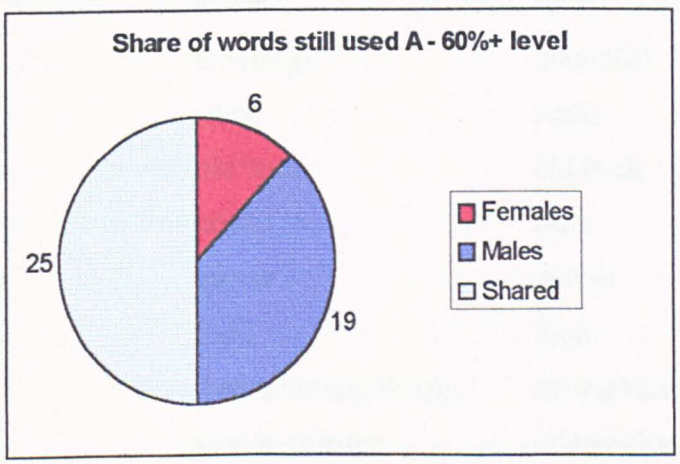
1.40 Turning now to the use of the nonstandard words, a very different picture emerges. *Figures* **VII.25 A** and **B** use the same measurement techniques, thresholds and display format as for words ***known***, but in this case the dimension is word usage.

Figure **VII.25** **Share of words *still used* A - all informants**

A :



B :



1.41 There is strong evidence that, as far as the ***still used*** **A** values are concerned, the nonstandard word survey list distinctly shows significant sectors of differential male and female 'ownership'. The men, in particular, lay claim to two-fifths of the fifty words at the 55% level, while the women show their 'ownership' of nearly a fifth. The female claim is reduced somewhat at the 60% level but the males drop 'ownership' of only one word at this threshold. The words, and their share distribution at the two levels, is summarised below :

	55% Level	60% Level
Females	luggy	luggy
	ruttly	ruttly
	chunterin(g)	chunterin(g)
	twind	twind
	chelpin(g)	chelpin(g)
	cree	cree
	segs	
	capped	
	band	
Males	laikin(g)/leckin(g)	laikin(g)/leckin(g)
	flit	flit
	spice	spice
	brayin(g)	brayin(g)
	addle	addle
	old buck	old buck
	taws	taws
	pawse	pawse
	thoil	thoil
	throng/threng/thrang	throng/threng/thrang
	winter-(h)edge	winter-(h)edge
	mullock	mullock
	clag	clag
	mardy	mardy
	sam	sam
	mun	mun
	silin(g)	silin(g)
	tusky	tusky
	nawpins	nawpins
	brussen	

1.42 Of the 'women's words', at both the 55% and 60% Levels, 'luggy' and 'ruttly' are associated with the caring/parenting role, while 'chunterin(g)' and 'chelpin(g)' are in the 'linguistic/communicative' domain, but may also be regarded as having some child behaviour connotations. 'Twind' has already been established as a girls' skipping word and 'cree' is culinary. The 'ownership' by women of all the six words which are extant at the 60% Level is fairly apparent.

1.43 The 'men's' word lists are identical at both the 55% and the 60% Levels, with the exception of 'brussen' which occurs only at the lower threshold. Four of these ('addle', 'throng/threng/thrang', 'sam' and 'nawpins') are associated with the workplace and are also the four which occurred at the 55% Level in the foregoing ***known*** category. Both 'brayin(g)' and 'pawse' can carry what might be regarded as aggressive, 'macho' connotations. 'Brayin(g)' can also have workplace application, particularly where percussive processes are involved, as in *"Bray a few nails in"* or *"We've given it a good brayin' but it won't come loose"*. 'Taws' is no surprise in these lists, for possessing marbles and *"laikin' taws"* used to be very much a boys' pastime and here it forms a kind of counterpoint to the girls' skipping word 'twind', though it is now probably more archaic and redundant. The two unexpected items in these lists for men are 'winter-(h)edge' and 'mardy', the first being a purely domestic term and the second being normally associated with child behaviour and thus might have been expected to appear amongst the 'women's words'. Perhaps men preserve its use in relation to their workmates and superiors. The remaining words do not immediately suggest themselves as being particularly 'masculine', though 'clag' and 'mullock' could have some limited use in certain work environments.

1.44 Generally speaking, males and females know the same words (though sometimes to different degrees) but the lexical choices they make for use show some distinct sex-group preferences. The males in particular show their 'ownership' of a significant portion of the nonstandard words used in the research survey. 'Women's' words appear to be largely associated with domestic and

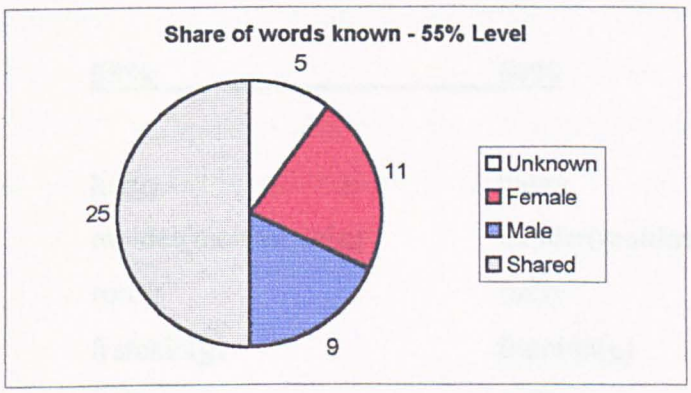
mothering roles and with communicative behaviour, whereas many of the 'men's' words probably have their main utility in the workplace or, alternatively, project what might be seen as 'masculine' traits.

The parenting age group

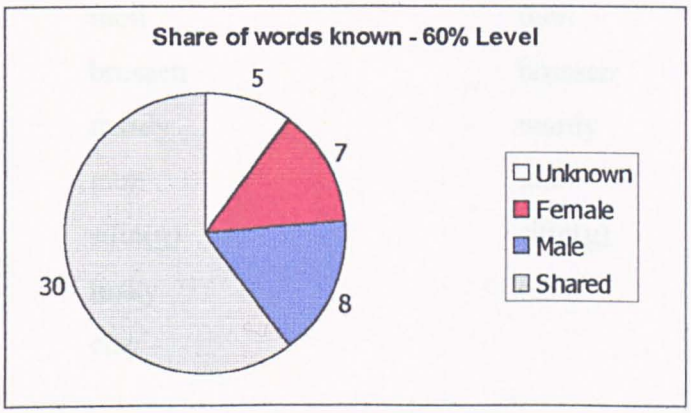
1.45 Frequent mention has been made in this chapter about words which seem to be associated particularly with child-rearing functions and how these seem to be mainly the property of women in their mothering and caring roles. The main parenting years are encompassed in the 20-39 age group used in this research and it may be instructive to analyse the ***known*** and ***still used*** **A** values for the 20-39 age group, as was done for the whole informant sample in the immediately preceding paragraphs, to see if this group displays patterns of male and female 'ownership' which differ from the general picture.

Figure **VII.26 Age group 20-39 share of words *known***

A :



B :



1.46 At the 55% Level the sexes share half the words. Five of the words are unknown to this age group but, for the rest, there is a clear division into 'women's words' and 'men's' words. This division remains in evidence if a 60% threshold is employed, but with the males replacing the females as superior in knowledge and both sexes sharing more words ***known***. The following lists the words, by sex group, at both thresholds :

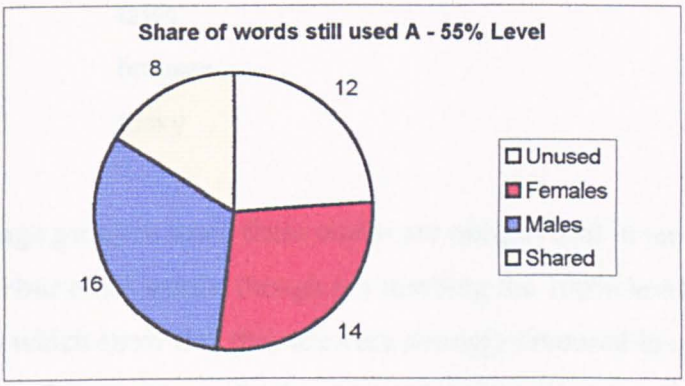
	55%	60%
Females	luggy	luggy
	moider(moither)in(g)	moider(moither)in(g)
	ruttly	ruttly
	fratchin(g)	fratchin(g)
	peff	peff
	pawse	pawse
	leet on	leet on
	capped	
	starved	
	chelpin(g)	
	side	

	55%	60%
Males	addle	addle
	taws	taws
	thoil	thoil
	brussen	brussen
	mardy	mardy
	mun	mun
	silin(g)	silin(g)
	tusky	tusky
	clag	

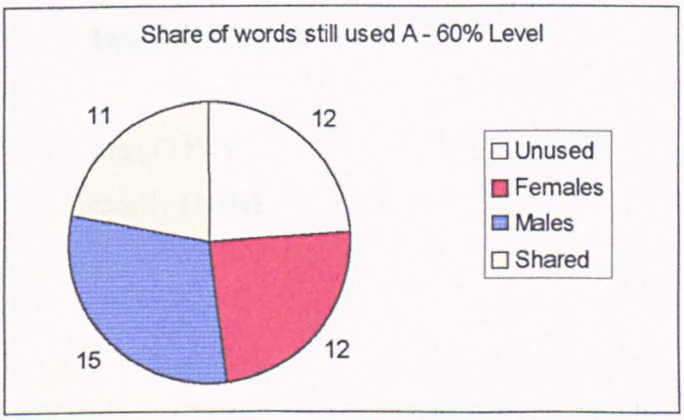
1.47 As far as the parenting/caring words are concerned, the women show ownership of 'luggy', 'ruttly' and 'peff'. 'Fratchin(g)' and 'chelpin(g)' are also female 'property' and these two may be regarded as being both in the child-behaviour and 'communicative' domains. The men record only one parenting term, 'mardy' and, as was suggested earlier, this may be a word which men have generalised in use beyond the 'spoilt, moody, sulky child' meaning.[33] 'Side' is usually associated with the domestic scene, with housekeeping in particular, and it is not an unexpected inclusion amongst the 'women's words' in this age group. 'Pawse', however, is unexpected in the female list, given that in the overall picture, across the age groups, it emerges as a 'men's' word. Of course, these observations relate to the ***known*** words and actual usage may present a different picture.

Figure **VII.27** **Age group 20-39 - share of words *still used* A**

A :



B :



1.48 The data here presents a dramatic illustration of this age group having sex-differentiated lists of words they use. At the 55% Level, only eight of the thirty-eight words in use are widely shared by men and women, the others displaying strong associations with one sex or the other. In fact, several words show 100% use within the age group by one sex (which, of course, means that the opposite sex records zero use of the word) :

100% female use ruttly
fratchin(g)
capped

throng/threng/thrang
mullock

100% male use

peff
taws
brussen
tusky

1.49 In this age group at least, these words are unequivocal in terms of their 'ownership'. Four other words, though not reaching the 100% level, return scores of magnitudes which show that they are very strongly favoured in use by one sex group - and therefore correspondingly less-preferred by the other :

Female use

tushy-peg (75%)
twind (83.3%)

Male use

clag (75%)
mardy (80%)

1.50 The complete list of ***still used*** **A** words, by sex and threshold level, is :

	55%	**60%**
20-39	luggy	luggy
Females	kallin(g)	kallin(g)
	tushy-peg	tushy-peg
	ruttly	ruttly
	chunterin(g)	chunterin(g)
	fratchin(g)	fratchin(g)
	capped	capped
	barn/bairn	barn/bairn
	throng/threng/thrang	throng/threng/thrang
	mullock	mullock
	twind	twind
	chelpin(g)	chelpin(g)
	jiggered	
	spice	
20-39	laikin(g)/leckin(g)	laikin(g)/leckin(g)
Males	flit	flit
	moider(moither)in(g)	moider(moither)in(g)
	teemin(g)	teemin(g)
	brayin(g)	brayin(g)
	gormless	gormless
	peff	peff
	taws	taws
	starved	starved
	brussen	brussen
	clag	clag
	mardy	mardy

silin(g)	silin(g)
tusky	tusky
side	side
mash	

1.51 The sex-specific possessiveness factor is highlighted by the fact that the females have only two less words at the 60% Level than at the 55% Level, while the males have only one word less at the higher threshold. This indicates that virtually all the words have very strong, sex-specific usage rates within this age group.

1.52 The sex-group differentiation is obvious in this age group - there are clearly 'women's words' and 'men's words', each sex having 'ownership' of a distinct and numerically strong corpus of words. The General Study results presented in Chapter V show that this age group has the closest male/female scores in the percentage values for words ***known*** and for words ***still used*** **A**, and the second closest (after the 60+ age group) for words ***still used*** **B**. Overall, the 20-39 male and female knowledge and usage levels are more alike than for any other age group. However, as has been demonstrated here, their near-equivalence (especially in their usage) is largely founded on quite different bodies of words.

1.53 The other relationship we are concerned with here is the incidence of use of parenting words in this child-rearing age group. From the above **still *used* A** lists, we can identify the following as being particularly associated with the parenting/caring role or with childhood in general :

20-39 Female use	luggy
	spice
	tushy-peg
	ruttly
	barn/bairn
	twind

to which may be added the words which have both child-behaviour and 'communicative' connotations :

chunterin(g)

fratchin(g)

chelpin(g)

20-39 Male use

laikin(g)/leckin(g)

moider(moither)in(g)

peff

mardy

taws

1.54 Clearly, these words associated with parenting and children are well-represented in use in this age group, but how does their usage compare with that of the whole sample of informants ? The following list presents these particular words with their ***still used*** **A** scores for the 20-39 age group and, for comparison, the ***still used*** **A** percentage scores for all age groups [34] (for each word the superior score is in bold red print) :

	20-39 age group	**All age groups**
laikin(g)/leckin(g)	**20%**	18.5%
luggy	16.7%	**29.3%**
moider(moither)in(g)	**30%**	20.1%
tushy-peg	**26.7%**	15.1%
ruttly	20%	**20.9%**
chunterin(g)	**60%**	52.5%
fratchin(g)	13.3%	**22%**
peff	3.3%	**22%**
taws	3.3%	**10.6%**
barn/bairn	**36.7%**	25.3%
twind	**20%**	15.3%

(continued...)

chelpin(g)	**43.3%**	23.5%
mardy	**16.7%**	13.7%
spice	**40.0%**	24.9%

1.55 It can be seen that only 'chelpin(g)' and 'spice' show substantial superiority in usage by the 20-39 age group. Other scores favouring the 20-39 group have, at best, little superiority over the all-age values, though 'barn/bairn' and the infantile term 'tushy-peg' may be regarded as demonstrating modest 20-39 age group scoring superiority. But in some other cases the difference is minimal. In fact, five of the fourteen words show greater use across the whole sample of informants than they do at the 20-39 parenting age group. Interestingly, the nine words which do show superior ***still used*** **A** values at the 20-39 age group include three which are associated as much with 'communicative' behaviour as with child behaviour: 'moider(moither)in(g), 'chunterin(g)' and 'chelpin(g)' - this last returning the greatest difference between 20-39 and all-age scores. Of the 'communicative' words, only 'fratchin(g)' fails to show 20-39 age group superiority of ***still used*** **A** score.

1.56 The conclusion concerning the parenting words and the child-rearing age group must be that these informants do, overall, choose to use slightly more than the whole sample of informants' average of words connected with children, though not greatly so. To some extent, they are making a contribution to the preservation of such words as part of the community's lexical stock, though other age/sex groups (particularly women overall) also have an important role in this process.

'Communicative' words

1.57 At a number of points in this chapter, mention has been made of words which may be regarded as having an association with 'communicative' interaction. It has also been suggested that such words may be especially associated with female knowledge and use and this suggestion will now be tested.

1.58 The following words have been extracted from the survey word list, being identified as having a connection with communicative behaviour or linguistic interaction. They are tabulated to show, in red, where female knowledge and use (over all the age groups) exceeds that of the males, using the ***known*** and ***still used*** **A** values. Blue figures indicate male superiority of score :

'Communicative' word	*known*		*still used* **A**	
	M	**F**	**M**	**F**
kallin(g)	69.6%	**81.0%**	40.1%	**47.2%**
moider(moither)in(g)	66.9%	**84.9%**	**21.0%**	19.1%
chunterin(g)	83.1%	**100%**	39.7%	**65.3%**
fratchin(g)	51.7%	**72.3%**	**23.7%**	20.3%
chelpin(g)	70.5%	**83.0%**	17.0%	**29.9%**

1.59 Greater knowledge of 'communicative' words is apparently a female characteristic; their ***known*** scores exceed those of the males by significant margins in every instance. The position regarding usage is not as clear-cut but the women outscore the men in three of the five words and in the other two their scores are not too dissimilar from those of the men. It can be confidently claimed that the 'communicative' nonstandard words included in the survey word list may be regarded very much as 'women's' words.

Words of the workplace environment

1.60 It has been alluded to in several places in this chapter that certain of the nonstandard words used in the survey word list may have differential knowledge and usage patterns from the rest because of their workplace connotations. It has been suggested that such words may, perhaps, be more the property of the working age groups (i.e. 20-39 and 40-59, in this research's terms) and, more specifically, within those age groups, of the males. These ideas will now be explored.

1.61 Nine nonstandard words may be considered to have some association with the working environment :

laikin(g)/leckin(g) [35]
brayin(g)
frame
band
nawpins
addle
sam
mullock
throng/threng/thrang

The ***known*** data on these words are :

0-19		20-39		40-59		60+	
M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F
24.0%	35.0%	38.5%	36.3%	66.7%	46.3%	75.7%	84.4%

All male mean = 51.2% **All female mean = 50.5%**

Combined male and female 20-39 and 40-59 age groups' mean = 47%

Combined other age groups' mean = 54.8%

Combined males 20-39 and 40-59 age groups' mean = 52.6%

Combined other age and sex groups' mean = 36.3%

1.62 Overall there is little difference between the male and female mean percentage scores for words ***known***. The 20-39 and 40-59 age groups (males + females) mean ***known*** score is exceeded by that of the mean for rest of the age groups. But when the mean values for the males of the combined 'working years' age groups of 20-39 and 40-59 are isolated, they have a clear superiority with 52.6% over the 36.6% mean for the rest.

1.63 In knowledge, the 'working' age group males could claim more 'ownership' of these nine workplace-associated words than the other age and sex groups.

1.64 Does the picture change in any way when we examined the usage pattern of these words ? The data for ***still used*** **A** values are :

0-19		20-39		40-59		60+	
M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F
11.1%	18.8%	23.0%	18.5%	32.4%	12.0%	24.3%	14.4%

All male mean = 22.7% **All female mean = 15.9%**

Combined male and female 20-39 and 40-59 age groups' mean = 21.5%

Combined other age groups' mean = 17.2%

Combined males 20-39 and 40-59 age groups' mean = 27.7%

Combined other age and sex groups' mean = 16.5%

1.65 In general, the men show more use of these nine words than do the women. The 20-39 and 40-59 'working' age groups combined also show more use of the words than do the other age groups. Isolating and combining the mean scores of

still used **A** for the males of the 20-39 and 40-49 age groups shows them well ahead of the mean for all other age/sex groups combined.

1.66 The trend appears to be that the use of these words is closely associated with the 'working' years and the workplace and, in particular, by men of 'working' age.

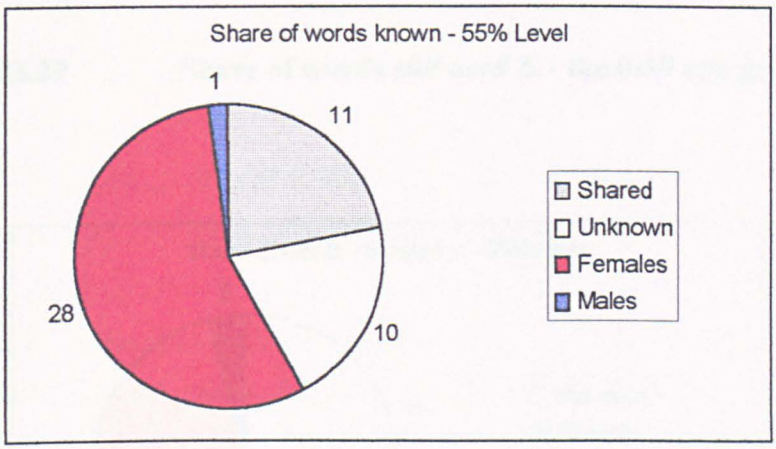
The differentials in knowledge and use at the youngest age group

1.67 The lexical analysis has shown that men and women informants, though having more-or-less common knowledge of the words, and sharing the use of many of them, have their 'own' distinct bodies of words which they prefer to use.

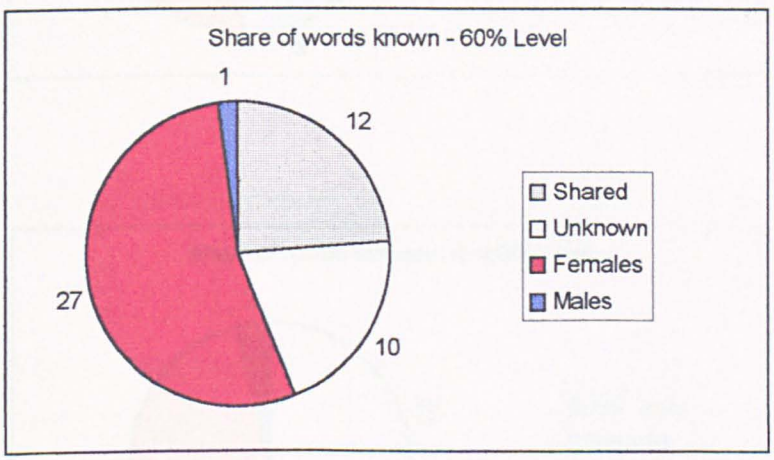
1.68 It has already been established that, at the 0-19 age group, females surpass their male peers in both knowledge and use of the nonstandard words in the survey. What will now be examined is the pattern of knowledge and use in terms of the individual lexical items for this particular age group. *Figures* **VII.28 A** and **B** show the situation in relation to words ***known*** at the 55% and 60% threshold Levels :

Figure **VII.28** **Share of words *known* - the 0-19 age group**

A :



B :

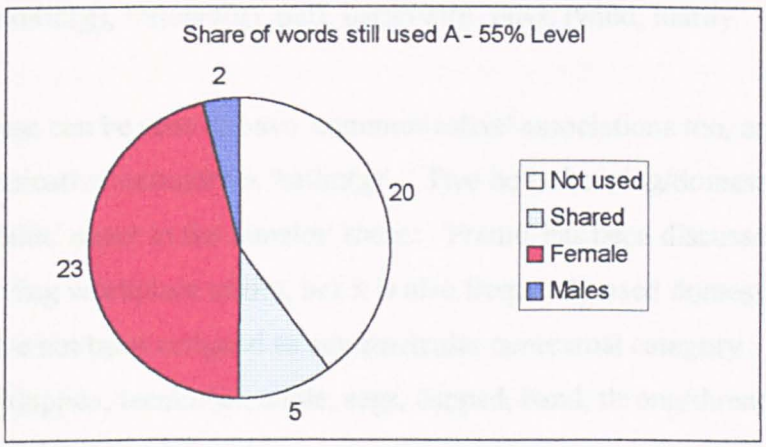


1.69 These pie charts show, as would be expected from the General Study data, overwhelming female superiority of words ***known***, with more than half the words their 'property' at both Levels. What is perhaps surprising is that all but ten of the nonstandard words in the survey list are recorded as ***known*** within the collective scoring of this age group. Less than a quarter of the total word list is shared by the sexes and the males have 'ownership' of only one word at both Levels.

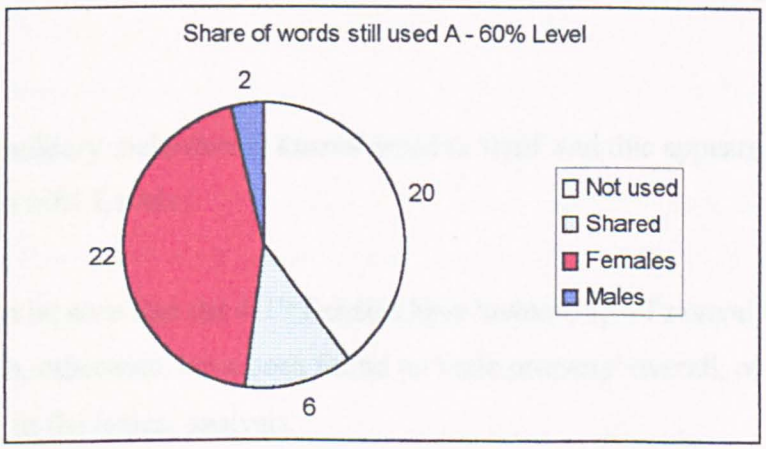
1.70 The ***still used*** **A** situation is shown in *Figures* **VII.29 A** and **B**

Figure **VII.29** **Share of words *still used* A - the 0-19 age group**

A :



B :



1.71 The female superiority diminishes by very little in the ***still used*** **A** context. Many fewer words are used in this age group, as would be expected, yet the females still record almost half the words as their 'own' at both threshold Levels. Fewer words are shared, in comparison with the words ***known*** situation, and the

males only manage to record their superiority of usage for two words at both Levels.

1.72 The child-associated/caring words present in the females' words ***known*** share at the 55% Level are:

catchin(g), luggy, moider(moither)in(g), tushy-peg,
chunterin(g), fratchin(g), peff, barn/bairn, taws, twind, mardy

Three of these can be seen to have 'communicative' associations too, and also in the 'communicative' category is 'kallin(g)'. Two housekeeping/domestic words, 'mash' and 'side' occur in the females' share. 'Frame' has been discussed earlier as possibly having workplace utility, but it is also frequently used domestically. The rest have not been assigned to any particular contextual category : jiggered, gormless, (h)appen, teemin(g), addle, segs, capped, band, throng/threng/thrang, brussen, mullock, clag, silin(g).

1.73 Of the above 'women's words', only 'brussen' does not appear again at the 60% Level.

1.74 The solitary male-owned ***known*** word is 'thoil' and this appears at both the 55% and the 60% Levels.

1.75 It can be seen that the 0-19 females have 'ownership' of several ***known*** words which, otherwise, have been found as 'male property' overall, or at other age groups, in the lexical analysis.

1.76 The child-associated/caring words are again well-represented in female 'ownership' at the 55% Level in the ***still used*** **A** context :

laikin(g)/leckin(g), catchin(g), luggy, spanish, moider(moither)in(g),
chunterin(g), peff, barn/bairn, twind, chelpin(g), mardy.

'Side' and 'mash' survive in use as 'domestic' words at the 55% Level. The 'communicative' word 'kallin(g)' is present and the work/domestic related 'frame' is there too. The rest of the female-owned words at this level are : ginnel, jiggered, (h)appen, teemin(g), segs, band, mun, (h)utch up.

1.77 Of the female list, only 'ginnel' does not appear again at the 60% Level.

1.78 The males' ***still used*** **A** words, occurring at both the 55% and 60% Levels are surprising : 'spice' and 'tushy-peg' , both of which might have been expected to more likely emerge as 'female' words. While 'spice' does have wide utility, 'tushy-peg' is especially surprising. The researcher's expectation would be that 'tushy-peg' was only likely to be used in verbal interaction with young children - by mothers or other adults in child-caring roles, or by infants themselves. However, there is the possibility that some infantile words - such as this one - may be used jocularly or facetiously in adult-adult interactions.

1.79 Though knowledge and usage rates are generally low at this youngest age group, there is clear female superiority in both. The females can lay claim to a substantial proportion of what is ***known*** and what is ***still used*** **A** at both threshold levels, while the males are barely represented in any of the situations presented here Furthermore, though the females' lists do have the child-associated/caring words well-represented, they can also claim knowledge and use of words applicable to wider contexts, including 'communicative', work-related, and what elsewhere have emerged as 'men's' words.

SECTION C - SUMMARY AND INTERPRETATION OF THE FINDINGS OF THE LEXICAL ANALYSIS

1.1 The analysis carried out on the nonstandard words used in the survey list has shown that there exist detailed differentials in knowledge and use of individual words. Sex, age group and the context of use all appear to exert an influence on who knows and who uses *which* words. This obviously has implications for the survival prospects of the nonstandard words used in this survey.

1.2 These issues - and the implications arising from them - will be returned to and examined in more detail in Chapter VIII, which follows.

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[1] Trudgill (1990), p. 125.

[2] McMahon (1994), p. 240.

[3] For this purpose, the 80+ and the 60-79 age groups continue to be combined under the label '60+'.

[4] Kellett (1994) has it as the verb *laik* (to play), or to be unemployed or not working. From ON *leika*; *cf* Norwegian *lek*, Swedish *leka* and Icelandic *leikur, -s, ir*. The constructional toy, *Lego*, derives its name from the same root, via modern Danish *lege*.

[5] Kellett (1994).

[6] Pontefract, West Yorkshire, is the region's historic home of liquorice growing and liquorice confectionery manufacture.

[7] It is likely that older people in the area would have used 'babby' as much as 'barn'/'bairn', while the Americanism 'kids' has largely ousted the older terms throughout all age groups and it is, therefore, perhaps somewhat surprising that the archaic forms 'barn' and 'bairn' still show evidence of survival in use at the 0-19 age group.

[8] OF *breier* (Kellett (1994)).

[9] Variation of *chirping* (Kellett (1994)).

[10] Kellett (1994).

[11] To clear (e.g. a table); to put things away.

[12] See Chapter IV (Methodology) for calculations of the Standard Deviations of the individual word list items.

[13] ON *toema*; *cf* modern Norwegian *tømme ut* = to pour out.

[14] The researcher's paternal grandmother often used the expression *"Tha's framin' like a pot 'oss !"* ("You are performing as uselessly as a pot horse (china ornament)", when reprimanding someone for not working in an efficient or properly organised manner.

[15] It was, for example, used in the *Yorkshire Evening Post* newspaper in September 1997 when reporting assaults on women, implying that it is widely known and used and warrants no further definition for readers in the region.

[16] *Cf* Norwegian *lugge*, to pull by the hair (Kellett (1995)).

[17] *Cf* ON *band.*

[18] Kellett (1994), op cit.

[19] North West Sound Archive (1994) *A Textile Dictionary of Dialect and Technical Terms 1750-1960*; Clitheroe, Lancashire. p. 69.

[20] Kellett (1994).

[21] Dyer (1891), p. 97.

[22] Kellet (1994).

[23] Folk-etymology appears to have corrupted 'winter-(h)edge' to 'winter-ledge' in parts of south Leeds, such as Hunslet, and this found its way to Pudsey, perhaps through migration or the daily travel to work in the mills of the area by south Leeds residents.

[24] *Cf* Icelandic *kyrr* (quiet, calm, still, not moving) as in *"Vertu kyrr !" ("Be quiet !*), and Icelandic *kúra,* Danish *kure* (to doze, lie quiet) and Swedish *kura* (to doze, roost, settle to rest) which hint at an ON etymology.

[25] Interestingly, after the data collection phase of this research, the researcher came across a young woman (probably about 25 years of age) who does make her own rice puddings and knew and applied the term 'cree' to an early stage of the process, which seems to lend some support to the suggestion that its survival was dependent on its use before the arrival of the tinned alternative.

[26] Kellett (1994).

[27] Dyer (1891), p. 92.

[28] Though one informant in this research reported that in his childhood the term was applied to only one ***condition*** of rhubarb, when the growth was old and a little 'woody', in which case it could be a corruption of 'tough' or perhaps even 'tusk-like'.

[29] Kellett (1994).

[30] This, by definition, is a characteristic of Clusters 1-7, which were all identified as having peak usage at age groups other than the 60+.

[31] This reinforces the finding reported in Chapter V that the 40-59 age group males record the greatest - and only - superiority of ***still used*** **A** scores, and the greatest superiority of ***still used*** **B** scores, over female peers, for the *total* word list.

[32] These are arbitrary measures and have no mathematical justification, other than the researcher's judgement that it needs a superiority of at least 10% magnitude before a word can be said to be especially well-known, or favoured in selection, by users of one sex over the other .

[33] The researcher recalls an incident in his army service in the 1960s when the battalion's commanding officer was in a bad mood and was brusque with his driver. He later apologised to the driver (who was raised in the area of this present research) and, accepting the apology, the driver remarked *"That's OK, sir. I've got three kids and they sometimes get mardy an' all"*. This suggests that men had already 'borrowed' this word from the child-behaviour context and were applying it to adults too, thirty or more years ago.

[34] It should be noted that it is ***still used*** A percentage scores which are being used here, as these reflect the extent of use within the overall pattern amongst age/sex groups. The 'raw' values reflecting the 'share' of words were used only for the purposes of differentiation, to identify which words might be regarded as 'women's words' and 'men's words'.

[35] Though this is in one sense a child-associated word, meaning 'playing', it has also been used widely in the extended sense of not being at work, or being unemployed - i.e., 'playing' rather than 'working'. In some parts of Yorkshire, the days off in shift patterns are known as *"laikin(g) days"*.

CHAPTER VIII

RESEARCH SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

"For the most part, language changes because society changes". [1]

CHAPTER PREFACE

This concluding chapter is organised into four sections, as follows :

SECTION A - SUMMARY OF THE THEORETICAL BASE, THE OBJECTIVES AND THE CONDUCT OF THE RESEARCH..

SECTION B - GENERAL CONCLUSIONS DRAWN FROM THE RESEARCH.

SECTION C - EXPANSION OF CONCLUSIONS DRAWN FROM THE RESEARCH

SECTION D - CRITIQUE OF THE RESEARCH.

SECTION E - SUGGESTIONS FOR FURTHER RESEARCH.

SECTION A - SUMMARY OF THEORETICAL BASE, THE OBJECTIVES AND THE CONDUCT OF THE RESEARCH

The background theory

1.1 The background theory of this study is that levels of both knowledge and use of certain nonstandard words are lower than they were at an earlier time in this century. In dialectological terms, there has been an 'attrition' or 'erosion' of 'dialect'. [2] This is an aspect of language change, which will include alterations to the quantity and composition of the lexical stock available to a community, and from which they can make choices for use in their everyday speech.

1.2 At a more focused level, it is theorised that the anticipated reduction in knowledge and use of certain nonstandard words is quantitatively measurable and, furthermore, that the resulting values may be usefully correlated, within a sociolinguistic paradigm, with other, explanatory variables, such as age, sex and social class.

The General Study

1.3 The General Study element of this research was concerned with collecting data on a community's knowledge and continued use of nonstandard words, as an indication of what lexical choices remain available to its members. The data were collected by means of a 50-item word list which had been statistically reduced and constructed from a larger list of items provided by a 'panel of experts' recruited from the older inhabitants of the community. The resulting word list is considered to be satisfactorily representative of the nonstandard lexical stock which was available in the research's geographical area around the close of World War One.

1.4 The locality for conducting the survey was defined and, using official census data, a survey sample of the population was drawn. This sample was constructed in proportion to five age groups and male/female incidence. Subsequently, the 60-79 and the 80+ age groups were combined as the latter contained only four informants and, treated separately, their results tended to unduly distort the overall picture.

1.5 The survey was also designed to collect educational, occupational and housing data from which Social Index (SI) scores were arrived at. The collection, quantitative analysis, and interpretation of the raw data on knowledge and usage of the defined corpus of nonstandard words was therefore subsequently augmented by an exploration of possible correlationships amongst age groups, sex and social class.

The Inter-generational Case Studies (IGCSs)

1.6 To complement the General Study data, a number of case studies were conducted on sample families from the research area, with representatives in three successive generations of each family. The IGCSs were carried out in the expectation that they would inform and illuminate such dimensions as : the processes of linguistic cultural transmission at work in the researched community; the part played in this by various social institutions, such as the family, the education system, the workplace and the neighbourhood; and the values and attitudes associated with nonstandard language use.

1.7 The IGCSs were conducted through informal, yet focused, interviews, each generational representative being interviewed separately. Prior to the interviews, IGCS subjects completed the same word list/questionnaire as used in the General Study. Interviews were recorded, selectively transcribed and subjected to content analysis. The resulting data were related, where appropriate, to the General Study findings.

Lexical analysis

1.8 Analysis of the General Study findings was also complemented by an in-depth examination of the individual lexical items used in the survey, with regard to their levels of use by the various age and sex groups. This analysis included consideration of the 'career', across the age groups, of each word used in the survey word list, as well as predictions of survival of knowledge of the words over the next 60 years.

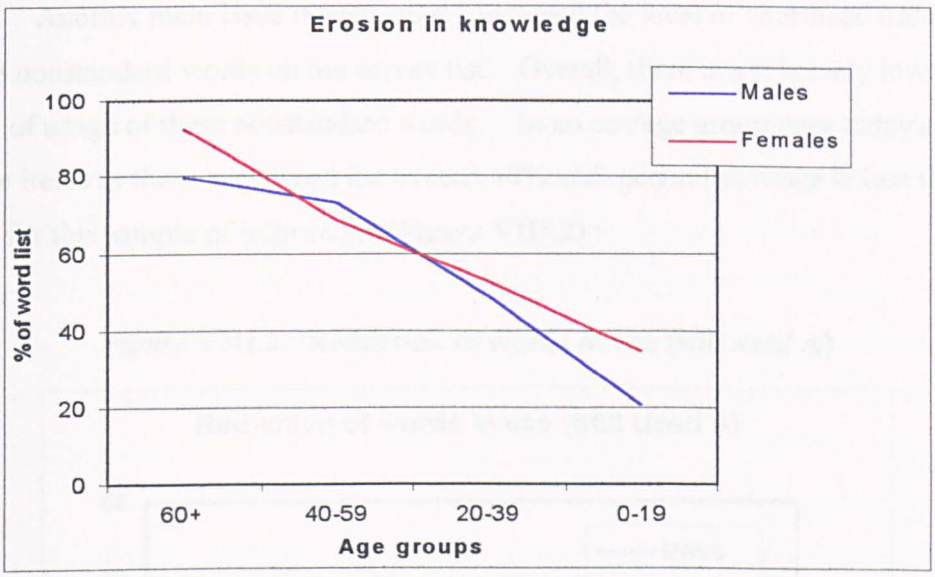
SECTION B - GENERAL CONCLUSIONS DRAWN FROM THE RESEARCH

1 - *EROSION OF KNOWLEDGE*

1.1 If the trend displayed over *apparent time* can be legitimately extrapolated to the context of *real time*, and to the wider lexical stock represented by the word list used for this research, it appears that many nonstandard words are failing to be culturally transmitted from one generation to the next and, consequently, are ceasing to be available, so limiting speakers' choices from a corpus which existed some eighty or so years ago. The erosion of knowledge of the nonstandard words used in the survey list can be seen to be proceeding across *apparent time* and, furthermore, it is doing so at an increasing rate. It is reasonable to suppose that a similar effect will be apparent over *real time.* [3]

1.2 The conservation of knowledge of nonstandard words, within the reducing quantity transmitted from one generation to the next, seems to be mainly a younger female function. Their knowledge, though declining over *apparent time* through a gradient similar to that of the males, is doing so at a slower rate in the youngest age groups (*Figure* **VIII.1**) :

Figure **VIII.1 Erosion of knowledge of the nonstandard words used in the survey list for this research**



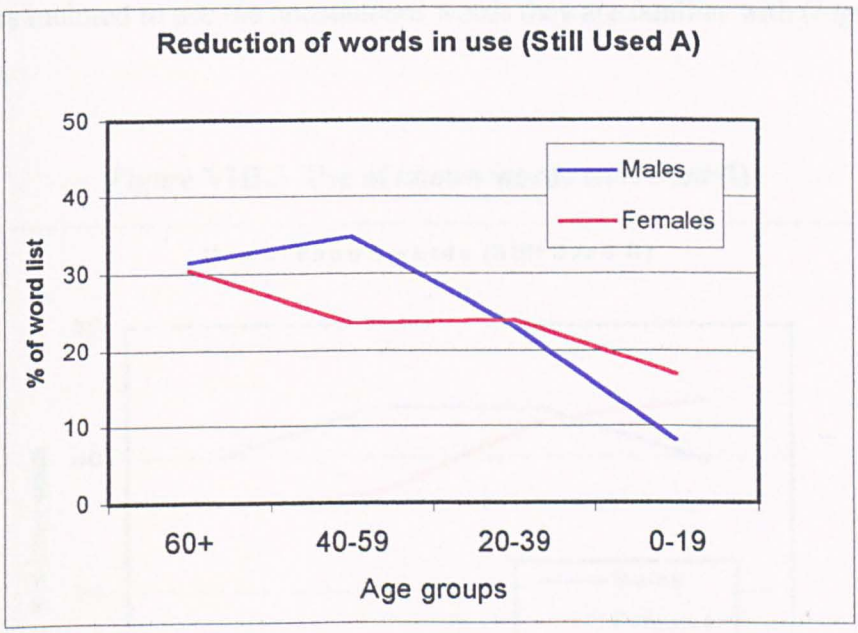
There are clearly questions to be raised about why this should be so, as it might be reasonably expected that both males and females would have been exposed to more or less similar word experiences and processes of cultural transmission. There is the possibility that methodological errors in sample construction may have led to these results but this does not, *prima facie*, seem likely, as the pattern is reasonably consistent through all the age groups.

1.3 In this study, females in the 60+ and 0-19 age groups show significantly superior knowledge in comparison with their male peers.

2 - *LEVELS OF USE*

2.1 Another main issue investigated concerned the level of continued use of those nonstandard words on the survey list. Overall, there is a relatively low level of usage of these nonstandard words. In no sex/age group does today's use of the items in the survey word list exceed 40% and, generally, usage is less than 30% for this sample of informants (*Figure* **VIII.2**) :

Figure **VIII.2 Reduction in words in use (*still used* A)**

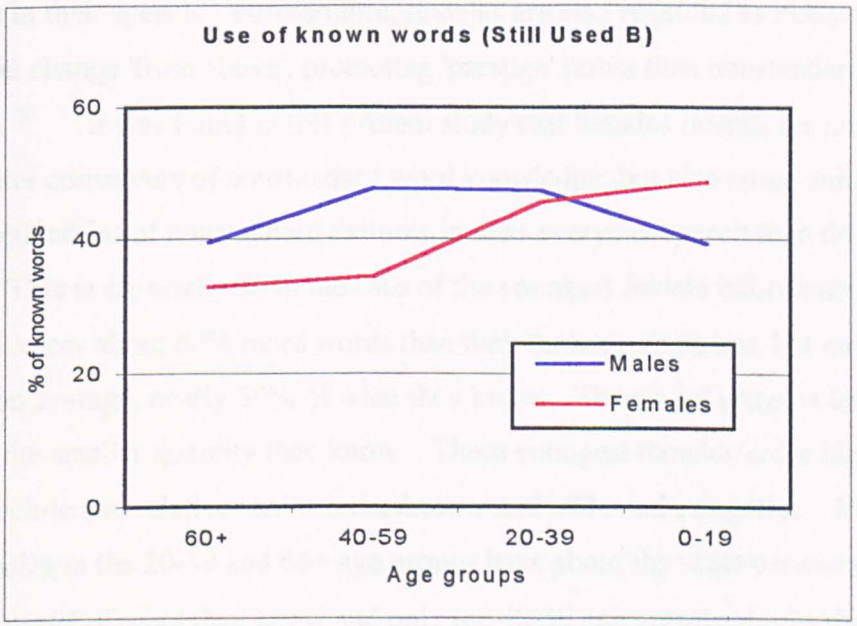


2.2 There is also a low level of usage of words which are ***known*** to the informants, as opposed to the total words in the survey list. This is the result of two aspects of choice. Firstly, there are those nonstandard words which informants know the meaning of but have never elected to use. Then there are those words which informants ***formerly used*** but have since discarded from their everyday vocabulary. There is a general pattern which suggests that the informants in this research currently use in their everyday speech about half the nonstandard words they know from the word list. Furthermore, relative to use of the total word list, there is a less dramatic fall-off in usage across the age groups.

In other words, though the informants know less and less of the word list items over the descending age groups, they tend to use proportionately more of what they do know.

2.3 The highest relative proportions of ***still used*** to ***known*** are to be found with the 0-19 females, emphasising the more conservative role of the youngest women, albeit within an environment of steadily declining knowledge of the nonstandard words. Other comparatively high levels of usage of ***known*** words are to be found with the 20-39 males and females, and with the 40-59 males. By contrast, the oldest informants, middle-aged women and the youngest men seem to be less inclined to use the nonstandard words they are familiar with (*Figure* **VIII.3**) :

Figure **VIII.3 Use of *known* words (*still used* B)**



3 - *SEX-DIFFERENTIATION IN USAGE*

3.1 It has perhaps now become received wisdom that, in general, females tend to use less nonstandard features in their speech than do males. Females are apparently more inclined to position themselves closer to use of the standard. This phenomenon has been widely researched and reported. Milroy, for example, writes that *".....data from the Belfast communities shows in general the* **expected** *pattern of women conforming less closely to vernacular forms than men"* (my emphasis). [4] Trudgill also found it *"not...particularly surprising"* that males used more of a nonstandard feature than did females in an American research project. [5] There is clearly in these, and other works referred to in Chapter III, an assumption that males will, in general, exhibit greater use of nonstandard features in their speech. Furthermore, females are also regarded as likely to lead linguistic change 'from above', promoting 'prestige' rather than nonstandard features. [6] It was found in this present study that females overall are not only the greater conservers of nonstandard word knowledge, but also retain similar or greater quantities of nonstandard features in their everyday speech than do the males. This is especially so in the case of the youngest female informants, who not only know about 66% more words than their male counterparts, but continue to use, on average, nearly 50% of what they know. The males' usage is less than 40% of the smaller quantity they know. These youngest females score higher in both absolute and relative terms in the ***known*** and ***still used*** categories. Males and females in the 20-39 and 60+ age groups have about the same percentage level of usage of what they know and only the 40-59 age group exhibits the 'expected' phenomenon of markedly lower female usage in comparison with their male peers. In absolute terms, male and female usage is similar overall, but with females having a slight lead. Males, on average, know about 27 of the 50 survey-listed words and use about 11 items from the list in their everyday speech; the average female, on the other hand, knows more than 31 and uses about 12 of the items from the word list. There is, on the face of it, no compelling evidence in

this research's results appear to support the theory that females overall are more inclined than males to exclude ***known*** nonstandard features from their everyday speech. This provisional conclusion will be examined again later.

4 - *KNOWLEDGE - THE SOCIAL DIMENSION*

4.1 It is the overt *use* of nonstandard speech which produces markers of social class, not *knowledge* of the nonstandard lexicon. In the survey word list score tables (Appendix E) can be found examples of informants with relatively high Social Index scores also having high ***known*** scores, for instance (*Figure* **VIII.4**) :

Figure **VIII.4**

General Study informant code	SI Score (Possible range 0-15)	(Age/sex mean)	***known*** score	(Age/sex mean)
2039M3	10.91	(9.07)	58.0%	(49.07%)
2039F3	12.66	(8.26)	60.0%	(52.93%)
4059F12	11.66	(7.58)	80.0%	(68.83%)

Conversely, some informants of low Social Index returned modest scores for words ***known***, for instance (*Figure* **VIII.5**) :

Figure **VIII.5**

General Study informant code	SI Score	(Age/sex mean)	***known*** score	(Age/sex mean)
09M12	3.0	(8.25)	12.0	(20.83)
2039F14	3.0	(8.26)	34.0	(52.93)
4059M9	5.55	(9.26)	66.0	(73.0)

4.2 This research did not produce any substantial support for the hypothesis that *knowledge* of the nonstandard words used in the survey diminished in inverse proportion to social class ranking, as determined by the Social Index.

5 - *USAGE - THE SOCIAL DIMENSION*

5.1 It is also a sociolinguistic 'given' that there is a direct relationship between social class and the *use* of nonstandard language features. This is normally presented in terms of nonstandard language being mainly the property of lower social classes, with decreasing incidence of usage as social status increases. It may, therefore, have been anticipated that in this study there would emerge a picture similar to that reported in other research and commentary. [7] In the event, there has been no clear support forthcoming from this present study for the theory that use of the nonstandard words employed in the survey varies inversely with social class of the sample. Only in the case of the oldest males are results returned which show support for higher social status correlating with reduced nonstandard usage and this is, at best, only a weak to moderate tendency. In fact, in this study, there is a suggestion of stronger support for the opposite case, that is, increasing social class is related to a higher level of use of nonstandard words - or, at least, that the two variables of social class and nonstandard usage have little or no correlationship. This needs some cautionary qualification, for the findings relate, of course, only to the particular nonstandard lexical stock which was sampled from - that is, one that was largely extant around the end of World War One and which some would regard as drawn from the 'traditional dialect' of the community. Obsolescence, innovation and other linguistic changes have produced alternative speech styles, such as those which Trudgill calls Modern Dialects [8] and peer group-influenced varieties used by adolescents, for instance.[9] A survey of knowledge and use of these might well produce different age, sex and social class comparative results. At the intuitive level, it seems likely that it is these alternative nonstandard varieties which are, today, more the property of the lower social classes, and which are perceived as representing the current 'low-prestige' forms, in the locality of this research.

SECTION C - EXPANSION OF CONCLUSIONS

DRAWN FROM THE RESEARCH

1 - *THE KEY ISSUES*

1.1 In this section a more detailed discussion will take place of a number of key issues emerging from this research, concerning :

a. the overall superiority of female knowledge of the nonstandard words used in the survey;

b. the general parity, across the sample, of female and male use of the nonstandard words, with female superiority at some points;

c. the proportionately high rates of abandonment of (or failure to bring into use) ***known*** words by older informants, particularly women;

d. the superiority in both knowledge and use of the survey's nonstandard words, *vis à vis* their male peers, by the youngest females;

e. the sole example of significant male superiority *vis à vis* their female peers, in both knowledge and use the nonstandard words, at the 40-59 age group;

f. the lack of any clear evidence of covariance of social class and knowledge and use of the nonstandard words used in the survey.

g. the contribution made by the lexical analysis.

2 - *THE OVERALL SUPERIORITY OF FEMALE KNOWLEDGE OF THE NONSTANDARD WORDS USED IN THE SURVEY WORD LIST*

2.1 This finding is difficult to explain. As will be shown below, there is a possible explanation for female near-parity of usage, but greater *knowledge* of the nonstandard words used in the survey word list is not so readily accounted for. The explanation may lie in the supposed aptitude females have for language, whether this be biologically or socially determined. [10] The evidence from the IGCS interviews suggests that there appears to be a female 'mind set' which stimulates an interest in words *per se*. Informant IG 4/1, for instance, and her grand-daughter IG 4/3, expressed their strong interest in words, word puzzles and word games, and this was confirmed by IG 4/2, daughter of 4/1 and mother of 4/3 who, to a lesser degree, shared this interest, which seemed to extend beyond Standard English to the lexicon of the community's nonstandard speech variety. Though there was a well-established family attitude which stressed middle-class values and the 'superiority' and 'correctness' of Standard English, the words ***known*** mean for the three females in this family was significantly greater than that for informants as a whole in the General Study (*Figure* **VIII.6**) :

Figure **VIII.6**

	Nonstandard words ***known***
General Study mean score	**57.3%**
Family 4 females' mean score	**74.0%**

As a further piece of evidence, Informant IG 6/3 recalled how, when younger, she used to delight in just sitting and listening to her 'Uncle J' using the community's nonstandard speech variety :

I used to go round...I used to be fascinated. I used to just sit there, waiting for these words to drop out. Brilliant !

This informant knew more than 60% of the nonstandard words in the survey word list, whereas her peers in the General Study had a ***known*** mean of 51%.

2.2 Is there perhaps something in this interest in words, as part of a general propensity for language, which may help explain female superiority in knowledge of the nonstandard words used in this research's word list ?

3 - *MALE AND FEMALE USAGE OF THE WORDS IN THE SURVEY WORD LIST*

3.1 The research showed that, for this sample, overall male and female usage of the nonstandard words in the survey list were not too dissimilar. The men had a mean usage of 24.4% and the women a mean usage of 23.8%. [11] In terms of their use of what they *know* of the nonstandard words in the survey list, the mean values are again not enormously far apart, males returning 43.9% and females 38.6%. Other research evidence purports to show that women exhibit language behaviour which is nearer the standard and they reject more readily the use of nonstandard features for, as Coates writes, "*The prestige norms seem to exert a stronger influence on women than on men*". [12] The results show that, as far use of what they know is concerned, women in this research do not linguistically behave in a dramatically different way from men, thus supporting Chambers' contention that differences, where they do occur, are not as great as is often claimed. [13]

3.2 It will be suggested here that this near-parity of usage is explainable in terms of the Milroys' network theory, [14] acting in conjunction with the effects of occupational patterns, similar to those reported by both the Milroys and by Nichols. [15] In the case of this research, it will be suggested that a main agent for language change has been the once-dominant textile industry of the area.

3.3 It was noted earlier (in particular in Chapters II and VI) that there existed powerful *social networks* in this research locality, where there were *multiplex-connections* amongst the family, the neighbourhood, the workplace and the leisure environment. In the past, people (particularly extended families) lived close together, and in close proximity to the main place of employment: the mill. The same people who had familial, neighbourhood and work connections also habitually socialised together in the local public houses, the dance halls, the cinemas and on holidays. IGCS Informant 6/2 remarked in her interview on this feature of life in the locality:

Interviewer: The sort of language you used...(in the neighbourhood)...tended to be maintained in the mill, did it ?

6/2 : Yes....We all used to go on holiday together. We used to go out dancing on a Saturday night, with the lads, to Pudsey baths.....Not necessarily the lads that worked at the mill....but they were all part, you know.....They knew what you were meaning when you used to talk about work.

This informant not only confirms the close interrelationship of the neighbourhood, workplace and social setting, but also hints at the all-pervasive nature of the textile industry . Her *social network* included people who, though they did not actually work in the mills, were part of a close community, members of which had at least a working knowledge of the industry and subscribed to the same speech variety. Many people who were not employed directly in the mills had jobs in other occupations which were associated with textiles, or provided local services for the mills and mill workers.

3.4 These are precisely the conditions which the Milroys predicted would lead to the establishment and maintenance of dense networks, where the nonstandard language of the community would be effectively culturally transmitted and preserved. This effect would be heightened by the employment patterns in the textile industry. Not only were the mills the largest combined employer in the locality, but the workforce included great numbers of women. Women, in fact, normally outnumbered the men in the spinning and weaving sheds, and in the burling and mending processes. In spinning and weaving, men were usually in the more highly skilled, minority occupations, as loom tuners and overlookers, for example. In some mills, burling and mending were exclusively female domains. Managers were invariably men, as were the middle-level supervisors (the fore***men***). In the preparation and finishing processes, such as scouring, fulling and dyeing, where physical strength was often important, men were in the majority. There was a situation, therefore, where gender did not determine the

workplace, only the type of work one did in the workplace; men and women worked in close proximity to one another and shared the same general speech variety.

3.5 This is unlike the sort of situation described by the Milroys in Belfast, where the overwhelming majority of workers in the dominant local workplace would be men, and the women either stayed at home or had jobs in the wider community which brought them into more contact with people from other social backgrounds. The 'weak connections' made by the women in Belfast were claimed to be ones which formed the 'bridges' across which passed language changes, as described in Chapter III of this present work. In the textile industry, prior to the 1950s, these 'bridges' were not much in evidence and, furthermore, the dense *social networks* promoted by the industry involved women as much as men. Though not always explicitly related to textile employment, there is ample evidence from the IGCSs that, in this research locality, women were certainly not noted for being lesser users of the community's nonstandard speech variety. Informant IG 2/1, for instance, regarded by his family as a very 'broad Yorkshire' speaker, reported that both his mother and his wife had spoken as he did. The mother and both grandmothers of informant IG 6/1 were said by her to have been habitual users of the community's nonstandard speech variety. Informant IG 1/1, when asked about the nonstandard character of his parents' speech, reported that they were both 'broad Yorkshire' speakers, especially his mother.

3.6 Given the occupational, domestic and social conditions, it seems fair to surmise that women's use of nonstandard words such as those in the survey list would not have been much different to men's, at a time when the bulk of the working population was engaged in textile manufacturing. But the picture today is different and the processes which have led to this are discussed in the following paragraphs.

4 - *NONSTANDARD WORD USE versus WORD ABANDONMENT*

4.1 The survey word list was designed to collect data on nonstandard words which had been ***formerly used*** but have since been abandoned by informants. It has already been reported that informants in this research use only a portion of the nonstandard words which were in the survey word list and are ***known*** to them. But as the lexical analysis in Chapter VII shows, the greatest gaps between ***known*** and ***still used*** **A** values occur at the 40-59 and 60+ age groups and, within these age group, it is the females who are responsible for highest rates of abandonment.

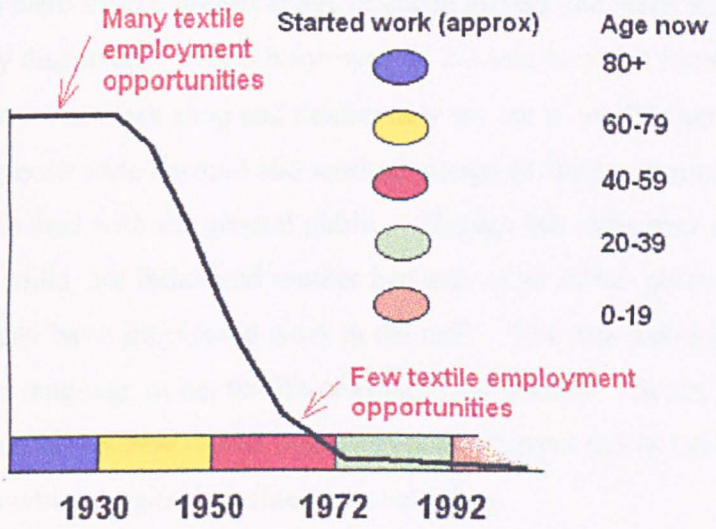
4.2 This represents a significant language change in this community and has the effect of seriously modifying the lexical choices available. Why has this occurred ? Once again, a possible explanation is to be found by looking at *social network* and employment patterns, particularly those in and associated with textiles. From around the mid- to late-1950s the textile industry of the West Riding of Yorkshire became increasingly subjected to foreign competition. Advances in the automation of processes, the development of techniques for incorporating man-made fibres, and cheap labour, particularly in the Far East, meant that woollen and worsted cloth could be produced faster, in greater quantity and at lower prices than were possible in the United Kingdom. For a time, the West Riding textile industry was able to withstand the competition by using cheaper immigrant labour and optimising production by running night work and shift systems. Eventually, though, even these measures could not halt the rapid decline in the industry.

4.3 An inevitable effect of this was that employment opportunities in textiles, particularly for women, decreased rapidly. A majority of existing spinners, weavers, burlers and menders found themselves made redundant. From a generations-long assumption that there would be a job waiting in a local mill for most school-leavers, particularly girls, there arose a situation where only a trickle of young people went into textiles. A few mills survived by concentrating on

highly-specialised and luxury cloths, serving a clientele which continued to value the 'Made in the West Riding of Yorkshire' labelling woven into the selvedge (and even this was rumoured to be forged by unscrupulous companies in the Far East!). But, by and large, the textile industry of the locality covered by this research almost disappeared.

4.4 With the closure of the mills, and the consequent reduction in employment opportunities in them, came the breakup of the *social networks* which had sustained and culturally transmitted the nonstandard speech of the community. *Figure* **VIII.7** illustrates how the various age groups determined for this research would have fared as far as starting employment in the local textile mills was concerned, from 1930 to the present :

Figure **VIII.7**



Note : This diagram is *not* scaled quantitatively on the vertical axis. The black line indicating the level of employment opportunities in textiles is intended simply to give a general impression of the situation.

4.5 As textile employment opportunities have been very few since the 1960s, redundant textile workers and school leavers have looked elsewhere for work. The situation was not as serious for men, for employment opportunities for many of them had always been less textile-dependent or, at least, were to be found in

textile-associated industries (such as transport and engineering) which were flexible enough to adapt to the changing economic climate. But for female former textile workers, in the majority of cases the work they found was in the expanding administrative, retail, distributive, service and leisure sectors. For the first time in generations, the mill was not the focus of life and livelihood and the occupational environment which had played such a major role in preserving and transmitting local culture - including language - largely disintegrated.

4.6 Former weavers, spinners, burlers and menders now found themselves in occupations in which they were, often for the first time, not working alongside other members of the family, close friends and neighbours, and were instead brought into occupational contact with a wide public. They became part of looser, less-dense *social networks*, where their dealings were more with a large number of acquaintances rather than a cluster of close friends, and these acquaintances were from a greater range of social groups and were more geographically dispersed. IGCS Informant IG 2/2 told how she found employment in a chemist's shop and deliberately set out to modify her largely nonstandard speech style because she worked alongside former grammar school girls and had to deal with the general public. Though this informant never worked in the mills, her father and mother had and, at an earlier point in time, she might reasonably have anticipated work in the mill. She was therefore steeped in the culture and language of her textile-orientated community. In the Milroys' terms, such women became linked weakly to other clusters and so provided bridges across which linguistic influences could flow.

4.7 From the 1950s, school leavers - particularly girls - joined the flow to offices, shops and other non-textile employment, increasingly missing out on the mill environment and the *social networks* which had long been sustained in and around it. Many of the 'new' jobs which they, their mothers, their older sisters (and sometimes their grandmothers) went to were not local but in the larger urban centres such as Leeds and Bradford and, as Chambers points out, mobility is an important reformative force in linguistics. [16]

4.8 Also, by the late 1950s the country was emerging from the austerity of the

Second World War years. Council house building accelerated and in some parts of the research locality there were large-scale clearances of what was viewed as sub-standard housing. With such clearances went the dismantling of the mill-focused neighbourhoods which had been such an important component of the *social network* systems. More and more people were allocated council houses and flats, often at a distance from their earlier neighbourhoods. At the same time, social aspirations were rising and for an increasing number of people home ownership became a realistic goal. The result was that the former close-knit neighbourhoods ceased to exist in the form they had done for many generations. IGCS Informant 6/2, again, reflects on the demise of 'neighbouring' which had obviously been such an important element in maintaining the *social networks* of the area :

> *...when you live in semis, like this, you don't 'neighbour' the same....Round here, to 'neighbour' you just pass the time of day....*

4.9 When the rates of abandonment of ***formerly used*** nonstandard words is viewed against age data, it can be seen that it was the very age groups (especially the females) of 40-59 and 60+, who experienced the social and economic upheaval of textile industry decline, who now exhibit greater nonstandard word abandonment rates. They were pushed out into a wider occupational environment where they became subjected to greater influences on their language and it seems probable that many of them modified their speech very quickly. The younger women, who had never been part of the textile/neighbourhood *social networks*, exhibit linguistic behaviour more towards the standard, in a similar way to the younger women in Nichols' *Gullah Creole-Standard English* continuum. [17]

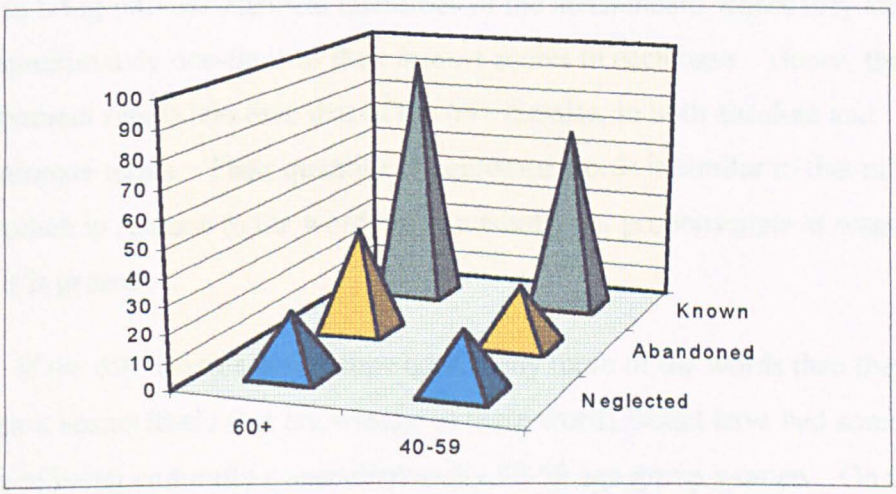
4.10 Caution is needed in suggesting that there is a single direct causal link between the demise of the textile industry and the reduction in the use of the nonstandard words used in this survey, for matters are likely to be more complex than this and involve other influential variables. But, in this study, as regards the older women's abandonment of words which are ***known*** and were ***formerly used*** by them, the chronological coincidences seem too great to not speculate about a language change situation in which the decline of textile manufacturing acted as a

catalyst, if not a cause..

4.11 The gaps between words ***known*** and words ***still used*** **A** values for females of age groups 60+ and 40-59, in Clusters 1-7 in Chapter VII (Lexical Analysis)[18] are 65.2% and 68.3%, respectively, of the survey word list. But not all this gap is due to words which were ***formerly used*** and have since been abandoned. They also include values which represent nonstandard words which are ***known*** to the informants but have never been brought into use.

4.12 In the case of the 60+ females, these neglected nonstandard words amount to 23.2% of the total survey word list, while abandoned words amount to 38.9%. For the 40-59 age group females, their neglected words score is 22.5% and their words ***formerly used*** score is close to this at 22.7% (*Figure* **VIII.8**):

Figure **VIII.8** **Nonstandard words *known*, abandoned and neglected by females in the age groups 40-59 and 60+, as percentages of the total survey word list**



(The vertical axis is % of the total word list)

	60+	40-59
Neglected	23.2	22.5
Abandoned	38.9	22.7
known	**92.4**	**68.8**

Obviously, in contrast to the 60+ females, the 40-59 age group women start from

a base of fewer words ***known***, so this must be taken into account when making comparisons of absolute rates of abandonment and neglect. The 60+ females have abandoned 42.1% and neglected 25.1% of what they know. Females in the 40-59 age groups have abandoned 33% and neglected 33% of what they know.

4.13 It is the abandoned words which provide the strongest evidence for a significant change in linguistic behaviour by the middle-aged and older women, and it is arguable that this was subsequent to the demise of textile manufacturing and a change to other employment, interrelated with other, coincidental social changes. In particular, it is the females of the 60+ age group who found themselves having to most dramatically change their speech in terms of their use of the nonstandard lexicon. Though they have neglected to bring into use over a quarter of the nonstandard words they know, it is the quantity they have discarded (more than two out of every five of their ***known*** words) which is the salient feature of their linguistic behaviour here.

4.14 The 40-59 age group females, on the other hand, have abandoned and failed to bring into use identical quantities of the nonstandard words they know, i.e., approximately one-third of their ***known*** scores in each case. Hence, their abandonment rate is less than that of the 60+ females, in both absolute and proportionate terms. Their quantity of neglected words is similar to that of the 60+ women in relation to the word list as a whole, but proportionate to what they know it is greater.

4.15 If the 60+ women at one time used many more of the words than they now do, then it seems likely that knowledge of these words would have had some chance of being culturally transmitted to the 40-59 age group women. On the other hand, words which the 60+ females know, but did not bring into use, would clearly have reduced opportunities for inter-generational transmission. A number of important questions follow from this, including : What proportion of the nonstandard words which the 40-59 age group women neglected to bring into use came from the corpus of words abandoned by their females elders ? In other words, did the 40-59 years old women make conscious choices not to use their ***known*** words which the 60+ women had already discarded ? Also, were the 40-

59 age group women abandoning, simultaneously, in *real time*, the same words as their female elders ? Or has their abandonment been, wholly or partially, of nonstandard words additional to those discarded by the 60+ females ? In the absence of any detailed knowledge concerning *which* nonstandard words have been neglected and abandoned, it is difficult to reconstruct what has occurred. The 'clusters' of nonstandard words analysed in Chapter VII do not sex-differentiate so these are of little help in the matter. The second part of Chapter VII does combine 'clusters' and examines these in a sex-differentiated way; however there is no distinction made between words which have been abandoned and those which speakers know and have neglected to bring into use. At a commensense level, it seems reasonable to speculate that the women in the younger of these two age groups were both discarding and choosing not to bring into use many of the words which had been culturally transmitted to them, but which had already been 'devalued' through abandonment by the 60+ females; at the same time, they would no doubt be adding their own choices of nonstandard words to the 'spoil heap' of those abandoned.

4.16 The percentage of words ***known but never used*** by the 60+ women hints at a language change already in progress before the demise of the textile industry and the break-up of the associated *social networks*. This is supported by the increase in words ***known but never used*** by the 40-59 age group females and again suggests that the closure of the mills was a catalyst or accelerator for change, rather than a direct cause.

4.17 Regardless of the internal complexities of the process, what the evidence clearly points to is that, of all the age/sex groups, it is the 60+ and 40-49 women who display the greatest gaps between what they know and what they continue to use of the nonstandard words used in this research's survey. If nonstandard words which are ***known*** are not brought into use, then it seems that these are words which no longer serve a need. Some will have become unfashionable, some redundant because the objects or processes they relate to are themselves obsolete, or they have become perceived as 'low-prestige' and inappropriate in 'respectable' speech. As just one example of obsolescence, 'piggin', (the term for

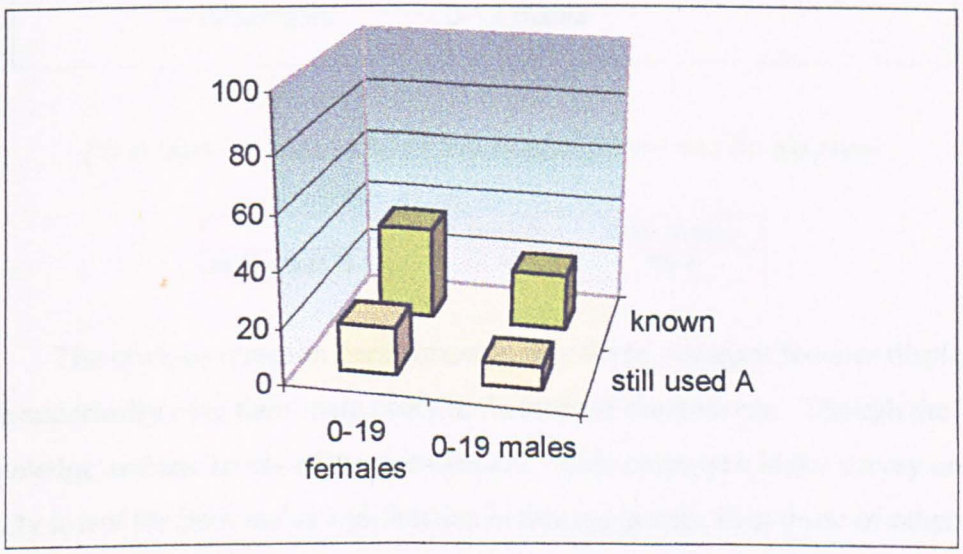
a small can with a handle, used amongst other things for emptying the set pot in homes) has effectively disappeared, along with the set pots it was used with.[19] For a 'low-prestige' example we can refer to IGCS Informant IG 3/1, who told how 'mucky' was, in her family, considered to be a 'common' word. The youngest family member was regularly reprimanded for using it and urged to use the more 'acceptable' standard alternative, dirty, instead. As it happens, 'muck' and 'mucky' are still in widespread use in the community and have not yet been ousted, but this example nevertheless demonstrates how speech perceptions can create a value system which can drive certain nonstandard words out of use and, undoubtedly, this process has worked effectively on other lexical items in this community. Further evidence of this lexical negative-evaluation process at work comes from IGCS Informant 1/1 who, as the target of 'upward censuring' in his family, himself considers some aspects of his nonstandard speech to be *"....a little bit, shall we say, downgrading..."*.

4.17 The findings relating to the 60+ and 40-59 females hint at a linguistic change in progress, probably led by the older women and maintained by the women in the immediately subordinate age group. This linguistic change is in the form of a substantial abandonment of ***known*** nonstandard words, plus informants choosing not to use many other words which they also know.

5 - *SUPERIORITY IN KNOWLEDGE AND USE OF THE NONSTANDARD WORDS IN THE SURVEY LIST BY THE YOUNGEST FEMALES*

5.1 *Vis à vis* their male peers, the youngest females have, in this study, returned higher scores than their male peers for their knowledge of the nonstandard words used in the survey, their use of these as a percentage of the list, and also their use of them as a percentage of what they know. *Figures* **VIII.9** and **VIII.10** show this graphically and numerically :

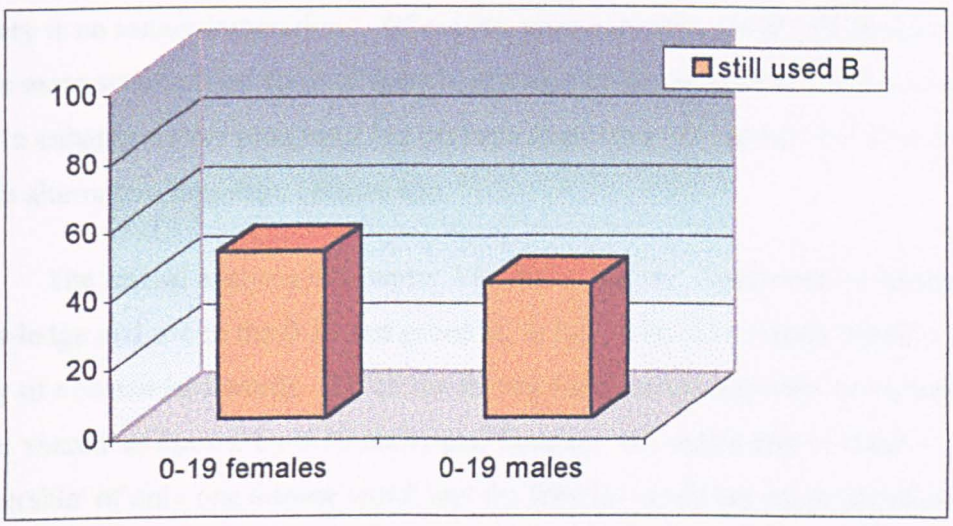
Figure **VIII.9 Comparison of words *known* and words *still used* A - females and males in the 0-19 age group.**



(The vertical axis is % of the total survey word list)

	0-19 females	0-19 males
***still used* A**	16.9	8.2
known	34.6	20.8

Figure **VIII.10 - Comparison of words *still used* B - females and males in the 0-19 age group.**



(The vertical axis is % of the nonstandard words ***known***)

	0-19 females	0-19 males
***still used* B**	48.8	39.4

5.2 The obvious question here concerns why these youngest females display such superiority over their male peers in these three dimensions. Though the knowledge and use levels of the nonstandard words employed in the survey are clearly lower for both males and females in this age group, than those of other age/sex groups, the 0-19 females' language behaviour is perhaps quite different from what might have been expected. Coates noted in 1986 that younger women appeared to be changing their speech in ways which moved them more towards male language behaviour. As well as noting more swearing and use of taboo language, Coates reported that younger women were *"beginning to exploit the use of non-standard accents".* [20] It is not made explicit by Coates that young women were also beginning to use more 'traditional' nonstandard words, though it is not unreasonable to suppose that this was part of the overall phenomenon. If Trudgill's explanations for female use of more standardised speech was correct for

the mid-1970s, then it seems quite reasonable to expect that a quarter of a century of development in economic independence, confidence and equality for women in our society would be accompanied by changes in speech behaviour. If women acquire more freedom and opportunity to establish their own social standing by what they do, rather than how they appear, their use of a 'more prestigious' speech variety is no longer imperative. Of course, young women could still choose to use a more standardised form of speech, just as men do, as a social class marker and to enhance career prospects, but perhaps some now see themselves freer to make alternative linguistic choices too. [21]

5.3 The lexical analysis in Chapter VII shows that the superiority of female knowledge and use in the 0-19 age group is, in fact, related to a quite specific body of nonstandard words. Of all the survey list's words, less than one quarter were 'shared' as ***known*** by 0-19 males and females; the males had 'exclusive ownership' of only one ***known*** word, and the females could lay corporate claim to 'ownership' of around 55% of the list. In terms of usage, the 0-19 females employ far more words than their male counterparts and, by definition therefore, have vastly superior 'ownership' of a distinct corpus of ***still used*** words. Coates writes that *"sex differences in vocabulary were frequently reported by early anthropologists"* [22] and we can see the same phenomenon here in this research.

5.4 Much of the 0-19 female 'ownership', in both ***known*** and ***still used*** categories, is represented by words connected with childhood, child-rearing, domestic and communicative objects and actions. But this is not exclusively so and both their knowledge and use extend to nonstandard words which might have been expected to be the property of other age and sex groups, or may be thought of as work-related, suggesting that their choice in the use of nonstandard words is not necessarily conditioned by traditionally-defined gender roles. This adds weight to the suggestion that the young females' choice and use of these words may, at least in part, be related to their perceptions of themselves as more liberated and unconstrained by the expectations which influenced their female forerunners' speech behaviour. Further evidence that this is part of a trend, indicating another language change in progress is provided by the 20-39 age

group females' knowledge and use of the nonstandard words used in the survey, which is more or less on a par with that of their male peers and this seems to represent an intermediate, transitional situation between that of the 40-59 age group (where, proportionately, the female knowledge level is not much less than the males' yet their usage is much lower) and the 0-19 females (where the situation is reversed).

6 - *THE 40-59 AGE GROUP MALES' SUPERIORITY IN KNOWLEDGE AND USE OF THE NONSTANDARD WORDS IN THE SURVEY LIST*

6.1 The only example of peer group male superiority, in knowledge and use of the nonstandard words, is in the 40-59 age group.[23] Here it is the females whose linguistic behaviour is immediately noticeable by the gap they display between their ***known*** and their ***still used*** values and an explanation for this has been offered above. It would, therefore, be supposed that there is, in fact, little to say about the males' performance in this age group and that it stands out simply in contrast to the females' comparatively low level of ***still used*** nonstandard words.

6.2 Yet this does not seem to be an entirely satisfactory account of the lexical behaviour of these 40-59 year old males. Chapter V has already shown that this age/sex group, though its nonstandard word knowledge is surpassed by both males and females in the 60+ age group and is practically equalled by its own female peers, is the one which continues to use, in absolute terms (***still used*** **A**), the greatest number of nonstandard words in the survey list. These men also use a greater percentage (***still used*** **B**) of the nonstandard words they know than any other age/sex group. Chapter VII showed that peak usage of all the words in Clusters 1, 4, 5, 7 and 15, and four of the words in Cluster 16, occurs at the 40-59 age group, accounting for sixteen of the fifty nonstandard words used in the survey list; it is the men of this age group who are mainly responsible for this result.

6.3 The 40-59 age group males have, in general, two characteristics which may contribute to an explanation for their distinct lexical performance. Firstly, they are old enough to have experienced a relatively high level of cultural transmission of nonstandard words in their childhood years. Secondly, they are still in the 'working years', often in occupational environments with relatively close-knit *social networks*, and where males are in the majority, which act as a normative and conservative influence on speech. Though many local men were

subjected to many of the same consequences of the decline of textiles as were the women, the effects were not necessarily of the same magnitude. Local men had always been somewhat less dependent than women on textile employment and, if they did leave the mills, they did not generally seek alternative employment in the spheres which the women did and which projected the females into looser *networks* and exposed them to a wider variety of speech influences. The lexical analysis carried out in Chapter VII demonstrated that the males in this age group had 'co-ownership' (with the 20-39 'working' age group males) of a distinct corpus of work-related nonstandard words. As further evidence of the 'sustaining' function of the workplace, the results for the 60+ males may be examined : it appears that once men retire they discard from their speech many of the nonstandard words they formerly used and, as the lexical analysis shows, this abandonment includes many of the 'work-related' words.

7 - SOCIAL CLASS AND KNOWLEDGE AND USE OF THE NONSTANDARD WORDS IN THE SURVEY LIST

7.1 The results of this research did not reveal any clear-cut relationship between social class and knowledge, or social class and usage, of the nonstandard words in the survey list.

7.2 There was some suggestion of covariance between the variables in the direction of *increasing social class = decreasing knowledge/use* in the case of the oldest men but this was, at best, only moderate overall and did not approach the critical minimum level determined for the purposes of this research. If the SI:***known*** correlation is taken on its own, there *is* a more definite vectoring towards the minimal threshold but it still falls short of it. It was the 60+ age group which exhibited the greatest difference between male and female Social Index scores and it may therefore have been expected that this would be the age group where the greatest sex differentials in nonstandard word knowledge and usage would also manifest themselves. It is certainly true that the women did return a mean ***known*** score which was markedly greater than that for the men, but the ***still used*** **A** scores for the sexes are very similar. As a proportion of the nonstandard words they know (***still used*** **B**), the 60+ age group men continue to use more than their female peers.

7.3 The 60+ females' ***known*** and ***still used*** correlations with Social Index score went strongly in the opposite direction to that which might have been expected, showing positive, rather than negative correlation, and with the SI:***still used*** **B** correlation reaching the minimum threshold for a 'high positive' reading. In other words, the implication here is that the higher the social status of the 60+ age group women, the more of the nonstandard words used in the survey they tend to know and continue to use. Is this further support for the suggestion that women's supposed aptitude for language, including an interest in words *per se*, is at work here ? Or has it to do with the processes used in this research for

determining social status through the construction of the Social Index ? Social class is a particularly elusive concept and arriving at classifications for individuals or groups is notoriously problematic. But if the Social Indexing processes were in this case unreliable and inconsistent, why would it affect the 60+ women so strongly in this particular direction and not the men, as far as correlational calculations are concerned ? There is the possibility that social mobility has a part to play. In many cases, as 'working class mill lasses', a lot of today's 60+ age women would have acquired and habitually used the nonstandard speech variety of the community and the mill environment. When they were forced out of textile employment and the mill linguistic milieu they not only sought work in shops, offices and public service occupations, but their social aspirations and goals were also raised. The shift in occupational patterns was tracked by other status-enhancing movements, such as increasing home and motor vehicle ownership, foreign holidays, greater opportunities for offspring to go on to higher education, and so on. The 'mill lasses' of the 1920s to 1950s often became lower-middle-class housewives, living in their own property, with more economic security, and enjoying greater social opportunities. Even though this research attempted to take account of the longitudinal and wider effects of some factors contributing to the Social Index (such as childhood housing and fathers' occupations), it may be that this was not powerful enough to statistically neutralise the effects of subsequent social mobility. 'Mill lasses', also, were not always necessarily the daughters of, or married to, men of working class origin. Because textiles were omnipresent and offered the major employment opportunity for female school-leavers, it was far from unusual to find girls of upper working class and even lower middle class origin working in the mills and, subsequently, marrying men of, or close to, their parents' class. The IGCSs provide examples of this. The father of informant IG 5/1, for instance, had his own motor engineering and car sales business. Placed originally in a hairdressing apprenticeship, this informant left and started work as a weaver in the local mill. She subsequently married a refrigeration engineer and has lived in owner-occupied property all her life. By any assessment, this lady has a lower-middle/upper-working class biography, yet she prides herself on her possession

and use of a *"broad Yorkshire"* accent, knows 93% of the nonstandard words on the survey list and still uses 64% of the list (which is 69% of what she knows). Informant IG 6/2's father , though in textiles, was concerned with buying and ordering, not manual work, and her husband was a manager in the motor trade. Though she started life in workers' rented housing, much of her married life has been spent in owner-occupancy and she now lives in a smart, above-average-priced, semi-detached house in one of the 'better' parts of Pudsey. But she was once a 'mill lass' and knows 48 of the fifty words in the survey list and claims to still use 41 of them (i.e. 85.4% of what she knows). These two informants are contemporaries of the 60+ women in the General Study and show that a former 'working class' occupation as a spinner, weaver, burler or mender was not inconsistent with a higher social status in non-occupational contexts. If sufficient of these types of cases appeared in the General Study, this would clearly have an effect on the direction of Social Index : ***known*** and Social Index : ***still used*** correlational outcomes, demonstrating that knowledge and use of the nonstandard may not always necessarily be directly social class-related.

7.4 The IGCSs also provide evidence that, in the past, the nonstandard speech variety of the community was understood and used - habitually or selectively - by those of higher social and occupational status than the manual workers. Informant IG 6/1, for instance, told of his first employer who could *"...speak both ways"* (i.e. he could shift at ease from something close to the standard to the speech variety of his workmen). Informant IG 2/1 reported that mill supervisors and managers he worked under spoke in the same way as the manual workforce, albeit sometimes *"...not as broad"*. An interesting insight into middle-class use of a nonstandard speech variety comes from Charlotte Brontë's book *Shirley*, on which Smith commented :

> *The most unusual and enterprising dialect creation in the book is that of the middle-class Mr Yorke, a Whig manufacturer who can switch in and out of dialect as he wishes. Here is an apparent paradox in which the author clearly delights - a connoisseur of painting and a European linguist who will deliberately use the broadest dialect.* [24]

It is possible that the *"apparent paradox"* Smith writes of was not, in fact, an unusual feature of the time and place. Neither is it unreasonable to suppose that Charlotte based her Mr Yorke character, with his ability to switch readily to and from 'dialect', on real personages of his class and profession known to her. The 'Mr Yorkes' of the West Riding of Yorkshire had to communicate with a workforce whose language was of a nonstandard variety. Perhaps they needed to maintain their 'dialect' capability for this purpose, just as colonial plantation owners and overseers needed mastery of the local pidgins and creoles to communicate effectively with their native workers.

8 - *THE CONTRIBUTION OF THE LEXICAL ANALYSIS TO THE CONCLUSIONS*

8.1 The lexical analysis demonstrates that the knowledge and use findings of the General Study, though useful and instructive in the overview, conceal some embedded differential trends when examined in detail. Clearly much depends on the point at which one makes an incisive penetration of the overall data. The situation may be likened to slicing into a log of wood. Within the log, there is a coherent grain running throughout its length. But slicing into the log at different places, and at different angles, reveals a grain pattern specific to that point and which - though inextricably part of the holistic grain pattern - may appear to be somewhat at variance with the overall trend. In relation to the findings of this research, this can lead to what appear to be contradictions.

8.2 In this research, for example, general patterns are that females know more of the nonstandard words featured in the survey list than do the males - and they also tend to continue using more of what they know in their everyday speech. Yet the largest rates of abandonment of formerly used words (or the failure to bring into use other ***known*** words) are to be found with the 60+ age group females. To complicate the picture further, when sub-sets of the survey list are constructed on different criteria, it is found, for instance that the 40-59 year group females' rejection rates are highest. Similarly, the close-parity between the sexes in knowledge and use at the 20-39 age group, when subjected to lexical analysis, is shown to be based to a substantial extent on quite different sets of words. The parity only exists mathematically and not lexically. Overall, as the General Study findings suggest, it is females who are the greater preservers of the use of the nonstandard words used in the survey - but the lexical analysis shows that it is the males who can claim sex-specific 'ownership' of the larger corpus of words in use, particularly at the 60% Level. The identification of 'women's' words and 'men's' words is not a clear-cut issue in other respects, either. Sometimes one sex has clear superiority in the knowledge of a word or words but 'ownership' in the

usage dimension passes to the other sex, showing that the abandonment of (or failure to bring into use) ***known*** words is not a simple quantitative function but is lexically selective in a complex way. The 0-19 age group females appear to be fighting a 'chronological rearguard action' in their preservation of knowledge and use of the nonstandard words in the survey list, though the scoring values they return are small relative to the older age groups. In this, these young females show that a substantial part of their lexical stock consists of child-related and caring-role words. But at the same time, they also display a surprisingly broad knowledge and use of words which might have been expected to be more the property of other age and sex groups. On the other hand, instances have been revealed where males have more 'ownership' in knowledge, use (or both) of some words which in the general scheme of things appear to be 'women's' words.

9 - *UNEVENNESS, RESISTANCE AND TENSIONS IN THE REDUCTION OF NONSTANDARD LANGUAGE KNOWLEDGE AND USE*

9.1 Though knowledge and use of the nonstandard words in the survey are on the decrease, there appear to be countervailing forces which are, for the present, impeding their complete expulsion from the community's lexical stock.

9.2 The lexical analysis and its accompanying predictions have demonstrated that nonstandard word 'loss' is not an all-or-none affair for the items in a community's lexical stock - and it could not be expected that it would be. Writing of Dorian's work on the 'death' of Scottish Gaelic, Aitchison says that *"Although general trends can be discerned, the old language does not fade away neatly"* [25] and, as has already been argued, there are parallels between the 'death' of an entire language and the 'attrition' of a nonstandard speech variety. There is an unevenness about the process, on several dimensions. Firstly, there is an unevenness in the knowledge of words. As would be expected, some are known to very few people, others are widely known. The level of knowledge roughly correlates with the age of the speakers, though some sex-differentiated knowledge is apparent. Secondly, there is an even greater unevenness in usage and this is not entirely a straightforward age, sex- or social class-related phenomenon. There are identifiable bodies of nonstandard words differentially 'owned' and used by men and by women, and by older and by younger speakers. Crystal tells us that *"There are no grammatical forms, lexical items, or patterns of pronunciation that are used exclusively by one sex".* [26] Yet the lexical analysis of differential 'ownership' in this study suggests that at least some nonstandard words come very close to being exclusively used by one sex, simply because some of the words and their meanings are collectively unknown to the other sex. For example, in the 0-19 age group, there is knowledge of forty of the fifty nonstandard words in the survey list, yet the males have 'sole ownership' of only one word and 'shared ownership' of twelve others at the 60% level; the other 27 ***known*** words at this level are female 'property'. Of course, these figures denote 'collective ownership',

i.e., not *all* the 0-19 age group females know all the 27 words their sex 'owns'; these words are what they know between them so, in this sense, Crystal is correct. Some nonstandard words appear to have more utility at one stage of a speaker's life, such as in childhood, or in relation to particular contexts, such as the working environment. All these factors will affect rates of decay and survival of individual words. Some of the nonstandard words used in the survey list, such as 'nawpins', appear to be well on the way to extinction. Others, such as 'ginnel', not only continue to enjoy widespread use in the community by men and women of all ages (and even the local media) but look set to survive as part of the community's lexical stock for a long time to come. As Trudgill comments *"...some types of Traditional Dialect words are more likely to be lost than other types...young people do continue to know and use certain Traditional Dialect words...(which are)...not necessarily in competition with Standard English words".* [27]

9.3 In addition to the unevenness of perishability/survival prospects, it is clear that issues of loyalty and identity also play a role in the conservation and use of nonstandard words. The IGCSs contained several examples of regional loyalty and community identity asserting themselves through deliberate speech acts, which sometimes included the exaggerated use of nonstandard features to establish *ingroup/outgroup* orientation. IGCS Informants IG 2/3 and IG 6/3 told how they 'put on' their 'Pudsey' speech in certain situations where they felt a need to assert their community identity; and informant IG 6/3 also reported that her brother, who lives on the south coast, did the same in an exaggerated way. Though such speech acts included other nonstandard features, such as grammar and pronunciation, informant IG 2/3 confirmed that a deliberate choice of nonstandard words was also involved, for using words which the *outgroup* members do not know and understand is obviously a powerful way of signalling their non-membership of the *ingroup*. [28] The use of nonstandard words in such a way obviously reinforces their survival chances.

9.4 The IGCSs showed that some habitual users of nonstandard words are quite comfortable in their speech behaviour (informant IG 2/3, for instance, and also the husband of informant IG 5/2) but for many of the informants there were tensions created because of their perceptions of what constitutes 'correct' or 'good' English. On one hand is the powerful sense of regional loyalty and community identity being signalled through speech, including the use of nonstandard words; on the other hand there is an awareness of the possibility of being negatively socially evaluated if one's speech deviates too far from the accepted standard. In particular, where occupational duties and responsibilities involve dealing with the wider public, or with those at a geographical distance, the inappropriateness of the local community's speech variety is readily perceived and the subsequent code-shifts involve some sacrifice of regional identity and community loyalty speech signals. In this present study, the discomfort created by such a compromise was clear and the speakers' frequent reaction was to re-locate themselves as often as possible in linguistic environments where they could use their 'natural' speech without fear of criticism or negative judgement. Informant IG 6/1 talked of *"feeling uncomfortable"* in situations where he could not feel free to use his nonstandard speech variety and, when visiting the public house, preferred to be in the tap room where he could *"talk ordinary"*. Informant 5/2 is in an occupational situation where she is obliged to use speech which is close to the standard and she finds this *"doesn't come natural at all...you're not relaxed in it"*. Her mother, informant IG 5/1, told how she was more comfortable "*speaking with people who are as 'Yorkshire' as I am*". Informant IG 4/1 had been raised in a family which valued the 'correctness' of Standard English and was highly critical of the local community's speech variety, yet even with this background she reported that she felt linguistically insecure when amongst the guests at her daughter's Channel Island hotel and felt *"more comfortable"* being amongst and using the speech variety of the Farsley community in which she lives.

SECTION D - CRITIQUE OF THIS RESEARCH

1.1 Overall this research achieved its aims. It arrived at quantitative measures of the decline in knowledge and use of a representative corpus of nonstandard words, which were able to be correlated against the variables of age, sex and social class. The Inter-generational Case Studies seem to have justified themselves in terms of the valuable additional information they provided to supplement and complement the General Study, which facilitated the subsequent analysis and interpretation of the more objective data. As it turned out, the 'explanatory variables' of age, sex and social status did not prove to be very 'explanatory' at all and, in fact, they raised more issues than they explained. The IGCSs were more effective in providing explanatory information. There are other aspects which warrant critical comment and these will be examined and discussed in this section of Chapter VIII.

Representation in the sample

1.2 *Age groups* - This research shares with others examined in Chapter III some possible problems with the sampling frame. As already mentioned, it has been observed that a truly representative, random sample is difficult to achieve in linguistic research and that, in fact, this ideal may not always be necessary. In the General Study part of this research the intention was to sample in such a way that the demographic profile of the population of the locality would be faithfully echoed in proportionate terms. In the event, this ideal had to be discarded as too few informants occurred in the 80+ age group for the statistical manipulation of their discrete data to produce meaningful results. The options were to either discard the 80+ data entirely or combine it with that of the 60-79 age group to produce a comprehensive 60+ category. The latter option was adopted and it is difficult to evaluate the impact this may have had on the ultimate analysis of results. On the positive side, their inclusion may have actually provided more statistical reliability for the ***known*** and ***still used*** data by enlarging this sub-

sample size. The Social Index scores for three of the four 80+ informants are below those of the original 60-79 age group, yet their inclusion in a composite 60+ age group only lowers the men's mean SI score by 0.3 and the women's by 0.35. But it is a different picture for the various word experience categories. One 80+ male recorded the highest ***still used*** percentage figure for the composite 60+ age group. The other 80+ male returned the highest ***formerly used*** percentage score and, hence, a correspondingly lower ***still used*** score, thereby showing a high rate of nonstandard word abandonment. Similarly, one of the 80+ females returned the second highest ***formerly used*** score for the composite 60+ age group, while the other 80+ female had the third highest ***known but never used*** score for the composite group. These 80+ results must have had some effect on the observed nonstandard word abandonment/neglect rates, though it would take recalculation and separation of the 60-79 and 80+ age group scores to show whether the effect was significant or marginal. It would clearly be unrealistic to increase the overall sample size to provide a separate 80+ age group of sufficient size to make their data meaningful. An overall sample size of 300 informants would, for example, only increase the 80+ age group to six men and six women.

1.3 *Social class representation* - This research failed to provide any evidence of a strong correlation between social class, as measured by the SI, and either knowledge or use of the nonstandard words in the survey list. In fact, there was stronger evidence in the other, unanticipated direction, that is, that both knowledge and use increase, in some age/sex groups, as SI scores rise. Though the sample frame was not purposely stratified for social class, in the event there appeared to be a reasonable representation across the class spectrum. If there was a deficiency, it was in upper-middle-class representation. It could be postulated that the anticipated negative correlationship between social class and knowledge/use of the nonstandard words would only begin to strongly manifest itself as more middle-middle- and upper-middle-class subjects were taken into the equation. The involvement of perhaps just two or three informants whose SI scores reached the 15 maximum might have resulted in the -0.6 threshold being achieved in one or two of the SI : ***known*** or SI : ***still used*** correlation calculations,

particularly amongst the older men. Though this would probably not have seriously deflected the overall results, it may have provided sufficient counter-evidence to the emergent trend to justify some reservation and qualification. Of the age groups, only the 60+ one returned a marked difference between male and female social characteristics, as determined by their SI scores and this aspect perhaps deserves closer specific attention through further, specific research.

On a slightly different social class theme, there is the issue of social class mobility. This has already been touched on earlier but is perhaps worth reiterating at this point. The IGCS evidence suggests that some informants are not presently occupying the social class positions they did formerly. For some, an increase in social status occurs with marriage or promotion within an occupational category. For others, a reduction in status can occur with widowhood, divorce or reaching pensionable age. For a variety of reasons, social class may therefore need to be considered as a dynamic variable and not taken into correlational calculation at just the point of research. This research did endeavour to 'spread' the social status effect by collecting wider occupational and more longitudinal housing data, but subjective judgement has to be relied on for gauging the 'weight' of such variables. What seems to be needed here is a more sophisticated method of taking into account the dynamic of social class mobility.

Demographic factors

1.4 The original conceptualisation of the data collection for the General Study part of this research did include a 'length of residence' element and Item 4 on the questionnaire (Appendix C) made provision for this. The data returned was subsequently discarded as it was felt that the ten-year interval information called for was too crude a measure to be informative. It is therefore difficult to make any meaningful assessment of the effects of inward migration in the absence of usable data on length of residence and information about the geographical origins of immigrants. There is a subjective impression that some of the males, in the 0-19 and 60+ age groups particularly, lacked knowledge of the nonstandard words

used in the survey because they were raised mainly in other speech communities. This does not invalidate the results, for the General Study data collection was designed to be, in part, a synchronic 'snapshot' of the situation at the time of the research and, as such, it allows for the admission of any informants who fit the age/sex stratification criteria, regardless of whether they are newly-arrived migrants or have a long family history of residence in the locality. But the absence of length of residence and origin information was a constraint when it came to offering suggestions for some of the results which emerged.

Utilisation of the data

1.5 *Word experience categories* - The nonstandard word survey collected data on words ***known***, words ***still used*** and words ***formerly used*** and these categories proved to be instrumental in constructing the sample's word experience profiles. But information was also collected on words which had been heard, but whose meanings were not known, and words which had never been heard by informants. Little use was made of these two last categories, other than as statistical checks that informants' responses totalled 100%. Other than this, these categories were not brought fully into the detailed analysis of word experience and it may be that closer examination of this data could reveal trends and patterns not uncovered elsewhere, particularly where cultural and inter-generational transmission are concerned.

1.6 *Social Index : **known** and Social Index : **still used** correlations* - The claim made in this research that there was no evidence of strong correlations in these two sets of variables hinges on the researcher's determination of a -0.6 threshold in the rank order correlation coefficients. This is a commonly accepted value for registering a 'high negative' correlation, but there is nothing sacrosanct about this and the question may be raised about what differences there may have been to outcomes if a lesser value (say -0.5) had been selected. A 'high negative' threshold set at -0.5 would have meant that the 60+ age group men reached this in their SI : ***known*** correlation. The 20-39 males would also have shown stronger

support for the hypothesis that *higher social class = less knowledge of nonstandard words*, with their SI : ***known*** coefficient value of -0.42. But by the same token, if the threshold for 'high negative' values were to be dropped to 0-5, then the 'high positive' threshold would have to be correspondingly adjusted downwards to +0.5. Doing this would make a 'high positive' ***r*** value achievable by the 0-19 age group males in both SI : ***known*** and SI : ***still used*** comparisons, with a relatively high 60+ female SI : ***known*** correlation at +0.46, and a 'very high' 60+ female correlation of +0.6 in the SI : ***still used*** comparison. The overall effect, therefore, would be to strengthen the case for stating that, contrary to the posed hypotheses, *higher social class = **greater knowledge and use of the** nonstandard words.*

Informant reliability : the General Study

1.7 Clearly this whole research exercise depends on the anonymous informants in the General Study making honest and genuine responses to the demands of the nonstandard word survey and the socioeconomic/demographic questionnaire. The covering letter which accompanied the survey forms (Appendix B) asked informants not to guess answers and not to discuss their answers with anyone else. Obviously there can be no complete assurance that these instructions were faithfully followed in every case. The effects of guessing the meanings of the nonstandard words in the survey list was to some extent statistically constrained by the presentation of three possible meanings for each word and extensive guessing by any one informant should have been apparent from the high number of wrongly-guessed responses; the completed forms were scanned for such occurrences when they were being scored and none stood out as having been extensively guessed. Informants seem to have honestly ticked the 'don't know' section rather than guessing. Collaboration with another when completing the word list obviously cannot be completely ruled out. The only evidence that this did not take place on a large-scale is that, within the age/sex groups, the data scores were generally similar. Where there was wide deviation from the age/sex group mean, it was if anything in the direction of lower rather

than higher scores. There was certainly no collaboration in the 0-19 age groups as their data collection was done in school, under invigilated, examination-like conditions. The other age groups, of course, completed their forms privately and unsupervised. The socioeconomic/demographic data can only be accepted on trust.

Informant reliability : the Inter-generational Case Studies

1.8 The IGCSs present somewhat different problems of informant reliability. The 'guessing' factor does not apply but there may be other informant traits which could be problematic. There is, for instance, the phenomenon of an informant giving the interviewer what they *think* the interviewer wishes to hear, rather than genuinely expressing their feelings and attitudes. There is no research defence against this, other than the interviewer's subjective impressions that the informant is acting in an honest and reliable way. The researcher did not carry out any interview where he was given the impression that the informant was acting in a less than honest way. No doubt the interviewer:interviewee situation benefited from the fact that the researcher is native to the locality and used a vernacular language style with the informants and this seemed to promote a level of trust and rapport. [29] In the final analysis there can be no guarantee of informant integrity in such interview situations but the researcher had no cause to doubt the honesty of the responses from any of the IGCS subjects.

The Inter-generational Case Studies : Potential problems of selectivity and generalisability

1.9 As acknowledged in Chapter IV, Section B, the findings of a case study are specific to the case and, lacking external validity, cannot be generalised. They cannot be replicated and it has to be conceded that researcher selectivity is inevitable where content analysis is involved, as it was in this research. This leaves this particular research instrument open to criticism of possible intrusion of researcher bias, prejudice and pre-judgement. The only defences against this

criticism are the researcher's own assertions that the case studies and their subsequent data management were handled as objectively as possible; that the informal, though focused, nature of the interviews facilitated supplementary questioning to ensure that interviewer and interviewee were sharing the same interpretation of accounts; and that from the inter-family, 'horizontal' comparisons a general pattern of similar issues emerged.

Emphasis on role of the textile industry in promoting language change

1.10 This research project was originally envisaged as an investigation into the use of nonstandard language within the textile industry itself. In the event, the research did not proceed very far down this route before the focus shifted significantly, embracing a wider linguistic and sociolinguistic approach. It is therefore somewhat ironic that the subsequent consideration of *social network* theory took the investigation back to the role of the textile industry and, in particular, the effect changing employment patterns in the industry may have had on language change in the researched community.

1.11 There is no wish here to overstate the case for the linguistic effects the contraction of the industry and the closure of mills may have had. Undoubtedly this was only one factor amongst several interrelated social and economic movements which contributed to the abandonment of a large proportion of the nonstandard words which had previously been in use in the locality. It is difficult to isolate and assess the particular contribution the textile employment changes made to the overall trend, but it is arguable that it is likely to have been important as a catalyst or accelerator, particularly when the chronological coincidence factor is examined alongside the nonstandard word abandonment rates of the age groups which experienced the greatest occupational upheaval.

Predictions of nonstandard word survival

1.12 The prediction of survival prospects for the nonstandard words used in thisresearch is based on simple quantitative calculations (Chapter VII and AppendicesH, I and J). The intention here is simply to provide a base-line model which can be modified and adapted as and when more data may become available to refine the predictions. Conservation or changes in future linguistic behaviour can only be guessed at and the lexical analysis in Chapter VII has shown clearly that penetration of apparently clear-cut situations can reveal much more complex underlying patterns of nonstandard word choice and use which will inevitably affect survival and perishability rates.

SECTION E - SUGGESTIONS FOR FURTHER RESEARCH

Employment patterns and links with linguistic change

1.1 The conduct of this research has inevitably pointed up some areas which would perhaps repay further specific investigation. For example, in light of the qualifications attached to the possible role of the textile industry in promoting nonstandard word abandonment in this locality, there would appear to be a useful research possibility focused specifically on this issue. The key subjects would be those in the age range 45-80, particularly the women, as they are the ones whose working lives spanned the most dramatic changes in the textile industry. Initial thinking is that quantitative techniques are less likely to be useful in such research and that, perhaps, an ethnographic approach may be needed, perhaps on the lines of the Inter-general Case Studies in this present research. Key research questions would be centred on the chronology of and motivation for nonstandard word abandonment. Closer scrutiny of the possible effects of the SI score differences between the 60+ males and females would suggest itself as a research topic, as would the deeper lexical analysis of the ***formerly used*** and ***known but never used*** nonstandard words and their effect on cultural and inter-generational transmission.

Sex/age differentiation in knowledge and use of nonstandard words

1.2 Another salient issue arising from this present research concerns the young women's superiority over their male contemporaries in nonstandard word knowledge and use, especially in the 0-19 age group but also to some extent by the 20-39 age group females. Given the received wisdom that females generally use fewer nonstandard features in speech than do their male counterparts, this would seem to be a potentially fruitful avenue for further exploration.

Social class and knowledge and use of nonstandard words

1.3 This research did not reveal any strong correlation between social class and knowledge and use of the nonstandard words used in the survey on the dimension of *higher social class = less knowledge and use*. In fact, there was more evidence for the opposite being the case. The point has been made in the critique above that perhaps a greater representation of middle-middle- and upper-middle-class informants would have revealed a different picture, as there may be a suspicion that insufficient nonstandard linguistic variation occurs amongst working-class and lower-middle-class to illustrate the broader pattern. A direct comparative study may be called for, specifically targeting representative samples of working-class and middle-middle- and upper-middle-class subjects.

The modification of the available lexical stock by inward migration

1.4 The critique above suggested that perhaps more discussion could have been given over to the effects of inward migration on the community's available lexical stock. In the IGCSs, Informant 6/2 made specific mention of how inward migrants from other localities in the UK contributed to the modification of the existing lexical stock; in some cases, nonstandard words are abandoned as they are not understood by incomers, yet in other cases incomers introduce their own nonstandard words and terms which are then adopted by the 'native' population. None of this diminishes the purpose and findings of the synchronic aspect of this research but it does suggest a further potentially informative line of enquiry which will help illuminate the processes and rate of lexical aspects of language change.

SECTION F - SUMMING UP

1.1 The findings of this research confirm that knowledge and use of a selected corpus of nonstandard words are diminishing in this researched community. If the findings can be extrapolated to a greater selection of nonstandard words and the wider community, they support assertions about a general 'dialect lexical attrition'. The research also provided some measure of the rate of this attrition, from generation to generation. Taking a more interpretative approach, the Inter-generational Case studies helped illuminate some of the mechanisms contributing to the erosion of knowledge and use of nonstandard words, with particular regard to the processes of cultural transmission.

1.2 But perhaps the most revealing findings were provided by the lexical analysis process, for this sounded a cautionary note that simple quantitative measures and broad, generalised statements of observed linguistic behaviour may obscure some very complex and intricate processes and trends at work, affecting lexical stock choices. For example, a 'face-value' statement that 60+ age group women have abandoned the use of more nonstandard words than their male peers and other age/sex groups should perhaps be further interrogated with questions such as *"Yes, **but which** words ?"* Likewise, a finding that a particular group of women know and use more nonstandard words than do their male peers needs to be qualified by asking whether this applies to the same, different, or partially different, sets of words. Another consideration is chronology: it is arguable that if this present research had been carried out in this community in the early 1950s, before economic and social changes impacted on what are today's middle-aged and older women, their ***still used*** **A** and ***still used*** **B** scores would have been very different - almost certainly much higher and probably nearer those of the middle-aged and older women of *that* time, so another qualifying question must be *"**When** did this situation exist ?"*

1.3 Clearly, the survival and extinction prospects of the individual nonstandard words used in this research need to be reappraised in the light of what

has emerged concerning their age- and sex-differentiated knowledge and use - and their context-differentiated use - patterns. It may be that certain lexical items, or bodies of words, have enhanced survival prospects because they continue to be used in chronologically-successive contexts. For example, young mothers in discourse with - and about - their young children are seen to use certain nonstandard words. Though these words may be subsequently discarded from use as the women leave behind their parenting years, they have already been taken up by a following generation of mothers, who have had them culturally-transmitted downwards only during their own childhood years. This would account for the persistence of use of these words in the childhood (0-19) and parenting (20-39) age groups, though they appear to have fallen into progressive disuse through the two oldest age groups. Thus, the transmission and survival of the parenting/caring words does not seem to be dependent on their continued use by older informants. Rather, the processes of introducing the words and locating them in their semantic and conceptual frameworks, for acquisition by the next generation, is apparently effected with some efficiency in the childhood and child-rearing years. Similar processes may be at work in - and confined to - the 'working' years age groups, with their own corpus of nonstandard words.

1.4 There can be no argument against the prevailing 'grain' of diminishing knowledge and use of the nonstandard words used in this survey and this probably has a more generalised application. Clearly, there are downward gradients in the profiles of both knowledge and use dimensions. The intention here is to bring qualifying factors into the equation which may stimulate consideration of why some nonstandard words - or bodies of such words - seem to be better or worse survivors than others, within a context where both knowledge and use are falling. A corollary of this is that theoretical, 'straight-line' chronological predictions of survival and extinction may need to be revised to take account of certain irregularities which intrude when situations are examined at less than holistic levels.

1.5 One theme of this work has been 'choice' in speech from the available lexical stock of the community. It is not within the remit of this study to be judgmental or prescriptive about nonstandard word choices but the following quote from Upton (1997) seems appropriate for closing this report :

> *....we should be aware that our identity is completely intertwined with the way we speak - with all the features of our pronunciation, grammar and word-choice. Much is made today of the need to choose the types of language that are appropriate to different situations..and we should be pleased to assert our right to maintain our wealth of word-choice...*[30]

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1 Crystal (1987), p. 5.

2 *Inter alia :*
Upton et al (1987), p. 12.
Kellett (1994), pp. vii-xxi.
Trudgill (1990), p. 125 et seq.

3 Chambers (1995), pp 193-206.

4 Milroy (1980), pp 112-113.

5 Trudgill (1974a), p. 93 et seq.

6 Ibid.

7 *Inter-alia:*
Bouris and Giles (1997).
Chaika (1982).
Giles and Coupland (1991).
Macaffee (1983).
Milroy, L. (1980).
Montgomery (1995).
Romaine (1994).
Trudgill (1974a).

8 Trudgill (1990), Ch. 3.

9 Chambers (1995), Ch. 4.

10 Chambers (1995), 3.4.

[11] ***Still used*** **A** values, i.e., percentages of the total word list.

[12] Coates (1986), pp. 63-64.

[13] Chambers(1995), 3.4.2.8.

[14] Milroy, L. (1980).

[15] Nichols (1983).

[16] Chambers (1995), pp. 65-66.

[17] Romaine (1994), p. 143.

[18] See *Figure* **VII.21**

[19] *Set pot* = a large copper or iron vessel, used for boiling water and usually mounted in brickwork in the corner of the living room, with a fire-grate underneath. In workers' housing in the research locality, this was often the only means of heating large quantities of water for bathing, laundering, etc. The only existing use of 'piggin' the researcher has encountered is in the specialised field of textiles, where a 'piggin' is used to measure and add liquids in the dyeing process. Domestically, it is redundant.

[20] Coates (1986), p. 10.

[21] In an informal discussion in Sweden, a female acquaintance said that she had noted changes away from the standard in the speech of young Swedish women She put to the researcher the idea that this possibly had a biological-economic rationale, theorising that women tended to unconsciously use the speech of a higher social class than their own as part of the process of attracting mates who could provide a more secure economic environment for the raising of their offspring. With greater economic independence and, often, near equality or even superiority of earning capacity, this was no longer as important. This is an interesting and thought-provoking perspective on nature's 'mate selection' process !

[22] Coates (1986), p. 37.

[23] In both categories, i.e., ***still used*** **A** and ***still used*** **B**.

[24] Smith, K.E. (1988) Yorkshire dialect in Charlotte Brontë's *Shirley*, ***in*** Kellet, A. and Dewhirst, I. (eds) (1997) *A Century of Yorkshire Dialect.* Otley, West Yorkshire : Smith Settle. p. 195.

[25] Aitchison (1991), pp. 205-208.

[26] Crystal (1987), p. 21.

[27] Trudgill (1990), p. 113.

[28] Some of the community's nonstandard words are so well-known and used that they are not readily recognised for what they are. There is an assumption on the part of some speakers that these have universal currency: 'luggy', 'ruttly' and 'ginnel' appear to have this quality. Even in contexts where nonstandard speech features are being consciously minimised, such words may be unwittingly employed because they are not perceived as nonstandard and, consequently, speakers would see no point in deliberately choosing to use such words to signal identity or loyalty.

[29] One IGCS informant did in fact remark that she could not envisage the interviewer as a researcher from a university.

[30] Upton (1997), p. 220.

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Yorkshire Evening Post, Thursday 28th November 1996.

SCORING PROCEDURE FOR ARRIVING AT THE SOCIAL INDEX (SI)

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OCCUPATIONAL ELEMENT

Six occupational categories were used for each informant, the informant's father and the informant's spouse, and these were awarded points as follows :

	Points
Professionals.	5
Employers and managers.	4
Other non-manual.	3
Foremen, skilled manual and own-account workers.	2
Personal service, semi-skilled and agricultural.	1
Unskilled.	0

Unemployed subjects were awarded points according to their former main employment or, if they had never worked, they were scored as Unskilled.

The Occupational element of the Social Index was arrived at by aggregating the points of as many of the following as were applicable in each case

Informant
Informant's father
Informant's spouse

then dividing the result (x) by n, where n = the number of entries in the aggregate.

Example 1:

Informant's score	4
Informant's father's score	3
Informant's spouse's score	2
Aggregate score (x) =	9

$n = 3$ and $x = 9$, so substituting :-

$9/3 = 3$ (Occupational score for the Informant).

Example 2:

Informant's score	2
Informant's father's score	1
Aggregate score (x) =	3

$n = 2$ and $x = 3$, so $3/2 = 1.5$

EDUCATIONAL ELEMENT

Six Educational categories were used, awarded points according to the educational level reached by the informant :

Educational Level Reached	Points
Higher education (university, university college, teacher education institute, etc.).	5
GCE A Levels or equivalent (including Further Education, vocational, GNVQ, City and Guilds, Royal Society of Arts, etc.).	4
GCE O Level or equivalent, CSE, GCSE.	3
Termination of full-time education at 15+ years.	2
Termination of full-time education at 14+ years	1
Termination of full-time education at 13+ years	0

Post-full-time education as a part-time student (e.g. at an FE college, or Open University, etc.) was taken into account if this resulted in a formal qualification scoring in the top three categories.

Only one score (the informant's) is included in the Educational element of the Social Index.

HOUSING ELEMENT

Six categories were recognised for the Housing element of the Social Index and these were awarded points as follows :

	Points
Own detached house or bungalow.	5
Own semi-detached house, bungalow or flat.	4
Own terrace or town house.	3
Own back-to-back house.	2
Privately rented or housing association house or flat.	1
Council house or flat; other ♣.	0

The Housing element score was arrived at by aggregating the points for the type of housing the Informant lived in :

♣ 'Other' would have included, for example, residents in a retirement or nursing home, or informants living in a residential caravan, etc. In the event, no informants in this research came into this category.

In early childhood
In later childhood
In early adulthood
In later adulthood

to give an aggregate value of *h*.

Informants were able to make as many responses as they wished. For instance, if an Informant had, in early childhood, lived in both a council house and privately-rented accommodation, he or she would make responses for both occurrences.

The aggregate scores (*h*), were then divided by the number of responses (*r*) cited by the informant, to give a Housing element score :

h/r = Housing element score.

Example : Informat Y made the following responses :

Early childhood :	Council house and privately-rented house [2 responses] - Total 1 point;
Late childhood :	Privately-rented house and own back-to-back [2 responses] - Total 3 points;
Early adulthood :	Own terrace house [1 response] - Total 3 points;
Late adulthood :	Own semi-detached bungalow [1 response] - Total 4 points.

Overall total points (*h*) = 1+3+3+4 = 11

Total responses (*r*) = 2+2+1+1 = 6

h/r = 11/6 = 1.83 (Housing score for the informant)

The Social Index (SI) was then arrived at by adding together the three elements

Occupational + Educational + Housing = SI

APPENDIX A

SPECIMEN OF THE COVERING LETTER SENT OUT WITH THE SURVEY QUESTIONNAIRE/WORD LIST

SURVEY OF DIALECT KNOWLEDGE & USE IN THE PUDSEY/BRAMLEY AREA

Date : 1996

Dear Friend,

Thank you very much for agreeing to help with this survey. It would be very much appreciated if you could complete the enclosed form and return it to me in the stamped, addressed envelope provided.

You will notice that the form does not include any space for your name or address. This is because these details are not necessary to the survey and, in any case, the information will remain anonymous. The front page of the form is concerned with details which will help to give a 'social' picture of the people acting as informants in this survey. As you will appreciate, social background and history have a lot to do with how much of the local speech pattern people assimilate. It is not necessary for an informant to have lived in the area for any specific length of time, or even know any local dialect. Someone who came here only last week and knows not one word of local dialect is just as important to the survey as someone who was born and raised here. What we are after is a 'snapshot' of what the overall situation is at the moment. People who are new to the area are therefore just as much part of the picture as anyone else and their information will be just as valuable.

Pages 2 to 10 of the form comprise a list of 50 local dialect words, set out like this example:

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

If you **definitely know** the meaning of the word, tick beside its meaning on the top line, then tick one of the three right-hand lower boxes. Here is a possible example:

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

/Over.....

APPENDIX B

If you **don't know** a meaning, as well as ticking against 'don't know' on the top line, please also tick one of the two left-hand boxes on the bottom line, as in this possible example:

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

Please **don't guess** at the meanings of the words. The survey will be more accurate if you put a tick against 'don't know', if you are not certain of the meaning.

Also, please **don't discuss** the meanings with anyone else as you fill in the form.

Please try to make sure that you enter something for all of the fifty given words. It is easy to miss some out because of the way the pages fold back and are printed on both sides !

I look forward to receiving your completed form and please accept my sincere thanks for your cooperation and assistance.

Yours sincerely,

Barrie Markham Rhodes
MOORING CROFT,
11 CANAL ROAD,
RODLEY,
LEEDS LS13 1HT.

TELEPHONE & FAX (0113) 2577332
E-MAIL : bmrhodes@dial.pipex.com

SURVEY OF DIALECT IN THE PUDSEY/BRAMLEY AREA

1. **Informant Code**..... 2. **Male**..... **Female**.....

3. **Age Group**: Under 20..... 20-39..... 40-59..... 60-79..... 80 or over.....

4. Show the period or periods you have spent **living in the Pudsey/Bramley area**, to the nearest ten years, like this:

1950... 1960... 1970... 1980... Present

1900... 1910... 1920... 1930... 1940... 1950... 1960... 1970... 1980... 1990... Present

5. **Educational establishments attended** (just tick √ - names and places not needed) : Elementary school..... Primary school..... Preparatory school.....

Public school (day or boarding)..... Grammar or selective high school (i.e. by scholarship or 11+ exam)..... Technical high school.....

Secondary modern school..... Comprehensive high school.....

Further education or technical college (full time)..... Higher education establishment (university, medical school, teacher training, polytechnic).....

What is the highest educational qualification you possess (e.g. GCE A Level, GCSE, initial degree, higher degree, etc).....

If you are still at school, do you intend to go on to (a) a further education college ? YES NO
(b) a higher education establishment (teacher training, university) ? YES NO

6. **Main occupation(s) in the lifetime of :**

Your **father**..... **Yourself**..... Your **spouse**.....

7. The kinds of housing you have lived in: (Show with a tick √ You may put as many ticks as necessary to best describe your housing experience)

	In early childhood	In later childhood	In early adulthood	In later adulthood
Own detached property				
Own semi-detached property				
Own terrace or town house				
Own back-to-back				
Privately-rented or housing association				
Council house or flat				

laikin(g) or **leckin(g)**	This means:	playing	fishing.....	swearing	(don't know.....)
Never heard it used	Heard it but don't know what it means	Know what it means but have never used it in speech	Formerly used it but don't use it now		Still use it in everyday speech

catchin(g)	This means:	spreading (e.g. disease)	tying up.....	locking (a door)	(don't know.....)
Never heard it used	Heard it but don't know what it means	Know what it means but have never used it in speech	Formerly used it but don't use it now		Still use it in everyday speech

luggy	This means :	grumpy	a type of fish	knotted hair	(don't know.....)
Never heard it used	Heard it but don't know what it means	Know what it means but have never used it in speech	Formerly used it but don't use it now		Still use it in everyday speech

mash	This means:	to grin stupidly	to make tea	a type of card game	(don't know.....)
Never heard it used	Heard it but don't know what it means	Know what it means but have never used it in speech	Formerly used it but don't use it now		Still use it in everyday speech

spanish This means : a type of cattle pen ..... licquorice ..... a problem child ..... (don't know.....)				
Never heard it used	Heard it but don't know what it means	Know what it means but have never used it in speech	Formerly used it but don't use it now	Still use it in everyday speech

flit This means: a small fly ..... move to another house ..... start a fire ..... (Don't know.....)				
Never heard it used	Heard it but don't know what it means	Know what it means but have never used it in speech	Formerly used it but don't use it now	Still use it in everyday speech

ginnel (**hard *g* as in girl**) This means: passageway ..... type of beer barrel ..... run fast ..... (don't know.....)				
Never heard it used	Heard it but don't know what it means	Know what it means but have never used it in speech	Formerly used it but don't use it now	Still use it in everyday speech

jiggered This means: very cold ..... sewn together ..... tired out ..... (don't know.....)				
Never heard it used	Heard it but don't know what it means	Know what it means but have never used it in speech	Formerly used it but don't use it now	Still use it in everyday speech

spice This means: sweets ..... a type of moth ..... leaning over ..... (don't know.....)				
Never heard it used	Heard it but don't know what it means	Know what it means but have never used it in speech	Formerly used it but don't use it now	Still use it in everyday speech

(End of SD 2+)

(h)appen This means : horse harness ..... a type of cattle shed ..... perhaps ..... (don't know.....)				
Never heard it used	Heard it but don't know what it means	Know what it means but have never used it in speech	Formerly used it but don't use it now	Still use it in everyday speech

frame This means: to get organised ..... to argue against something ..... a type of knitting stitch ..... (don't know.....)				
Never heard it used	Heard it but don't know what it means	Know what it means but have never used it in speech	Formerly used it but don't use it now	Still use it in everyday speech

kallin(g) **[the *a* sounded as in c*a*t]** This means : gossiping ..... pulling (e.g. a cart) ..... bandaging (a wound)..... (don't know.....)				
Never heard it used	Heard it but don't know what it means	Know what it means but have never used it in speech	Formerly used it but don't use it now	Still use it in everyday speech

moiderin(g) or moitherin(g) This means : spinning wool ..... pestering ..... mixing bread dough ..... (don't know.....)				
Never heard it used	Heard it but don't know what it means	Know what it means but have never used it in speech	Formerly used it but don't use it now	Still use it in everyday speech

tushy-peg This means: a device for stacking hay..... a beer mug ..... a tooth ..... (don't know.....)				
Never heard it used	Heard it but don't know what it means	Know what it means but have never used it in speech	Formerly used it but don't use it now	Still use it in everyday speech

teemin(g) This means: playing football ..... pouring ..... looking out (e.g. of a window) ..... (don't know.....)				
Never heard it used	Heard it but don't know what it means	Know what it means but have never used it in speech	Formerly used it but don't use it now	Still use it in everyday speech

ruttly This means: congested chest (e.g. during a cold) ..... uneven (e.g. path) ..... a type of sheep ..... (don't know.....)				
Never heard it used	Heard it but don't know what it means	Know what it means but have never used it in speech	Formerly used it but don't use it now	Still use it in everyday speech

brayin(g)	This means : listening hard.....	sea fishing	hitting repeatedly	(don't know.....)
Never heard it used	Heard it but don't know what it means	Know what it means but have never used it in speech	Formerly used it but don't use it now	Still use it in everyday speech

addle	This means: to stir butter in the churn.....	a type of cot	to earn money	(don't know.....)
Never heard it used	Heard it but don't know what it means	Know what it means but have never used it in speech	Formerly used it but don't use it now	Still use it in everyday speech

old buck	This means : a type of waistcoat	cheekiness	a type of bitter beer	(don't know.....)
Never heard it used	Heard it but don't know what it means	Know what it means but have never used it in speech	Formerly used it but don't use it now	Still use it in everyday speech

chunterin(g)	This means: planting vegetables	grumbling	carving wood	(don't know.....)
Never heard it used	Heard it but don't know what it means	Know what it means but have never used it in speech	Formerly used it but don't use it now	Still use it in everyday speech

fratchin(g)	This means : making straw dolls ..... lace edging (e.g. on a dress) ..... quarrelling ..... (don't know.....)			
Never heard it used	Heard it but don't know what it means	Know what it means but have never used it in speech	Formerly used it but don't use it now	Still use it in everyday speech

gormless	This means: lacking common sense..... frightened ..... without food or drink ..... (don't know.....)			
Never heard it used	Heard it but don't know what it means	Know what it means but have never used it in speech	Formerly used it but don't use it now	Still use it in everyday speech

peff	This means: a type of kettle ..... a little cough..... a type of shirt collar ..... (don't know.....)			
Never heard it used	Heard it but don't know what it means	Know what it means but have never used it in speech	Formerly used it but don't use it now	Still use it in everyday speech

segs	This means: metal studs for boots..... ladybirds..... blackberries ..... (don't know.....)			
Never heard it used	Heard it but don't know what it means	Know what it means but have never used it in speech	Formerly used it but don't use it now	Still use it in everyday speech

taws	This means: lowland sheep	dirty windows	marbles	(don't know.....)
Never heard it used	Heard it but don't know what it means	Know what it means but have never used it in speech	Formerly used it but don't use it now	Still use it in everyday speech

pawse	This means: a brass jug.....	to kick.....	a type of scarf	(don't know.....)
Never heard it used	Heard it but don't know what it means	Know what it means but have never used it in speech	Formerly used it but don't use it now	Still use it in everyday speech

thoil	This means : to afford or to tolerate.....	a type of wicker basket	a piece of thick rope	(don't know.....)
Never heard it used	Heard it but don't know what it means	Know what it means but have never used it in speech	Formerly used it but don't use it now	Still use it in everyday speech

capped	This means: stood upright or on end.....	surprised	penniless	(don't know.....)
Never heard it used	Heard it but don't know what it means	Know what it means but have never used it in speech	Formerly used it but don't use it now	Still use it in everyday speech

band This means: a turkey ..... book of instructions..... string or cord ..... (don't know.....)				
Never heard it used	Heard it but don't know what it means	Know what it means but have never used it in speech	Formerly used it but don't use it now	Still use it in everyday speech

End of SD +1

barn or bairn This means : a type of cheese ..... a young child ..... a type of candlestick ..... (don't know.....)				
Never heard it used	Heard it but don't know what it means	Know what it means but have never used it in speech	Formerly used it but don't use it now	Still use it in everyday speech

starved This means : to be very cold ..... to be alarmed ..... colourless ..... (don't know.....)				
Never heard it used	Heard it but don't know what it means	Know what it means but have never used it in speech	Formerly used it but don't use it now	Still use it in everyday speech

throng, threng or thrang This means: smelly ..... collapsed..... busy ..... (don't know.....)				
Never heard it used	Heard it but don't know what it means	Know what it means but have never used it in speech	Formerly used it but don't use it now	Still use it in everyday speech

winter-(h)edge This means: a fruit or vegetable rack ..... a chimney ..... a clothes-horse ..... (don't know.....)				
Never heard it used	Heard it but don't know what it means	Know what it means but have never used it in speech	Formerly used it but don't use it now	Still use it in everyday speech

brussen This means: being miserable ..... an oven glove ..... having an over-full stomach ..... (don't know.....)				
Never heard it used	Heard it but don't know what it means	Know what it means but have never used it in speech	Formerly used it but don't use it now	Still use it in everyday speech

mullock This means: a mess or shambles ..... a young starling..... a type of fishing hook ..... (don't know.....)				
Never heard it used	Heard it but don't know what it means	Know what it means but have never used it in speech	Formerly used it but don't use it now	Still use it in everyday speech

twind [rhymes with 'mind'] This means: to wrap or turn around (e.g. string)..... a small wood..... to count livestock ..... (don't know.....)				
Never heard it used	Heard it but don't know what it means	Know what it means but have never used it in speech	Formerly used it but don't use it now	Still use it in everyday speech

chelpin(g) This means: answering back or chattering on..... making strips of leather..... greasing wheels..... (don't know.....)				
Never heard it used	Heard it but don't know what it means	Know what it means but have never used it in speech	Formerly used it but don't use it now	Still use it in everyday speech

clag This means : a bolt or screw ..... an old male pig ..... to stick to a surface ..... (don't know.....)				
Never heard it used	Heard it but don't know what it means	Know what it means but have never used it in speech	Formerly used it but don't use it now	Still use it in everyday speech

mardy This means: covered in mould..... shining (bright)..... moody or sulky ..... (don't know.....)				
Never heard it used	Heard it but don't know what it means	Know what it means but have never used it in speech	Formerly used it but don't use it now	Still use it in everyday speech

mun This means : an old coin..... must ..... a small hill ..... (don't know.....)				
Never heard it used	Heard it but don't know what it means	Know what it means but have never used it in speech	Formerly used it but don't use it now	Still use it in everyday speech

sam This means: to pick up or collect ..... to call or cry out ..... a person from outside Yorkshire ..... (don't know.....)				
Never heard it used	Heard it but don't know what it means	Know what it means but have never used it in speech	Formerly used it but don't use it now	Still use it in everyday speech

(h)utch up This means : look out ! ..... move over ..... make a mess of something ..... (don't know.....)				
Never heard it used	Heard it but don't know what it means	Know what it means but have never used it in speech	Formerly used it but don't use it now	Still use it in everyday speech

leet on This means: go (forward) ..... find or come across ..... to surprise someone..... (don't know.....)				
Never heard it used	Heard it but don't know what it means	Know what it means but have never used it in speech	Formerly used it but don't use it now	Still use it in everyday speech

(End of SD -1)

silin(g) [rhymes with 'smiling'] This means : gardening..... gutting and cleaning fish ..... raining heavily ..... (don't know.....)				
Never heard it used	Heard it but don't know what it means	Know what it means but have never used it in speech	Formerly used it but don't use it now	Still use it in everyday speech

cree This means: cook rice pudding slowly ..... shout out in pain..... put thatch on a roof ..... (don't know.....)				
Never heard it used	Heard it but don't know what it means	Know what it means but have never used it in speech	Formerly used it but don't use it now	Still use it in everyday speech

tusky This means : a kind of rhubarb..... annoying..... a type of corn for bread-making ..... (don't know.....)				
Never heard it used	Heard it but don't know what it means	Know what it means but have never used it in speech	Formerly used it but don't use it now	Still use it in everyday speech

cahr [sounds like 'car']This means : a silver birch tree ..... to settle or quieten down ..... to gamble..... (don't know.....)				
Never heard it used	Heard it but don't know what it means	Know what it means but have never used it in speech	Formerly used it but don't use it now	Still use it in everyday speech

(End of SD -2)

nawpins This means: a free handout ..... a pattern of bricks (architectural term)..... strawberries..... (don't know.....)				
Never heard it used	Heard it but don't know what it means	Know what it means but have never used it in speech	Formerly used it but don't use it now	Still use it in everyday speech

side This means : a pig's nose ring ..... to clear things away..... to sort raw wool into grades ..... (don't know.....)				
Never heard it used	Heard it but don't know what it means	Know what it means but have never used it in speech	Formerly used it but don't use it now	Still use it in everyday speech

nip-curn This means : a wooden butter container ..... to prepare a meal ..... a mean person..... (don't know.....)				
Never heard it used	Heard it but don't know what it means	Know what it means but have never used it in speech	Formerly used it but don't use it now	Still use it in everyday speech

QUESTION FRAMEWORK FOR INTER-GENERATIONAL CASE STUDY FOCUSED INTERVIEWS

1. FAMILIAL INFLUENCES ON SPEECH

Parental and grand-parental speech.
Parental and grand-parental attitudes to speech variation.
Upward and downward censuring of speech behaviour in the family.
Gender differences in speech in the family.
Attitudes and reactions to own children's speech.

2. EDUCATIONAL INFLUENCES ON SPEECH

Teachers' attitudes to speech variation.
Teachers' 'correction' of nonstandard speech features.

3. PEER GROUPAND NEIGHBOURHOOD INFLUENCES ON SPEECH

Peer group speech as an influential 'model'.
Peers' attitudes to speech varieties which differ from their own.
Speech convergence in the peer group as a 'badge' of membership.
The potency of peer group influence in comparison with family and school influences.
The speech variety of the neighbourhood as a 'model'.
Conflicts and divergence in speech style amongst neighbourhood, home, school and peer group.

4. THE INFLUENCE OF THE WORKING ENVIRONMENT

Differences in the speech variety of the workplace in comparison with family, school and neighbourhood.
Speech behaviour amongst different sectors of the workforce (e.g. departments, managerial and supervisory grades, etc).
Changes in speech behaviour with change of employment.
(If the informant has a textile employment background : the speech
style of the mill in comparison with that of the home and neighbourhood).

APPENDIX D

5. SOCIAL STATUS AND SPEECH

Perceptions of the relationship between speech and social status.
Speech variety in relation to the enhancement of social and occupational prospects.
Conscious and/or unconscious changes in the informant's speech for social and/or occupational motives.
Feelings of speech 'inferiority' and insecurity.

6. REGIONAL AND COMMUNITY LOYALTY AND IDENTITY THROUGH SPEECH

Feeling about nonstandard speech as a marker of community and regional membership.
Notions of 'correctness' of speech and value judgements of nonstandard speech varieties.
Which speech environment does the informant feel most comfortable in ?
Compromises in speech behaviour between what is perceived as 'correct' and community/regional identity.
(If appropriate, return to issues of 'inferiority' and insecurity).

7. CULTURAL TRANSMISSION

(Expand, if appropriate, on issues to do with the cultural transmission of nonstandard speech features : From whom ? When ? What processes ? if these have not arisen at previous points in the interview).

8. ANY OTHER QUESTIONS WHICH MAY HAVE SUGGESTED THEMSELVES DURING THE INTERVIEW ?

Males 0-19 Yrs

Informant Code	Sex	Age Gp	SI score	Yrs res	Known	Still used	Formerly	Known, NU	Heard, NK	Never hd
019M1	M	0-19	10.0	10.0	18.0	8.0	4.0	6.0	24.0	58.0
019M2	M	0-19	11.0	10.0	24.0	18.0	4.0	2.0	2.0	74.0
019M3	M	0-19	9.0	10.0	12.0	2.0	0.0	10.0	14.0	74.0
019M4	M	0-19	9.0	10.0	20.0	10.0	2.0	8.0	18.0	62.0
019M5	M	0-19	7.0	10.0	12.0	4.0	4.0	4.0	22.0	66.0
019M6	M	0-19	9.0	10.0	42.0	28.0	6.0	8.0	8.0	50.0
019M7	M	0-19	5.0	10.0	16.0	6.0	0.0	10.0	0.0	84.0
019M8	M	0-19	9.0	10.0	28.0	4.0	12.0	14.0	8.0	62.0
019M9	M	0-19	8.0	10.0	20.0	4.0	2.0	14.0	2.0	78.0
019M10	M	0-19	10.0	10.0	34.0	12.0	8.0	14.0	12.0	54.0
019M11	M	0-19	9.0	10.0	12.0	2.0	2.0	8.0	20.0	68.0
019M12	M	0-19	3.0	10.0	12.0	0.0	2.0	10.0	10.0	78.0
Column Means			8.3	10.0	20.8	8.2	3.8	9.0	11.7	67.3

Females 0-19 Yrs

Informant Code	Sex	Age Gp	SI score	Yrs res	Known	Still used	Formerly	Known, NU	Heard, NK	Never hd
019F1	F	0-19	10.0	10.0	44.0	32.0	6.0	6.0	2.0	54.0
019F2	F	0-19	9.0	10.0	34.0	24.0	6.0	4.0	2.0	64.0
019F3	F	0-19	6.0	10.0	48.0	24.0	18.0	6.0	16.0	36.0
019F4	F	0-19	9.0	10.0	40.0	28.0	10.0	2.0	16.0	44.0
019F5	F	0-19	6.0	10.0	30.0	20.0	0.0	10.0	0.0	70.0
019F6	F	0-19	9.0	10.0	36.0	24.0	6.0	6.0	24.0	40.0
019F7	F	0-19	9.0	10.0	28.0	10.0	4.0	14.0	10.0	62.0
019F8	F	0-19	8.0	10.0	48.0	20.0	4.0	24.0	4.0	48.0
019F9	F	0-19	8.0	10.0	32.0	16.0	2.0	14.0	6.0	62.0
019F10	F	0-19	8.0	10.0	22.0	2.0	6.0	14.0	20.0	58.0
019F11	F	0-19	11.0	10.0	20.0	6.0	4.0	10.0	14.0	66.0
019F12	F	0-19	7.0	10.0	34.0	14.0	2.0	18.0	2.0	64.0
019F13	F	0-19	6.0	10.0	34.0	0.0	6.0	28.0	14.0	52.0
Column Means			8.2	10.0	34.6	16.9	5.7	12.0	10.0	55.4

Males + Females 0-19 Yrs

M + F Means			8.2	10.0	27.7	12.5	4.8	10.5	10.8	61.4

Males 20-39 Yrs

	Sex	Age Gp	SI score	Yrs res	Known	Still used	Formerly	Known, NU	Heard, NK	Never hd
2039M1	M	20-39	7.3	30.0	52.0	30.0	6.0	16.0	2.0	46.0
2039M2	M	20-39	9.9	30.0	70.0	40.0	6.0	24.0	2.0	28.0
2039M3	M	20-39	10.9	40.0	58.0	20.0	26.0	12.0	8.0	34.0
2039M4	M	20-39	12.9	20.0	38.0	29.0	2.0	7.0	0.0	62.0
2039M5	M	20-39	9.2	30.0	50.0	34.0	12.0	4.0	20.0	30.0
2039M6	M	20-39	7.6	30.0	38.0	18.0	10.0	10.0	8.0	54.0
2039M7	M	20-39	7.7	40.0	60.0	24.0	18.0	18.0	0.0	40.0
2039M8	M	20-39	5.7	30.0	56.0	40.0	14.0	2.0	2.0	42.0
2039M9	M	20-39	3.3	30.0	56.0	24.0	18.0	14.0	2.0	42.0
2039M10	M	20-39	10.8	30.0	42.0	10.0	4.0	28.0	0.0	58.0
2039M11	M	20-39	11.5	30.0	16.0	4.0	6.0	6.0	10.0	74.0
2039M12	M	20-39	6.3	40.0	56.0	10.0	28.0	18.0	0.0	44.0
2039M13	M	20-39	13.5	30.0	38.0	8.0	6.0	24.0	8.0	54.0
2039M14	M	20-39	9.7	40.0	62.0	38.0	8.0	16.0	10.0	28.0
2039M15	M	20-39	10.0	20.0	44.0	20.0	10.0	14.0	22.0	34.0
Column Means			9.1	31.3	49.1	23.3	11.6	14.2	6.3	44.7

Females 20-39 Yrs

InfCode	Sex	Age Gp	SI score	Yrs res	Known	Still used	Formerly	Known, NU	Heard, NK	Never hd
2039F1	F	20-39	8.3	30.0	54.0	20.0	10.0	24.0	2.0	44.0
2039F2	F	20-39	9.5	30.0	64.0	20.0	18.0	26.0	4.0	32.0
2039F3	F	20-39	12.7	30.0	60.0	40.0	0.0	20.0	4.0	36.0
2039F4	F	20-39	8.9	30.0	62.0	38.0	10.0	14.0	0.0	38.0
2039F5	F	20-39	7.0	30.0	72.0	38.0	18.0	16.0	4.0	24.0
2039F6	F	20-39	6.3	30.0	58.0	22.0	20.0	16.0	6.0	36.0
2039F7	F	20-39	10.5	30.0	40.0	12.0	18.0	10.0	10.0	50.0
2039F8	F	20-39	5.3	30.0	52.0	24.0	6.0	22.0	6.0	42.0
2039F9	F	20-39	7.8	30.0	52.0	6.0	12.0	34.0	0.0	48.0
2039F10	F	20-39	7.1	30.0	50.0	18.0	22.0	10.0	12.0	38.0
2039F11	F	20-39	10.3	20.0	50.0	16.0	16.0	18.0	0.0	50.0
2039F12	F	20-39	7.0	30.0	46.0	8.0	4.0	34.0	6.0	48.0
2039F13	F	20-39	10.0	30.0	42.0	28.0	6.0	8.0	0.0	58.0
2039F14	F	20-39	3.0	30.0	34.0	28.0	0.0	6.0	52.0	14.0
2039F15	F	20-39	10.3	30.0	58.0	44.0	8.0	6.0	2.0	40.0
Column Means			8.3	29.3	52.9	24.1	11.2	17.6	7.2	39.9

Males + Females 20-39 Yrs

M + F Means			8.7	30.3	51.0	23.7	11.4	15.9	6.7	42.3

Males 40-59 Yrs

InfCode	Sex	Age Gp	SI score	Yrs res	Known	Still used	Formerly	Known, NU	Heard, NK	Never hd
4059M1	M	40-59	11.0	30.0	76.0	50.0	22.0	4.0	2.0	22.0
4059M2	M	40-59	7.6	50.0	82.0	68.0	12.0	2.0	0.0	18.0
4059M3	M	40-59	12.3	60.0	70.0	24.0	36.0	10.0	8.0	22.0
4059M4	M	40-59	10.5	30.0	82.0	38.0	42.0	2.0	0.0	18.0
4059M5	M	40-59	11.5	50.0	62.0	0.0	12.0	50.0	4.0	34.0
4059M6	M	40-59	8.8	50.0	68.0	46.0	18.0	4.0	28.0	4.0
4059M7	M	40-59	6.7	50.0	90.0	68.0	6.0	16.0	0.0	10.0
4059M8	M	40-59	8.9	50.0	86.0	10.0	24.0	52.0	2.0	12.0
4059M9	M	40-59	5.6	30.0	66.0	14.0	24.0	28.0	0.0	34.0
4059M10	M	40-59	7.1	30.0	68.0	38.0	8.0	22.0	6.0	26.0
4059M11	M	40-59	13.0	20.0	50.0	14.0	4.0	32.0	8.0	42.0
4059M12	M	40-59	8.3	60.0	76.0	48.0	16.0	12.0	0.0	24.0
Column Means			9.3	42.5	73.0	34.8	18.7	19.5	4.8	22.2

Females 40-59 Yrs

InfCode	Sex	Age Gp	SI score	Yrs res	Known	Still used	Formerly	Known, NU	Heard, NK	Never hd
4059F1	F	40-59	8.3	50.0	84.0	26.0	40.0	18.0	0.0	16.0
4059F2	F	40-59	6.5	30.0	96.0	14.0	52.0	30.0	0.0	4.0
4059F3	F	40-59	6.2	30.0	68.0	10.0	24.0	34.0	0.0	32.0
4059F4	F	40-59	11.2	30.0	40.0	10.0	0.0	30.0	0.0	60.0
4059F5	F	40-59	4.6	30.0	74.0	34.0	24.0	16.0	0.0	26.0
4059F6	F	40-59	4.5	30.0	72.0	52.0	10.0	10.0	2.0	26.0
4059F7	F	40-59	9.4	50.0	60.0	24.0	14.0	22.0	0.0	40.0
4059F8	F	40-59	12.0	50.0	66.0	14.0	22.0	30.0	2.0	32.0
4059F9	F	40-59	5.5	30.0	62.0	36.0	20.0	6.0	10.0	28.0
4059F10	F	40-59	4.9	20.0	62.0	4.0	24.0	34.0	10.0	28.0
4059F11	F	40-59	6.2	30.0	62.0	34.0	28.0	0.0	0.0	38.0
4059F12	F	40-59	11.7	30.0	80.0	26.0	14.0	40.0	2.0	18.0
Column Means			7.6	34.2	68.8	23.7	22.7	22.5	2.2	29.0

Males + Females 40-59 Yrs

M + F Means			8.4	38.3	70.9	29.3	20.7	21.0	3.5	25.6

Males 60+ Yrs

InfCode	Sex	Age Gp	SI score	Yrs res	Known	Still used	Formerly	Known, NU	Heard, NK	Never hd
6079M1	M	60-79	7.0	50.0	98.0	24.0	52.0	22.0	0.0	2.0
6079M2	M	60-79	4.0	70.0	76.0	16.0	32.0	28.0	0.0	24.0
6079M3	M	60-79	5.5	70.0	98.0	46.0	50.0	2.0	0.0	2.0
6079M4	M	60-79	9.1	40.0	60.0	0.0	2.0	58.0	2.0	38.0
6079M5	M	60-79	5.3	70.0	84.0	40.0	42.0	2.0	2.0	14.0
6079M6	M	60-79	8.3	70.0	98.0	66.0	32.0	0.0	0.0	2.0
6079M7	M	60-79	12.0	30.0	24.0	0.0	4.0	20.0	4.0	72.0
6079M8	M	60-79	11.3	70.0	76.0	26.0	26.0	24.0	0.0	24.0
6079M9	M	60-79	11.0	70.0	78.0	14.0	14.0	50.0	0.0	22.0
80M1	M	>79	9.2	90.0	86.0	84.0	2.0	0.0	8.0	6.0
80M2	M	>79	3.7	90.0	98.0	30.0	66.0	2.0	0.0	2.0
Column Means			7.8	65.5	79.6	31.5	29.3	18.9	1.5	18.9

Females 60+ Yrs

InfCode	Sex	Age Gp	SI score	Yrs res	Known	Still used	Formerly	Known, NU	Heard, NK	Never hd
6079F1	F	60-79	5.1	70.0	96.0	42.0	34.0	20.0	0.0	4.0
6079F2	F	60-79	3.5	60.0	96.0	24.0	74.0	0.0	0.0	2.0
6079F3	F	60-79	10.9	70.0	98.0	40.0	18.0	40.0	0.0	2.0
6079F4	F	60-79	7.9	40.0	94.0	44.0	20.0	30.0	2.0	4.0
6079F5	F	60-79	4.8	70.0	84.0	24.0	44.0	16.0	0.0	16.0
6079F6	F	60-79	3.2	30.0	88.0	12.0	46.0	30.0	2.0	10.0
6079F7	F	60-79	7.9	10.0	90.0	24.0	46.0	20.0	2.0	8.0
6079F8	F	60-79	5.9	60.0	98.0	34.0	20.0	44.0	0.0	2.0
80F1	F	>79	4.5	60.0	94.0	35.0	59.0	0.0	0.0	6.0
80F2	F	>79	4.0	30.0	86.0	26.0	28.0	32.0	6.0	8.0
Column Means			5.8	50.0	92.4	30.5	38.9	23.2	1.2	6.2

Males + Females 60-79 Yrs

M + F Means			6.8	57.7	86.0	31.0	34.1	21.1	1.3	12.6

SUMMARY MEANS			SI score	Yrs res	Known	Still used	Formerly	Known, NU	Heard, NK	Never hd
MEANS - MALES			8.6	37.3	55.6	24.4	15.8	15.4	6.1	38.3
MEANS - FEMALES			7.4	30.9	62.2	23.8	19.6	18.8	5.1	32.6
MEANS - M + F			8.0	34.1	58.9	24.1	17.7	17.1	5.6	35.4

KNOWN WORDS	Total	%	Total	%
	Male 0-19	Male 0-19	Female 0-19	Female 0-19
Number of informants :	Qty 12	Qty 12	Qty 13	Qty 13
laikin(g)/leckin(g)	8	66.7	7	53.8
catchin(g)	2	16.7	7	53.8
luggy	1	8.3	9	69.2
mash	2	16.7	6	46.2
spanish	7	58.3	6	46.2
flit	0	0.0	0	0.0
ginnel	11	91.7	13	100.0
jiggered	6	50.0	11	84.6
spice	10	83.3	11	84.6
(h)appen	4	33.3	6	46.2
frame	4	33.3	11	84.6
kallin(g)	2	16.7	4	30.8
moid(moith)erin(g)	2	16.7	6	46.2
tushy-peg	5	41.7	8	61.5
teemin(g)	0	0.0	5	38.5
ruttly	0	0.0	0	0.0
brayin(g)	12	100.0	12	92.3
addle	0	0.0	1	7.7
old buck	1	8.3	1	7.7
chunterin(g)	5	41.7	13	100.0
fratchin(g)	1	8.3	4	30.8
gormless	9	75.0	11	84.6
peff	0	0.0	3	23.1
segs	0	0.0	2	15.4
taws	0	0.0	1	7.7
pawse	0	0.0	0	0.0
thoil	1	8.3	0	0.0
capped	0	0.0	1	7.7
band	2	16.7	8	61.5
barn/bairn	5	41.7	10	76.9
starved	1	8.3	1	7.7
throng/threng/thrang	0	0.0	1	7.7
winter-(h)edge	1	8.3	1	7.7
brussen	0	0.0	1	7.7
mullock	0	0.0	1	7.7
twind	4	33.3	12	92.3
chelpin(g)	6	50.0	7	53.8
clag	0	0.0	1	7.7
mardy	0	0.0	4	30.8
mun	3	25.0	3	23.1
sam	0	0.0	0	0.0
(h)utch up	6	50.0	7	53.8
leet on	0	0.0	0	0.0
silin(g)	2	16.7	3	23.1
cree	0	0.0	0	0.0
tusky	0	0.0	0	0.0
cahr	0	0.0	0	0.0
nawpins	0	0.0	0	0.0
side	2	16.7	6	46.2
nip-curn	0	0.0	0	0.0
TOTAL ITEM MENTIONS	**125**		**225**	
MEAN % MENTIONS		**20.8**		**34.6**

	Total	%	Total	%
	Male 20-39	Male 20-39	Female 20-39	Female 20-39
Number of informants :	Qty 15	Qty 15	Qty 15	Qty 15
laikin(g)/leckin(g)	12	80.0	10	66.7
catchin(g)	11	73.3	12	80.0
luggy	6	40.0	10	66.7
mash	13	86.7	14	93.3
spanish	11	73.3	12	80.0
flit	12	80.0	13	86.7
ginnel	14	93.3	15	100.0
jiggered	15	100.0	15	100.0
spice	12	80.0	14	93.3
(h)appen	13	86.7	14	93.3
frame	12	80.0	13	86.7
kallin(g)	12	80.0	14	93.3
moid(moith)erin(g)	9	60.0	14	93.3
tushy-peg	13	86.7	15	100.0
teemin(g)	13	86.7	13	86.7
ruttly	1	6.7	9	60.0
brayin(g)	15	100.0	14	93.3
addle	1	6.7	0	0.0
old buck	1	6.7	1	6.7
chunterin(g)	15	100.0	15	100.0
fratchin(g)	5	33.3	10	66.7
gormless	14	93.3	14	93.3
peff	1	6.7	3	20.0
segs	11	73.3	13	86.7
taws	7	46.7	1	6.7
pawse	0	0.0	1	6.7
thoil	1	6.7	0	0.0
capped	4	26.7	5	33.3
band	8	53.3	8	53.3
barn/bairn	15	100.0	15	100.0
starved	8	53.3	10	66.7
throng/threng/thrang	2	13.3	2	13.3
winter-(h)edge	1	6.7	1	6.7
brussen	4	26.7	0	0.0
mullock	2	13.3	2	13.3
twind	10	66.7	14	93.3
chelpin(g)	10	66.7	13	86.7
clag	9	60.0	7	46.7
mardy	11	73.3	9	60.0
mun	3	20.0	1	6.7
sam	0	0.0	0	0.0
(h)utch up	7	46.7	8	53.3
leet on	0	0.0	1	6.7
silin(g)	13	86.7	10	66.7
cree	0	0.0	0	0.0
tusky	2	13.3	0	0.0
cahr	0	0.0	0	0.0
nawpins	0	0.0	0	0.0
side	9	60.0	11	73.3
nip-curn	0	0.0	0	0.0
	368		**396**	
		49.1		**52.9**

	Total	%	Total	%
	Male 40-59	Male 40-59	Female 40-59	Female 40-59
Number of informants :	Qty 12	Qty 12	Qty 12	Qty 12
laikin(g)/leckin(g)	12	100.0	11	91.7
catchin(g)	10	83.3	10	83.3
luggy	8	66.7	11	91.7
mash	12	100.0	12	100.0
spanish	12	100.0	11	91.7
flit	12	100.0	12	100.0
ginnel	12	100.0	12	100.0
jiggered	12	100.0	12	100.0
spice	12	100.0	11	91.7
(h)appen	12	100.0	12	100.0
frame	12	100.0	11	91.7
kallin(g)	12	100.0	12	100.0
moid(moith)erin(g)	12	100.0	12	100.0
tushy-peg	12	100.0	12	100.0
teemin(g)	11	91.7	12	100.0
ruttly	7	58.3	12	100.0
brayin(g)	12	100.0	12	100.0
addle	4	33.3	1	8.3
old buck	6	50.0	5	41.7
chunterin(g)	12	100.0	12	100.0
fratchin(g)	10	83.3	11	91.7
gormless	12	100.0	12	100.0
peff	8	66.7	6	50.0
segs	10	83.3	7	58.3
taws	11	91.7	11	91.7
pawse	5	41.7	1	8.3
thoil	4	33.3	5	41.7
capped	10	83.3	9	75.0
band	11	91.7	9	75.0
barn/bairn	12	100.0	11	91.7
starved	11	91.7	11	91.7
throng/threng/thrang	9	75.0	3	25.0
winter-(h)edge	4	33.3	6	50.0
brussen	3	25.0	4	33.3
mullock	5	41.7	1	8.3
twind	12	100.0	10	83.3
chelpin(g)	10	83.3	11	91.7
clag	8	66.7	6	50.0
mardy	9	75.0	5	41.7
mun	7	58.3	7	58.3
sam	5	41.7	2	16.7
(h)utch up	10	83.3	10	83.3
leet on	6	50.0	3	25.0
silin(g)	11	91.7	12	100.0
cree	1	8.3	4	33.3
tusky	5	41.7	5	41.7
cahr	1	8.3	2	16.7
nawpins	2	16.7	0	0.0
side	11	91.7	11	91.7
nip-curn	1	8.3	2	16.7
	438		**412**	
		73.0		**68.8**

	Total	%	Total	%
	Male 60+	Male 60+	Female 60+	Female 60+
Number of informants :	Qty 11	Qty 11	Qty 10	Qty 10
laikin(g)/leckin(g)	10	90.9	9	90.0
catchin(g)	10	90.9	10	100.0
luggy	7	63.6	10	100.0
mash	11	100.0	10	100.0
spanish	10	90.9	10	100.0
flit	11	100.0	10	100.0
ginnel	11	100.0	10	100.0
jiggered	11	100.0	10	100.0
spice	10	90.9	10	100.0
(h)appen	11	100.0	10	100.0
frame	10	90.9	10	100.0
kallin(g)	9	81.8	10	100.0
moid(moith)erin(g)	10	90.9	10	100.0
tushy-peg	10	90.9	10	100.0
teemin(g)	10	90.9	10	100.0
ruttly	8	72.7	10	100.0
brayin(g)	10	90.9	10	100.0
addle	8	72.7	8	80.0
old buck	10	90.9	10	100.0
chunterin(g)	10	90.9	10	100.0
fratchin(g)	9	81.8	10	100.0
gormless	11	100.0	10	100.0
peff	9	81.8	9	90.0
segs	10	90.9	10	100.0
taws	9	81.8	10	100.0
pawse	7	63.6	8	80.0
thoil	8	72.7	10	100.0
capped	9	81.8	10	100.0
band	10	90.9	10	100.0
barn/bairn	10	90.9	10	100.0
starved	11	100.0	10	100.0
throng/threng/thrang	9	81.8	9	90.0
winter-(h)edge	7	63.6	9	90.0
brussen	8	72.7	8	80.0
mullock	8	72.7	10	100.0
twind	10	90.9	8	80.0
chelpin(g)	9	81.8	10	100.0
clag	6	54.5	9	90.0
mardy	6	54.5	8	80.0
mun	9	81.8	10	100.0
sam	7	63.6	7	70.0
(h)utch up	7	63.6	10	100.0
leet on	7	63.6	7	70.0
silin(g)	9	81.8	10	100.0
cree	2	18.2	9	90.0
tusky	8	72.7	10	100.0
cahr	7	63.6	2	20.0
nawpins	3	27.3	3	30.0
side	10	90.9	10	100.0
nip-curn	6	54.5	9	90.0
	438		**462**	
		79.6		**92.4**

	TOTAL	Mean %	TOTAL	Mean %
	All males	All males	All females	All females
Number of informants :	Qty 50	Qty 50	Qty 50	Qty 50
laikin(g)/leckin(g)	42	84.4	37	75.5
catchin(g)	33	66.1	39	79.3
luggy	22	44.7	40	81.9
mash	38	75.8	42	84.9
spanish	40	80.6	39	79.5
flit	35	70.0	35	71.7
ginnel	48	96.3	50	100.0
jiggered	44	87.5	48	96.2
spice	44	88.6	46	92.4
(h)appen	40	80.0	42	84.9
frame	38	76.1	45	90.7
kallin(g)	35	69.6	40	81.0
moid(moith)erin(g)	33	66.9	42	84.9
tushy-peg	40	79.8	45	90.4
teemin(g)	34	67.3	40	81.3
ruttly	16	34.4	31	65.0
brayin(g)	49	97.7	48	96.4
addle	13	28.2	10	24.0
old buck	18	39.0	17	39.0
chunterin(g)	42	83.1	50	100.0
fratchin(g)	25	51.7	35	72.3
gormless	46	92.1	47	94.5
peff	18	38.8	21	45.8
segs	31	61.9	32	65.1
taws	27	55.0	23	51.5
pawse	12	26.3	10	23.8
thoil	14	30.3	15	35.4
capped	23	48.0	25	54.0
band	31	63.1	35	72.5
barn/bairn	42	83.1	46	92.1
starved	31	63.3	32	66.5
throng/threng/thrang	20	42.5	15	34.0
winter-(h)edge	13	28.0	17	38.6
brussen	15	31.1	13	30.3
mullock	15	31.9	14	32.3
twind	36	72.7	44	87.2
chelpin(g)	35	70.5	41	83.0
clag	23	45.3	23	48.6
mardy	26	50.7	26	53.1
mun	22	46.3	21	47.0
sam	12	26.3	9	21.7
(h)utch up	30	60.9	35	72.6
leet on	13	28.4	11	25.4
silin(g)	35	69.2	35	72.4
cree	3	6.6	13	30.8
tusky	15	31.9	15	35.4
cahr	8	18.0	4	9.2
nawpins	5	11.0	3	7.5
side	32	64.8	38	77.8
nip-curn	7	15.7	11	26.7
	1369		**1495**	
		55.6		**62.1**

	TOTAL	Mean %
	All informants	All informants
Number of informants :	Qty 100	Qty 100
laikin(g)/leckin(g)	79	80.0
catchin(g)	72	72.7
luggy	62	63.3
mash	80	80.4
spanish	79	80.0
flit	70	70.8
ginnel	98	98.1
jiggered	92	91.8
spice	90	90.5
(h)appen	82	82.4
frame	83	83.4
kallin(g)	75	75.3
moid(moith)erin(g)	75	75.9
tushy-peg	85	85.1
teemin(g)	74	74.3
ruttly	47	49.7
brayin(g)	97	97.1
addle	23	26.1
old buck	35	39.0
chunterin(g)	92	91.6
fratchin(g)	60	62.0
gormless	93	93.3
peff	39	42.3
segs	63	63.5
taws	50	53.3
pawse	22	25.0
thoil	29	32.8
capped	48	51.0
band	66	67.8
barn/bairn	88	87.6
starved	63	64.9
throng/threng/thrang	35	38.3
winter-(h)edge	30	33.3
brussen	28	30.7
mullock	29	32.1
twind	80	80.0
chelpin(g)	76	76.7
clag	46	46.9
mardy	52	51.9
mun	43	46.7
sam	21	24.0
(h)utch up	65	66.8
leet on	24	26.9
silin(g)	70	70.8
cree	16	18.7
tusky	30	33.7
cahr	12	13.6
nawpins	8	9.2
side	70	71.3
nip-curn	18	21.2
	2864	
		58.9

STILL USED WORDS	Total	%	Total	%
	Male 0-19	Male 0-19	Female 0-19	Female 0-19
Number of informants :	Qty 12	Qty 12	Qty 13	Qty 13
laikin(g)/leckin(g)	2	16.7	3	23.1
catchin(g)	2	16.7	7	53.8
luggy	1	8.3	5	38.5
mash	1	8.3	5	38.5
spanish	1	8.3	3	23.1
flit	0	0.0	0	0.0
ginnel	8	66.7	10	76.9
jiggered	2	16.7	3	23.1
spice	2	16.7	1	7.7
(h)appen	1	8.3	4	30.8
frame	2	16.7	9	69.2
kallin(g)	1	8.3	2	15.4
moid(moith)erin(g)	1	8.3	3	23.1
tushy-peg	2	16.7	1	7.7
teemin(g)	0	0.0	4	30.8
ruttly	0	0.0	0	0.0
brayin(g)	7	58.3	6	46.2
addle	0	0.0	0	0.0
old buck	0	0.0	0	0.0
chunterin(g)	1	8.3	6	46.2
fratchin(g)	1	8.3	1	7.7
gormless	7	58.3	8	61.5
peff	0	0.0	1	7.7
segs	0	0.0	1	7.7
taws	0	0.0	0	0.0
pawse	0	0.0	0	0.0
thoil	0	0.0	0	0.0
capped	0	0.0	0	0.0
band	1	8.3	4	30.8
barn/bairn	0	0.0	2	15.4
starved	1	8.3	1	7.7
throng/threng/thrang	0	0.0	0	0.0
winter-(h)edge	0	0.0	0	0.0
brussen	0	0.0	0	0.0
mullock	0	0.0	0	0.0
twind	1	8.3	6	46.2
chelpin(g)	1	8.3	3	23.1
clag	0	0.0	0	0.0
mardy	0	0.0	3	23.1
mun	0	0.0	1	7.7
sam	0	0.0	0	0.0
(h)utch up	1	8.3	2	15.4
leet on	0	0.0	0	0.0
silin(g)	1	8.3	1	7.7
cree	0	0.0	0	0.0
tusky	0	0.0	0	0.0
cahr	0	0.0	0	0.0
nawpins	0	0.0	0	0.0
side	1	8.3	5	38.5
nip-curn	0	0.0	0	0.0
TOTAL ITEM MENTIONS	**49**		**111**	
MEAN % MENTIONS		**8.2**		**16.9**

	Total	%	Total	%
	Male 20-39	Male 20-39	Female 20-39	Female 20-39
Number of informants :	Qty 15	Qty 15	Qty 15	Qty 15
laikin(g)/leckin(g)	4	26.7	2	13.3
catchin(g)	8	53.3	7	46.7
luggy	2	13.3	3	20.0
mash	11	73.3	9	60.0
spanish	3	20.0	3	20.0
flit	6	40.0	2	13.3
ginnel	12	80.0	12	80.0
jiggered	8	53.3	11	73.3
spice	5	33.3	7	46.7
(h)appen	5	33.3	6	40.0
frame	12	80.0	12	80.0
kallin(g)	6	40.0	8	53.3
moid(moith)erin(g)	5	33.3	4	26.7
tushy-peg	2	13.3	6	40.0
teemin(g)	7	46.7	5	33.3
ruttly	0	0.0	6	40.0
brayin(g)	12	80.0	6	40.0
addle	0	0.0	0	0.0
old buck	0	0.0	0	0.0
chunterin(g)	7	46.7	11	73.3
fratchin(g)	0	0.0	4	26.7
gormless	14	93.3	11	73.3
peff	1	6.7	0	0.0
segs	6	40.0	5	33.3
taws	1	6.7	0	0.0
pawse	0	0.0	0	0.0
thoil	0	0.0	0	0.0
capped	0	0.0	2	13.3
band	3	20.0	3	20.0
barn/bairn	4	26.7	7	46.7
starved	2	13.3	1	6.7
throng/threng/thrang	0	0.0	1	6.7
winter-(h)edge	0	0.0	0	0.0
brussen	1	6.7	0	0.0
mullock	0	0.0	1	6.7
twind	1	6.7	5	33.3
chelpin(g)	5	33.3	8	53.3
clag	3	20.0	1	6.7
mardy	4	26.7	1	6.7
mun	0	0.0	0	0.0
sam	0	0.0	0	0.0
(h)utch up	1	6.7	1	6.7
leet on	0	0.0	0	0.0
silin(g)	8	53.3	6	40.0
cree	0	0.0	0	0.0
tusky	1	6.7	0	0.0
cahr	0	0.0	0	0.0
nawpins	0	0.0	0	0.0
side	5	33.3	4	26.7
nip-curn	0	0.0	0	0.0
	175		**181**	
		23.3		**24.1**

	Total	%	Total	%
	Male 40-59	Male 40-59	Female 40-59	Female 40-59
Number of informants :	Qty 12	Qty 12	Qty 12	Qty 12
laikin(g)/leckin(g)	5	41.7	1	8.3
catchin(g)	7	58.3	4	33.3
luggy	4	33.3	4	33.3
mash	10	83.3	7	58.3
spanish	5	41.7	4	33.3
flit	7	58.3	4	33.3
ginnel	10	83.3	12	100.0
jiggered	10	83.3	8	66.7
spice	6	50.0	1	8.3
(h)appen	5	41.7	4	33.3
frame	8	66.7	4	33.3
kallin(g)	8	66.7	6	50.0
moid(moith)erin(g)	4	33.3	2	16.7
tushy-peg	2	16.7	1	8.3
teemin(g)	7	58.3	6	50.0
ruttly	3	25.0	3	25.0
brayin(g)	7	58.3	4	33.3
addle	0	0.0	0	0.0
old buck	2	16.7	0	0.0
chunterin(g)	7	58.3	11	91.7
fratchin(g)	6	50.0	2	16.7
gormless	10	83.3	8	66.7
peff	6	50.0	3	25.0
segs	2	16.7	2	16.7
taws	2	16.7	3	25.0
pawse	2	16.7	0	0.0
thoil	3	25.0	0	0.0
capped	4	33.3	2	16.7
band	4	33.3	4	33.3
barn/bairn	6	50.0	2	16.7
starved	6	50.0	6	50.0
throng/threng/thrang	5	41.7	0	0.0
winter-(h)edge	1	8.3	0	0.0
brussen	2	16.7	2	16.7
mullock	2	16.7	0	0.0
twind	1	8.3	2	16.7
chelpin(g)	1	8.3	4	33.3
clag	2	16.7	0	0.0
mardy	2	16.7	0	0.0
mun	2	16.7	0	0.0
sam	4	33.3	0	0.0
(h)utch up	3	25.0	4	33.3
leet on	0	0.0	0	0.0
silin(g)	7	58.3	5	41.7
cree	0	0.0	1	8.3
tusky	3	25.0	0	0.0
cahr	1	8.3	1	8.3
nawpins	0	0.0	0	0.0
side	5	41.7	5	41.7
nip-curn	0	0.0	0	0.0
	209		**142**	
		34.8		**23.7**

	Total	%	Total	%
	Male 60+	Male 60+	Female 60+	Female 60+
Number of informants :	Qty 11	Qty 11	Qty 10	Qty 10
laikin(g)/leckin(g)	2	18.2	0	0.0
catchin(g)	5	45.5	6	60.0
luggy	3	27.3	6	60.0
mash	8	72.7	10	100.0
spanish	3	27.3	3	30.0
flit	3	27.3	3	30.0
ginnel	7	63.6	10	100.0
jiggered	8	72.7	10	100.0
spice	4	36.4	0	0.0
(h)appen	4	36.4	3	30.0
frame	5	45.5	6	60.0
kallin(g)	5	45.5	7	70.0
moid(moith)erin(g)	1	9.1	1	10.0
tushy-peg	2	18.2	0	0.0
teemin(g)	6	54.5	5	50.0
ruttly	3	27.3	5	50.0
brayin(g)	3	27.3	2	20.0
addle	1	9.1	0	0.0
old buck	3	27.3	2	20.0
chunterin(g)	5	45.5	5	50.0
fratchin(g)	4	36.4	3	30.0
gormless	8	72.7	7	70.0
peff	3	27.3	7	70.0
segs	3	27.3	6	60.0
taws	4	36.4	0	0.0
pawse	2	18.2	0	0.0
thoil	4	36.4	3	30.0
capped	1	9.1	3	30.0
band	4	36.4	5	50.0
barn/bairn	3	27.3	2	20.0
starved	9	81.8	9	90.0
throng/threng/thrang	4	36.4	3	30.0
winter-(h)edge	2	18.2	2	20.0
brussen	4	36.4	3	30.0
mullock	3	27.3	0	0.0
twind	3	27.3	0	0.0
chelpin(g)	2	18.2	1	10.0
clag	1	9.1	0	0.0
mardy	2	18.2	1	10.0
mun	2	18.2	0	0.0
sam	1	9.1	0	0.0
(h)utch up	2	18.2	1	10.0
leet on	1	9.1	1	10.0
silin(g)	6	54.5	0	0.0
cree	2	18.2	6	60.0
tusky	2	18.2	0	0.0
cahr	1	9.1	1	10.0
nawpins	1	9.1	0	0.0
side	5	45.5	3	30.0
nip-curn	3	27.3	1	10.0
	173		**152**	
		31.5		**30.5**

	TOTAL	Mean %	TOTAL	Mean %
	All males	All males	All females	All females
Number of informants :	Qty 50	Qty 50	Qty 50	Qty 50
laikin(g)/leckin(g)	13	25.8	6	11.2
catchin(g)	22	43.4	24	48.5
luggy	10	20.6	18	37.9
mash	30	59.4	31	64.2
spanish	12	24.3	13	26.6
flit	16	31.4	9	19.2
ginnel	37	73.4	44	89.2
jiggered	28	56.5	32	65.8
spice	17	34.1	9	15.7
(h)appen	15	29.9	17	33.5
frame	27	52.2	31	60.6
kallin(g)	20	40.1	23	47.2
moid(moith)erin(g)	11	21.0	10	19.1
tushy-peg	8	16.2	8	14.0
teemin(g)	20	39.9	20	41.0
ruttly	6	13.1	14	28.8
brayin(g)	29	56.0	18	34.9
addle	1	2.3	0	0.0
old buck	5	11.0	2	5.0
chunterin(g)	20	39.7	33	65.3
fratchin(g)	11	23.7	10	20.3
gormless	39	76.9	34	67.9
peff	10	21.0	11	25.7
segs	11	21.0	14	29.4
taws	7	14.9	3	6.3
pawse	4	8.7	0	0.0
thoil	7	15.3	3	7.5
capped	5	10.6	7	15.0
band	12	24.5	16	33.5
barn/bairn	13	26.0	13	24.7
starved	18	38.4	17	38.6
throng/threng/thrang	9	19.5	4	9.2
winter-(h)edge	3	6.6	2	5.0
brussen	7	14.9	5	11.7
mullock	5	11.0	1	1.7
twind	6	12.7	13	24.0
chelpin(g)	9	17.0	16	29.9
clag	6	11.4	1	1.7
mardy	8	15.4	5	9.9
mun	4	8.7	1	1.9
sam	5	10.6	0	0.0
(h)utch up	7	14.5	8	16.3
leet on	1	2.3	1	2.5
silin(g)	22	43.6	12	22.3
cree	2	4.5	7	17.1
tusky	6	12.5	0	0.0
cahr	2	4.4	2	4.6
nawpins	1	2.3	0	0.0
side	16	32.2	17	34.2
nip-curn	3	6.8	1	2.5
	606		**586**	
		24.4		**23.8**

	TOTAL	Mean %
	All informants	All informants
Number of informants :	Qty 100	Qty 100
laikin(g)/leckin(g)	19	18.5
catchin(g)	46	46.0
luggy	28	29.3
mash	61	61.8
spanish	25	25.5
flit	25	25.3
ginnel	81	81.3
jiggered	60	61.1
spice	26	24.9
(h)appen	32	31.7
frame	58	56.4
kallin(g)	43	43.6
moid(moith)erin(g)	21	20.1
tushy-peg	16	15.1
teemin(g)	40	40.5
ruttly	20	20.9
brayin(g)	47	45.4
addle	1	1.1
old buck	7	8.0
chunterin(g)	53	52.5
fratchin(g)	21	22.0
gormless	73	72.4
peff	21	23.3
segs	25	25.2
taws	10	10.6
pawse	4	4.4
thoil	10	11.4
capped	12	12.8
band	28	29.0
barn/bairn	26	25.3
starved	35	38.5
throng/threng/thrang	13	14.3
winter-(h)edge	5	5.8
brussen	12	13.3
mullock	6	6.3
twind	19	18.3
chelpin(g)	25	23.5
clag	7	6.6
mardy	13	12.7
mun	5	5.3
sam	5	5.3
(h)utch up	15	15.4
leet on	2	2.4
silin(g)	34	33.0
cree	9	10.8
tusky	6	6.2
cahr	4	4.5
nawpins	1	1.1
side	33	33.2
nip-curn	4	4.7
	1192	
		24.1

PREAMBLE TO APPENDICES H, I and J

Appendices H, I and J make predictions of survival up to the 15, 30, 45 and 60 year points from the present, based on current usage levels as found in the ***still used*** **A** scores.

The predictions have been arrived at quantitatively in the following manner :

The prediction for the 15 year point assumes that a sufficient number of representative users of all the present age groups used in this research will be alive at that time, so the 'zonal scores' for all four age groups are aggregated. [1]

The 30 year point prediction is based on the aggregated 'zonal scores' of age groups 40-59, 20-39 and 0-19.

The prediction for the 45 year point aggregates the 'zonal scores' for the 20-39 and 0-19 age groups.

The 60 year prediction uses only the 0-19 age group's 'zonal scores'.

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[1] For this purpose, the 80+ and the 60-79 age groups continue to be combined under the label '60+'.

KNOWN	60+	40-59	20-39	0-19	Mean all age groups
laikin(g)/leckin(g)	95.24	95.83	73.33	60.26	81.17
catchin(g)	95.24	83.33	73.33	35.26	71.79
luggy	80.95	79.17	53.33	38.78	63.06
mash	100.00	100.00	90.00	24.00	78.50
spanish	95.24	95.83	76.66	52.24	79.99
flit	100.00	100.00	83.33	0.00	70.83
ginnel	100.00	100.00	96.66	95.83	98.12
jiggered	100.00	100.00	100.00	67.31	91.83
spice	95.24	95.83	86.65	83.97	90.42
(h)appen	100.00	100.00	90.00	39.74	82.44
frame	95.24	95.83	83.33	58.97	83.34
kallin(g)	90.48	100.00	86.66	23.72	75.22
moid(moith)erin(g)	95.24	100.00	76.66	31.41	75.83
tushy-peg	95.24	100.00	93.33	51.60	85.04
teemin(g)	95.24	95.83	86.67	19.23	74.24
ruttly	85.71	79.16	33.33	0.00	49.55
brayin(g)	95.24	100.00	96.66	96.15	97.01
addle	71.43	20.83	3.33	3.84	24.86
old buck	95.24	45.83	6.67	8.01	38.94
chunterin(g)	95.24	100.00	100.00	70.83	91.52
fratchin(g)	90.48	87.50	50.00	19.55	61.88
gormless	100.00	100.00	93.33	79.81	93.29
peff	85.71	58.33	13.33	11.54	42.23
segs	95.24	71.08	80.00	7.69	63.50
taws	90.48	91.67	26.67	3.84	53.17
pawse	71.43	25.00	3.33	0.00	24.94
thoil	85.71	37.50	3.33	4.16	32.68
capped	90.48	79.16	30.00	3.84	50.87
band	95.24	83.33	53.33	39.10	67.75
barn/bairn	95.24	95.83	100.00	59.29	87.59
starved	100.00	91.67	56.66	8.01	64.09
thro(a)(e)ng	85.71	50.00	13.33	3.84	38.22
winter-(h)edge	76.19	41.66	6.67	8.01	33.13
brussen	76.19	29.16	13.33	0.00	29.67
mullock	85.71	25.00	13.33	3.84	31.97
twind	85.71	91.66	80.00	62.82	80.05
chelpin(g)	90.48	87.50	73.33	51.92	75.81
clag	71.43	58.33	66.66	15.38	52.95
mardy	66.67	58.33	66.66	15.38	51.76
mun	90.48	58.33	13.33	24.04	46.55
sam	66.67	20.83	0.00	0.00	21.88
(h)utch up	80.95	83.33	50.00	51.92	66.55
leet on	66.67	37.50	3.33	0.00	26.88
silin(g)	90.48	95.83	76.67	19.87	70.71
cree	52.38	20.83	0.00	0.00	18.30
tusky	85.71	41.67	6.66	0.00	33.51
cahr	42.86	12.50	0.00	0.00	13.84
nawpins	23.81	8.33	0.00	0.00	8.04
side	95.24	91.67	66.66	31.41	71.25
nip-curn	66.67	12.50	0.00	3.84	20.75
Column Totals	**4276.23**	**3533.50**	**2549.87**	**1390.25**	**2937.46**
Column Means	**85.52**	**70.67**	**51.00**	**27.81**	**58.75**

KNOWN	15 year score	Mean 0-59 years	30 year score	Mean 0-39 years
laikin(g)/leckin(g)	5	76.47	5	66.80
catchin(g)	5	63.97	4	54.30
luggy	4	57.09	4	46.06
mash	5	71.33	5	57.00
spanish	5	74.91	5	64.45
flit	5	61.11	4	41.67
ginnel	6	97.50	6	96.25
jiggered	6	89.10	5	83.66
spice	6	88.82	5	85.31
(h)appen	5	76.58	5	64.87
frame	5	79.38	5	71.15
kallin(g)	5	70.13	5	55.19
moid(moith)erin(g)	5	69.36	4	54.04
tushy-peg	5	81.64	5	72.47
teemin(g)	5	67.24	4	52.95
ruttly	3	37.50	3	16.67
brayin(g)	6	97.60	6	96.41
addle	2	9.33	1	3.59
old buck	3	20.17	2	7.34
chunterin(g)	6	90.28	6	85.42
fratchin(g)	4	52.35	4	34.78
gormless	6	91.05	6	86.57
peff	3	27.73	2	12.44
segs	4	52.92	4	43.85
taws	4	40.73	3	15.26
pawse	2	9.44	1	1.67
thoil	3	15.00	2	3.75
capped	4	37.67	3	16.92
band	4	58.59	4	46.22
barn/bairn	5	85.04	5	79.65
starved	4	52.11	4	32.34
thro(a)(e)ng	3	22.39	2	8.59
winter-(h)edge	3	18.78	2	7.34
brussen	2	14.16	2	6.67
mullock	3	14.06	2	8.59
twind	5	78.16	5	71.41
chelpin(g)	5	70.92	5	62.63
clag	4	46.79	3	41.02
mardy	4	46.79	3	41.02
mun	3	31.90	3	18.69
sam	2	6.94	1	0.00
(h)utch up	4	61.75	4	50.96
leet on	2	13.61	2	1.67
silin(g)	5	64.12	4	48.27
cree	2	6.94	1	0.00
tusky	3	16.11	2	3.33
cahr	2	4.17	1	0.00
nawpins	1	2.78	1	0.00
side	5	63.25	4	49.04
nip-curn	2	5.45	1	1.92
Column Totals		**2491.21**		**1970.06**
Column Means		**49.82**		**39.40**

KNOWN	45 year score	0-19 years	60 year score
laikin(g)/leckin(g)	4	60.26	4
catchin(g)	4	35.26	3
luggy	3	38.78	3
mash	4	24.00	2
spanish	4	52.24	4
flit	3	0.00	0
ginnel	6	95.83	6
jiggered	5	67.31	4
spice	5	83.97	5
(h)appen	4	39.74	3
frame	5	58.97	4
kallin(g)	4	23.72	2
moid(moith)erin(g)	4	31.41	3
tushy-peg	5	51.60	4
teemin(g)	4	19.23	2
ruttly	2	0.00	0
brayin(g)	6	96.15	6
addle	1	3.84	1
old buck	1	8.01	1
chunterin(g)	5	70.83	5
fratchin(g)	3	19.55	2
gormless	5	79.81	5
peff	2	11.54	2
segs	3	7.69	1
taws	2	3.84	1
pawse	1	0.00	0
thoil	1	4.16	1
capped	2	3.84	1
band	3	39.10	3
barn/bairn	5	59.29	4
starved	3	8.01	1
thro(a)(e)ng	1	3.84	1
winter-(h)edge	1	8.01	1
brussen	1	0.00	0
mullock	1	3.84	1
twind	5	62.82	4
chelpin(g)	4	51.92	4
clag	3	15.38	2
mardy	3	15.38	2
mun	2	24.04	2
sam	0	0.00	0
(h)utch up	4	51.92	4
leet on	1	0.00	0
silin(g)	3	19.87	2
cree	0	0.00	0
tusky	1	0.00	0
cahr	0	0.00	0
nawpins	0	0.00	0
side	3	31.41	3
nip-curn	1	3.84	1
Column Totals		**1390.26**	
Column Means		**27.81**	

NONSTANDARD WORDS SURVIVAL PREDICTIONS - ***STILL USED*** **A**

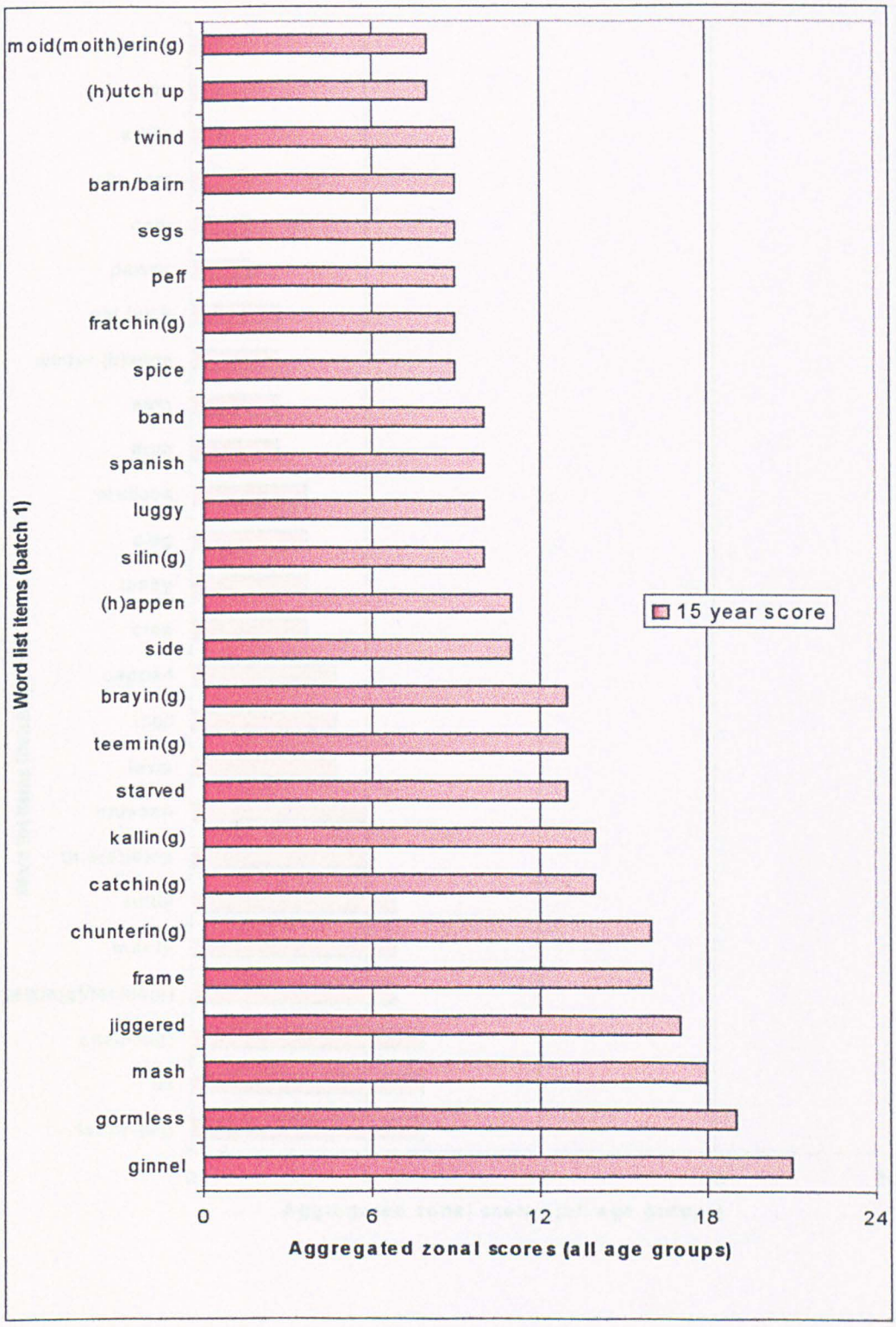
STILL USED A	60+	40-59	20-39	0-19	Mean all age gps
laikin(g)/leckin(g)	9.09	25.50	21.00	21.37	19.24
catchin(g)	55.73	47.83	53.50	38.76	48.95
luggy	46.64	35.33	18.17	25.90	31.51
mash	91.36	74.33	71.17	25.90	65.69
spanish	30.14	39.50	21.50	17.21	27.09
flit	30.14	47.83	27.67	0.00	26.41
ginnel	86.82	97.67	86.00	76.79	86.82
jiggered	91.36	79.00	68.83	21.37	65.14
spice	18.18	29.67	43.50	12.68	26.01
(h)appen	34.68	39.50	39.67	21.55	33.85
frame	55.73	52.00	86.00	47.45	60.29
kallin(g)	61.23	61.33	50.67	12.86	46.52
moid(moith)erin(g)	10.05	26.00	32.00	17.21	21.31
tushy-peg	9.09	13.00	29.67	12.68	16.11
teemin(g)	54.77	57.17	42.50	17.38	42.96
ruttly	41.14	26.50	23.00	0.00	22.66
brayin(g)	24.64	47.83	63.00	55.24	47.68
addle	4.55	0.00	0.00	0.00	1.14
old buck	24.64	8.33	0.00	0.00	8.24
chunterin(g)	50.23	80.50	65.50	30.24	56.62
fratchin(g)	34.68	34.33	15.33	8.51	23.22
gormless	74.86	79.00	88.83	63.94	76.66
peff	52.14	39.00	3.33	4.35	24.70
segs	46.64	17.67	39.17	4.35	26.95
taws	18.18	22.33	3.33	0.00	10.96
pawse	9.09	8.33	0.00	0.00	4.36
thoil	34.68	12.50	0.00	0.00	11.80
capped	21.05	26.00	7.67	0.00	13.68
band	45.68	35.33	21.50	21.55	31.02
barn/bairn	24.64	34.33	40.17	8.69	26.96
starved	90.41	53.00	10.50	8.51	40.61
thro(a)(e)ng	34.68	20.83	3.83	0.00	14.84
winter-(h)edge	20.09	4.20	0.00	0.00	6.07
brussen	34.68	17.67	3.33	0.00	13.92
mullock	13.64	8.33	3.83	0.00	6.45
twind	13.64	13.50	22.50	30.24	19.97
chelpin(g)	14.59	22.83	47.33	17.21	25.49
clag	4.55	8.33	13.83	0.00	6.68
mardy	14.59	8.33	17.17	13.04	13.28
mun	9.09	8.33	0.00	4.35	5.44
sam	4.55	16.67	0.00	0.00	5.30
(h)utch up	14.59	31.17	7.17	12.86	16.45
leet on	10.05	0.00	0.00	0.00	2.51
silin(g)	27.27	52.50	49.67	8.51	34.49
cree	42.09	4.67	0.00	0.00	11.69
tusky	9.09	12.50	3.33	0.00	6.23
cahr	10.05	8.83	0.00	0.00	4.72
nawpins	4.55	0.00	0.00	0.00	1.14
side	39.23	44.17	32.00	25.90	35.32
nip-curn	19.14	0.00	0.00	0.00	4.78
Column Totals	1622.36	1533.53	1277.17	686.59	1279.91
Column Means	32.45	30.67	25.54	13.73	25.60

NONSTANDARD WORDS SURVIVAL PREDICTIONS - ***STILL USED*** A

STILL USED A	15 year score	Mean 0-59 yrs	30 year score	Mean 0-39 yrs
laikin(g)/leckin(g)	7	22.62	6	21.19
catchin(g)	14	46.70	10	46.13
luggy	10	26.47	6	22.03
mash	18	57.13	12	48.53
spanish	10	26.07	7	19.35
flit	8	25.17	5	13.83
ginnel	21	86.82	16	81.40
jiggered	17	56.40	11	45.10
spice	9	28.62	7	28.09
(h)appen	11	33.57	8	30.61
frame	16	61.82	12	66.72
kallin(g)	14	41.62	10	31.76
moid(moith)erin(g)	8	25.07	6	24.60
tushy-peg	8	18.45	7	21.17
teemin(g)	13	39.02	9	29.94
ruttly	7	16.50	4	11.50
brayin(g)	13	55.36	11	59.12
addle	1	0.00	0	0.00
old buck	3	2.78	1	0.00
chunterin(g)	16	58.75	12	47.87
fratchin(g)	9	19.39	6	11.92
gormless	19	77.26	14	76.38
peff	9	15.56	5	3.84
segs	9	20.39	6	21.76
taws	5	8.56	3	1.67
pawse	2	2.78	1	0.00
thoil	5	4.17	2	0.00
capped	5	11.22	3	3.83
band	10	26.13	7	21.53
barn/bairn	9	27.73	7	24.43
starved	13	24.00	7	9.51
thro(a)(e)ng	6	8.22	3	1.92
winter-(h)edge	3	1.40	1	0.00
brussen	6	7.00	3	1.67
mullock	4	4.06	2	1.92
twind	9	22.08	7	26.37
chelpin(g)	8	29.12	6	32.27
clag	4	7.39	3	6.92
mardy	7	12.85	5	15.10
mun	3	4.23	2	2.17
sam	3	5.56	2	0.00
(h)utch up	8	17.06	6	10.01
leet on	1	0.00	0	0.00
silin(g)	10	36.89	8	29.09
cree	4	1.56	1	0.00
tusky	4	5.28	3	1.67
cahr	2	2.94	1	0.00
nawpins	1	0.00	0	0.00
side	11	34.02	8	28.95
nip-curn	2	0.00	0	0.00
Column Totals		1165.76		981.88
Column Means		23.32		19.64

NONSTANDARD WORDS SURVIVAL PREDICTIONS - ***STILL USED A***

STILL USED A	45 year score	0-19	60 year score
laikin(g)/leckin(g)	4	21.37	2
catchin(g)	7	38.76	3
luggy	4	25.90	2
mash	7	25.90	2
spanish	4	17.21	2
flit	2	0.00	0
ginnel	10	76.79	5
jiggered	6	21.37	2
spice	5	12.68	2
(h)appen	5	21.55	2
frame	8	47.45	3
kallin(g)	6	12.86	2
moid(moith)erin(g)	5	17.21	2
tushy-peg	4	12.68	2
teemin(g)	5	17.38	2
ruttly	2	0.00	0
brayin(g)	8	55.24	4
addle	0	0.00	0
old buck	0	0.00	0
chunterin(g)	7	30.24	3
fratchin(g)	3	8.51	1
gormless	9	63.94	4
peff	2	4.35	1
segs	4	4.35	1
taws	1	0.00	0
pawse	0	0.00	0
thoil	0	0.00	0
capped	1	0.00	0
band	4	21.55	2
barn/bairn	4	8.69	1
starved	3	8.51	1
thro(a)(e)ng	1	0.00	0
winter-(h)edge	0	0.00	0
brussen	1	0.00	0
mullock	1	0.00	0
twind	5	30.24	3
chelpin(g)	5	17.21	2
clag	2	0.00	0
mardy	4	13.04	2
mun	1	4.35	1
sam	0	0.00	0
(h)utch up	3	12.86	2
leet on	0	0.00	0
silin(g)	4	8.51	1
cree	0	0.00	0
tusky	1	0.00	0
cahr	0	0.00	0
nawpins	0	0.00	0
side	5	25.90	2
nip-curn	0	0.00	0
Column Totals		686.59	
Column Means		13.73	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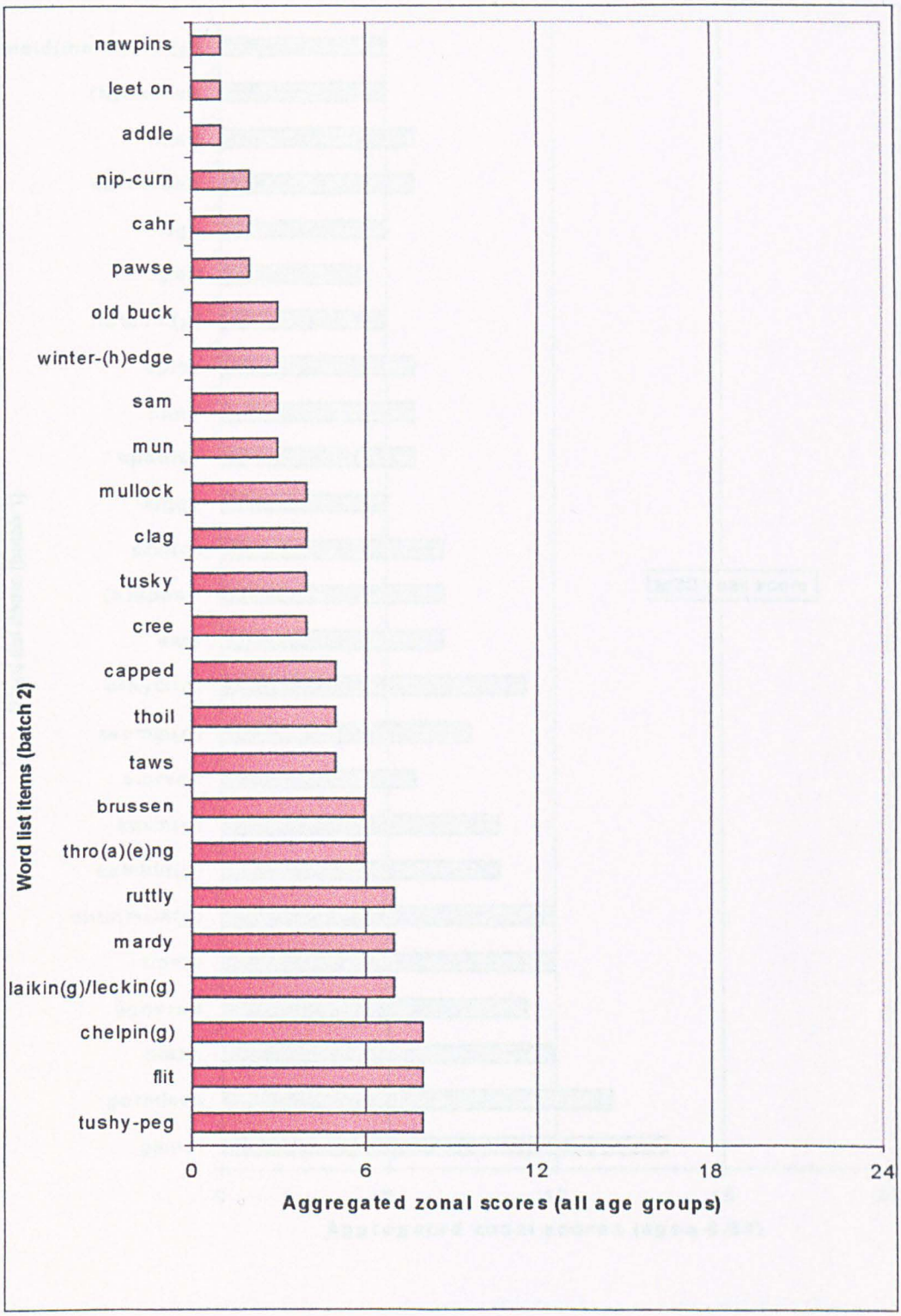
(h)utch up
twind
barn/bairn
segs
peff
fratchin(g)
spice
band
spanish
luggy
silin(g)
(h)appen
side
brayin(g)
teemin(g)
starved
kallin(g)
catchin(g)
chunterin(g)
frame
jiggered
mash
gormless
ginnel
Word list items (batch 1)
15 year score
0
6
12
18
24
Aggregated zonal scores (all age groups)

APPENDIX J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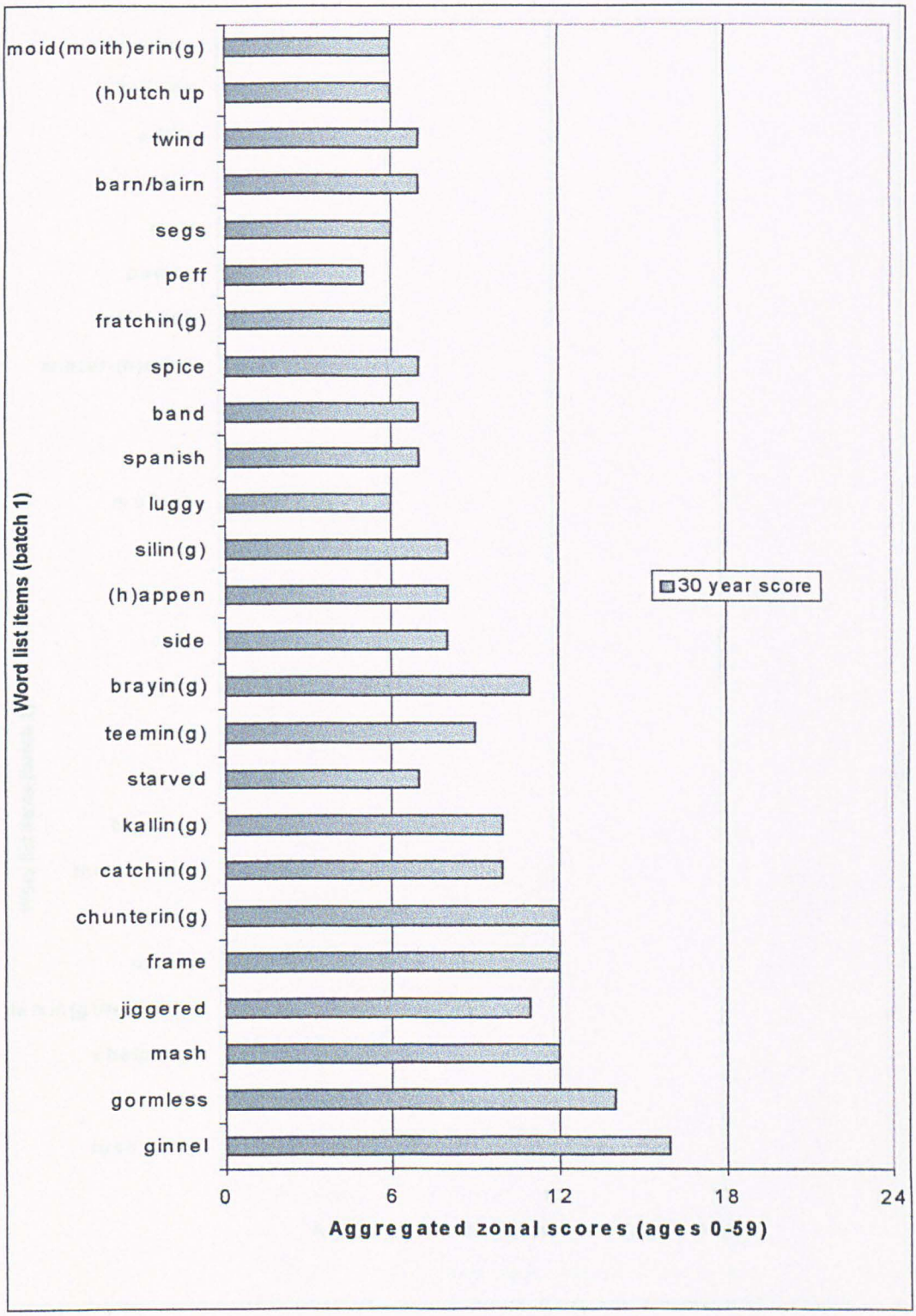
leet on
addle
nip-curn
cahr
pawse
old buck
winter-(h)edge
sam
mun
mullock
clag
tusky
cree
capped
thoil
taws
brussen
thro(a)(e)ng
ruttly
mardy
laikin(g)/leckin(g)
chelpin(g)
flit
tushy-peg
Word list items (batch 2)
0
6
12
18
24
Aggregated zonal scores (all age groups)

APPENDIX J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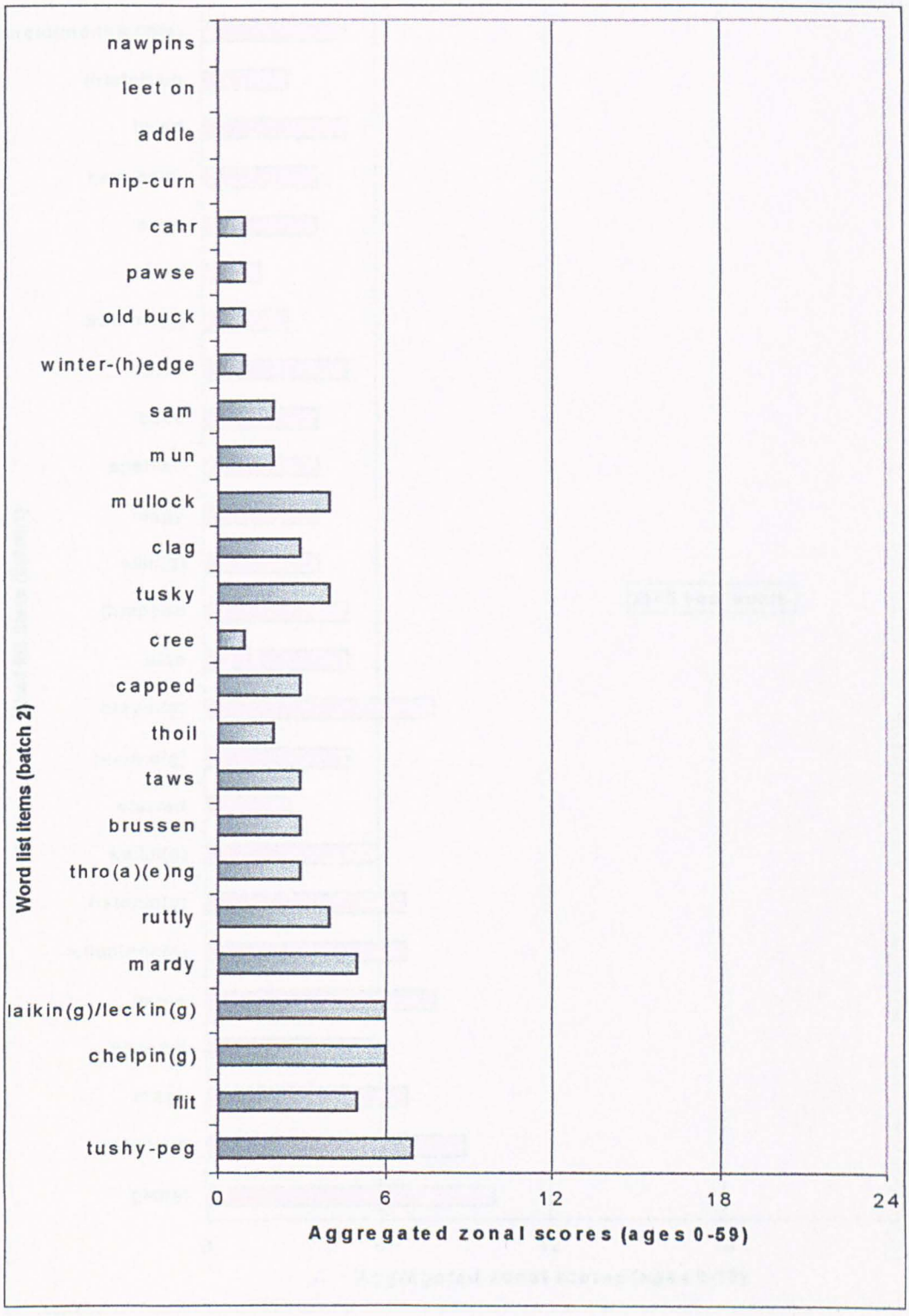
(h)utch up
twind
barn/bairn
segs
peff
fratchin(g)
spice
band
spanish
luggy
silin(g)
(h)appen
side
brayin(g)
teemin(g)
starved
kallin(g)
catchin(g)
chunterin(g)
frame
jiggered
mash
gormless
ginnel
Word list items (batch 1)
30 year score
0
6
12
18
24
Aggregated zonal scores (ages 0-59)

APPENDIX J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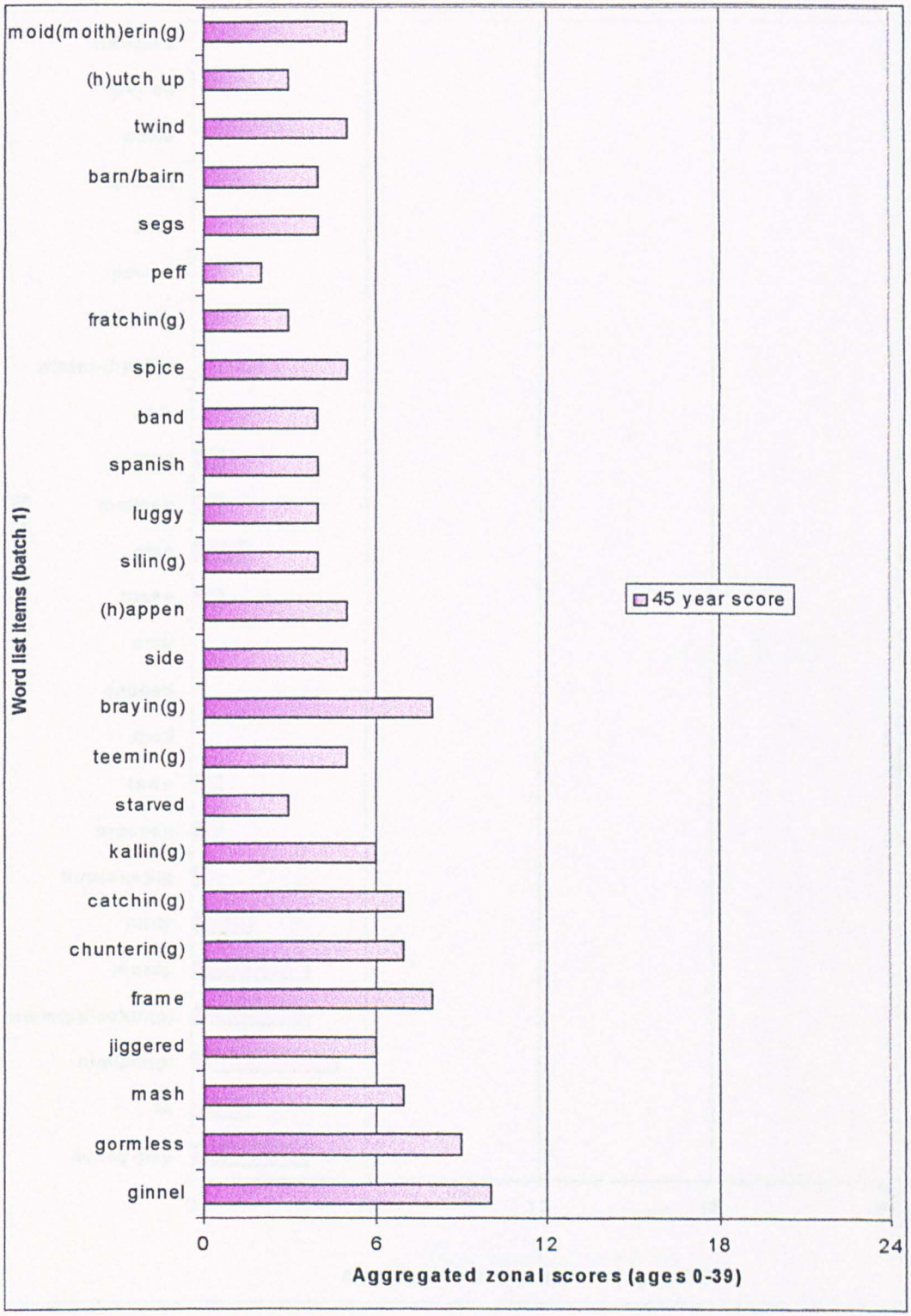
leet on
addle
nip-curn
cahr
pawse
old buck
winter-(h)edge
sam
mun
mullock
clag
tusky
cree
capped
thoil
taws
brussen
thro(a)(e)ng
ruttly
mardy
laikin(g)/leckin(g)
chelpin(g)
flit
tushy-peg
Word list items (batch 2)
0
6
12
18
24
Aggregated zonal scores (ages 0-59)

APPENDIX J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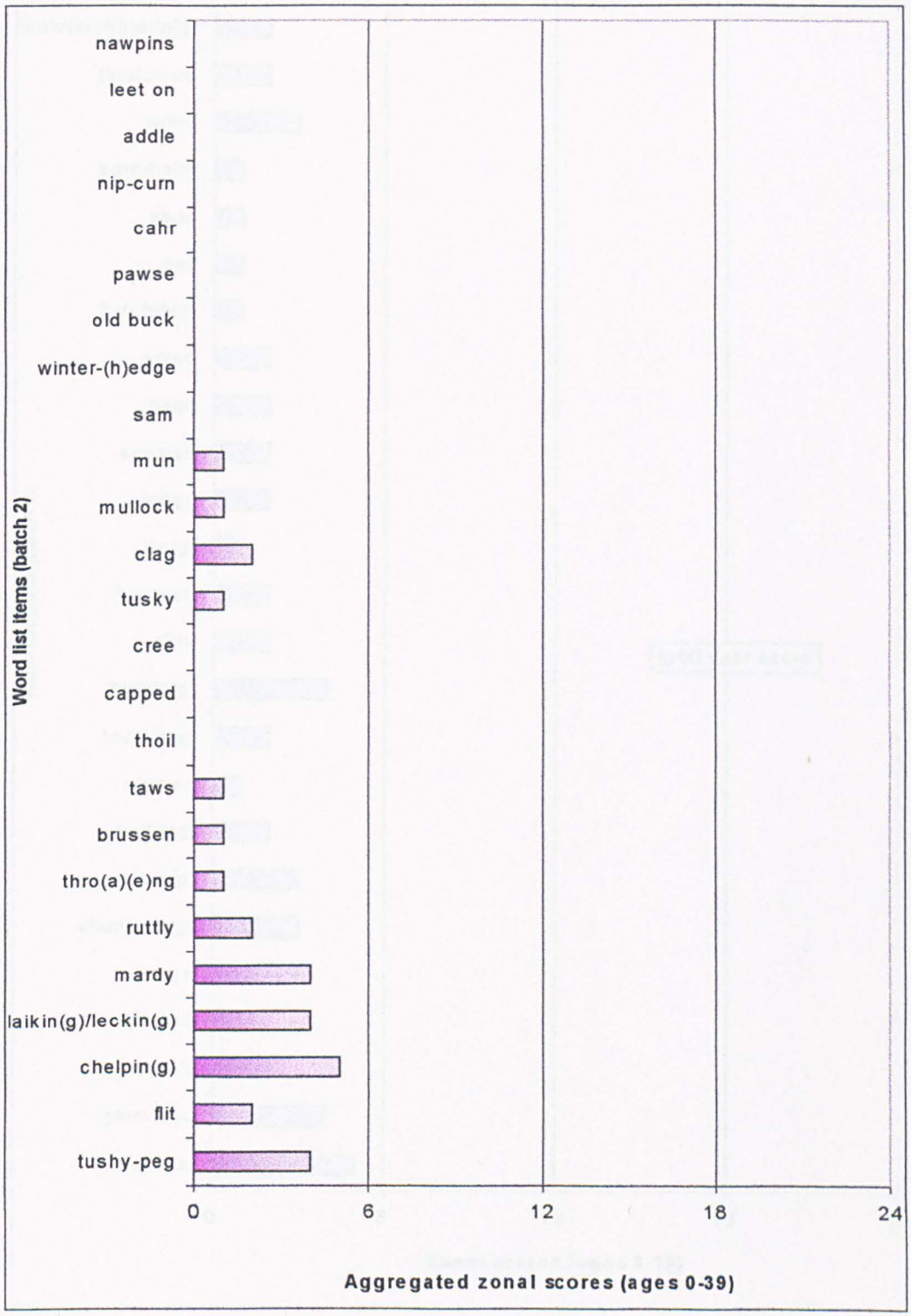
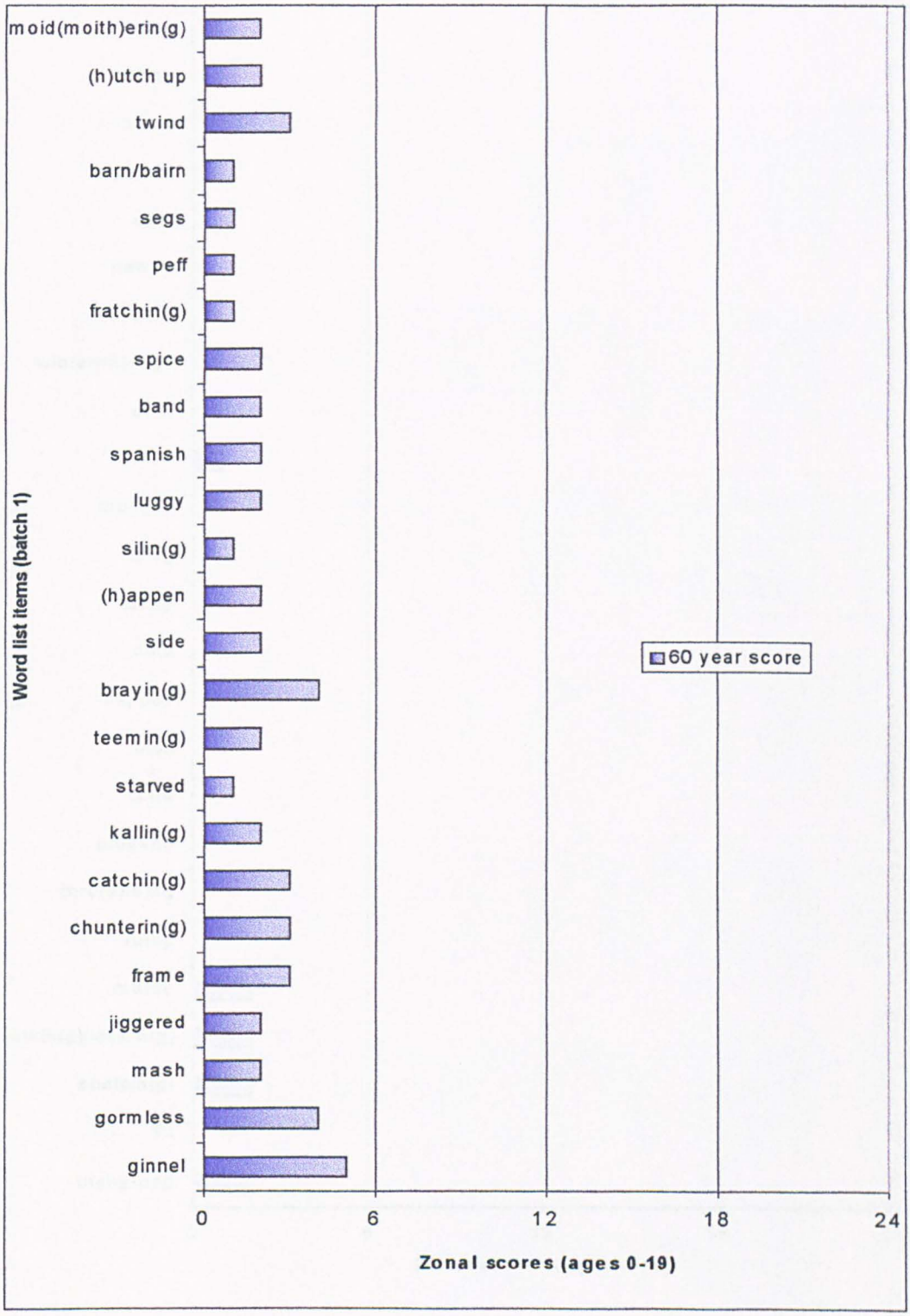
(h)utch up
twind
barn/bairn
segs
peff
fratchin(g)
spice
band
spanish
luggy
silin(g)
(h)appen
side
brayin(g)
teemin(g)
starved
kallin(g)
catchin(g)
chunterin(g)
frame
jiggered
mash
gormless
ginnel
Word list items (batch 1)
45 year score
0
6
12
18
24
Aggregated zonal scores (ages 0-39)

APPENDIX J


nawpins
leet on
addle
nip-curn
cahr
pawse
old buck
winter-(h)edge
sam
mun
mullock
clag
tusky
cree
capped
thoil
taws
brussen
thro(a)(e)ng
ruttly
mardy
laikin(g)/leckin(g)
chelpin(g)
flit
tushy-peg
Word list items (batch 2)
0
6
12
18
24
Aggregated zonal scores (ages 0-39)

APPENDIX J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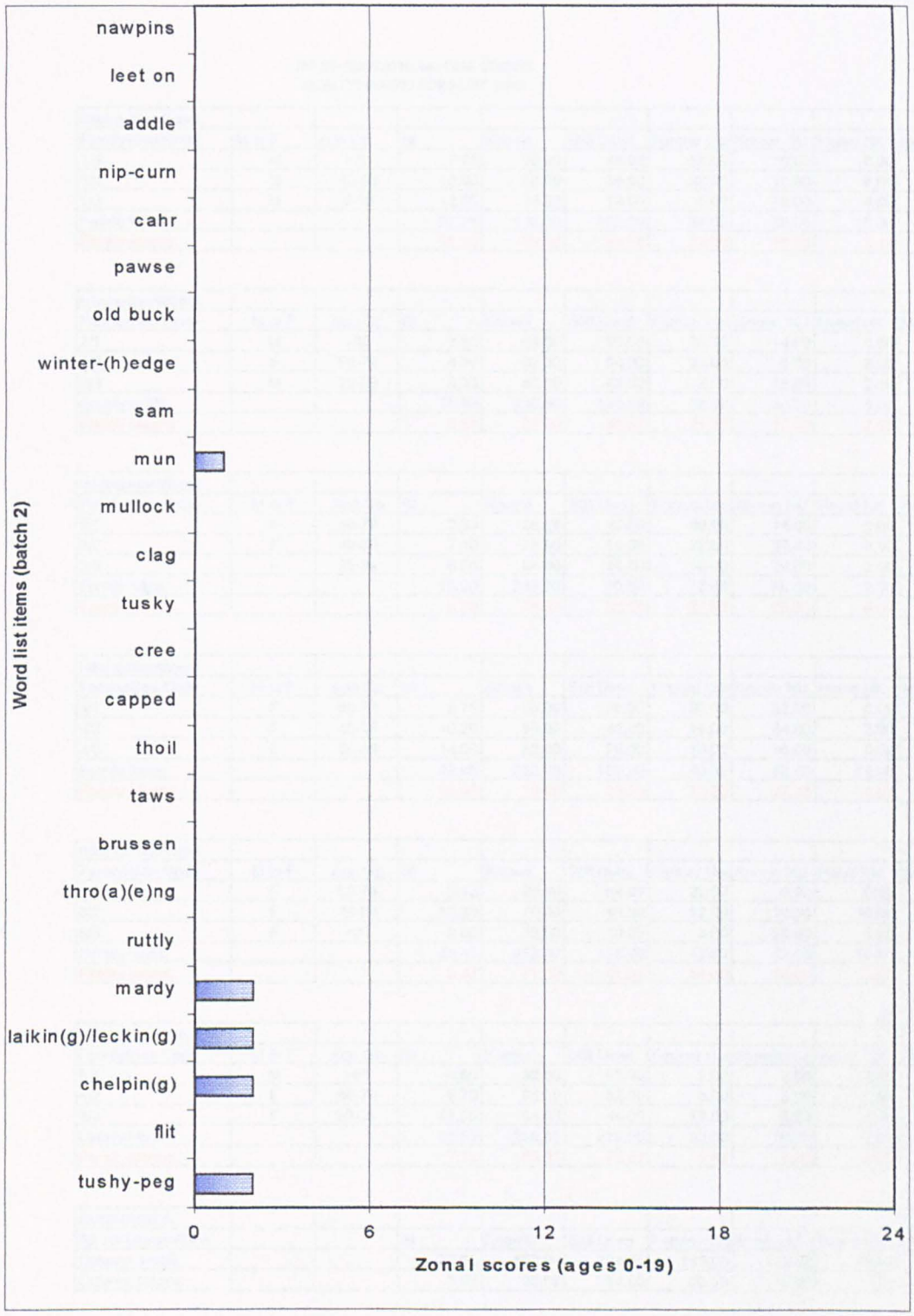
(h)utch up
twind
barn/bairn
segs
peff
fratchin(g)
spice
band
spanish
luggy
silin(g)
(h)appen
side
brayin(g)
teemin(g)
starved
kallin(g)
catchin(g)
chunterin(g)
frame
jiggered
mash
gormless
ginnel
Word list items (batch 1)
60 year score
0
6
12
18
24
Zonal scores (ages 0-19)

APPENDIX J


nawpins
leet on
addle
nip-curn
cahr
pawse
old buck
winter-(h)edge
sam
mun
mullock
clag
tusky
cree
capped
thoil
taws
brussen
thro(a)(e)ng
ruttly
mardy
laikin(g)/leckin(g)
chelpin(g)
flit
tushy-peg
Word list items (batch 2)
0
6
12
18
24
Zonal scores (ages 0-19)

APPENDIX J

INTER-GENERATIONAL CASE STUDIES
QUESTIONNAIRE/WORD LIST DATA

Inter-generational Family/Gen Code	M or F	Age Gp	SI	Known	Still Used	Former Use	Known NU	Heard NK	Never Hd
1/1	M	>80	7.75	96.00	48.00	38.00	10.00	0.00	4.00
1/2	M	40-59	13.00	68.00	36.00	22.00	10.00	6.00	26.00
1/3	M	0-19	12.00	34.00	18.00	6.00	10.00	4.00	62.00
Family totals			32.75	198.00	102.00	66.00	30.00	10.00	92.00
Family Means			10.92	66.00	34.00	22.00	10.00	3.33	30.67

Inter-generational Family/Gen Code	M or F	Age Gp	SI	Known	Still Used	Former Use	Known NU	Heard NK	Never Hd
2/1	M	>80	2.80	94.00	50.00	30.00	14.00	4.00	2.00
2/2	F	60-79	4.80	92.00	54.00	32.00	6.00	2.00	6.00
2/3	M	20-39	8.33	60.00	42.00	2.00	16.00	2.00	38.00
Family totals			15.93	246.00	146.00	64.00	36.00	8.00	46.00
Family Means			5.31	82.00	48.67	21.33	12.00	2.67	15.33

Inter-generational Family/Gen Code	M or F	Age Gp	SI	Known	Still Used	Former Use	Known NU	Heard NK	Never Hd
3/1	F	60-79	2.30	96.00	42.00	40.00	14.00	0.00	4.00
3/2	F	40-59	7.10	78.00	18.00	22.00	38.00	0.00	22.00
3/3	F	20-39	6.50	64.00	30.00	10.00	24.00	2.00	34.00
Family totals			15.90	238.00	90.00	72.00	76.00	2.00	60.00
Family Means			5.30	79.33	30.00	24.00	25.33	0.67	20.00

Inter-generational Family/Gen Code	M or F	Age Gp	SI	Known	Still Used	Former Use	Known NU	Heard NK	Never Hd
4/1	F	60-79	8.75	80.00	28.00	20.00	32.00	6.00	14.00
4/2	F	40-59	10.20	80.00	46.00	10.00	24.00	2.00	18.00
4/3	F	20-39	14.00	62.00	26.00	10.00	26.00	6.00	32.00
Family totals			32.95	222.00	100.00	40.00	82.00	14.00	64.00
Family Means			10.98	74.00	33.33	13.33	27.33	4.67	21.33

Inter-generational Family/Gen Code	M or F	Age Gp	SI	Known	Still Used	Former Use	Known NU	Heard NK	Never Hd
5/1	F	60-79	9.12	93.00	64.00	22.00	6.00	0.00	8.00
5/2	F	40-59	10.30	70.00	48.00	12.00	10.00	10.00	20.00
5/3	F	<20	9.00	50.00	16.00	8.00	26.00	0.00	50.00
Family totals			28.42	213.00	128.00	42.00	42.00	10.00	78.00
Family Means			9.47	71.00	42.67	14.00	14.00	3.33	26.00

Inter-generational Family/Gen Code	M or F	Age Gp	SI	Known	Still Used	Former Use	Known NU	Heard NK	Never Hd
6/1	M	>80	4.80	96.00	92.00	2.00	2.00	0.00	4.00
6/2	F	60-79	5.75	96.00	82.00	6.00	8.00	2.00	2.00
6/3	F	20-39	11.00	64.00	44.00	12.00	8.00	4.00	32.00
Family totals			21.55	256.00	218.00	20.00	18.00	6.00	38.00
Family Means			7.18	85.33	72.67	6.67	6.00	2.00	12.67

SUMMARIES									
All 1st Generations			SI	Known	Still Used	Former Use	Known NU	Heard NK	Never Hd
Column Totals			35.52	555.00	324.00	152.00	78.00	10.00	36.00
Column Means			5.92	92.50	54.00	25.33	13.00	1.67	6.00

All 2nd Generations			SI	Known	Still Used	Former Use	Known NU	Heard NK	Never Hd
Column Totals			51.15	470.00	208.00	106.00	96.00	22.00	94.00
Column Means			8.53	78.33	34.67	17.67	16.00	3.67	15.67

All 3rd Generations			SI	Known	Still Used	Former Use	Known NU	Heard NK	Never Hd
Column Totals			60.83	334.00	176.00	48.00	110.00	18.00	248.00
Column Means			10.14	55.67	29.33	8.00	18.33	3.00	41.33

INTER-GENERATIONAL CASE STUDIES
QUESTIONNAIRE/WORD LIST DATA

ALL FAMILIES			SI	Known	Still Used	Former Use	Known NU	Heard NK	Never Hd
Column Totals			147.50	1359.00	708.00	306.00	284.00	50.00	378.00
Column Means			8.19	75.50	39.33	17.00	15.78	2.78	21.00