

**Enregisterment in Historical Contexts:**

**A Framework**

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## ABSTRACT

In this thesis I discuss how the phenomena of indexicality and enregisterment (Silverstein 2003; Agha 2003) can be observed and studied in historical contexts via the use of historical textual data. I present a framework for the study of historical enregisterment which compares data from corpora of both nineteenth-century and modern Yorkshire dialect material, and the results of an online survey of current speakers so as to ascertain the validity of the corpus data and to use ‘the present to explain the past’ (Labov 1977:226). This framework allows for the identification of enregistered repertoires of Yorkshire dialect in both the twenty-first and nineteenth centuries. This is achieved by combining elicited metapragmatic judgements and examples of dialect features from the online survey with quantitative frequency analysis of linguistic features from Yorkshire dialect literature and literary dialect (Shorrocks 1996) and qualitative metapragmatic discourse (Johnstone et al 2006) from sources such as dialect dictionaries, dialect grammars, travel writing, and glossaries.

I suggest that processes of enregisterment may operate along a continuum and that linguistic features may become ‘deregistered’ as representative of a particular variety; I also suggest that features may become ‘deregistered’ to the point of becoming ‘fossil forms’, which is more closely related to Labov’s (1972) definition of the ultimate fate of a linguistic stereotype.

I address the following research questions:

1. How was the Yorkshire dialect enregistered in the nineteenth century?
2. How is Yorkshire dialect enregistered in the present day?
3. How do these compare, and how might we account for the results of this comparison?

In so doing, I highlight that we can gain insights into the social value of linguistic features in historical contexts.

## **DECLARATION**

I declare that this thesis is my own work and has not been submitted in substantially the same form for the award of a higher degree elsewhere.

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## **1. Introduction**

In their discussion of historical sociolinguistics, Nevalainen and Raumolin-Brunberg state that ‘no language evolves in a social vacuum’ and that ‘speakers of earlier English should not be ignored when their language is looked at through the telescope of historical linguistics’ (2003:2). They go on to state that contemporary metapragmatic discourse from historical periods can provide ‘invaluable’ insight into perceptions of language variation in the past (ibid. p.6).

In this chapter I discuss the key issues and themes addressed in this thesis which revolve around the study of enregisterment in historical contexts proceeding from a viewpoint which aligns with that put forward by Nevalainen and Raumolin-Brunberg above. I present my research aims and present a brief overview of the thesis. I then go on to discuss linguistic studies of the Yorkshire dialect in both the twentieth and twenty-first centuries and the nineteenth century, as nineteenth-century Yorkshire dialect is the main focus of this thesis.

### **1.1 Research Aims & Overview**

This thesis examines the concepts of indexicality and enregisterment with regards to regional dialects in historical contexts. Throughout this thesis, I use the terms ‘indexicality’ and ‘enregisterment’ following Silverstein 2003 and Agha 2003 respectively; these concepts are explained further and in more detail in Chapter 2. Current studies of enregisterment focus on modern varieties and depend largely upon contemporary metapragmatic discourse elicited from qualitative material such as newspapers or internet chat room forums (see Johnstone 2009, for instance), speaker interviews (such as Johnstone et al 2006; Remlinger 2009; Dong 2010), or ethnographic research (Wirtz 2007). Despite the fact that processes of enregisterment are historical in nature and can operate over long periods of time (Johnstone 2007; Beal 2009a), the study of enregisterment in historical contexts has been almost totally unexplored, with only a very small number of exceptions, as discussed in Chapter 2. My aim is thus to investigate enregisterment in historical contexts based on historical textual data relating to regional dialects.

In order to do this, I consider the Yorkshire dialect in the nineteenth century. Both social and geographical mobility have been identified as causal factors of enregisterment; additionally, awareness of language can also be indicative of enregisterment (Johnstone et al 2006; Beal 2009), and these phenomena can be readily observed in the nineteenth century, discussed



further in Chapter 3. To investigate this, I make use of a corpus of nineteenth-century dialect material including: dialect literature, defined by Shorrocks as ‘works composed wholly (sometimes partly) in a non-standard dialect, and aimed essentially, though not exclusively, at a non-standard-dialect-speaking readership’ (1996:386); literary dialect, which is defined as ‘the representation of non-standard speech in literature that is otherwise written in standard English...and aimed at a general readership’ (ibid.); and metapragmatic discourse in the form of dialect ‘commentary’ from sources such as introductory material for dialect dictionaries, essays about particular dialects, travel writing, articles from popular magazines, books written about particular dialects, dialect glossaries, and dialect grammars.

In taking such an approach, I entertain the following assumptions:

- (i) That the form and/or frequency of textual representations of dialect features indicate that they were enregistered to audiences in historical contexts
- (ii) That historical metacommentary provides evidence for enregisterment
- (iii) That these historical sources are sufficient to allow discussion of historical enregisterment
- (iv) That it is possible to create a framework for the study of enregisterment in historical contexts

I propose the hypothesis that the study of textual data from historical periods will reveal patterns in the quantitative frequencies of dialect representations which will correlate with consistent and frequent discussion in historical metadata (following Aaron 2009). I aim to test this hypothesis in two ways. Firstly, I make use of an analogous corpus of modern dialect material to investigate whether similar patterns in the quantitative versus qualitative data appear. Secondly, I use data collected from an online survey of modern speakers’ perceptions of the Yorkshire dialect to see if there is a correlation between the textual data and the survey data. The methodologies employed in the construction of both the corpora and the survey are discussed further in Chapter 4.

I aim to address the following research questions:

1. How was the Yorkshire dialect enregistered in the nineteenth century?
2. How is Yorkshire dialect enregistered in the present day?
3. How do these compare, and how might we account for the results of this comparison?

The results from the study of the historical and modern corpora are presented in Chapters 5 and 6 respectively; these data are then analysed in terms of quantitative frequency both across the whole corpus and diachronically in Chapter 7. The results from the online survey are presented in Chapter 7 also; correlations between the data sets are also highlighted here.

Chapter 8 discusses the implications of these correlations. This discussion includes the notions of ‘levels’ of enregisterment; the concept of ‘deregisterment’ (following Williams 2012). I go on to discuss the enregisterment of both the modern Yorkshire dialect and of the nineteenth-century Yorkshire dialect, based on patterns observable in the modern corpus and survey data. In this way I make use of modern data to inform patterns in the historical data following Labov, who uses modern studies of sound changes in English to explain the sixteenth-century merger of the vowels in the words *meat* and *mate*, illustrating the ‘use of the present to explain the past’ (1977:226).

Finally, in Chapter 9, I propose a framework for the study of enregisterment in historical contexts. The framework proposed here indicates that we can indeed study enregisterment in this manner by considering textual representations of dialect features and historical dialect ‘commentary’ or ‘talk about talk’ (Johnstone et al 2006:80). These sources can highlight features which are consistently employed in dialect representations and are quantitatively frequent; they can also indicate features’ salience where they are also consistently discussed in qualitative material. Although the reliability of this framework is limited by the fact that no speakers exist for the historical context in question, the modern data suggests that the corpus material can reasonably accurately reflect speaker perceptions of salient dialect features.

Overall, this thesis explores the study of enregisterment in historical contexts and highlights that processes of enregisterment may operate along a continuum. This continuum ranges from a state where features are not enregistered (or are first-order indexicals), to being ‘actively’ enregistered (second and/or third-order indexicals), to being ‘deregistered’, where once-enregistered features are no longer salient to speakers or are no longer associated with particular social values. In addition, we can expand our understanding of societies in historical contexts through the study of enregisterment in this manner and further inform our knowledge of the ‘social lives’ of language features’ cultural value (Agha 2003:232) both in specific historical periods and over time.

In the following sections, I discuss linguistic studies of the Yorkshire dialect in the twentieth and twenty-first centuries, but also in the nineteenth, so as to give a general overview of some of the more salient and widely studied features of Yorkshire dialects. This will also serve to give a limited idea of what Yorkshire varieties actually sounded like in the nineteenth century.

## **1.2 Linguistic Studies of the Yorkshire Dialect**

There have been several twentieth and twenty-first century linguistic studies of the Yorkshire dialect; some of the more recent works have focused specifically on the morphophonemic feature of definite article reduction [DAR] (Jones 1999, 2002, 2007). I will therefore discuss this feature first in this section; I will then go on to discuss various other aspects of the Yorkshire dialect considered in linguistic studies, including phonological features and lexical items.

### **1.2.1 Definite Article Reduction**

Viereck's study on the realisations of the definite article in dialectal English involves data from the Survey of English Dialects, rendered as a linguistic atlas by computer (1995:295), and also deals with reduced articles. The data presented shows the distribution of the definite article in 3 main forms: *the*, *th'* and *t'*. According to the data, there are recorded: 133 instances of *th'*, 126 of *the*, and 48 of *t'*, taken from data collected from the SED. These data are variable across the whole country, although there is a definite pattern showing that the use of *t'* constructions is very much a northern feature (ibid. p.296-7). Jones notes that this association of DAR with the North of England can be traced back to the seventeenth century in a text representing Yorkshire dialect, as he states that 'there are no vowel-less nonfricative forms of the definite article recorded until DAR first appears in *A Yorkshire Dialogue* of 1673, where three allomorphs...are presented: *t'*, *th'*, and zero' (2002:328).

The SED makes specific reference to DAR in two locations of its Northern Counties division; in Sheffield in South Yorkshire, they state that informants render the definite article as 'unexploded [t]' (Orton & Dieth 1962:38), whereas in Nafferton, which is in the East Riding of Yorkshire, they state that the definite article is 'regularly omitted...in conversation, but [t] occurs in careful speech' (ibid. p.33). However, they go on to record predominantly [t] pronunciations for DAR in their Yorkshire locations, such as in informants' pronunciation of the phrase 'in the oven' (Orton & Dieth 1963:515).

Many studies consider the possibility of conditioning factors for the realisations of forms of DAR in speech. For instance, in his discussion of the dialect of Grassington in North Yorkshire, Glauser states that ‘in ‘broad’ speech the definite article is [t] or one of its allophones’ (1984:88). He goes on to state that the un-reduced article can also appear but apparently in more formal situations. He states that ‘there is no indication whatsoever that the difference is made use of for phonological matters’ (ibid.), suggesting that the difference between the use of the reduced article versus the un-reduced article is register dependent. With regards to the amount of glottalisation of a reduced article in the Dentsdale dialect, Hedevind states that the ‘situation seems to be that the degree of glottalization is directly proportional to the difficulty of transition from /t/ to the following consonant’ (1967:71), which suggests that there are indeed phonological constraints on the use of the reduced article when realised as /t/. Tidholm notes that the definite article is reduced to /t/ in Egton; he states that the actual pronunciation of /t/ is only heard in two out of his three age groups: Old (aged 69-83) and Mid (aged 66-50). The speakers in his Young group (aged 15-33) only rarely sound the /t/ when pronouncing a reduced definite article; this is to such an extent that it leads Tidholm to opine that ‘It is probable that the definite article /t/ will have disappeared in two generations’ (1979:125). Indeed, Tagliamonte and Roeder state that their study, based on the York English Corpus (1997), showed that ‘Obsolescence is only true of the variant [t]...which Tidholm (1979: 125) accurately predicted’ (2009:462). Further evidence for this shift away from [t] is also given by Petyt, who recorded: ‘the commonest form after the glottal stop was [t]’ – of which, uses of this variant were mostly ‘from informants aged over 70, which seems to support the view that this was the earlier form which has now given way to [ʔ]’ (1985:197). In addition, Jones notes that where /t/ has indeed ‘given way to [ʔ]’ in the realisation of a reduced article, speakers ‘can distinguish between the glottal article and the glottal allophone of word-final /t/’ (2007:74), suggesting that the transitional ‘difficulties’ leading to glottalisation of /t/ noted by Hedevind above have given way to a glottalised variant of DAR where recognition of the feature in speech is dependent upon intrinsic speaker knowledge.

More recent studies on contemporary use of DAR, however, have also noted that this phenomenon has apparently become associated with Yorkshire. In her discussion of the dialect of Morley in Leeds, Richards discusses ‘the stereotypical nature of DAR as a distinctly ‘Yorkshire’ feature...in spite of its more widespread distribution in other Northern regions such as Lancashire and parts of the North-Midlands’ (2008:87-8). Roeder also notes

the relationship between DAR and local identity, as she states that in York younger speakers are ‘recycling older features for the purposes of maintaining local identity’ (2009:117), such as the ‘recycling’ of DAR. The association of speech forms with localities is discussed further in Chapter 2.

### **1.2.2 Monophthongal FACE and GOAT**

Studies which focus on the phonology of Yorkshire dialects highlight certain tendencies which various parts of the county have in common. Such tendencies include the pronunciation of a monophthong in FACE and GOAT words; for instance, Tidholm discusses the use of /e:/ in FACE words (Wells 1982), and gives ‘grain’ as an example of where the monophthong would be used (1979:26). Glauser also notes this same usage in Grassington, stating that the above monophthong appears in words like ‘age, bait, blade, brake’ (1984:29). This particular monophthong was also recorded by Hedevind in Dentdale, who lists ‘aim’ as /e:m/ and ‘tail’ as /te:l/ (1967:39). The SED also records /e:/ as a pronunciation of FACE words in Yorkshire (Orton & Dieth 1962:206).

Tidholm also goes on to discuss the use of /o:/ in GOAT words, citing the word ‘goat’ as an example (1979:28-9); Glauser lists similar examples in Grassington, such as ‘boat’ (1984:29); and further evidence for this can be seen in Hedevind, who records /ko:k/ for ‘coke’ in Dentdale (1967:59). This does not appear to apply categorically to all cases of GOAT words, though; as well as monophthongal pronunciations there are certain diphthongs recorded for the Yorkshire pronunciation of GOAT words, discussed further in the next section. In addition, the SED does not list monophthongal GOAT in Yorkshire in the majority of cases; the most common pronunciations of the word ‘foal’ are given as [fɔəl], [fɔl], and [fɔəl], with [fo:l] only being recorded in both Melsonby and Burton-in-Lonsdale in North Yorkshire (Orton & Dieth 1962:246). Predominantly diphthongal pronunciations are later recorded for ‘road’, with [rɔəd] being the most common (1963:376); and with ‘nose’, as the most common pronunciation is [nɔəz] (ibid. p.612). This displays a parallel with some nineteenth-century Yorkshire pronunciations as discussed below.

### **1.2.3 Alternate Diphthongs**

As with the features discussed above, there are certain alternate diphthongs used by Yorkshire speakers which are recorded in various parts of the county. For instance, Tidholm

lists /uə/ in the pronunciation of GOAT words (1979:35), as opposed to a monophthong variant similar to those discussed above; or a pronunciation of /ɔɪ/, which is depicted in many dialect commentary texts (discussed below), particularly in the word ‘coal’ (sometimes rendered as ‘coil’). Further evidence for this can be seen in Glauser, who states that in the Grassington dialect, ‘oil ‘hole’ appears to be some sort of a shibboleth’ (1984:27 – emphasis in original), and he suggests that this pronunciation is something which speakers may avoid. However, he goes on to list the pronunciation of ‘close’ in his glossary as [tɫɔɪz] (ibid. p.209), illustrating a pronunciation of the somewhat stereotypical variant /ɔɪ/. Hedevind records [koǎ] for ‘coal’ (1967:66), though, suggesting that by the late twentieth century, the pronunciation featuring the diphthong /ɔɪ/ is inconsistently used in the Yorkshire dialect. In addition, Hedevind goes on to record the pronunciation of ‘close’ as /tluaz/ (ibid. p.177), rather than /ɔɪ/ recorded by Glauser. This inconsistency highlights the fact that Yorkshire pronunciations are variable; certain dialectal pronunciations are restricted to certain words. Indeed, the SED records several instances of the word ‘coal’ with the /ɔɪ/ diphthong, but just as many with the diphthong /ɔə/ (Orton & Dieth 1963:382), which is reminiscent of Hedevind’s data above.

Additionally, Yorkshire-specific diphthongs can be observed in PRICE words. For instance, Tidholm lists a pronunciation of /ei/ in words like ‘nice’ and ‘like’ (1979:31), as opposed to /aɪ/; this is also noted by Glauser, who records the Yorkshire tendency to have /ei/ in PRICE words, giving the example ‘fight’, transcribed as [fɛɪt] (1984:223). Hedevind records the same alternate diphthong in ‘fight’ also, giving /feit/ (1967:39), although he goes on to state that this diphthong is ‘of rare occurrence’, highlighting that it only occurs in the words ‘*eight, fight, straight(en), weight, weigh*’ (ibid. p.61 – italics in original). This tendency to have /ɛɪ/ in PRICE words is also recorded in the SED, although the monophthong /i:/ is also listed as a variant. This is exemplified in pronunciations of the words ‘right-handed’ (Orton & Dieth 1963:651), and in the word ‘tonight’, which is predominantly recorded as being pronounced [təni:t] (ibid. p.787).

#### **1.2.4 /h/-dropping**

Word-initial /h/-dropping is explicitly discussed with regard to the data from several of the SED Yorkshire locations. For instance, they state that in North Yorkshire, with the informants from Stokesley /h/ is ‘retained only under emphasis’ (Orton & Dieth 1962:26); in

Horton-in-Ribblesdale, /h/ is ‘rarely retained’ (ibid. p.30); and in Patley Bridge, /h/ is ‘occ.[asionally] retained’ (ibid. p.31). In Leeds they state that /h/ is dropped altogether (ibid. p.34).

Glauser also discusses /h/-dropping, stating that /h/ only occurs ‘very rarely in ‘broad’ style’, but increases in frequency when my informants speak ‘politely’ (1984:30), showing a register dependency on the pronunciation of /h/. This is also recorded by Hedevind, who states that ‘[h] ... is used only under emphasis or in polite speech’ (1967:40). Tidholm records that there is a tendency to drop /h/ in a word-initial position, although this is much more common amongst older speakers. His data shows his youngest speakers pronouncing word-initial /h/ in 58% of cases, and classifies this as the apparent ‘loss’ of /h/-less pronunciations in the Egton dialect, which he attributes to ‘RP influence’ (1979:118). However, he then goes on to state that, in spite of these data, ‘/h/-lessness may be found in Egton for several generations’ (ibid.). It is possibly the case that the data recorded by Tidholm in his younger age group highlights the register demand on the use of /h/ in ‘formal’ or ‘polite’ situations – these speakers may simply have been being more careful in their speech as a result of being involved in Tidholm’s study. It is doubtful that word-initial /h/ is ‘making its way back into’ the Egton dialect (ibid.), as the tendency not to pronounce /h/ in this position is widespread; as Beal states, ‘H Retaining areas are isolated...H Dropping appears to be spreading rather than receding’ (2010:21). Despite the apparent reduction in /h/-dropping amongst some younger speakers in south-east England (Williams & Kerswill 1999), the continued reference to this phenomenon in both linguistic and non-linguistic texts on the Yorkshire dialect (discussed further below) suggest that /h/-dropping is still a salient feature of the dialect.

### 1.2.5 Lexical Items

Some linguistic studies give extensive glossaries or word-lists for Yorkshire dialect terms, while some are very brief. However, there are certain lexical items which are consistently recorded in these studies.

Tidholm, for instance, does not give much consideration to dialect lexis at all in his text, although he does give some dialect words in his illustrations of certain dialect pronunciations. One such example is *lake* for ‘play’ (1979:26); another is *lug* for ‘ear’ (ibid. p.22); and *aught* for ‘anything’ (ibid. p.32), which I believe to be a variant orthographic rendering of *owt*

(discussed further below). These three words are the only examples of dialect lexis Tidholm presents, though.

Glauser concludes his text with an extensive glossary of Grassington words including brief definitions and IPA transcriptions. This glossary includes *aught* for ‘something’ (1984:192); *mun* for ‘must’ (ibid. p.256), suggesting that this word was potentially still in use in the Grassington dialect. However, as Glauser’s study is now nearly 30 years old, this may not still be the case with *mun*; the results of the online survey discussed in Chapters 7 and 8 address whether *mun* is still thought of as ‘current’ Yorkshire dialect. He goes on to state *naught* is given for ‘nothing’, which is likely an alternate orthographic rendering of *nowt* (ibid. p.257); *nobbut* is given for ‘only’ (ibid. p.258); for ‘self’, both [seɪ] and [sen] are given (ibid. p.276); and *some-what* is given for ‘something’, although the transcription of [sɔmət] illustrates that orthographically this word could also be rendered *summat* (ibid. p.285).

Hedevind also presents an extensive glossary. He records *aye* for ‘yes’ (1967:305), although he gives a pronunciation of /aɪ/ rather than /a:/ (this latter pronunciation is discussed further below); *aught* for ‘anything, everything, all’ (ibid.); *gang* for ‘go, walk’ (ibid. p.351), which suggests that this word was in use at the time of Hedevind’s study. As this data is now at least 45 years old this may not still be the case; the current situation regarding *gan* in Yorkshire is also discussed in Chapters 7 and 8. He goes on to list *mun* for ‘must’ and *nobbut* for ‘only’ (ibid. p.323); *nought* for ‘nothing’ (ibid. p.324); neither *sen* nor *sel* are listed in the glossary, but, in the main body of the text Hedevind discusses the pronunciation of ‘self’, recording it as *sel* (ibid. p.244). The form *sen* he states as being ‘a rare exception in Dentedale’ (ibid.), showing that there is variation in Yorkshire between these two forms; *somewhat* is again recorded for ‘something’, although the pronunciation is listed in the text as /sumət/ (ibid. p.137), highlighting the same treatment of this word as in Glauser above.

Finally, the SED data includes many of the lexical items discussed above. For example, in the Yorkshire locations studied, *nobbut* is listed by many informants for ‘only’ (Orton & Dieth 1963:859); *nowt* and *summat* are listed for ‘nothing’ and ‘something’ (ibid. p.862-3); both [bɛən] and [ba:n] are recorded for *bairn* ‘child’ (ibid. p.874), highlighting a pattern also observable in the nineteenth-century data (discussed below); and ‘must’ is predominantly recorded as *mun* (ibid. p.1028). In addition, of the SED informants’ responses for the entries ‘Go away! Off you go!’ (ibid. p.951) and ‘Go and’ (ibid. p.1043-4), around half of the Yorkshire informants listed *gan* for ‘go’. ‘Self’ is also listed as having two variants in the



Yorkshire locations: *sen* and *sel*. These are apparently interchangeable, although *sen* is the most common variant of the two (ibid. p.1096-8).

In the next section, I will discuss the nineteenth-century linguistic data available for the Yorkshire dialect.

### 1.3 Nineteenth-Century Studies of the Yorkshire Dialect

As stated above, and discussed further in Chapter 3, the main focus of this study is the nineteenth century. And, although serious linguistic study of English regional dialects did not develop until late in the century, there are two sources which are important in discussing nineteenth-century Yorkshire dialect in the works of Alexander Ellis and Joseph Wright (Beal 2004a:206). The two works considered in the most detail here are Ellis's *English Dialects – Their Sounds and Homes* (1890) and Wright's *Grammar of the Dialect of Windhill, in the West Riding of Yorkshire* (1892). Ellis divides England into dialect 'divisions' which share similar features. Yorkshire extends across both his 'Midland' and 'Northern' divisions; the specific sub-divisions into which Yorkshire falls includes D24, which encompasses Huddersfield, Halifax, Keighley, Bradford, Leeds, Dewsbury, Rotherham, Sheffield, and Doncaster; D30, which includes York, Northallerton, New Malton, Patley Bridge, Washburn River, Cleveland, Whitby, Market Weighton, Holderness, and Goole; and D31, which only includes Craven and Lonsdale from Yorkshire as this division extends into Cumbria (1890:xi). Wright's grammar is somewhat more localised, as it focuses on one area, Windhill, stated as being 'three miles North of Bradford' (1892:1). Additionally, I will refer here to Wright's *English Dialect Dictionary* (1892-1905), which covers a significantly wider area than his Windhill grammar.

As with the modern linguistic studies discussed above, there were several features of the Yorkshire dialect which were discussed by both Ellis and Wright; these features also occur frequently and consistently in nineteenth-century dialect material such as dialect commentary, and both dialect literature and literary dialect, discussed in Chapters 5 and 7.

#### 1.3.1 Phonological Features

##### *h-dropping*

Both Ellis and Wright note that word-initial /h/ is not pronounced in Yorkshire varieties. Ellis states that there is an 'ignorance' of /h/ on the part of all dialect speakers. He states that:

The aspirate, continually preserved by dialect writers used to the received 'hour, honour,' is as much ignored in all words by dialect speakers, as it is in these two by all 'polite' speakers. There is no sign of its being left out. It is merely treated as non-existent. And this absence of aspirate extends into non-dialect speaking classes in the M. division. (1890:69)

Ellis states here that dialect speakers do not pronounce the aspirate in all words beginning with <h>, just as 'polite' speakers would pronounce the Standard English words 'hour' and 'honour', where /h/ is only 'preserved' orthographically. This suggests that there is an assumption that the <h> is not pronounced, despite there being 'no sign of its being left out' in orthographic representations. The 'M. division' is the 'Midland' division into which much of Yorkshire is classified.

Wright also notes a lack of word-initial /h/, stating that this 'disappeared in the W. dialect' (1892:102), where 'W.' stands for Windhill, and gives *oil* for 'hole' as an example (ibid. p.103), which highlights both evidence of /h/-dropping and of the use of an alternative diphthong in 'hole' (further examples of alternate diphthongs are discussed below).

#### *Alternate Vowels*

Two distinct alternate vowels are recorded by both Wright and Ellis; firstly, the recording of a pronunciation of what appears to be /ɒ/ in words like 'any' and 'many'. Ellis, for instance, lists *on-i* for 'any' (1890:88); his key to Glossic transcription gives the example *not·* for 'knot' (ibid. p.xiv), suggesting that the LOT vowel is being referred to here. Wright also lists *moni* for 'many' (1892:5); his section on pronunciation also describes the *o* vowel used here as that used in the word 'not' (ibid.), again suggesting that this is the LOT vowel.

Secondly, there is also the recording of a pronunciation of /ɪ/ in the word 'such'. Wright lists *sitš* for 'such' (ibid. p.242), where the character *š* is described as being equivalent to the orthographic <sh> (ibid. p.10); the presence of this character following *t* suggests a pronunciation of /stʃ/. The vowel is described as being the vowel in the word 'bit' (ibid. p.4). Ellis also lists this pronunciation, giving *sich* for 'such' (1890:111).

### *Monophthongal PRICE and MOUTH*

Both Ellis and Wright also present data that highlight that PRICE and MOUTH words are pronounced with monophthongs in Yorkshire varieties. Firstly, Ellis describes the use of /i:/ in PRICE words, such as *breet*·, *neet*·, and *reet* for ‘bright’, ‘night’, and ‘right’ (1890:111 – italics in original). Despite Ellis’s transcription being in Glossic, the key he presents at the beginning of his text suggests that this *ee* transcription is the equivalent of the IPA /i:/ given above, as he lists ‘beet’ as an example of a ‘long vowel’, giving the Glossic transcription ‘*bee·t*’. Wright also records this pronunciation, stating that the vowel *ī* appears in words such as *nīt* and *frīt* for ‘night’ and ‘fright’ and is the equivalent of the first vowel in the German word ‘biene’ (1892:4 – emphasis in original), suggesting a pronunciation of /i:/.

Secondly, an alternate monophthong in PRICE words appears to be /ɑ:/, as in Ellis’s transcriptions of *saa·d*, *taa·m*, and *laa·k* for ‘side’, ‘time’, and ‘like’ (Ellis 1890:112), based on Ellis’s equivocation of his *aa·* transcription with the vowel in the word ‘baa’ (ibid. p.xiv). Ellis goes on to describe several variant pronunciations of *aa·*, though, some of which are specific to the Yorkshire area. He defines *aa<sup>1</sup>* as a pronunciation ‘short of a in father...common in the M. division’; *aa<sup>2</sup>* as a ‘broader form of *aa<sup>1</sup>*’; and *aa<sup>4</sup>* which is ‘a form of *aa* noted in D31...lying very near to *aa<sup>2</sup>*, but not quite so deep; here it is not generally distinguished from *aa<sup>1</sup>*’ (ibid. p.xv). This suggests a pronunciation which may be more like /ɑ:/ in these words; this pronunciation is also alluded to in the modern corpus data, discussed further in Chapter 6. Wright does not list this vowel as a replacement in PRICE words, as he lists ‘like’ pronounced as *laik* (1892:232), suggesting a pronunciation of /laɪk/. Rather, Wright suggests that /ɑ:/ occurs in MOUTH words, such as ‘down’, which he transcribes as *dān* (ibid. p.220), and contains a vowel which he describes as being equivalent to that in the English word ‘father’.

### *Alternate Diphthongs*

As in the modern data discussed above, several alternate diphthongs are recorded by both Ellis and Wright in certain words. For instance, Ellis lists *feyt* for ‘fight’ (1890:111), suggesting a pronunciation of /eɪ/; similar pronunciations are recorded by Wright, who gives *reit* for ‘right’ (1892:vi), *feit* for ‘fight’ and *ei* for ‘high’ (ibid. p.4 – emphasis in original).

Additionally, the diphthong /ɔɪ/ in GOAT words is indicated in the pronunciation of ‘coal hole’, given as *kaoyl-haoyl* (Ellis 1890:69) and *koil* for ‘coal’ (Wright 1892:8) and *oil*, as mentioned above. This pronunciation appears to be falling out of use in the Yorkshire dialect, based on the modern data discussed in the previous section; although representations of it can still be observed in modern dialect material, as discussed further in Chapter 6.

With further regard to the Yorkshire pronunciation of GOAT words, we can observe evidence for variant diphthongal pronunciations of either /oə/, /ɔə/, or /ʊə/. This can be seen in Wright, who records ‘so’ as ‘suə’ (ibid. p.45), suggesting the latter diphthong; he also lists the pronunciation ‘duənt’ for a representation of the word ‘don’t’ in a specimen of Yorkshire dialect literature rendered as <doan’t> (ibid. p.179). However, for the pronunciation of ‘no’, Wright gives a transcription of ‘noə’ (ibid. p.112), where the ‘o’ is described as the vowel ‘like the aw in the lit. Eng. law’ (ibid. p.5), suggesting a diphthong like /ɔə/. Ellis also discusses the pronunciation of ‘no’, stating that it has a pronunciation of *noa*· (1890:89); this pronunciation is described by Ellis as being similar to that in the word ‘note’ *noa-t*, although he states that this realisation does not include what he calls a ‘vanish’. This ‘vanish’ appears to refer to a high, back, rounded vowel, as the pronunciation which Ellis gives that includes the ‘vanish’ is denoted by *oaw*, where the *w* indicates a pronunciation ‘which goes in the direction of *oo*’ (ibid. p.xxii) suggesting a possible realisation of /ou/. The former *oa* notation may therefore suggest a pronunciation of /oə/ as this ‘vanish’ is not present. The development of diphthongal GOAT in the nineteenth century is discussed further in Chapter 7.

#### */l/-vocalisation*

Ellis records pronunciations which suggest vocalised /l/ in both his D24 and D30 regions, although he presents two slightly different variants: *aowld* in Leeds (ibid. p.88) and *au-ũd* across D30 (ibid. p.111) for ‘old’. Wright records *koud* for ‘cold’ (1892:5) in Windhill; these latter pronunciations display no presence of /l/, whereas the former Leeds variant suggests partial vocalisation. This could suggest that vocalised /l/ spread from the North of the county both southwards and westwards; Wales states that *owd* can still be heard in parts of Yorkshire (2006:169).

### *The T-to-R Rule*

Wells states that the use of /r/ instead of /t/ is a ‘widespread but stigmatized connected-speech process in the middle and far north’, highlighting that this tends to happen in the following environment:  $t \rightarrow r / [\text{short V}] \_ \# \text{V}$ , and gives the examples of *shut up* [ʃʊɹʷʊp] and *get off* [ˈgɛɹʷɒf] (1982:370). Although Wells is discussing modern varieties, examples of this phenomenon can also be observed in both Ellis and Wright; Ellis states that in Leeds, ‘*t, d* at the end of a word preceding a word with a vowel become *r* as in *gae·r)uop* ‘get up’ (1890:89), and Wright also lists *ger up* for ‘get up’ (1892:73). He goes on to state that ‘[t]he *t* in all verbal forms ending in *t* preceded by a short vowel, appears as *r* when the next word begins with a vowel’ (ibid. p.87). Broadbent notes that this process may have become lexically restricted by the end of the nineteenth century, and that there are examples of certain words which should display the T-to-R rule in Wright’s data but do not, such as ‘but’, given by Wright as [bəd] (2008:152). She goes on to conclude that Wright’s data suggests that ‘the decline of this process had already begun’ and that a decline in the frequency of use resulted in ‘the restricted lexical set which exhibits *t-to-r* today’ (ibid. p.153). This restriction can be observed in modern representations of Yorkshire dialect; for example, in the modern qualitative material (discussed further in Chapter 6) McMillan gives *shurru* and *gorra* for ‘shut up’ and ‘got a’ respectively (2007:73) in an illustrative dialogue exemplifying Yorkshire dialect. In addition, Markham lists *Don’t gerrim going* for ‘don’t get him going’ (2010:15) in his Yorkshire glossary, and uses the feature elsewhere in his text; for instance, he presents a cartoon of Richard III at the battle of Bosworth Field, where the king says *Oo’s gorra hoss ti lend me!* (ibid. p.65) where *gorra* is given for ‘got a’. Whomersley also gives this feature in several illustrative examples throughout his text on ‘Sheffieldish’, such as *Lerrus gerrus andsweshed* for ‘Shall we wash our hands?’ (1981:29), where *lerrus* and *gerrus* are ‘translated’ literally as ‘let us’ and ‘get us’. Kellett also lists *gerr away!* to mean ‘get away! (in the sense of ‘stop pulling my leg; I don’t believe you’ (2002:69) in his Yorkshire dialect dictionary. We can see in these examples that this rule appears to be restricted to use involving the words ‘got’, ‘get’, ‘let’, and ‘shut up’.

### **1.3.2 Definite Article Reduction**

Definite article reduction was also noted in nineteenth-century dialect studies; Wright, for instance, states that the definite article is ‘generally **t** and attached to the following word’ (1892:91 – emphasis in original). In his description of the distinction between ‘table’ and

‘the table’, the latter describing an instance of DAR, he states that the latter realisation is a ‘suspended t’. The description of a ‘suspended t’ is also given by Ellis, who states that the definite article is ‘always *t*’ suspended, that is, the tongue is kept for a sensible time in the position for *t* without any sound being heard’ (1890:70), suggesting a glottal realisation. Glottalisation of /t/ is further indicated by Wright, when he discusses the fact that /t/ is not pronounced in words like ‘ancient’ (1892:88).

Ellis goes on to discuss variations in the realisation of reduced articles in different areas of the county; in his D30 division, defined as East and Northern Yorkshire, he notes that the definite article is ‘regularly suspended *t*’, but states that he has ‘been told that *th* is heard in occasional use’ in the South-West (1890:108). Furthermore, he notes that in the South-East, particularly ‘in Holderness, the def. art. is asserted to be entirely omitted’ (*ibid.*), suggesting an additional pronunciation of /θ/ and a 0-realisation of the definite article, similar to those discussed by Jones above.

However, Wright discusses instances where the definite article is *not* reduced, stating that ‘the’ is always used before ‘Lord’ (meaning God); always after ‘who’ or ‘what’ as in ‘*who the devil*’ or ‘*what the hangment*’ (1892:112 – italics in original). The latter examples are potentially due to the phrasal nature of these expressions. He goes on to discuss the distribution of reduced versus un-reduced definite articles; although his evidence is anecdotal and refers to an apparent comparison of this usage in both the Windhill and Sheffield dialects:

In order to obtain information on this difference in the use of t and ðə in some other Yorkshire dialect, I wrote to Mr. Bradley, the Joint Editor of the New English Dictionary, who is thoroughly conversant with the Sheffield dialect; and from his kind communication I learn that the distinction in the Sheffield dialect is practically the same as in my own. I venture to quote the following extract from his letter, which will be found interesting and instructive – ‘t’lord o’ t’ manor – (decidedly). When “Lord” means God, the association of liturgical and Bible reading generally cause the full pronunciation (ðə) to be used. But I have, though rarely, heard t’Lord, in rather off-hand, irreverent speech; and “Lord knows” without any article at all is common enough. A don’t know what t’man did wi’ it – (certainly not ðə man, nor man without article). What the hangment, What the devil, What the plague, etc. – (always ðə, never t or omitted). A know who t’man wor – (certainly not ðə, nor omitted). (1892:112)

Bradley attests the use of the un-reduced article to liturgical use and Bible reading, suggesting that this is most likely the result of a register demand.

Wright later discussed definite article reduction in Volume VI of his *English Dialect Dictionary* (1905), although the locations where he records DAR are more extensive as he includes Surrey, Lancashire, and Herefordshire. He lists 12 different variants for reduced articles; the majority of the instances of the form listed as *T'*, though, come from Yorkshire. With regards to the pronunciation of the reduced article he states that when a word following the article begins with /t/ or /d/, 'the only trace of the article is that 't' and 'd' become suspended or, popularly expressed, lengthened' (1905:78), echoing his comments in the *Windhill Grammar*.

### 1.3.3 Lexical Items

Several examples of Yorkshire lexis were noted by Ellis and Wright; although Wright presents a larger and more comprehensive list, particularly in the *EDD*. Ellis lists the use of the pronoun *shoo* in his D24 division (1890:71); Wright also lists a similar pronunciation in *šũ*, although he states that this only occurs in cases other than subordinate and interrogative sentences (1892:75).

Ellis also lists *gaang* for 'go' in his D30 division; Wright, on the other hand, lists 'guə' for 'to go' (1892:227) in his *Windhill Grammar* rather than *gan*. However, in the *EDD*, Wright includes extensive entries for both *gan* and *gang*, where *gan* is especially associated with Yorkshire (1905:552-5).

Finally, both Ellis and Wright also record use of the word 'bairn' for 'child'; Ellis records a pronunciation of *be-ũn*, stating that 'child' would only be used in 'reading', whereas 'bairn' would be used when speaking (1892:111). Wright lists *bān* for 'bairn', suggesting a pronunciation of /bɑ:n/, and highlighting a possible East-West distribution of these variants as Ellis' pronunciation is recorded in his D30 division in the North and East of Yorkshire; Wright's from the West Riding. This distribution is also highlighted in the *EDD*, where Wright lists *barn* in the North-East and West of Yorkshire and *bayn* in East Yorkshire (1905:134).

## 1.4 Conclusions

In this chapter I have shown that there are several features of the Yorkshire dialect which are recorded in both the nineteenth-century and the modern data. For instance, DAR; the diphthong /ʊə/ in GOAT words; word-initial /h/-dropping; and the lexical items *gan* and *bairn* occur in both sets of data. The use of /eɪ/ in PRICE words appears also to be somewhat lexically restricted, as it occurs most commonly in pronunciations of ‘right’ and ‘fight’.

The features discussed in this chapter may be represented via the use of non-standard orthography in Yorkshire dialect material and potentially be candidates for enregisterment. Representations of Yorkshire dialect features are discussed further in Chapters 5 and 6.

In the next chapter I discuss the phenomenon of enregisterment in terms of the processes involved in the enregisterment of dialect features and the metapragmatic activities involved; the processes of commodification and ‘deregisterment’; discussions of several enregistered varieties; and the notion of enregisterment in historical contexts.



## 2. Enregisterment

Asif Agha defines enregisterment as ‘processes through which a linguistic repertoire becomes differentiable within a language as a socially recognized register of forms’ (2003:231). In this chapter I begin by discussing the notion of enregisterment and the various processes by which it can occur; this discussion includes the metapragmatic activities involved in enregisterment, such as metadiscourse in the public sphere. I go on to discuss one of the possible consequences of language features’ enregisterment, commodification, and how this can serve to further enregister these features. I also address the concept of ‘deregisterment’ (Williams 2012), where the enregistered status of one variety can shift in favour of another variety.

I then go on to discuss examples of several enregistered varieties; firstly, those enregistered as being representative of a geographical location, including: “Pittsburghese”, “Geordie”, and “Yooper”. However since, as Cole states, ‘enregisterment does not apply only to the semiotic category of registers’ (2010:2), I move on to discuss the enregisterment of such notions as ‘diversity’, where the use of several registers can index this abstract concept. I also consider varieties which are enregistered as representative of social features such as social class and lifestyle choice, including discussions of RP, “Chavspeak”, and “gay” speech.

Finally, I consider the possibility of studying enregisterment in historical contexts based on a small body of research which indicates the likelihood of such study.

### 2.1 Indexicality and Enregisterment

In sociolinguistics the term ‘register’ refers to ‘variation in language according to the context in which it is being used’ (Mesthrie 2004:72). This variation can take the form of a group of linguistic features which are particular to that context. When an ideological link is made between these features and the context, we describe those features as ‘enregistered’, as their use will invoke the context in question. Barbara Johnstone gives an example of this: “‘lawyeresse’ is a set of forms that have been enregistered according to the ideological scheme that makes us expect a profession to have a professional argot’ (2010:4). So, in ‘lawyeresse’, we might expect constructions such as the following:

The party of the first part hereinafter known as Jack, and the party of the second part hereinafter known as Jill, ascended or caused to be ascended an elevation of undetermined height and degree of slope, hereinafter referred to as ‘hill’

(Sandburg 1978 cited in Mesthrie et al 2004:73)

In non-specialist terms the above paragraph would read: ‘Jack and Jill went up the hill’. However, because it has been written in a legal register, the language used is deliberately unambiguous; there is no room for misinterpretation of the information being conveyed here; there are terms such as ‘party’, which have specific meanings in a legal context – ‘party’ in this context is defined as: ‘A person or entity that enters into an agreement with another person or entity; a participant in a transaction or in legal actions or proceedings’ (Eades 2010:267). We can therefore state that the use of these features indexes a legal context, where an index is defined as ‘a logical relation between sign and object’ (Mesthrie et al 2004:2). Furthermore, this indexical relationship can be systematically analysed in terms of the levels of speaker awareness of the social meanings of particular language features.

Silverstein proposed the notion that not only could indexicals invoke context, but that these indexicals could be schematically ordered according to their usage. He states that:

[I]ndexical order comes in integral, ordinal degrees...any  $n$ -th order indexical presupposes that the context in which it is normatively used has a schematization of some particular sort, relative to which we can model the “appropriateness” of its usage in that context (2003:193)

This suggests that features index particular meanings in an ordered way relative to their usage in context. Johnstone et al further develop this idea, linking Silversteins’ model of orders of indexicality with their discussion of the enregisterment of a U.S. variety of English, “Pittsburghese”. They define what Silverstein terms an ‘ $n+1$ -th-order indexical’ as a term that has:

[A] meaning in terms of one or more native ideologies (the idea that certain people speak more correctly than others, for example, or that some people are due greater respect than others). The feature has been “enregistered,” that is, it has become associated with a style of speech and can be used to create a context for that style (2006:82)

In terms of “Pittsburghese”, Johnstone et al term this ‘Second-order indexicality’, where speakers notice variation in their speech and attribute social meanings to this variation (ibid.

p. 82). A further form of ' $n+1$ -th-order' indexicality is labelled 'third-order' by Johnstone et al, and is described as a process whereby:

People noticing the existence of second-order stylistic variation in Pittsburghers' speech link the regional variants they are most likely to hear with Pittsburgh identity, drawing on the increasingly widely circulating idea that places and dialects are essentially linked (every place has a dialect). These people, who include Pittsburghers and non-Pittsburghers, use regional forms drawn from highly codified lists to perform local identity, often in ironic, semiserious ways (ibid. pp.82-3).

Third-order indexicals can also be said to be enregistered, and are compared by Johnstone et al to Labov's definition of linguistic stereotypes, which he describes as 'socially marked forms, prominently labelled by society' (1972:314). Thus, a correspondence between notions of stereotypes, indexicality and the phenomenon of enregisterment can be observed here.

In his discussion of RP, Agha notes the way in which language forms can become enregistered via metadiscursive practices. One such practice, as in the case of RP, involves the use of popular media. He demonstrates how non-standard orthographical renderings of particular linguistic features can become representative of a particular variety, as shown in table 2.1.

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**Popular media mis-spellings of U-RP words**

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Spelling used for U-RP words	Standard Spelling
<i>kebinet office</i>	cabinet office
<i>clawth</i>	cloth
<i>craws</i>	cross
<i>lawft</i>	loft
<i>hape</i>	hope
<i>arm-air</i>	army
<i>fah</i>	fire
<i>pah of the British empah</i>	power of the British Empire
<i>stains</i>	stones

Source: Honey 1989a

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*Table 2.1 Non-standard orthographical representations of RP pronunciations (cited in Agha 2003:238)*

He goes on to discuss the existence of 'metapragmatic stereotypes' (ibid. p. 242) where metapragmatic activities (such as the non-standard spellings above) become, to an extent, socially regular. This regularity can index certain characteristics and attributes, and ideologies surrounding certain groups of speakers. Indeed, Agha goes on to state that the study of such metapragmatic activities allows us to 'distinguish a register's repertoires from

the rest of the language and to reconstruct metapragmatic models of speech associated with them by users' (2007:151). Finally, Agha states that registers are 'historical formations caught up in in-group relative processes of valorization and counter-valorization, exhibiting change in both form and value over time' (2004:25). In the following section I discuss the processes by which linguistic features can become enregistered over time.

## **2.2 Processes of Enregisterment**

Goebel states that 'where populations align themselves with the cultural value of a certain variety, indexical relationships between language and context tend to become fixed or "enregistered"' (2007:512). For enregisterment to occur there must be speaker awareness of the social value indexed by particular linguistic features; these features must have reached at least the second order of indexicality discussed above.

In order for features to shift orders of indexicality, Johnstone et al argue that there must be geographical and social mobility. They state that social mobility can shift speakers' awareness of features from first to second-order indexicality as 'the choice among variants could, for some people, be invested with second-order indexical meaning such as class or correctness' (2006:89). They go on to discuss the social meaning of the pronunciations of /aw/ versus /a:/ in 'house', stating that speakers identify the monophthongised variant as sounding more working-class. The variability in speakers' use of this feature tends to occur in workplace environments; some Pittsburgh speakers state that they alter their pronunciation of this variable depending on who they are talking to, and that this tends to happen at their job. The speaker in question here works as an administrative assistant for the vice-president of a university (ibid. p.92). For third-order indexicality, geographical mobility is required. When this happens, according to Johnstone et al, wider awareness of second-order variation can occur in two ways: firstly, as speakers from a particular community leave and go elsewhere, their linguistic variants are linked to their geographical region; secondly, when speakers move into a community from out of the region, local speech forms are noticed and again linked to place. In Pittsburgh, these events began after World War II and reached a peak in the 1980s (ibid. pp.93-4).

Beal also discusses the link between geographical mobility and enregisterment with regards to a variety of Newcastle English: Geordie. She states that the dialect of Newcastle has long been regarded as one of the most salient English dialects, and traces discussion of it back to the sixteenth century (2009a:148). This sort of discussion is from travel writing and is the

result of speakers not from Newcastle commenting on the variety spoken there. However, Beal goes on to discuss evidence for Newcastle speakers living outside of their home region (described as ‘exiles’):

[A]s early as the late eighteenth century, “Geordies” in exile were aware of the differences between their speech and that of the people they encountered in their new place of residence, and sought ways of reinforcing their linguistic identity (ibid. p.149).

The influence of geographical mobility on speaker awareness of the social values indexed by their linguistic features can be explicitly seen here.

Furthermore, in her discussion of Michigan’s Keweenaw Peninsula (or UP – Upper Peninsula), Remlinger states that awareness of dialect features is ‘a result of historical, cultural, and geographical factors such as isolation, immigration and settlement patterns’ (2009:125). She goes on to discuss the economical shift in the UP from copper production to tourism in the early-mid twentieth century. The effect of tourism meant that speakers from outside of the UP were encouraged to visit, eventually leading to the use of the UP dialect as a marketing tool, complete with the terms *Yooper*, a person from the UP, and *Yoopenese*, someone who speaks the dialect of the UP (ibid. p.130). Remlinger et al later state that the change in economy is ‘significant’ with regards to enregisterment as the ‘changing economic and social factors brought local speakers into more contact with speakers of other varieties’ (2009:180), showing again the importance of geographical mobility on both third-order indexicality and enregisterment, as contact with other varieties highlights linguistic differences; under the right circumstances, these differences can come to index a particular set of social values such as class membership, ‘friendliness’ or, as in this case, geographical region.

However, processes of enregisterment can occur over long periods of time. Blake and Shousterman argue that through the diachronic study of the emergence of a new linguistic variant, conclusions can be drawn about its indexical meanings. They conclude that the indexical meaning of vowel centralisation before /r/ in the speech of African Americans in St. Louis is variable within the speech community (2010:242) in a similar manner to the variation noted by Johnstone et al in the pronunciation of ‘house’ discussed above. Blake and Shousterman were able to determine this variability via the study of the emergence of the variable over time. This was achieved by analysing interviews with African American St.

Louis speakers born between 1899 and 1988. The informants were interviewed between 1970, 1990, and 2006.

Enregisterment as a historical process is also discussed by Beal, who states that ‘Dialect dictionaries, from the 19<sup>th</sup> century to the present day, thus play a part in enregistering a word as belonging to a certain dialect’ (2009a:143), showing how this medium can be instrumental in the process of enregisterment over time. She also notes that with ‘Geordie’, there is a ‘fairly stable repertoire...used fairly consistently from the 19<sup>th</sup> to the 21<sup>st</sup> century’ (ibid. p.144) in dialect dictionaries. This highlights that there is a trend which began in the nineteenth century to represent dialect features in this way; the stability of this repertoire allows us to draw comparisons between modern data and nineteenth-century sources. A similar technique is employed by Johnstone in one of her numerous studies of ‘Pittsburghese’; she discusses what we can learn from ‘juxtaposing a historical account of language-ideological change focused on the community as a whole with a closer look at the phenomenology of individual linguistic experience’ (2007:18). She goes on to discuss how individual speakers of different ages can notice different social values attributed to particular linguistic forms. The differences in these social values can indicate a diachronic shift in the particular values indexed by these features; more broadly speaking, this can give us an insight into the wider enregisterment of these features.

The results of these processes can involve enregistered features in tropic constructions such as figures of speech. Agha discusses this, stating:

[A] register’s forms are social indexicals in that they index stereotypic social personae (viz., that speaker is male, lower-class, a doctor, a lawyer, an aristocrat, etc.), which can also be troped upon to yield hybrid personae of various kinds; thus every register has a *social range*, a range of figures performable through its use (2005:39-40 – emphasis in original)

An example of where enregistered features are troped is presented by Slotta who argues that the systematic and structured use of linguistic shibboleths can be evidence of the use of enregistered features of particular varieties (2012:1). He gives an example from a lyric from a Cee Lo Green song which highlights the role that ‘tropic significance’ can play in enregisterment. He cites the line ‘I guess he’s an Xbox and I’m more Atari’ from Green’s song ‘Fuck You’, described by Slotta as ‘foul-mouthed bitterness after a girl-friend has left for greener pastures’ (ibid. p.3). The tropic significance of this lyric, according to Slotta, is

analogy. He states that the reference to ‘He’ being an ‘Xbox’ (an ultra-modern, expensive computer games console) and to ‘I’ being an ‘Atari’ (a much older games console largely popular in the 1980s) suggests ‘He has money and I don’t’ (ibid.). The use of such tropes, Slotta argues, can be evidence of the enregisterment of the features involved, as there are social and cultural values attached to the features included in the trope. He concludes by suggesting that the use of enregistered items in ‘figures of speech’ can suggest that ‘the speaker is not indexing that they are, in fact, the stereotype, but that they are acting *like* the stereotype for the moment’ (ibid. p.12), which highlights the ‘tropic quality’ of this usage.

Finally, with regard to the perpetuation of enregistered repertoires, Agha discusses how ‘*the continuous historical existence* of a register depends upon mechanisms for the replication of its forms and values over changing populations’ (2004:27, italics in original), suggesting that the features of the register’s repertoire must be somehow replicable in order for successive generations to be aware of those features’ social values. These replications, he argues, ‘link persons to a common set of representations...making possible the large-scale replication of register stereotypes across social populations’ (ibid). The methods of this replication can either take the form of direct conversation, or more concrete artifacts such as books, dialect dictionaries, and dialect commentary.

In the next section I discuss the types of metapragmatic activity which can play a role in processes of enregisterment.

### **2.3 Metapragmatic Activities**

In his discussion of RP, Agha states that there are several types of ‘artifact’ that can enregister linguistic features:

[T]he dissemination or spread of a register depends on the circulation of messages typifying speech. Such messages are borne by physical artifacts: in the case of face-to-face communication, by acoustical artifacts, i.e. ‘utterances’; in the mass mediated cases by more perduring text-artifacts—books, magazines, cartoons, musical scores, and the like—that are physical objects conveying information about cultural forms (2003:243)

These artifacts come under the heading of what Johnstone et al call ‘metapragmatic activities’; however, they go on to state that not all of these activities may include ‘explicit metadiscourse’ or ‘talk about talk’ (2006:80), where speakers directly refer to the social values associated with particular linguistic forms. This association may be more abstract,

particularly when varieties become commodified; this process with regards to enregisterment is discussed in more detail below.

Explicit metadiscourse, however, can be observed in interviews with speakers on the topic of their speech. Remlinger, for instance, provides examples of this in Michigan's UP in an extract from an interview with a 14-year-old girl, who states:

A lot of people from the UP say HEH after everything, like THAT WAS FUN,  
HEH. I haven't heard that anywhere else (2009:125, emphasis in original)

This kind of comment can also be observed in Johnstone's study of the historical enregisterment of "Pittsburghese", where one of her interviewees Jason E, born in 1987, is asked if he has ever heard of the variety. He responds 'Oh yeah', suggesting immediate familiarity with it. When asked to give examples of "Pittsburghese", he states:

There's uh, the actual accent of the Pittsburgher, and then there's, the words,  
that we use and no one else uses. And you know the accent would be like,  
instead of saying *down* you'd say *dahn* ([dæ:n]) (2007:22)

In both of these examples we can see speakers directly referring to the link between linguistic features and place. In the UP example, we have the use of 'heh'; in the "Pittsburghese" example, it is the pronunciation [dæ:n] for *down*.

Other types of metapragmatic activity can be in the form of an enregistered variety being used in cartoons, newspaper articles, on television, or in performance. For example, Managan discusses the link between the written and spoken forms of an enregistered variety of a Haitian creole called Kréyòl. She states that the use of Kréyòl on television in Guadeloupe represents a particular moment in the process of that variety's enregisterment, as 'a spoken variety of formal Kréyòl was being developed that drew on the written variety proposed by language activists' (2011:316). Links between spoken forms and written representations can be important in discussions of enregisterment; it is usually the case that the written forms attempt to represent the spoken variety, rather than (as in the case of Kréyòl) the other way around. In addition, in a discussion of the language features employed by New Zealand comic band Flight of the Conchords to represent other artists in songs (particularly David Bowie and The Pet Shop Boys), Gibson states that their performance 'has an important role to play in the enregisterment of language styles with socially identifiable characterological figures' (2011:603); this could be in the form of television or stage



performances. He goes on to state that audiences ‘understand performances using their existing cultural knowledge’ (ibid.), suggesting that some prior knowledge of the features used in the performance can be drawn upon in order to grasp the indexical meanings demonstrated therein. A similar example of enregistered features used in performance in songs is given by Beal who discusses the Sheffield band Arctic Monkeys and their use of Sheffield features in their songs. This is as opposed to the tendency discussed by Kruse who states that in ‘most of the history of rock music in Britain, performers have used accents imported from America’ (2004:454). Beal goes on to note that:

Some of the features used by Arctic Monkeys have been enregistered as “Sheffield” by their appearance in folk dictionaries and their use in performance by local comedians such as Toby Foster, who now has a regular show on Radio Sheffield (2009b:238).

Unlike with Flight of the Conchords, though, who make use of features like a fronted vowel in GOAT words to index the pronunciation of singer David Bowie for the purposes of parody (Gibson 2011:616), Arctic Monkeys’ use of features index ‘authentic’ and ‘modern’ local speech (Beal 2009b:238) as opposed to a more conventional, American-influenced model.

As stated above, cartoons featuring linguistic features can also be seen as metapragmatic discourse. For example, in her discussion of the enregisterment of a prestige variety of Chinese, Putonghua, Dong states that a method of the promotion of this variety is via the use of cartoons that draw upon ‘*stereotypical* indexicalities’ to highlight the supposed benefits of ‘correct’ use of Putonghua, and the disadvantages of ‘incorrect’ usage (Dong 2010: 270, italics in original). The enregisterment of this particular variety is discussed in more detail below.

Finally, metapragmatic discourse on particular varieties can be observed in newspapers. For example, Johnstone et al discuss the origin of discussion of speech in local newspapers during the 1950s and 1960s in Pittsburgh. They state that we can observe: ‘Evaluative phrases like “my favourite speech oddity” (Bernhard 1959), “the nasal way of talking” (Gleason 1965), and “a distinct impression of ignorance” (Swetnam 1959)’ (2006:95); the judgemental nature of these comments notwithstanding, Johnstone et al go on to state that the actual name for the variety, “Pittsburghese” ‘first appears in a *Pittsburgh Press* Sunday Magazine article published in 1967...and makes an explicit (if inaccurate) link between locally heard forms and place’ (ibid).

In the next section, I will discuss how linguistic features involved in the above kinds of metapragmatic activities can become commodified, and hence, continue to contribute to their enregisterment.

## 2.4 Commodification

One possible consequence of the enregisterment of language features is that they can become commodified. With regards to linguistic features and their appearance on commodities, Johnstone states that a ‘linguistic variety or set of varieties is commodified when it is available for purchase and people will pay for it’ (2009:161). Examples from Johnstone include “Pittsburghese” on t-shirts, where orthographic representations of Pittsburgh lexis and pronunciation are presented, often alongside the words “Pittsburghese”, or “Pittsburgh”; in some cases, images of the Pittsburgh skyline appear also (ibid. p.169). This has the effect of directly linking linguistic features to a non-linguistic quality, in this case, regional location. The commodities then serve to reinforce the enregistered status of the features thereupon. “Pittsburghese” can also be found in the form of dialect dictionaries: a seminal text in Pittsburgh is entitled *Sam McCool’s New Pittsburghese: How to Speak Like a Pittsburgher* (McCool 1982) and, according to Johnstone et al, ‘served as a source for T-shirts, coffee and beer mugs, shot glasses, refrigerator magnets, and postcards listing local speech forms’ (2006:96), highlighting how one form of commodified dialect has influenced and allowed for the creation of several others.

Similar instances can be found in other varieties of English; Remlinger states that in the Michigan Upper Peninsula, in the 1980s, ‘enregistered features come into play as a marketing tool’ (2009:130). She gives an example of a bumper sticker stating that these items can be purchased throughout the UP (ibid.); such items can also be purchased for \$2 online from the website [www.copperconnection.com](http://www.copperconnection.com). This site is part of the company Keweenaw Gem & Gift Inc. and is dedicated to selling items made from materials common to the Keweenaw Peninsula: copper and certain gemstones. The bumper sticker in question features an outline of the geographical extent of the UP, and the slogan: *Say yah to da U.P., eh!*, and can be found in the ‘Souvenir Novelties’ section of the website, highlighting the novelty value (and hence, commercial value) of the linguistic features represented thereon. Remlinger goes on to conclude that when dialect is used in this way to sell items and market the appeal of a particular area, ‘discursive and metadiscursive practices and cultural values combine not only to sell physical items, but also to sell notions about the dialect, residents, and local area’

(2009:130). This is a trend that can potentially be dated back to the nineteenth century; Wales discusses the development of the tourism industry over the course of the nineteenth century. She states that one of the results of this nascent industry was the fact that local dialect ‘found a new medium printed on the postcard home’ (2006:137), highlighting a direct link between dialect and place. The fact that postcards are traditionally sent home whilst one is on holiday also creates a link between the local dialect and an ideology: that the dialect spoken in the area from which the postcard was sent is associated with the leisure activity of being on holiday.

With regard to the appeal of commodified features as a marketing device, Agha discusses instances where the use of a particular register can contribute ‘to product sales by simulating the speech of the target market itself’ (2011:24). Although Agha is discussing language used in advertising here, the same could be said of the production of dialect material dating back to the nineteenth century. It is probable that the production of literature written entirely in dialect in the nineteenth century was aimed at speakers of that dialect, by ‘simulating the speech of the target market’, just as items bearing enregistered dialect features are today. For example, Beal discusses the commodification of ‘Geordie’, stating that elements of the repertoire of ‘Geordie’ features ‘can be found in music-hall songs of the nineteenth century and persists in dialect writing of the late twentieth and early twenty-first centuries’ (2009a:145). These features can now also be seen on various commodities including coffee mugs and certificates of ‘authenticity’, which serve to prove that the holder is a ‘genuine Geordie’ (ibid. 146-7). Beal goes on to compare the extent of the commodification of ‘Geordie’ with that of ‘Sheffieldish’, stating that ‘the commodification of ‘Sheffieldish’ might not be far away’ (ibid. p.154). Evidence for this can be seen to a small extent with the existence of Sheffield t-shirts bearing phrases like *ey up duck*: which includes *ey up*, a local greeting meaning ‘hello’ (see also Wales 2006), plus the local term of endearment, *duck*. These shirts can be purchased online from <http://dialect-tshirts.spreadshirt.co.uk/> which features a ‘Yorkshire’ category (in which t-shirts with other Yorkshire dialect representations can be found); the ‘Yorkshire’ category has only one sub-section, though: ‘Sheffield’, suggesting that the commodification of Sheffield dialect may indeed be progressing.

However, as Beal also states, Sheffield dialect tends to be inextricably linked to the wider area of Yorkshire (2009a:153), to the extent that the two are virtually synonymous. The enregisterment of Yorkshire dialect is discussed in more detail below.

In the next section, I discuss the notion of ‘deregisterment’ and the idea that indexicalities can shift, highlighting how processes of enregisterment are both variable and fluid.

## 2.5 ‘Deregisterment’

Williams puts forward the concept of ‘deregisterment’ (2012:54) which he describes as the use of a ‘marginalized variety’, in this case, Kaapse Afrikaans, in a rap performance in a Cape Town night club as opposed to English. He states that the use of the Afrikaans variety over English displays the ‘deregisterment’ of English as the use of the local variety is extremely salient to a local Cape Town audience. The use of this variety in local rap performances, he argues, is enregistering Kaapse Afrikaans in this context and deregistering English. He goes on to state that in ‘multilingual spaces, different languages may be enregistered for specific purposes at specific moments’ (ibid. p.58), and that English, although prevalent in rap music, is not the only language in which it can be and is performed. He concludes that, with regards to English, multilingual speakers ‘are acutely aware of how to manipulate (or deregister) it for the purpose of multilingual enregisterment in performances’ (ibid.), suggesting that the choice by performers not to use English in rap music in favour of another, locally more salient variety indicates the ‘deregisterment’ of English in this context and the enregisterment of the local variety.

Given that indexical meanings can shift and change over time it is possible that the notion of ‘deregisterment’ may not only apply to whole varieties as in Williams’ case. It may also be possible for individual linguistic features to become ‘deregistered’. For example, in her study of the shift in indexical meaning of the pronunciation of (aw) in MOUTH words in Pittsburgh, Johnstone concludes that individual speakers of varying ages can give us very different accounts of their sociolinguistic experience of this feature. She states that accounts of ‘language ideological change should describe such change not just from the perspective of “society”’, (based on metapragmatic discourse from textual data, dialect dictionaries, commentary in newspapers, etc.), but we should also consider ‘phenomenal experience, since it is at the interface of social order and individual experience that language occurs’ (2007:26-27). Johnstone goes on to state that /aw/ can index ‘Pittsburgh’ for some speakers, yet for others it can index ‘working class’. These meanings varied according to age; older speakers tended not to associate the variable with Pittsburgh. Therefore, I argue that we can view the /aw/ pronunciation as ‘deregistered’ as solely ‘working class’ and enregistered as ‘Pittsburgh’. Indeed, Johnstone et al state that “‘Pittsburghese’ has been semiotically de-

linked from class and linked with place in metadiscursive talk' (2006:95), suggesting that this 'semiotic de-linking' applies to the entirety of "Pittsburghese" and is exemplified in the case of /aw/ monophthongisation. The concept of 'deregisterment' is discussed further with regards to features of Yorkshire dialect below.

In the next section I will discuss various enregistered varieties, which are enregistered as both regional and social varieties.

## 2.6 Enregistered Varieties

The examples above have predominantly dealt with varieties which are enregistered as being associated with particular geographical regions. However, it is also possible that varieties can be enregistered as being associated with particular social classes, or notions of 'correctness', or prestige. In the following sections, I will further discuss varieties enregistered as representative of geographical locations; I will then discuss varieties which are associated with non-geographical social values.

### 2.6.1 Geographical Varieties

#### *"Pittsburghese"*

As stated above, Barbara Johnstone has extensively studied a variety of English spoken in Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania in the USA, described as "Pittsburghese". This variety differs from Standard English in a number of ways, in terms of phonology, morphosyntax, and lexis, summarised in table 2.2 below. The semiotic linking of the features in table 2.2 with the geographical location of Pittsburgh appears to be a relatively recent development (Johnstone et al 2006:95), progressing over the last half-century.

Johnstone and Baumgardt argue that the processes of enregisterment which have acted on "Pittsburghese" have also involved processes of 'vernacular norm formation'. They present evidence from an online chat room discussion on the topic of "Pittsburghese" and highlight the features which are most commonly orthographically represented in the discussion as being representative of Pittsburgh.

Johnstone and Baumgardt found that, of the pronunciation features referred to, the monophthongisation of /aw/ in *dahn* for 'down' and the laxing of /i/ before /l/ in *Stillers* for 'Steelers' (the name of the local football team) were two of the most commonly represented. *Yinz/yunz* was the most common Pittsburgh lexical item represented (2004:128). They go on

to conclude that these data highlight the formation and reinforcement of norms for representations of the vernacular:

When the features dropped into their contributions are not already thought of as characteristics of “Pittsburghese,” mentions or uses of them function to suggest new norms; when they are already widely understood to be “Pittsburghese,” they function to enforce existing norms (ibid. p.130)

This can also be observed in metadiscourse from newspapers. In their later study of “Pittsburghese”, Johnstone et al consider such data from newspapers dating from 1910 to 2001 (2006:78).

<b>Phonological Features</b>		
<b>Feature</b>	<b>“Pittsburghese”</b>	<b>Standard English</b>
Monophthongisation of /aw/	<i>Dahn</i> [dæ:n]	Down
laxing of tense vowels /i/ and /u/ before /r/ and /l/	<i>Still</i> [stɪl]	Steel
<b>Lexical Items</b>		
<b>“Pittsburghese”</b>	<b>Standard English</b>	
<i>To jag</i>	To tease	
<i>Nebby</i>	Nosy	
<i>Slippy</i>	Slippery	
<i>Redd up</i>	Clean up	
<i>Gumband</i>	Rubber band	
<i>Jumbo</i>	Bologna sausage	
<i>Chipped ham</i>	Thinly sliced ham	
<b>Morphosyntactic features</b>		
<b>“Pittsburghese”</b>	<b>Standard English</b>	
Reversed transitivity in <i>leave</i> and <i>let</i> e.g. ‘ <i>Leave</i> the children go out’; ‘ <i>Let</i> the bags on the table’	‘Let the children go out’; ‘leave the bags on the table’	
Use of <i>yinz</i> (derived from <i>you ’uns</i> )	Second-person plural pronoun ‘you’	
<i>Needs/wants</i> + past participle, e.g. <i>this shirt needs ironed</i> or <i>the customer wants served</i>	‘this shirt needs ironing’ or ‘the customer wants serving’	

*Table 2.2 Phonological, morphosyntactic, and lexical items enregistered as “Pittsburghese” (Adapted from Johnstone et al 2006:86-7)*

They go on to conclude that as a result of ‘the metadiscursive activities represented in the newspaper archive, “Pittsburghese” begins to acquire legitimacy’ (ibid. p.96), as the same features are consistently used in similar constructions and with similar representations time and again. The same features also tend to be commented upon by speakers as well. To an extent, this process serves to standardise a non-standard variety.

However, Johnstone goes on to discuss the extent to which ‘the sources of expertise about Pittsburgh have changed over time’ (2011:3) in media such as the newspaper articles and online forums discussed above, but also on websites dedicated to “Pittsburghese”, including an entry on Wikipedia. She concludes that the expertise presented in the newspaper articles shifts towards sources with ‘institutionally-sanctioned technical authority’ (ibid. p.12); Wikipedia has a similar approach with its sources, insisting on technical expertise for its citations. The two other internet media Johnstone discusses, the website [www.pittsburghese.com](http://www.pittsburghese.com) and the internet chat room discussion, both encourage submissions from the general public. The former offered no real regulation of the expertise presented; expertise on “Pittsburghese” on the latter, however, was denoted by what Johnstone refers to as ‘feature dropping’ – i.e. the use of the normed features listed above (ibid. p.13). The use of these features by local speakers highlights their awareness of their speech variants and directly associates them with their geographical location. This reinforces the status of these features as enregistered as ‘Pittsburgh’; the consistency and repetition of orthographic representations allows them to therefore be marketed on commodities as discussed above.

### “Geordie”

As Beal states, when we compare the evidence for metapragmatic discourse on Tyneside English or “Geordie” with that for “Pittsburghese”, we can see that the former appears much earlier than the latter, with evidence for ‘talk about talk’ for “Geordie” beginning in ‘the nineteenth century or earlier’ (2009a:141). This early evidence comes in the form of dialect dictionaries, glossaries, and word lists and marks the beginning of a trend that would continue into the twentieth and twenty-first centuries. This also effectively links “Geordie” features explicitly with Newcastle. Additionally, Beal states that the ‘repertoire of Tyneside English was enregistered early enough for it to be used in performative contexts in the nineteenth-century music halls’ (ibid. p.145), suggesting that we can see evidence for the nineteenth-century enregisterment of this variety. The suggestion that we can observe evidence for enregisterment in historical contexts is discussed in more detail below. With regard to the use of Tyneside features in music halls in the nineteenth century, Wales states that one of the earliest instances of the use of the word *Geordie* with relation to this variety comes from a song called *Geordy Black*, which was written by a nineteenth-century music hall performer about a Tyneside miner. She goes on to state that ‘by the mid-nineteenth century at the latest the miner and keelman had become industrial icons of the region, and the label *Geordy*

affectionately and proudly reflected this' (2006:135). The association of this label with place appears to have occurred much earlier than was the case with "Pittsburghese".

Beal goes on to list the enregistered repertoire of "Geordie", the majority of which dates back to the nineteenth century; this is summarised in table 2.3 below.

One feature not listed by Beal is the stereotypically "Geordie" phrase *why aye man!* meaning 'geordie way of saying yes in an enthusiastic way' (<http://www.urbandictionary.com/define.php?term=why%20aye>). However, in spite of the admittedly non-specialist definition given by [www.urbandictionary.com](http://www.urbandictionary.com), Wales notes that in a study of a corpus of northern English texts dating from 1500-1900, the terms 'why aye man / whey aye / eigh-wye / way-eye' are common and that they 'lubricate the flow of discourse, marking assent' as discourse markers of Tyneside English (2010:76).

Representation of "Geordie" (Pronunciation)	Example	Wells' (1982) Keyword	Standard English Spelling
<oo> (/u:/)	<i>doon</i>	MOUTH	Down
<ee> (/i:/)	<i>neet</i>	PRICE	Night
<or> (/ɔ:/)	<i>borth</i>	NURSE	Birth
<ye> (/Iə/)	<i>fyes</i>	FACE	Face
<aa> (/a:/)	<i>knaa</i>	THOUGHT	Know
<i>Divvint</i> (/divɪnt/)	N/A	N/A	Don't
<or> (/ɔR/)	<i>nivvor</i>	LETTER	Never

Table 2.3 Enregistered Repertoire of "Geordie" Features (adapted from Beal 2009a:145)

This particular feature can still be seen as a stereotypical marker of Tyneside English today; the website [www.moorlandpottery.co.uk](http://www.moorlandpottery.co.uk) which sells pottery and other novelty items featuring instances of various local dialects includes in its 'Geordie Ware' section a coffee mug as shown in figure 2.1.





Figure 2.1 'Geordie Ware' Why Aye Man coffee mug

(<http://www.moorlandpottery.co.uk/why-aye-man-p-253.html?zenid=c958aa1786bc358cc105c5290cebedf7>)

Representations of this feature can also be found on such other Newcastle-related paraphernalia as t-shirts with 'Y-I' printed on them, where a pronunciation of 'why aye' is indicated by the use of these two individual letters. 'Why aye' can also be observed on Newcastle-related internet cartoons, such as one from [www.newcastlestuff.com](http://www.newcastlestuff.com) depicting the 'Charver whey-ayePhone', which is a parody suggesting a "Geordie" variant of the iPhone, complete with "Geordie"-specific software. This represents a similar example to the 'Y-I' t-shirt discussed above; in this case, though, the <i> in 'iPhone' is represented by 'aye' as opposed to the other way around. What is interesting about this particular cartoon, however, is that the fictional software it presents includes numerous references to low social class; for instance an 'alibi generator' app is listed to give the user 'countless excuses' when confronted by the police, as well as the 'ayeRadio' app, which allows the user to tune into police radio frequencies when 'out on the rob', and a 'whey-ayeChoonz' app as a parody of iTunes, where the user can 'download the latest hardcore chipmunk choonz and play them loudly on buses so all the other passengers can enjoy them too'

([www.newcastlestuff.com/images/index/whey-ayePhone.jpg](http://www.newcastlestuff.com/images/index/whey-ayePhone.jpg)). This low social class association is also referenced in the use of the word 'Charver'; this term is described by Nayak as generally referring to young men from unemployed families, who tend to wear a particular style of clothing including tracksuits and baseball caps, frequent illegal raves where high-speed techno music is played, and tend to be associated with criminality. Nayak also states that 'Charvers' are 'nationally pilloried as Chavs' (2006:820); further discussion of 'chavs' and also the enregisterment of "Chavspeak" is presented in section 2.6.2 below.

In addition, 'why aye' received worldwide attention when it was used in the theme song for the BBC series *Auf Wiedersehen, Pet* in 2002. The show is about a group of English builders who, in the original 1980s premise for the show, travel to Germany to find work, hence *Auf Wiedersehen* in the title. The *Pet* element is due to the fact that this is a term of address in Tyneside (Beal 2000:346) and that three of the seven main characters were "Geordies"

([http://www.bbc.co.uk/tyne//content/articles/2008/05/29/auf\\_wiedersehen\\_pet\\_feature.shtml](http://www.bbc.co.uk/tyne//content/articles/2008/05/29/auf_wiedersehen_pet_feature.shtml)) The song, ‘Why Aye Man’, was written by the ex-frontman for 80s rock band Dire Straits, Mark Knopfler, who grew up in Newcastle from the age of eight (<http://www.markknopfler.com/about/>), and has ‘why aye man’ for its chorus lyrics (<http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=c48F6wrmrm4>); the phrase ‘why aye man’ is also prominent throughout the rest of the song, amongst several other references to ‘Geordieland’ (see also Beal 2009a).

### “Yoopenese”

This variety of English, associated with the Keweenaw Peninsula, Northern Michigan in the USA, shares a similar history to that of “Pittsburghese” in that overt commentary about it indicating speaker awareness became prevalent in the 1960s and 1970s (Remlinger 2009:125). The term “Yooper” comes from the pronunciation of UP, which stands for Upper Peninsula: /ju: pi:/, as this area of America is labelled ‘UP’ as in figure 2.2.



Figure 2.2 Michigan Upper Peninsula as ‘UP’ (<http://cuphockey.org/images/up.jpg>)

However, although the term “Yoopenese” appears in a 1990s newspaper, Remlinger states that there is ‘no specific name for the particular local variety, often both it and its speakers are identified as *Yooper*’ (2009:119). Some of the features of this variety are given in table 2.4 below.

Remlinger goes on to state that the features listed below were not always explicitly associated with the UP region. She presents the use of *yous* in a newspaper extract from 1905 where this feature was associated with ‘an occupation-based class identity’ (ibid. p.123), suggesting a shift in the indexical meaning of this feature from association with class to association with

place. In addition, some of these features are associated with the wider Upper Midwestern region of the United States, shown in figure 2.3. The Midwest region is delineated by the United States Census Bureau; the most northern states in this region are North Dakota, South Dakota, Minnesota, Wisconsin, and Michigan.

Features such as *you betcha* and the raising of diphthongs in pronunciations such as [həʊs] (see table 2.4 below) were reported by Purnell et al in the speech of American politician Sarah Palin. The focus on Palin here was motivated by the fact that according to Purnell et al, during the 2008 U.S. presidential campaign, her speech was often associated with the Upper Midwest of America, rather than her native region of Alaska (2009:331).

Some of the features that Purnell et al list as being ‘Upper Midwestern’ include: ‘diphthongization of /æ/, Canadian Raising of /a/ in diphthongs, the back and monophthongal character of /o/ and /u/, and final devoicing of obstruents’ (2009:339), suggesting that these features are enregistered to the wider American public as being associated with and representative of the American Upper Midwest.

<b>Lexical Items “Yoopenese”</b>		<b>Standard English</b>
<i>Pank</i>		‘pat down, make compact’
<i>Sisu</i>		‘strong fortitude in the face of adversity; having guts’
<i>Chook</i>		‘knit winter cap’
<i>Swampers</i>		‘rubber bottomed boots with leather uppers’
‘Stock Phrases’		
<i>You betcha</i>		‘Yes; I agree’
<i>Say ya to da UP, eh</i>		‘Say yes to the UP’
<b>Phonological Features</b>		
<b>“Yoopenese” pronunciation</b>	<b>Gen. American pronunciation</b>	<b>Standard English spelling</b>
[həʊs]	[haʊs]	House
[pæsti]	[pesti]	Pasty
[saʊnə]	[sanə]	Sauna
<b>Morphosyntactic features</b>		
<b>Feature</b>	<b>“Yoopenese” example</b>	<b>Standard English</b>
‘dropped prepositions’	<i>I went Green Bay</i>	I went to Green Bay
‘dropped articles’	<i>Let’s go mall</i>	Let’s go to the mall
Non-standard pronouns	<i>Youz</i>	You (second-person plural)

Table 2.4 Features of “Yoopenese” (adapted from Remlinger 2009:118)

However, in spite of these more widely-recognised features, Remlinger concludes that the lexical items *pank* and *chook* are enregistered as being representative of the UP; she also contends that the same is true of *you betcha* (2009:119), in spite of Purnell et al’s assertion that this is representative of a wider geographical area.

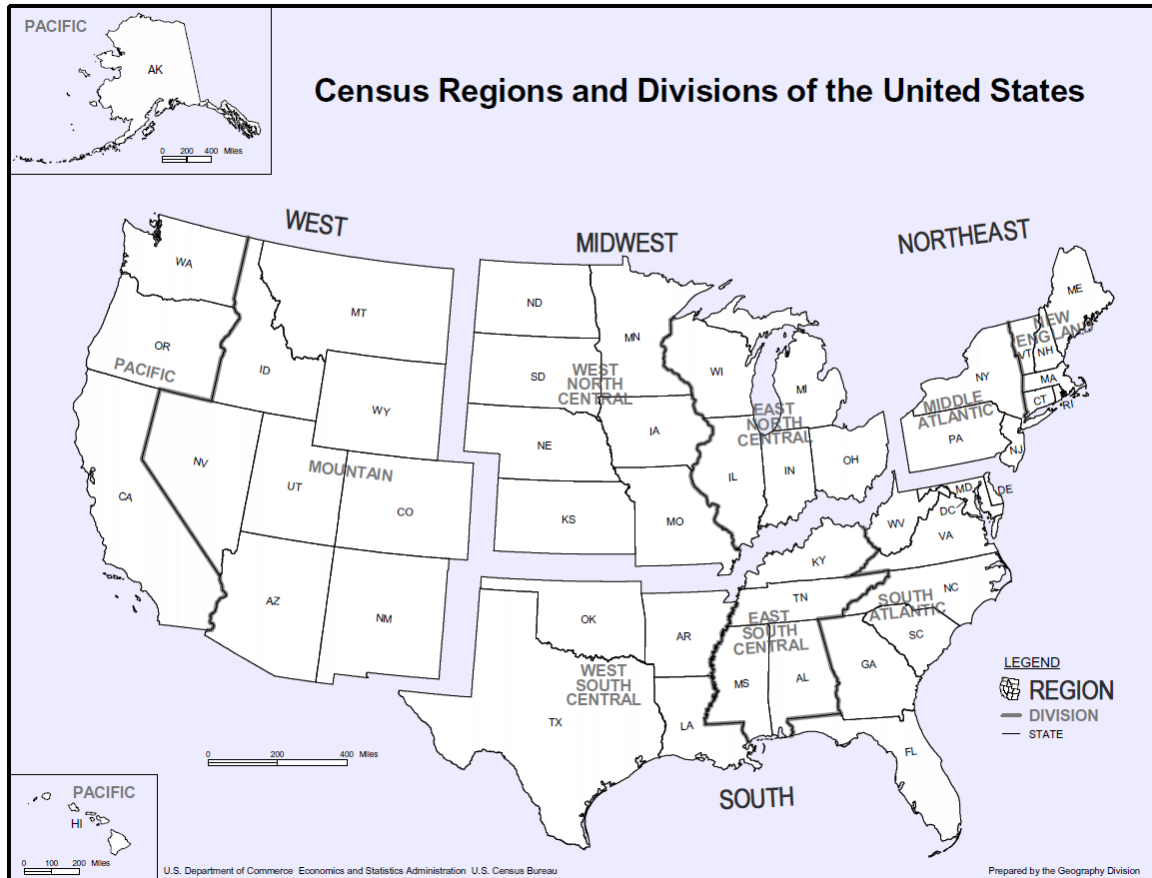


Figure 2.3 Geographic regions of America defined by US Census Bureau ([http://www.census.gov/geo/www/us\\_regdiv.pdf](http://www.census.gov/geo/www/us_regdiv.pdf))

Finally, Remlinger argues, the pronunciations of *pasty* and *sauna* are also enregistered as “Yooper” due to their status as shibboleths. She goes on to state that locals’ discussion of these pronunciations is important to their enregisterment as representative of the UP as they ‘forge links among identity, dialect, and local knowledge – knowledge based on language awareness and use’ (2009:134). This highlights the fact that even though certain features common in the UP are also representative of the wider Upper Midwestern region, their use alongside such specific features as those listed in table 2.4 above enregister them as “Yooper”. In addition to being shibboleths, *pasty* and *sauna* also highlight the enregisterment of Cornish and Finnish heritage respectively; Remlinger goes on to state that pasties are associated with the UP, ‘especially mining regions where Cornish miners settled’ (ibid. p.133), and that the Finnish borrowing *sauna* is perceived to be ‘correctly’ pronounced as ‘sowna’ [saʊnə] by UP speakers (ibid. p.134), suggesting that this is based on the Finnish pronunciation. This is most likely due to the dominance of Finnish settlers in the area dating from the late nineteenth century which, according to Remlinger, led to Finnish having a

‘significant impact on English’ in the UP, and that dialect representations ‘have drawn on cultural values associated with the sociolinguistic and economic history of the area and its immigrants (especially Finns)’ (ibid. p.123).

### *Putonghua*

Putonghua is a variety of Mandarin Chinese based on the variety historically spoken in Beijing (Dong 2010:265). In a similar manner to RP (discussed further below), Putonghua is a prestige variety, particularly in the environment of schools where it is ‘up-scaled to be ‘accent-less’... and other language varieties are measured against Putonghua’ (ibid. p.272).

However, the metapragmatic activities involved in the processes of enregisterment of Putonghua are somewhat different to those for “Pittsburghese”, “Geordie”, or “Yoopanese” in that this variety is proactively imposed by the state as being the most ‘correct’; proficiency in the variety is presented as being desirable for people moving into Beijing from other regions. Dong discusses an example of a cartoon in a periodical magazine published by the Ministry of Agriculture aimed at rural-area residents who are looking to relocate to Beijing to find work. The accompanying article for the cartoon highlights the explicit metapragmatic discourse surrounding Putonghua in this context:

If you speak good Putonghua, you will not only give a good impression (to others) in job interviews and thus increase your employability; you can communicate with people effectively, express yourself clearly. . . so that you can find a good job and settle in the city (2010:269)

This is distinctly different to the kind of ‘talk about talk’ for, say, “Pittsburghese” above, as the indexical meanings of the use of Putonghua include effective communication and expression, rather than association with a geographical location, despite the fact that Putonghua is historically a regional variety of Mandarin Chinese.

Dong goes on to discuss an example of an ethnographic study of the instruction of and in Putonghua in a Beijing school. Her results show that when dealing with a seven-year-old female migrant student who struggled with the pronunciation of Putonghua, the teacher, an exemplar Putonghua speaker, labelled the student’s difficulties a ‘problem’ and ‘serious’; the student herself is labelled ‘slow’ (2010:271). These sorts of evaluative comments, Dong argues, show ‘contrasts of sounds, such as the supra-local Putonghua as opposed to regional vernaculars, being converted into contrasts of social identities, e.g. ‘being normal’ vs. ‘being

slow', and 'mainstream' vs. 'marginalized' (ibid. p.272). Putonghua is hence enregistered as 'normal' and 'mainstream', as well as being presented as 'correct' and 'prestigious' as in the cartoon article discussed above. This suggests speaker awareness of the ideologies surrounding the use of Putonghua indexed by the variety's linguistic variants.

Evidence of ideological awareness can also be observed with other varieties in China. For instance, Henry describes the enregisterment of a variety labelled "Chinglish", which is a variety of Chinese English that is heavily influenced by the grammatical structure of the Chinese languages. It is typically spoken by Chinese students learning English as a second language, and can display confusing or unintentionally humorous English utterances when particular structures are employed due to the influence of Chinese (2010:675). With regard to the enregisterment of "Chinglish", Henry states: 'The social value of the register derives not from the substantive linguistic form of the utterances themselves, but from pre-existing schemas of metalinguistic interpretation' (ibid. p.671), which suggests that the enregistered variety is based on existing ideologies, rather than identifiable repertoires of linguistic features.

Finally, Dong discusses the institutionally-sanctioned activity 'Promote Putonghua Week', where 'government officials are sent to schools, hospitals and other public sectors to inspect the use of Putonghua' (ibid.), highlighting again the difference in the enregisterment process here; no similar phenomenon has been reported for any of the aforementioned enregistered varieties. The examples given by Dong are instances of what appear to be institutional enregisterment. The processes operating on Putonghua are apparently part of a larger endeavour involving proactive language planning.

In the next section I will discuss varieties which are enregistered as being associated with particular social group as opposed to geographical regions.

### **2.6.2 Social Varieties**

#### *RP*

In a similar manner to Putonghua above, RP has come to be enregistered as what Agha calls a 'status emblem' in British society (2003:231). Unlike Putonghua, though, there is not the same institutional presence in the emphasis on proficiency in the variety, nor is RP as associated with a geographical region as Putonghua is. RP is indexically linked to social

class as opposed to place and is a variety which is much more readily recognised by speakers than it is spoken (ibid. p.234).

Agha goes on to discuss the labels used to describe the variety, from *Received Pronunciation* itself to *The Queen's English* and *Public School Pronunciation*. The latter, he argues, arose due to the fact that speakers who had attended public school were seen as being 'exemplary speakers' of RP (ibid. p.236). The association of RP with the public schools became prevalent in the early twentieth century. Beal states that:

To speak RP at the beginning of the twentieth century, you had to move in a very restricted social circle: that of the public-school educated. It is this association with a social group rather than a location that accounts for the non-localized nature of RP (2004a:185)

Indeed, Agha goes on to state that in perceptual tests, RP speakers are judged to be more ambitious, confident and intelligent than speakers with regional accents (2003:240); this is a tendency which, Beal argues, can potentially be accounted for by the association of RP with the public school system. This is due to the fact that as the public school system evolved, 'positions of power and influence would mostly be held by 'public-school men''; this could be observed throughout the British Empire (Beal 2004a:187).

With regards to the metapragmatic activities involved in the processes of the enregisterment of RP, Agha cites prescriptive works on accent dating back to the eighteenth century. He states that these works emphasise the social value of accents and help to play a part in the definition of the variety as recognisable in spite of its relatively small number of actual speakers:

We might say that these genres replicate the competence to recognize accent contrasts and associated values across the space of the nation without replicating the competence to speak the most prestigious accent (2003:260)

This suggests that, over time, the pronunciation guides of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries created and promulgated the idea of a 'correct' pronunciation and imbued it with social and cultural value. Many of the features listed in these guides would ultimately become enregistered as RP and, because of the variety's association with class, power, and the public schools RP would become indexically linked with class membership.

Ultimately, awareness of RP would spread with its association with the BBC. Wales states that ‘RP’s cultural capital increased...since it became inextricably associated with ‘BBC English in the public mind’ (2006:145), highlighting the association of RP with educated, authoritative speakers via media such as radio and later, television. Beal also discusses this association, stating that during the Second World War, BBC news announcements ‘would be the main source of information for families anxious for news from the front, so that RP became associated in their minds with authority and integrity’ (2004a:187). The use of RP on the BBC further served to enregister the variety; as Agha states, using RP was effectively furnishing ‘the same model of exemplary speech to very large audiences, thus homogenizing the conditions for subsequent response behaviors and role alignments across a wide social domain’ (2003:266). This, he concludes, led to the ‘sedimentation of habits of speech perception and production across particular social domains of persons’ (ibid. p.269), showing that the processes of enregisterment of RP have occurred historically over a prolonged period. These processes have resulted in the enregisterment of a repertoire of linguistic features associated with a variety spoken by a particular class of speakers due to its history and subsequent use in particular media.

### *‘Gay’ Speech*

In contrast to both RP and the geographical varieties discussed above, Geda discusses the enregisterment of features which index a speaker as being of a particular sexual orientation, in this case, being a homosexual male. In particular, he looks at stand-up comedians’ performances of ‘gay’ features, and discusses ‘what features of gay-sounding speech are available to non-gay speakers, particularly as used by comedians in their routines when performing “gay”’ (2009:347).

In studying stand-up comedians, Geda is able to focus on very specific, widely-recognised, salient features of what is stereotypically thought of to be ‘gay’ sounding speech; that is, the linguistic features which index a particular type of gay man. These features are not representative of every gay male speaker; however, in order for them to be considered funny by large audiences they must at least be third-order indexicals: the audience must be aware that these features are associated with this stereotypical character. Geda goes on to acknowledge that this repertoire is but a small sample of salient features by stating that ‘an important observation of a theory of indexicality: the features enregistered as typical of x-speech don’t necessarily represent the reality of x-speech’ (ibid. p.358).



The linguistic features which Geda identifies as being enregistered as representative of ‘gay’ speech are divided into two categories: intonation and sibilance. For the stand-up comedians studied, ‘intonation played an important role in the representation of gayness’ (ibid. p.357); this is distinctly different to the other enregistered varieties discussed above, which often do not include the enregisterment of intonation patterns. With regards to sibilance, Geda discusses the phenomenon of what he describes as a common misconception: the ‘gay lisp’, which appears to refer to an ‘interdental segment’ in speech, similar to a lisp. These phonological features are used by the comedians to represent gay-sounding speech more frequently than references to gay culture (which include references to male-male sex acts, gender ideologies, and gay themes); this serves to enregister these particular features as indexing ‘gay’ speech (ibid.)

### *‘Diversity’*

Cole discusses a case where not only individual registers index certain social values, but also where multiple registers are used in the same medium to index ‘diversity’. She states that Indonesian literature students, when reading poetry aloud, are being ‘explicitly taught to perform multiple accents of Indonesian to index different ethnic and geographic identities’ (2010:1). In doing this, Cole argues, these accents are being enregistered to the point where “national diversity” is itself enregistered. She illustrates this by stating how, in Indonesian newspapers, ‘the concept *Indonesian diversity* and the persona “diverse Indonesian” are being enregistered in public sphere discourses” (ibid. p.3, italics in original).

In reading poetry, Cole found that performers would modify their speech depending on the content within certain poems. She cites an example where the poem in question contains lines from various characters from various walks of life. She states that ‘Nowhere in the written text of the poem are there cues for phonetic variation’ and that ‘Lexical variation is unavailable in this context, because the published text is in Standard Indonesian’ (ibid. p.13). The variation displayed is dictated by the notion of ‘diversity’ that has become enregistered in Indonesian literature. It is apparent that the various types of speech performed in the reading of this poem are themselves enregistered and the inclusion of these varieties has itself become enregistered as ‘diverse’. This shows that it is not simply the features of the registers themselves that are enregistered, but the actual act of using these registers is also enregistered. Essentially, she argues, there are three ‘semiotic registers’ in play in Indonesia, all of which index a different ‘constellation of signs’. The first of these semiotic registers,

which she labels SR1, indexes formality as it is predominantly associated with the standard language of Indonesia; the second, SR2, indexes a ‘shared ethnic identity’ and can include features from languages other than Indonesian, and is nonstandard; SR3 is the use of language features other than those of the performer (ibid. p.4). When these three semiotic registers are combined in performance, the notion of ‘diversity’ is indexed.

The metapragmatic activities which have been involved in the processes of enregisterment of the use of these semiotic registers as ‘diverse’ have largely included data from newspapers. A political shift in the region away from ‘unity’ and towards ‘diversity’ was also reflected in the promotion of non-standard, regional languages (ibid. p.7). In a similar manner to “Pittsburghese” above, discussion of the use of these registers in newspapers, and in particular their use in literature and poetry, has led to the notion of their collective use becoming enregistered as ‘diverse’.

#### *“Chavspeak”*

The final variety I will discuss here indexes a particular social category of speakers, specifically, that of the British underclass, the ‘chav’. According to the OED, a ‘chav’ is defined as: ‘a young person of a type characterized by brash and loutish behaviour and the wearing of designer-style clothes (esp. sportswear); usually with connotations of a low social status’ (www.oed.com). As mentioned in section 2.6.1 above, these characteristics were also noted by Nayak in her discussion of ‘charvers’ in the North-East of England; she goes on to state that there are many negative stereotypes associated with ‘charvers’, including ‘broader associations with crime, violence and unemployment’ (2006:822). With regards to their use of language, Nayak goes on to state that ‘charvers’ are ‘said to affect gruff accents, strange customs and mannerisms’ (ibid. p.823), suggesting that this particular group share particular linguistic traits. Nayak does not discuss language in detail, though, as her discussion is sociological as opposed to linguistic; Bennett, however, defines “Chavspeak”, as the supposed ‘language’ of chavs. He goes on to discuss how the enregisterment of “Chavspeak” is different to other cases of the phenomenon; he states that ‘*Chavs* are other people and *chavspeak* is how other people talk’ (2012:8), highlighting the lack of speakers’ willingness to identify with these features, or to admit to being a ‘chav’. He goes on to state that, because of this, the enregisterment of “Chavspeak” is based ‘not directly on actual innovations in first order variation, but on well-established ideological representations of linguistic variation, drawing in a number of fairly diverse ‘sure-fire’ stereotypes’ (ibid.),

suggesting that there is a distinct lack of evidence for first-order indexical features for this particular class of speakers. This is similar to the case with RP above, as it appears that “Chavspeak” is more widely recognised as a variety than it is spoken. However, due to the lower class association with ‘chavs’, the variety can be seen as a polar opposite with RP in terms of social status.

The enregistered repertoire for “Chavspeak” it seems, is based far more loosely on actual linguistic variation than in other cases, such as “Pittsburghese”, for instance. Indeed, Bennett goes on to state that these representations of “Chavspeak” do not really represent any actual first-order variation at all, instead drawing upon ‘easily recognisable stereotyped forms’ (ibid. p.12) which were established in lower-class speech representations long ago. Additionally he states that, with regard to the relationship between enregistered “Chavspeak” and actual variation, ‘this class stereotyping might, in some areas of Britain, bear something of a dated relationship to actual patterns of variation’ (ibid. p.11), as he lists features such as th-fronting, glottalisation, h-dropping, and word-final ‘g-dropping’ (or replacement of the velar nasal with an alveolar nasal), all of which are long-established markers of both lower-class speech and nonstandardness in many different varieties of English. This is similarly referred to when Bennett compares views of the apparent incoherence and unintelligibility of lower class language between the early twentieth century and today: early twentieth-century lower class language was described as ‘noise’; modern literature on “Chavspeak” describes it as ‘white noise’, highlighting what Bennett calls ‘a fairly explicit continuation of this language-ideological stance’ (ibid. p.19), and illustrating that these lower-class stereotypes are long-established in British society. In spite of this, however, Bennett notes that it is not clear that ‘*chavspeak* is anything more than very partially enregistered’ (ibid. p.22), despite its wide recognition by the British public.

The metapragmatic data Bennett considers include what could be termed ‘commentary’ texts on ‘chavs’; at least one of these is analogous to dialect dictionaries such as those for “Pittsburghese” discussed above: *The Little Book of Chavspeak* (Bok 2004), which makes reference to the linguistic features also listed above. In addition, he also considers stereotypical representations of ‘chavs’ on television, including Catherine Tate’s Lauren Cooper chav character; the ‘RAF pilots’ chav characters by Alexander Armstrong and Ben Miller; Matt Lucas’ Vicky Pollard chav character; and Sacha Baron Cohen’s ‘Ali G’ (Bennett 2012:10); as these characters all employ features of “Chavspeak” in their representations of ‘chavs’.

In the next section I will discuss potential examples for the study of enregisterment in historical contexts.

## 2.7 Enregisterment in Historical Contexts

As discussed in the previous chapter, one of the main goals of this thesis is to investigate the study of enregisterment in historical contexts. The following section is a review of the small yet compelling body of research which suggests that this is indeed viable.

Wirtz discusses the use of two enregistered varieties – Lucumí and Bozal – which are used in ritualistic contexts alongside Cuban Spanish in Santería. She states that:

[T]hese contrastive registers take on historical value through their association with these voices and are thus able to evoke two ritually important chronotopes that contrast with the everyday interactional chronotope of the ritual event (2007a:246)

She goes on to discuss how the use of these registers in rituals allows for various different aspects of the ritual to be performed: ‘sacred, transcendent space-time (via Lucumí), ancestral/historical space-time (via Bozal), and the everyday plane of the here-and-now (via Cuban Spanish)’ (ibid.). Lucumí is an enregistered form of Cuban Spanish, used in religious contexts, and often ascribed to African deities. Bozal is a sociolect of Spanish once spoken by African slaves, and seems only to persist (like Lucumí) in religious or ritualistic contexts (ibid. pp.249-251). The use of these registers in this way highlights historical and context-dependent information being enregistered with two specific varieties of Cuban Spanish. Wirtz refers to this as ‘temporal telescoping’ (ibid. p.253).

She later discusses the creation of new ritual songs including sections in Bozal which contribute to the continuation of elements of Cuban culture. She notes that the similarities between these new songs and those which have preceded them (which date back to the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries) have helped to ‘cultivate this continuity across time’ (2007b:21), showing a direct comparison with a modern medium which contains enregistered features and its historical counterpart. It can therefore be argued that the use of these enregistered features in the modern compositions represents the continuation of a tradition of using Cuban features which are linked to social values. It is likely that these same features were enregistered in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries and have been replicated over time.

This is similar to the case with “Geordie” discussed above, where Beal discusses the fact that this variety was enregistered by the nineteenth century. She states that there is ‘clear evidence in the nineteenth century of a growing awareness of the distinctive nature of certain urban dialects and the association of these dialects with the industrial working class’ (2009a:140), highlighting that we can see evidence for second and third-order indexicality in historical contexts, particularly in the form of dialect dictionaries and glossaries from the period. The specific issues surrounding this nineteenth-century awareness of dialects are discussed in more detail in the next chapter.

I will now discuss three specific cases of research which could indicate enregisterment in historical contexts; these examples do not all specifically discuss enregisterment but, based on the data presented in the previous sections, I believe that we can view these examples in terms of enregisterment.

Firstly, Porter uses data collected from seventeenth-century London broadside ballads to investigate the representation of Scots in writing (1999:361). Making use of a frequency analysis of what he terms ‘Signifiers of Scottishness’ in 54 broadsides, he identifies the features: *Moggy* ‘woman’, *Jockey* ‘man’, *bonnet* ‘cap’, *loon* ‘boy’, and ‘Scots words’ (ibid. p.366) as being the most commonly occurring terms used to denote ‘Scottishness’. As such, they are arguably the most salient Scots dialect terms to a largely non-Scottish audience in the seventeenth century.

Porter concludes that these London broadsides ‘do not suggest all the Scottish are the same. They do, however, suggest that they all speak the same way.’ (ibid. p.371); this suggestion is made via the use of specific salient features that are presented much more frequently than others. He also refers to these features as being involved in the construction of stereotypes of Scottish speakers. If we follow Labov’s (1972) definition of linguistic stereotypes here, we can equate the construction of these Scottish stereotypes to evidence for third-order indexicality, as Bennett states:

Features that, in Labovian terms, serve as indicators can be seen as first order indices, and may be raised to the status of markers –second order – and to stereotypes – third order (2012:7)

The ‘signifiers of Scottishness’ used in these broadsides index the geographical location of Scotland; the fact that these broadsides were printed in London suggest that they were not intended solely for a Scottish audience, indicating that the linguistic features used therein

may have already been familiar to a non-Scottish audience. It is therefore possible to suggest that the use of these features in this medium is evidence of awareness of Scottish features outside of Scotland and hence, third-order indexicality. It is thus possible to hypothesise that these ‘signifiers’ may have been enregistered as ‘Scottish’ to a seventeenth-century audience.

A further example of linguistic stereotypes appearing in historical literature is Aaron’s study of written Spanish. With regards to the relationship between literary representation of non-standard linguistic features, Aaron states that the appearance of such features in literature ‘tells us more about the social status of variants than about actual use’ (2009:474). She goes on to state that a rise in the frequency of such representations in literary media is ‘indicative of these forms’ arrival, or literary/representational ‘re-birth’ as linguistic stereotypes’ (ibid.). The notion of a linguistic stereotype here is also based on Labov’s (1972) categorisation, and Aaron states that there appears to be a diachronic quantitative pattern to the development of linguistic stereotypes as they are represented in literature over time. This pattern is characterised by ‘a slow decline in frequency, nearly to extinction, followed by a sharp and exaggerated rise’ (ibid. p.476).

Aaron’s study is based on a diachronic corpus of written Spanish, CORDE. She is interested in the ‘changing *textual* representation of an emerging linguistic stereotype’ (2009:478) over a period of almost a millennium. Her results show that the frequency of instances of certain non-standard linguistic features increases dramatically in the twentieth century following a gradual decline over the course of several centuries. She argues that this increase is due to ‘the birth of new literary genres, as well as these forms’ indexical utility as linguistic stereotypes’ (ibid. p.480).

Aaron’s discussion of stereotyped usage seems also to be a discussion of indexicality, although again, it is not explicitly described as such. For example, she states that the use of a particular feature in her twentieth-century data tends to represent a particular socio-ethnic group (2009:482), yet refers to these indexical relations as ‘stereotyped’. She concludes, however, that the rise in the frequency of these features may not indeed be due to them becoming stereotypes, but due to ‘an increase in the production of literary genres in which authors aimed to reproduce non-standard speech’ (ibid.). When she compared her corpus data with data from actual speakers, however, Aaron found an inverse correlation between the rise in frequency of the non-standard features in the corpus and the frequency of use in actual speech (ibid. p.491); the non-standard features appeared to be in decline in the usage of

current speakers. This suggests that although these features may have become what Aaron terms ‘stereotypes’, they appear to be predominantly literary stereotypes. However, these features’ increased use in literary media does suggest increased awareness of them amongst current speakers.

Her ultimate conclusion is that, by considering both the quantitative frequencies of certain features and qualitative metadata from historical periods, we may be able to arrive at ‘tentative conclusions about the social meaning of other variants in societies long gone’ (2009:492). Overall, she asserts that ‘a form may all but disappear from literary texts, only to reappear with greater frequency when its status as a linguistic stereotype has been established’ (ibid.), suggesting that the social values indexed by a particular feature may change over time. This change may be reflected in the quantitative frequency of its literary representations.

As with Porter’s data above, if we take ‘stereotype’ here to mean ‘third-order indexical’, then Aaron’s study of both quantitative data indicating features’ frequency over time and qualitative metadata from various historical periods can also be interpreted as a study of the awareness of the indexical meanings of certain features and hence their enregisterment.

Finally, Ruano-García discusses the enregisterment of the northern dialect of Early Modern English as represented in literary texts. He argues that there is a set repertoire of features used in literary representations of Northern English, highlighted by quantitative corpus analysis, and concludes that ‘EModE ballads and plays show enregisterment of some linguistic features’, and that ‘a specific set of forms is fairly consistently used in both ballads and drama’ (2012:381) when representing Northern English. He goes on to state that the wide distribution of these texts in the Early Modern Period led to these Northern forms being brought into contact with non-Northern speakers, and ‘creating a collective linguistic idea about the dialect itself’ (ibid.); however, unlike Aaron above, Ruano-García does not discuss qualitative metadata for Northern English in the Early Modern Period, possibly due to the lack of such surviving evidence. I discuss the possibility of the studying enregisterment using both quantitative and qualitative data from historical textual sources further and in more detail in Chapter 8.

## 2.8 Conclusions

In this chapter I have illustrated that the concept of enregisterment is closely related to the notion of indexicality; it can also be viewed in relation to Labov's paradigm for the development of linguistic stereotypes. I have also shown that enregistered features can index many different social values, and that in each case, the social values indexed can be discovered by considering the particular metapragmatic activities involved the process of those features' enregisterment. In some cases, as in the case of the "Yoooper" variety, we can see explicit metapragmatic discourse which is elicited from current speakers, described by Remlinger as 'a belief in a monolithic and ubiquitous dialect associated with local identity' (2009:124). However, some of this 'talk about talk' can come predominantly from dialect dictionaries or from commodities, as in Beal's study of "Geordie" versus "Sheffieldish" (2009a). The source of the metapragmatic discourse considered by Geda (2009) comes from stand-up comedians alone; Bennett (2012) also only considers 'commentary' material, dialect dictionaries, and characters parodying "Chavspeak" on television. Thus, metapragmatic discourse can come from a number of sources; a wealth of data about the social values indexed by particular features can be observed even in solely textual data.

In addition, I have also suggested that processes of enregisterment can occur over long periods of time and that the semiotic links between features and social values can change over time. In addition to using sociolinguistic interviews with Pittsburgh speakers of different ages, Johnstone et al also used an archive of newspaper articles which discussed Pittsburgh speech to 'explore how shifting indexicalities have shaped and been shaped by Pittsburghers' sociolinguistic experience over the course of the twentieth century' (2006:84). The notions of diachronically shifting indexicalities and 'deregisterment' suggest that social values indexed by particular features change over time; features which were particularly salient in representing certain social values for one generation may not be as salient for the next, and vice-versa.

Finally, if we take Aaron's (2009) definition of 'stereotypes' to mean 'third-order indexicals' then her work may be considered as belonging to an area of study to which this project aims to contribute: the study of enregisterment in historical contexts. As many studies of contemporary varieties focus solely on text-based metacommentary on language features, the same process can be applied to historical data. I discuss the existence of metadiscourse on language features in historical texts analogous to that which we can find today below.



In the next chapter I discuss the historical context for this project, which is the nineteenth century. I will present a general overview of the period, and then discuss the region under consideration in this project, which is Yorkshire.

### **3. Historical Context: The Nineteenth Century**

Bailey states that studying English in the nineteenth century is ‘made easy by the era’s unprecedented linguistic self-consciousness’ (1996:vi). In this chapter, I examine several of the historical, cultural, and social factors which contributed to this ‘self-consciousness’. I begin by considering the effects of the Industrial Revolution on geographical mobility in the nineteenth century; I will then go on to discuss the social implications of industrialisation, urbanisation, and massive population movements towards urban centres.

I also discuss the impact of these factors on nineteenth-century Yorkshire and, in considering the effect they had on linguistic awareness, I highlight the suitability of the nineteenth century and Yorkshire for the historical study of enregisterment.

#### **3.1 Industrialisation & Geographical Mobility**

The Industrial Revolution was the cause of many social and cultural changes in England over the course of the nineteenth century. In many cases, particularly in the North of England, industrialisation and the growth of urban centres caused population movements away from rural areas and towards the developing industrialised cities. Indeed, Wales states that ‘most Northern cities grew on the strength of the incoming populations from their rural hinterlands’ (2006:115-6), highlighting the growth in urban populations over the course of the nineteenth century. In addition, the Industrial Revolution was responsible for several technological advances, particularly that of the railways, which made geographical mobility much easier and faster.

Until mid-century, the canal system was the easiest and one of the more prosperous means of transporting cargo around the country. By the 1830s and 1840s though, the railways began to expand, creating a cheaper, faster, and far more efficient means of transport. It soon became apparent that railway travel could also enable people to move much more freely around the country. This, combined with fierce competition between railway companies to build faster and faster trains (see also Robbins 1989), contributed to the expansion, success, and eventual dominance of the railways as the dominant mode of transportation in England. In addition, a great deal of pride was taken in the railways, as we can see in contemporary observations such as Meiklejohn, a writer of school textbooks ([www.oxforddnb.com](http://www.oxforddnb.com)), who states:

Great Britain, by the aid of her stores of iron and coal, still more by the courage, thoughtfulness, and diligence of her people, has placed ships on every lake, river, sea, and ocean, and has helped almost every nation on the face of the globe to pierce its country with roads and railways (1897:324)

This mindset is also noted by Altick, who states: ‘To the Victorian mind, the coming of the railway was the great demarcation line between past and present’ (1974:75).

The rapid development of the railways allowed for greater geographical mobility as travel throughout the country became more accessible, affordable, and faster. Indeed, rail travel was also depicted in dialect literature in areas like Yorkshire; for instance, Rogers, through his Yorkshire character of Tom Treddlehoyle, discussed further in Chapters 5 and 8 below, discusses how he makes his *jont* ‘jaunt’ to *Lunnan* ‘London’ on a ‘Railway Train’ (1845:5), describing in detail the train’s journey via Derby and Rugby before arriving in London.

The nineteenth century was a period of change as much in Yorkshire as it was in the rest of England. In some areas, the county became heavily industrialised, such as Sheffield, for instance; whereas port-towns like Hull became vital for trade and commerce. This is described by Singleton, who states that over the course of the nineteenth century, the historical steel-making industry of Sheffield evolved from a ‘collection of some hundreds of small craft workshops concentrating mainly on cutlery to a group of mammoth companies involved in the manufacture of such products as steel plates, rails and girders’ (1970:45). As a result, the population of Sheffield, and other similar areas in Yorkshire, quickly soared as the century progressed as people moved into the city to work in this industry.

Steel production, however, was not the only source of mass industry in nineteenth-century Yorkshire. The West Riding became a centre for the textile trade, including towns like Bradford, described by Tate and Singleton as ‘only a village in 1750’, but a village which eventually developed, grew, and ‘became famous for wool combing and worsted manufacture, as well as being the business centre of the woollen industry’ (1960:48).

Due to the necessity of trade, and with Yorkshire’s growing industrial output, the port at Hull became especially important in the nineteenth century. Whereas in the eighteenth century, Hull had been important for the import of supplies to meet the demand for wool and yarn from Yorkshire merchants trading with Europe (Singleton 1970:38), the nineteenth century saw Hull become vital for Yorkshire’s trade. This was instituted by the expansion of the railways, as stated by Gillett and MacMahon:

Wednesday, 1 July 1840, the day the Hull and Selby railway line was opened, is a milestone date in the history of modern Hull, for with the port's first railway...a new form of communications link, supplementing waterways and roads, was established with the industrialised West Riding (1980:271)

In fact, the railway system would actually have a direct effect on employment in the region, particularly in York. This was due to 'the city's focal position in the vast network of lines constructed from the 1830s to the 1860s', which therefore 'made the railways York's first really large-scale employer' (Feinstein 1981:128).

Additionally, there were large increases in population in the industrial areas of nineteenth-century Yorkshire, and a shift in economies towards these industrial centres; as Singleton states: 'As the various forms of textile manufacture came to dominate the industrial scene of West Yorkshire, the outlying areas in the Pennines and North Yorkshire suffered a decline' (1970:37); and as Wright states with regards to population numbers in Leeds and Bradford: 'their populations of 172,000 and 104,000, dominated the West Riding textile area' (1986:18); and Feinstein with regards to York: 'Between 1831 and 1911 the number of people living in York increased about threefold; in the process the economic and social character of the old city was completely transformed' (Feinstein 1981:110), highlighting that the abundance of coal and the production of cotton and textiles in the West Riding led to it becoming far more industrialised than the rest of Yorkshire.

Finally, a further nineteenth-century innovation that had a profound impact in Yorkshire was the birth of the tourism industry; indeed, it had been Thomas Cook who, 'was the first man – in 1859 – to see the country's potential for 'tourism'' (Robins 1989:25). Coupled with the expansion of the railways was the evolution of holiday resorts on Yorkshire's east coast. As Singleton states: Withernsea and Hornsea 'soon established themselves as resorts for the working class of Hull. Bridlington, Scarborough and Filey – and especially the first two – had more than local significance' (1970:52). People from all over the country were now able to get access to these areas via the railways, which led to a seasonal influx of tourists from outside of the immediate region, as well as working-class holiday makers from the Yorkshire area. This trend could also be observed across a wider area in the North of England; for instance, Wales describes the situation with Blackpool, which 'was created within one generation' (2006:137) and became the renowned destination it remains today.

In the next section, I discuss the circumstances surrounding social mobility in the nineteenth century.

### **3.2 Social Change & Social Mobility**

The nineteenth century was a period of great social change in England. The Industrial Revolution created an entirely new class of people in the form of the working class as discussed below; however, it also created the means by which social mobility could be achieved in the right circumstances. People earning enough money following the Industrial Revolution were able to move up the social scale, thus creating interaction between members of different social classes.

However, the nineteenth century saw the homogenisation of certain elements of society, as can be observed in the development of the industrial working class. Altick states that the working class were homogenised into one large perceptual ‘mass’ as a result of industrialisation:

One of the worst results of existence in factory and slum was the assimilation of the individual in to the mass...They were converted into members of the industrial proletariat; not men, women, and children, each with the precious uniqueness attributed to him in romantic social thought, but mere units in a mass (1974:243)

This ‘industrial proletariat’ consisted of working-class people, who made up the poorest strata of society. During his time managing his father’s factory at Manchester in 1845 Friedrich Engels, the son of a German textile manufacturer (in Golby (ed) 2003:331) describes the treatment of the working class:

He who visits Manchester simply on business or for pleasure need never see the slums, mainly because the working-class districts are quite distinct. This division is due partly to deliberate policy and partly to instinctive and tacit agreement between the two social groups. In those areas where the two social groups happen to come into contact with each other the middle classes sanctimoniously ignore the existence of their less fortunate neighbours (ibid. p.279)

This deliberate ignorance of the working classes was not wholly motivated by a prejudiced mind-set. A common viewpoint in the nineteenth century was that the poor should relieve themselves of their own burdens. Hopkins describes the situation, stating: ‘It was...in the

anonymity of the new industrial towns, where self-help became an obvious necessity' (1995:23). It was no longer the case that the poor could appeal to a wealthy manor owner or the parish for patronage; they were now part of the industrial mass and any help they received should be self-motivated. As a result, there was imposed upon the poor the notion of 'Self Help'. Picard refers to Samuel Smiles' *Self-Help* (1859), stating that Smiles' message was, essentially, 'pull yourself up by your own bootstraps' and that 'Self-reliance, not religion, was his gospel' (2006:115). Part of Smiles' justification for this stance was, he argued, that 'where men are subjected to over-guidance and over-government, the inevitable tendency is to render them comparatively helpless' (1859, cited in Golby (ed) 2003:106-7). His solution, therefore, was for every stratum of English society to embody the 'spirit of self-help', which, he states, 'has in all times been a marked feature in the English character' (ibid. p.108). As the English have always been 'laborious' and 'industrious', so should the present generation, including the working class and the poor; they should follow the examples of historical 'self-raised men' such as Sir Isaac Newton (ibid. p.110). Ultimately, he states, an Englishman should make use of 'his strength and his liberty, to associate, resist, fear nothing, be astonished at nothing, and to save himself, by his own sole exertions, from every sore strait in life' (ibid. p.112). Effectively, the poor should take responsibility for their lot and be the ones to change their situation through self-motivation, rather than a reliance on the state, or other benefactor.

The 1830s, however, had seen many reforms take place in England, and the laws that related to the poor were also affected. The Poor Law Amendment Act of 1834 essentially aimed to limit eligibility to relief for the poor, and where necessary, encourage people who were out of work to move into areas where there was work. This work usually took the form of workhouses, some of which were built explicitly for the purpose of allowing the poor to earn a living, albeit a meagre one. As Kidd states: 'the state relieved only a minority of the poor...This was a deliberate consequence of the policy set out in the Poor Law Report of 1834' (1999:8), meaning that self-help became the poor's only realistic, not to mention favourable, option. However, those members of the working class fortunate enough to earn enough money to 'drag themselves up by their own bootstraps' also contributed to the cultural changes of the nineteenth century. This can be observed in the north of England, where abundance of coal and massive textile production meant that, for the first time, serious industry was generating large amounts of money in that part of the country. As Robbins states: 'The pattern of industrial growth was changing the balance of power within the

country' (1989:9). For example, Titus Salt, 'who invented a process for spinning and weaving alpaca' (Tate and Singleton 1960:50) built a large industrial site in the 1850s which included not only his factories, but living quarters, churches, parks, and recreational facilities for his workers. This site was named Saltaire and was near Shipley in Yorkshire. Indeed, a contemporary biography of Salt, published the year after his death, described how his success was not due to 'adventitious circumstance of birth or affluence' (Balgarnie 1877:2), but to 'indomitable perserverance', 'resolute will', and 'thoughtful and patient toil' (ibid.). Balgarnie goes on to describe how Salt, originally a farmer's son from Yorkshire, was able to work his way from the 'drudgery and soil of business' (ibid. p.37) up to the position of mill owner; then, in 1848, Mayor of Bradford; by 1858, he was an MP. By working his way up in the worsted trade, he was able to amass a vast fortune; his apparent tendency to get up early also allegedly gave rise to a saying in Bradford: 'Titus Salt makes a thousand pounds before other people are out of bed' (ibid. p.80). Cases like Titus Salt demonstrate that in the right circumstances, people could earn enough money to move up the social scale; his life was even presented in Balgarnie's text as a series of 'life lessons' for others wanting to succeed in the same way. This social mobility was not always easy, though; journalist Thomas Escott describes the situation thus: 'The antagonism between the aristocracy of wealth and birth has long been disappearing...the feud between the aristocracy of lineage and of revenue is almost at an end' (1885 in Golby (ed) 2003:27). It is apparent that even though Escott states that the situation is 'almost' rectified, the mention of 'antagonism' and a 'feud' highlights the nature of the clash between these social groups. Miles summarises this situation, stating that 'upward mobility could also generate insecurity and resentment as well as satisfaction' (1996:143).

Finally, one of the most wide-ranging and far-reaching innovations of the nineteenth century was the introduction of compulsory education. Until the very late nineteenth century, it had not been a legal requirement for children to go to school, and, although there had been educational institutions in existence in England which provided schooling for some, it was not until 1870 when 'Forster's Education Act empowered local authorities to make school attendance compulsory up to the age of thirteen, but the requirement was not made nationwide until 1880' (Altick 1974:250). Compulsory schooling influenced many areas of society, especially in terms of literacy; the effect of this in Yorkshire was that as the Industrial Revolution progressed, the working class came to feel the need to read and write – especially those who worked in industry. This meant that not only did the working class have

access to written media such as newspapers and pamphlets, but written instructions could be given by employers so as to increase efficiency on the factory floor (Singleton 1970:122). This tendency towards literacy on the part of the working class allowed dialect writers like Abel Bywater to produce large amounts of written material on topics that directly related to the working class, and was specifically aimed at a lower-class readership.

In the public school system in the late nineteenth century, however, there was the additional development of Received Pronunciation; as Beal states, the ‘elite pronunciation known as RP would evolve’ in the public schools, and that ‘those with social aspirations would want to emulate this’ (2004:186); Jones also states that the ‘socially aspirant’ needed to attend to ‘linguistic habits’, and that ‘failure to achieve the appropriate usage brings with it social and personal ostracization’ (2006:283), highlighting the expectation of an upper-class pronunciation that came with social mobility.

Ultimately, the social upheaval of the nineteenth century would result in both geographical and social mobility that would lead to greater awareness of how people spoke in different geographical regions and different social classes. This awareness is discussed in the next section.

### **3.3 Linguistic Awareness**

Nineteenth-century linguistic awareness can be observed in several forms including usage guides on both grammar and pronunciation. Demand for the former was a result of higher literacy levels following widespread education; the latter being a response to ‘linguistic insecurity’ by the socially-aspiring middle class. However, we can also observe awareness of regional dialects in the nineteenth century in the form of dialect dictionaries and grammars, and in non-standard orthographical representations in other literary media such as dialect literature and literary dialect.

New genres of written English would develop in the nineteenth century that would become very important, as Kytö et al state: ‘Not only private letters, but also newspaper language, the novel and scientific discourse belong to this group of genres’ (2006:4). Coupled with the increase in literacy that occurred in the nineteenth century, there developed a situation where more people had access to written English in more formats than ever before. Bailey describes the situation, stating that: ‘Readers had more to read, and they read more. Newspapers flourished; magazines multiplied; books cheapened; and lending libraries came into



existence, even in isolated areas' (1996:8). In addition, literacy rates were directly linked with compulsory education. Leith and Graddol note the increasing importance in the nineteenth century to be able to display 'good' English; this went hand in hand with education: 'During this century schooling also became more widespread, and linguistic correctness became a most important mark of education' (2002:161). Görlach also describes this situation, highlighting the link between these new genres of written English and levels of education: 'What did newly educated people read? ... most readers would be influenced by popular novels – and especially newspapers, whose number and distribution rapidly increased in the 19<sup>th</sup> century' (1999:13). So not only were people now exposed to more English in writing; it was now the case that the way in which people used English could also say something about them, in as much as the "poor" use of English could highlight lack of education. As a result, the nineteenth century also saw a demand for guides for English. Beal states that 'a new market emerged for simpler guides to 'correct' usage, often combined with advice concerning other areas of life' (2004a:179), highlighting the nineteenth-century desire for instruction in 'correct' English. Of the several shibboleths proscribed against in these kinds of text, one which attracted particular attention was that of /h/-dropping. Mugglestone (1995) gives some examples of texts which focus on use of /h/: '*Poor Letter H: Its Use and Abuse* (1854), *Harry Hawkins' H Book* (1879) and *Mind Your H's and Take Care of Your R's* (1866)' (cited in Beal 2004a:180), highlighting the specific nineteenth-century treatment of 'correct' pronunciation of /h/. Jones also notes that 'mis-pronunciations' of /h/ were among several of 'the most commonly commented upon as susceptible to vulgar and low-class realizations' (2006:286). He goes on to state, however, that texts like those listed above were not aimed at the lowest classes of society, but instead were aimed at the 'newly socially aspirant' (ibid. p.287), who wanted to distinguish themselves from the 'vulgar' and 'low-class' strata of society.

The effect of this linguistic awareness on the part of the 'newly socially aspirant', however, 'was the creation of what Labov has termed the 'linguistic insecurity' typically associated with the middle class' (Beal 2004a:94). The tendency towards 'linguistic insecurity' on the part of the middle classes was prominent in the nineteenth century; as Görlach states: 'The social pressures to conform were, however, so great that the norms of 'proper' pronunciation came to be settled' (1999:39); this 'proper' pronunciation would evolve into RP and, as mentioned above, RP evolved largely in the public school system. Kerswill and Culpeper suggest that RP arose in the late nineteenth century, 'most probably in Oxford and Cambridge

universities, among officers in the army and navy' (2009:240), as well as in private schools. Beal goes on to state that the term 'received pronunciation' can be traced to Walker, who seems to use the term *received* to mean 'acceptable in polite society' in relation to speech (2004a:183), highlighting an awareness of linguistic standards. This notion would persist throughout the nineteenth century as demand for guides to 'correctness' and 'acceptability' grew.

In many cases, these usage guides appeared as grammars aimed at the socially aspiring middle classes and highlighted the fact that, as Bailey states, 'grammar was viewed as a prerequisite to polite behaviour, and etiquette books urged particular forms of English, often in excruciating detail' (1996:253). In something of a continuation of a tradition borne largely out of the eighteenth century, the nineteenth saw the publication of many grammars of English, such as Cobbett (1818) and Sweet (1892-8) in England, and Webster (1804) in America. Many of the conventions and tendencies observed in eighteenth-century grammars were presented now as hard-and-fast 'rules' of usage; but the rise in literacy and social mobility of the nineteenth century created new audiences for English grammars. Therefore, grammars of this period 'vary considerably from highly prescriptive handbooks of usage to scholarly, historically based works' (Beal 2004a:119).

Standard English, however, was not the only form of the English language to gain exposure and awareness in the nineteenth century. Regional dialects also came to people's attention; the advances in technology and travel in the nineteenth century routinely brought people into contact with speakers from different geographical regions and different social classes. Bailey states that: 'People became accustomed to hearing varieties of English quite unlike their own' (1996:72), leading to speakers' awareness in the differences in regional dialects in England. Although, as Leith and Graddol state, dialect in the nineteenth century was seen as 'essentially rural' due to the increasing industrialisation of towns and the subsequent move of populations from rural to urban areas. They go on to discuss how the 'working class' inhabitants of urban populations in industrialised areas were seen as 'barbaric', and how middle-class Victorians felt that the term 'dialect' was too 'good' to apply to these urban 'barbarians' (2002:163). This is ironic when we consider the vast amount of dialect literature that was produced in industrial areas of Yorkshire: Abel Bywater produced a particularly large amount of dialect writing in Sheffield, written in the Sheffield dialect, as discussed above. In addition, many of his dialogues are set in industrial, manufacturing locations, such as water-wheel powered factories. There are similar situations in Leeds, Bradford, and

Wakefield where, in all three locations, there was heavy industry in the nineteenth century. However, this situation did not stay like this; particularly in the case of how dialects were viewed by the speakers of those dialects – as Wales states: as the nineteenth century progresses, ‘dialect is by no means an object of shame, but cherished as an emblem of local identity, and this persists until the present day’ (2006:129). We can see, though, that although certain dialects would eventually become markers of regional identity and pride to some extent, their journey to that point was not an easy one, as Bailey states:

Voices were parodied in cruel ways to lampoon the linguistically different, and popular entertainment in the music hall and Vaudeville made regular use of repugnant stereotypes to trivialise the English of rural people, racial minorities, and new immigrants (1996:320)

The increase in the production of dialect literature seems to coincide with the rapid increase and expansion in and of industrialised areas, particularly in the north of England. Specifically, there was a large output of dialect literature in Yorkshire. Leith and Graddol point out the local nature of this literature, as it was ‘both printed and sold by local publishers. Many of the dialect writers were workers and they were often self-educated in the new textile factories of Lancashire and Yorkshire’ (2002:162). It is likely also that much of this work was aimed at local audiences due to these factors, and there was considerable demand for this kind of text. As Görlach states:

Dialect poetry...and prose almanacs (especially from Yorkshire), and the large numbers of such books sold, convincingly demonstrate that there was a large audience competent in local dialect and willing to take upon themselves the additional difficulty of reading ‘irregular’ spelling (1999:28-9)

This suggests that the competency of the audience to which Görlach refers here is due to the audience being local to the areas where dialect literature was being produced.

Dialect was also depicted in works of literature of the period; Bailey discusses the nineteenth-century literary fashion of including dialect in literature:

Wordsworth and Coleridge had celebrated the ‘real language’ of ordinary people, though little of it emerged unclesed in their poetry. Dialect humour, however, became popular, and such writers as Maria Edgeworth, Walter Scott, and their imitators made innovative attempts in serious fiction to render dialogue in ‘authentic’ colloquial styles (1996:67-8)

Although some of these writers were attempting to represent ‘authentic’ dialect, this was not unilaterally the case, as highlighted by Beal, who states: ‘some of these representations of dialect are at the level of stereotype’ (2004a:191); these stereotypical representations may allow us to talk about enregisterment in historical contexts, due to the close relationship between notions of indexicality and linguistic stereotypes (Johnstone et al 2006:82), discussed in more detail in Chapter 8. Additionally, according to Wales, characters from ballads in the nineteenth century ‘became literary and cultural *archetypes*’ (2006:133), suggesting that their representation may have become increasingly divorced from reality, although they may retain their perception of ‘authenticity’.

Further evidence for the awareness of non-standard regional dialects in the nineteenth century can be observed in the various types of metapragmatic discourse available for the period. For example, discussions of Yorkshire dialect can be observed in contemporary travel writing such as Fisk, who states:

Their prepositions and conjunctions are mixed up and interchanged for each other in such grotesque order, and their vowels are sounded so queerly, that every sentence is amusing. The following answer to the question “when will your master return ?” put to a woman who kept the gate at a porter’s lodge, is quite tolerable compared with many: “If he don’t come *for* the end of the week, he will be here *as* Thursday next !” (1838:669 – italics in original)

According to Holdich, ‘Willbur Fisk was born at Brattleborough, in the State of Vermont, on the 31<sup>st</sup> day of August, 1792’ (1842:18). Holdich goes on to state that, although Fisk wrote a travel book, ‘He did not go abroad as a fashionable tourist, but as a Christian clergyman and a man of letters’ (ibid. p.348). Fisk was also a Methodist preacher and, ‘was appointed principal of Wesleyan Academy in Wilbraham, Mass., and from there was offered the presidency of the new Wesleyan University’

(<http://www.wesleyan.edu/president/pastpresidents/fisk.html>). Fisk states that his reasons for publishing this text are to enlarge his readers’ knowledge ‘of the existing state of the world, physical and moral, but also to such facts and principles as will more effectually prepare them for the great purposes of their being’ (1838:iv). Fisk’s travels recorded in this book take him all over Europe and, during his time in England, he visits Yorkshire, describing the manufacturing elements of the region, particularly factories, before moving on to discuss the Yorkshire dialect. He states that it is ‘very strong and expressive, at the same time that it is odd’ (ibid. p.669), and compares the dialect with ‘good English’.

We can see similar comments from Easter who, in discussing Yorkshire, comments not only on the dialect of the region, but also on the people who speak that dialect:

All Yorkshiremen unite in looking down on men of other counties as unenlightened barbarians, insomuch that they regard the county as the undoubted centre of the universe...they hold two canons. 1<sup>st</sup>, That no south countryman can speak Yorkshire at all; 2<sup>nd</sup>, That they themselves speak the most perfect and classical English. It is clearly no fault of theirs, then, but a subject for praise, that they never can banish their vowel sounds, not shake off the drawling so well known, and the terrible roughness of their speech, which is very remarkable to a southern ear (1883:x)

Easter's comments highlight an awareness of the Yorkshire dialect and a distinct link is made between the speakers, 'they themselves', and their dialect, 'Yorkshire'. Easter also notes that the "Yorkshire" dialect features distinctive vowel sounds and a 'rough' quality, which is 'very remarkable'. This is similar to Fisk's comments above, who also comments on the 'queer' vowel sounds of the "Yorkshire" dialect. Based on evidence like this, it appears that nineteenth-century audiences were aware firstly, that there was a distinct dialect in Yorkshire and secondly, that it had several distinctive features, most notably in terms of the pronunciation of vowels.

Distinctive features of regional dialects were also noticed on a more local level, too. For instance, Piper, in a public lecture before the Sheffield Literary and Philosophical Society on the Sheffield dialect states that the pronunciation of certain words is different. With regards to the pronunciation of the word 'where', he states: asking *where* we should look we say *weer* (1824:10 – italics in original), highlighting a direct link between the dialectal pronunciation, *weer*, and 'we', the Sheffield speakers. Piper goes on to state that 'considerable interest has been excited by the public announcement of this lecture' (p.3), highlighting both the interest of his audience and the importance of the notion of a 'Sheffield dialect' to them.

The nineteenth century, then, was a period in which there was indeed an awareness of language, both in terms of 'correct' or 'polite' usage aspired to by the socially aspirant middle class, and the non-standard, regional varieties in areas like Yorkshire.

In the next section I will consider the various historical and social factors discussed above in relation to the study of enregisterment.

### 3.4 Studying Enregistration in the Nineteenth Century

As discussed in Chapter 2, social and geographical mobility are important factors in features shifting orders of indexicality and becoming enregistered. Johnstone et al, for instance, state that certain features of “Pittsburghese” are ‘second-order indexical markers of class and incorrectness’ (2006:91). We can observe similar evidence for this in the usage manuals discussed above which proscribe against /h/-dropping, as this was a shibboleth which indexed lack of education and lower-class affiliation. Indeed, as Jones states, these texts identified ‘negative pronunciations’ and ‘vulgarity’, including a greater emphasis on ‘the perceived faults of provincial speakers’ (2006:273), and were largely aimed at the socially aspiring middle class. Beal notes that this can be ascribed to the emergence of ‘white-collar and service based jobs’ which ‘demanded a veneer of gentility’ (2004a:179); this ‘genteel’ veneer was in part represented by ‘correct’ pronunciation. A similar tendency is also noted by Johnstone et al, whose informants discuss the existence of consulting firms for particular white-collar companies where employees who display certain regional accent features can be candidates for ‘accent reduction’ classes. The informants in question perceive speakers from a particular part of Pittsburgh to be stronger candidates for such classes; these informants are therefore displaying ‘linkage of local-sounding forms with incorrectness to construct a negative linkage between local speech and social class’ (2006:91). Due to the similarity in the data between Johnstone et al’s study and that available for the nineteenth century, it appears that similar conditions existed in the nineteenth century as exist today in Pittsburgh. Therefore, it is possible that we can discuss second-order indexicality with regards to social mobility in the nineteenth century. Evidence for this can be observed in nineteenth-century commentary material discussing the Yorkshire dialect. For instance, Robinson, in his discussion of the dialect of Leeds states ‘we may hear a man talking to a comrade in a barbarous jargon at one moment, and the next, in the presence of a superior, speaking tolerably good English’ (1862:xxiii). The ‘barbarous jargon’ mentioned here refers to dialect features and lexis, which can consist of, as Robinson describes, ‘harsh-sounding and lazily formed words’ (ibid). We can infer from this that there is an association with the use of, in this case, Yorkshire dialect, and ‘inferior’ class membership when compared to the ‘superior’ in Robinson’s example. This is also discussed by Morris, who describes Yorkshire speakers as ‘bilingual’; he states:

[O]ur people have the language which they employ when talking freely among themselves and that which they make use of when conversing with strangers or those of another class than their own...people are most reluctant to address an outsider, so to speak, in terms they would employ amongst themselves...to do so would be thought disrespectful (1892:41)

Again, a distinction between use of Yorkshire dialect and class is referred to; the notion of using dialect to an outsider as ‘disrespectful’ also bears similarity to the notion of a ‘genteel veneer’ discussed above. The above examples appear to be the same kind of indexical linking of correctness, class, and locality as observed by Johnstone et al.

In addition, Johnstone et al also state that second-order indexicality can also involve speakers associating their language features with locality ‘by people who have had the “localness” of these forms called to attention’ (ibid. p.82), as opposed to simply associations with class and/or correctness. Indeed, Johnstone et al’s informants mentioned above did link incorrectness and class affiliation with locality.

The nineteenth-century data highlights evidence of local speakers linking regional features with locality. For example, Piper goes on to discuss the pronunciation of vowels in Sheffield, citing the Northern English BATH and STRUT vowels as a means of highlighting distinct Sheffield pronunciations. He states: ‘what should be pronounced pāth is called pǎth’; ‘what should be büt we lengthen into bŭt’, and ‘Book we pronounce bōōk’ (1824:9), which appear to be suggest pronunciations of /a/ in ‘path’, /ʊ/ in ‘but’, and potentially /u:/ in ‘book’. The “localness” of these features is being called directly to attention here; there is also a suggestion as to the ‘correctness’ of these features, as he states that Sheffield speakers ‘do not frequently come in contact with those by whom our peculiarities will be noticed and reproved’ (ibid. p.3). The indication that the ‘peculiarities’ of the Sheffield dialect may be ‘reproved’ suggests that there are second-order indexical links between these local features and notions of ‘correctness’ in the nineteenth century, just as Johnstone et al observed in Pittsburgh.

With regards to geographical mobility, Beal states that ‘improved roads made leisure tourism possible in the eighteenth century, and aspiring Northerners sought their fortune in London’ (2009a:148), which led to an increase in direct and overt commentary on certain Northern English varieties, particularly “Geordie”. Johnstone also notes a similar tendency,

particularly when referring to the commodification of “Pittsburghese”, stating that geographical mobility is a key factor in the linking of dialect and place:

When Pittsburghers began to travel, in the military and on vacation, and came into contact with people from other places who sounded different and noticed that the Pittsburghers sounded different to them, they began to connect local speech with place and identity (2009:164)

The difference between local speech forms and other geographical areas was also commented upon in the nineteenth century. For instance, Morris discusses the ‘unintelligible’ nature of definite article reduction to ‘strangers’, i.e. speakers from outside of Yorkshire. He states that: ‘*Is t’ wax i t’ windther?*’ would hardly be understood by a ‘foreigner’ as the equivalent for ‘Is the wax in the window?’ (1892:20). He also goes on to discuss the pronunciation of the vowel sounds in Yorkshire, and states that the differences in vowel realisation ‘often puzzles Southerners when they hear the dialect spoken, for it frequently makes words so pronounced sound like others with a different meaning’ (ibid. p.94). Ultimately, in a chapter discussing the ‘Yorkshire character’, discussed further in Chapter 8, he relates an anecdote of a Yorkshireman visiting London. ‘His chief delight’, Morris states, ‘was to walk into any shop that seemed specially to interest him, and air his broad Yorkshire speech’, to the ‘bewilderment’ of the London shopkeeper (ibid. p.174). Anecdotes like these presented by Morris highlight evidence that Yorkshire speakers were aware that they sounded different to speakers from other areas in the same way that Johnstone describes with Pittsburghers above.

Similar evidence can also be observed in Easter who, unlike Morris, was not a Yorkshireman. Easter also comments on the pronunciations of vowels in Yorkshire and, in an analogous manner to Morris above, discusses the fact that Yorkshire speakers are aware of the ‘difference’ in their pronunciations:

In fact, our Yorkshire friends have ideas of their own as to their peculiar vowel sounds, and will hardly admit that a South countryman, even one so thoroughly acclimatized as myself, can pronounce them at all; and I own it is difficult (1886:viii)

He goes on to recount a story of a Yorkshire speaker being identified by his speech alone, again highlighting a direct link between features of Yorkshire dialect features and locality. In the story, Easter is describing events which occurred involving a friend of his whom, we can assume from Easter’s description of his speech, was from Yorkshire:



[A] merchant, wealthy, well-informed, well-educated, was making a tour in the south, and on the deck of a steamer struck up an extempore acquaintanceship with an intelligent southerner, and the two conversed long and agreeably. Our friend thought he was getting on capitally, when in a pause in the conversation he was thus addressed : ‘And how far did you say you lived from York, sir ?’ which pleasant piece of chaff astonished our friend, as no mention of York had been made (ibid. p.x)

This anecdote highlights the direct link made by the ‘southerner’ in the story between the apparent language features used by Eather’s friend and Yorkshire. Language features are thus linked with locality here and it becomes apparent that in the nineteenth century, increased geographical mobility allowed for greater awareness of regional dialects such as that of Yorkshire. It is evident from the data in both Easter and Morris that in the late nineteenth century particular language features were being ideologically linked with Yorkshire both by speakers of the Yorkshire dialect and by ‘foreigners’ who were ‘outsiders’ to the region. In addition, notions of ‘correctness’, ‘respectfulness’ and class affiliation were also linked with Yorkshire dialect in a similar manner to that which can be observed today.

Finally, the development of the tourism industry that was another result of the development of the railways as mentioned above also led to greater awareness of dialect; Wales states that the railways had in part led to the development of sea-side resorts and that dialect began to be represented on postcards (2006:137). Indeed, by the late nineteenth century, the concept of the holiday itself was being discussed, particularly with regards to going to the seaside. The magazine *Leisure Hour* for 6 July 1872 included an article entitled ‘Holidays and How to Keep Them’ which advised against a ‘drunken holiday’, suggesting instead a ‘walking tour by the seaside’ (cited in Golby (ed) 2003:219). The notion of a trip to the seaside can also be observed in nineteenth-century dialect literature; Fetherston, for instance, through his “Yorkshire” character of Timothy Goorkrodger narrates the story of Timothy, his wife Deeam and daughter Meary’s trip to Scarborough on the train. However, as the example below shows, by the time the characters reach Malton in East Yorkshire, it was raining heavily; by the time the train reaches Scarborough, the wind is blowing a gale and it is raining ‘cats and dogs’:

By t’ time we’d gotten t’ Malton, the raain cam’ doon i’ pelters, an’ whin traain ran intul Scarbro’ staashun thur wur quite a gale o’ wind, an’ wet cam’ doon i’ caats an’ dogs (1870:10)

The above examples highlight that the notion of going to the seaside on holiday and travel via the railways had become a feasible part of life in nineteenth-century Northern England, highlighting that geographical mobility was relatively simple, frequent and widespread by the end of the century.

### 3.5 Conclusions

In this chapter I have highlighted the influence of the Industrial Revolution on nineteenth-century society, particularly in Yorkshire. The industrialisation of much of Yorkshire, particularly the West Riding, led to unprecedented population rises as people moved from rural areas to urban centres. In addition, the advance and spread of the railway system led not only to geographical mobility generally throughout the country, but to the prosperity of certain industrialised areas like Hull and York, both of which greatly benefitted from the railways in terms of trade and employment respectively; other areas of the county, however, became prosperous as holiday and leisure destinations, like Scarborough. These developments would, ultimately, lead to increased awareness of the features of the “Yorkshire” dialect. For instance, we can observe evidence of geographical mobility in the work of Morris and Easter above; these texts highlight distinct awareness of the Yorkshire dialect on the part of both Yorkshire and non-Yorkshire speakers. We can also see evidence of awareness of the distinctive nature of more localised varieties, in the form of Piper’s essay on the dialect of Sheffield. The social values indexed by these varieties ranges from the ‘barbarous jargon’ described by Robinson above, to more positive ones, as noted by Piper, who states of the Sheffield dialect:

No person can have lived in London, and then come to reside in this neighbourhood, without being struck by the many remaining provincialisms which he will hear. And if his profession cause him to mix much with the common people, he will gradually become naturalized, and catch a style which all his London friends will *admire* (1824:8 – italics in original)

Despite the apparent ‘admiration’ of Piper’s hypothetical London speakers, the above example also displays evidence of the awareness of the ‘difference’ of the features of the Sheffield dialect when compared to that of, in this case, London.

I have also shown in this chapter that certain social changes which were either caused by or helped along by the Industrial Revolution led to greater social mobility in the nineteenth century, leading to the ‘linguistic insecurity’ discussed above. This ‘insecurity’ also stems

from a greater awareness of language and evidence for it can be seen in the forms of usage guide; dialect literature, literary dialect, and dialect commentary; and serious academic study. Much of this ‘insecurity’ was felt by the socially aspirant middle class who, largely due to the nature of their emerging white-collar occupations wanted to avoid the stigma and ‘the social embarrassment of being exposed as ‘vulgar’ (Beal 2004a:180).

Finally, the orders of indexicality described by Johnstone et al increase according to increasing and widening levels of speaker awareness of the social values indexed by certain language features (2006:82-3); they go on to argue that shifts in these orders can be brought about by geographical and social mobility (ibid. p.88). In this chapter I have discussed evidence for nineteenth-century geographical and social mobility which can be indicative of second and third-order indexicality; I have also discussed evidence of nineteenth-century speaker awareness of the social values indexed by Yorkshire dialect features. Therefore, the nineteenth century and in particular, nineteenth-century Yorkshire dialect, are indeed viable candidates for the historical study of enregisterment. I have highlighted several parallels in this chapter between both nineteenth-century and modern data which suggest that the key factors in discussions of enregisterment in modern studies are also apparent in the nineteenth century.

In the next chapter I outline the methodology for the construction, sampling, and searching of the corpora of both nineteenth-century and modern Yorkshire dialect material analysed in this study. I also discuss the design, construction, and distribution of the online survey.

## 4. Methodology

A corpus, according to Biber et al, is ‘not simply a collection of texts. Rather, a corpus seeks to represent a language or some part of a language’ (2006:246). That ‘part’ of a language in this case is represented by the Yorkshire dialect. They go on to state that the ‘appropriate design of a corpus therefore depends upon what it is meant to represent’ (ibid.); for instance, a corpus designed to represent awareness of a particular variety must contain examples of metapragmatic discourse about said variety.

In this chapter I begin by discussing the construction of both the historical and modern corpora; I then move on to discuss the sampling and search methodologies employed in collecting the data from the corpus texts. Finally, I discuss the design of the sections of the online survey, including the features selected for inclusion in the survey and the multiple choice criteria respondents were asked to rate features in accordance with.

### 4.1 Nineteenth-Century Corpus Design

#### *Quantitative Corpus*

The corpus of quantitative material is comprised of 47 texts and a total of 44,605 words. This includes 27 texts which are dialect literature and 20 texts that include literary dialect, as defined in Chapter 1.

Selection criteria for texts to be included in the quantitative corpus were:

- (i) 1,000 words of Yorkshire dialect represented in the text
- (ii) Publication between 1800 and 1900
- (iii) As even a distribution as possible diachronically; I aimed to sample texts from each decade of the nineteenth century
- (iv) As even a distribution across the county as possible with regards to the “Yorkshire” variety purported to be being represented in each text
- (v) Only one text per author

I shall first discuss these criteria with regards to the texts sampled for dialect literature; I will then discuss the texts sampled for literary dialect.

### *Dialect Literature*

With regards to criterion (i) above, I aimed to take samples of 1,000 words from each text; however, there were cases where there weren't 1,000 words of dialect in a text. Where this was the case, as much dialect as was represented was sampled and the data was normalised following Biber et al (2006:263); this is discussed further in Chapter 7. Ultimately, this meant that the total number of words of dialect literature was 26,376 and the number of words of literary dialect was 18,229.

In addition, there were two exceptions to criterion (ii), as these texts were published in 1901 and 1906. They were included in the corpus as they met criterion (i) above and were not published far into the twentieth century.

As for criterion (iii), I was not able to locate data from the 1810-20 and 1880-90 decades due to the relatively small amount of data available when compared with the large amounts available for the remainder of the nineteenth century, particularly in the 1850s and 1860s, where there was considerable output of Yorkshire dialect literature.

Furthermore, there was some difficulty in meeting criterion (iv) due to the somewhat skewed output of dialect literature towards the West Riding of Yorkshire in the nineteenth century. This could be due to the greater industrialisation of the West Riding discussed in Chapter 3; indeed, commentary on the disparity between the production of dialect literature between the East and West of the county can be observed in the nineteenth century. Nicholson states that the dialect of East Yorkshire only exists in speech, and has not been used much in writing (1889:1). He goes on to note that:

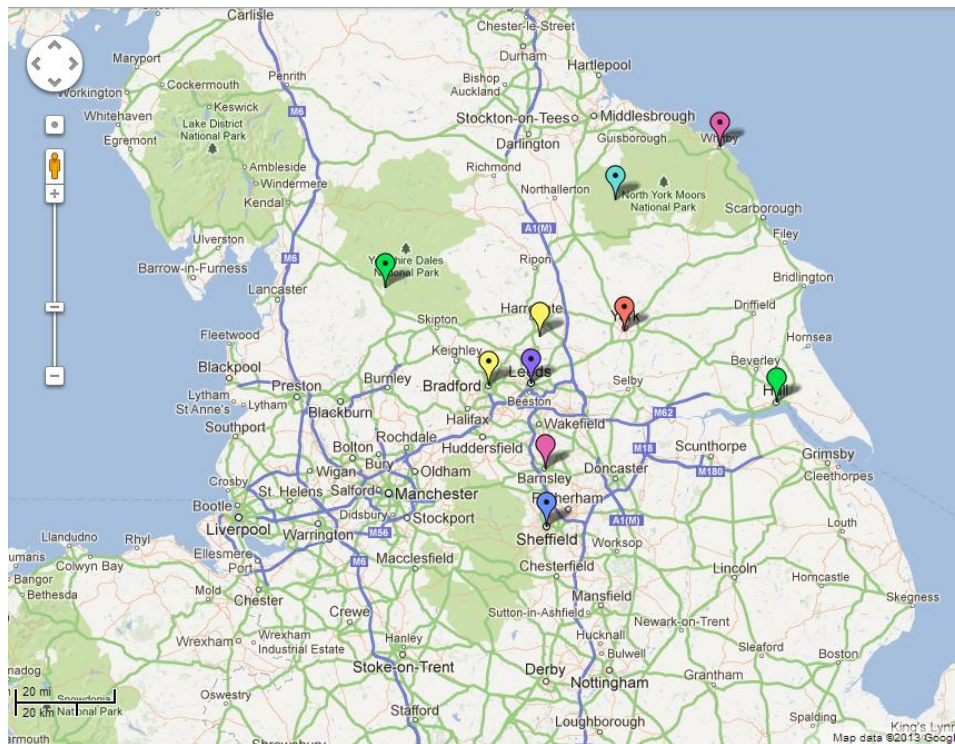
In East Yorkshire there is only one large town, and that, being a sea-port, is cosmopolitan, and contains but a small percentage of dialect-speaking people, so that, scarcity of population, and the absence of "touch" between current literature and the dialect speakers, may be assigned as probable reasons why there is a dearth of dialect literature (ibid. p.2)

The East Yorkshire sea-port town described by Nicholson here is likely to be Hull; the 'dearth' of dialect literature he mentions also explains the lack of data purporting to represent that part of the county.

Figure 4.1 shows the distribution of corpus texts which specifically state that they represent a particular local variety of "Yorkshire" dialect. Figure 4.1 also shows the distinct skew

towards larger output in the west of the county, particularly in Craven and Sheffield. The location of ‘Bonnybeck’ is a fictional Yorkshire village where F. M. Fetherston’s character of Timothy Goorkrodger lives. Judging by references in Fetherston’s text, it is likely that ‘Bonnybeck’ is close to either Harrogate, Leeds, or Knaresborough where the text was published, due to the frequent references to these locations throughout ‘Goorkrodger’s’ narrations.

The remainder of the dialect literature texts sampled here simply purported to represent “Yorkshire” dialect, with no finer distinction made; these texts represent the county as a whole rather than an individual area such as Craven or Sheffield. This distinction between ‘pan-county’ and ‘sub-regional’ texts is discussed further in Chapter 7.



(Map data © 2013 Google)

- 📍 Sheffield (Anon 1850; Anon 1870; Bywater 1839; Downing 1906; Senior 1872);
- 📍 Craven (Carr 1824; Howson 1850; Twisleton 1869; Cauvert 1871; Littledale 1862);
- 📍 Bilsdale (Castillo 1831); 📍 Bradford (Preston 1864); 📍 Leeds (Robinson 1862); 📍 Whitby (Anon. 1862);
- 📍 Hull (Browne 1800); 📍 ‘Bonnybeck’ (Fetherston 1870); 📍 (Treddlehoyle 1843); 📍 York (Browne 1833)

*Figure 4.1 Distribution of Dialect Literature Texts Representing Specific Local “Yorkshire” Varieties*

Finally, whilst criterion (v) was ostensibly met (some texts were anonymously written so potentially could have been written by the same author), some of the texts were duplicated. For instance, the *Song of Solomon* samples came from an 1862 volume featuring the work of many dialect writers representing this song in twenty-four English dialects. When comparing “Yorkshire” versions of this text, there are notable differences:

‘T sang o’ sangs, at ‘s Solomon’s.  
 2 Leet a kuss mah wi’ ‘t kusses o’ ‘s meouth, fur thay luv is better nor waine.  
 3 Acause o’ ‘t smell o’ thay good ungentis thay neame is as ungent powred  
 forth, theerfur do ‘t lasses luv thah.  
 4 Trale mah, wee’ll run efter thah: ‘t king hes browght mah intil as  
 chaymers: wee’ll be glad an’ rejoice in thah; wee’ll think on o’ thay luv  
 mooar nor waine: ‘t graadly foak luv thah.  
 (Littledale 1862)

The Littledale version above is stated in the text to represent the variety of Yorkshire dialect spoken in Craven. The following version, however, represents “Yorkshire” dialect as it was purportedly spoken in the North Riding, around Whitby:

T’ Sang o’ sangs, an’ that’s Solomon’s.  
 2 Let him kiss me wi’ t’ kisses of his mooth, for thah luv is betther an  
 wawhn.  
 3 Because of the saynt of thy good nointments thah neeam is as ointment  
 haled out; and sae do the vorgens luv thee.  
 4 Tice me, we will cow efter the’; the king’s browt me intiv his chaimers; we  
 will be blithe and gleesome in thee; we’ll mind thah luv mair than wawhn;  
 the reet-hearted luv thee.  
 (Anon. 1862)

We can see that these two versions of the same original text are distinctly different; different vowel sounds are represented in *kuss* versus *kiss* for ‘kiss’, and in *meouth* and *mooth* for ‘mouth’. Additionally, there are also different lexical items present in each version: in line (4) where in the King James Bible version the line would be ‘the upright love thee’ (<http://quod.lib.umich.edu/cgi/k/kjv/kjv-idx?type=DIV1&byte=2578814>), the Littledale version has *graadly foak*, featuring the use of ‘gradely’, which is defined by the OED online as ‘in mod. dialectal use, a general term of commendation; chiefly with reference to character: Decent, respectable, worthy’ ([www.oed.com](http://www.oed.com)). The anonymous Whitby version

however, has *reet-hearted* or ‘right-hearted’ for ‘upright’. Because of these notable differences, both versions of this text have been included in the corpus.

Author	Year	Title	Sample size (words)
Browne	1800	<i>Poems on Several Occasions</i>	1000
Anonymous	1808	<i>Specimens of the Yorkshire Dialect</i>	1000
Carr	1824	<i>Horae Momenta Cravenae, or, The Craven Dialect</i>	1000
Castillo	1831	<i>A Specimen of the Bilsdale Dialect</i>	1000
Brown	1833	<i>York Minster Screen</i>	1000
Bywater	1839	<i>The Sheffield Dialect</i>	1000
Silvorsmith	1840	<i>A Bolus for a chap i't Park, what is 'nt habel to buy watter; wee ahr filosofikal hoppinyons uppa't parsons, Kristianity, etc.</i>	1000
Rogers	1845	<i>Tom Treddlehoyle's Thowts, Joakes an Smiles, for Midsummer Day</i>	1000
Halliwell	1847	<i>An Historical Sketch of the Provincial Dialects of England</i>	1000
A Friend to't Shevelders	1850	<i>Conversations i't Groinging Wheel, at dinner hahwer, on many matters at sum fooaks waint loike.</i>	1000
Howson	1850	<i>An Illustrated Guide to the Curiosities of Craven</i>	459
Ingledeu	1860	<i>The Ballads and Songs of Yorkshire</i>	1000
Walker	1860	<i>A Quiote and hooamly conversation between Jack and Bill abaht ahr infidels and Brewin Grant.</i>	1000
Anonymous	1862	<i>The Song of Solomon, in Twenty-Four English Dialects</i>	1000
Littledale	1862	<i>The Song of Solomon, in Twenty-Four English Dialects</i>	1000
Robinson	1862	<i>The Dialect of Leeds and its Neighbourhood</i>	1000
Preston	1864	<i>Poems and Songs in the Dialect of Bradford-Dale Be a Yorkshur Likeness Takker</i>	1000
Heaton	1866	<i>Nancy O' Johnny's Visit to Th'Thump. To Which is added Nancy's Wedding. A Yorkshire Tale</i>	1000
Hartley	1868	<i>Yorkshire Ditties</i>	1000
Twisleton	1869	<i>Poems in the Craven dialect</i>	1000
Anonymous	1870	<i>A Shevilder's welcum ta owd friend Christmas, in verse; printed in the Sheffield dialect.</i>	916
Cauvert	1871	<i>Slaadburn Fair! bein t' adventurs o' Jacky an Nelly Smith, o' Girston, whan they gang'd ta Slaadburn Faar an back agaan</i>	1000
Fetherston	1872	<i>Oops an' doons, an' sayin's an' doin's o' Timothy Goorkrodger</i>	1000
Senior	1872	<i>Owd Shevild and its Celebrities</i>	1000
Forshaw	1892	<i>Holroyd's collection of Yorkshire ballads</i>	1000
Turner	1901	<i>Yorkshire Anthology</i>	1000
Downing	1906	<i>Smook thru a Sheviold chimla</i>	1000

Table 4.1 Corpus of Nineteenth-Century Dialect Literature texts sampled for Quantitative Analysis



The texts which were sampled for nineteenth-century dialect literature are listed in table 4.1. We can see from table 4.1 that all but two of the dialect literature texts yielded a 1,000-word sample. In addition, it is apparent that there are more texts which were published in the 1860s relative to texts published in other decades in the corpus.

This appears to be representative of a trend in the production of Yorkshire dialect literature in the nineteenth century, as there was a greater output around mid-century. Indeed, Beal states that the growth of urban populations over the course of the nineteenth century ‘led to the creation of a market for popular forms of literature in dialect...such as almanacs, columns in local newspapers, and songs’ (2004a:204); some of this dialect material was performed in nineteenth-century music halls, designed ‘for the entertainment of the urban population’ (ibid.); Wales also states that the music-hall ‘flourished...in the North from the mid-nineteenth century’ (2006:136). The higher output of dialect literature around the middle of the nineteenth century as highlighted in table 4.1 could be a consequence of these historical developments.

#### *Literary Dialect*

Fulfilling criterion (i) above with regards to the nineteenth-century Yorkshire literary dialect was more challenging than with the dialect literature due to there being smaller amounts of represented dialect in the texts; just under 50% of the literary dialect texts in the quantitative corpus contained less than 1,000 words of dialect to be sampled, as shown in table 4.2 below. In addition, the smaller amount of apparently available literary dialect data made fulfilling criterion (iii) above more difficult also; I could not locate any data for the 1860-70 and 1870-80 decades.

Furthermore, with regard to criterion (iv) above, the “Yorkshire” varieties purportedly represented in the literary dialect data are much less varied than in the dialect literature. There is only one instance where a character is described as speaking in anything other than a general “Yorkshire” accent and dialect; this is discussed further in Chapter 7. Overall, a generic, pan-county “Yorkshire” variety is represented in the literary dialect data.

Author	Year	Title	Sample size (words)
Colman	1803	<i>Love Laughs at Locksmiths</i>	682
Morton	1805	<i>The School of Reform</i>	1000
Beazley	1819	<i>The Steward</i>	1000
Moncreiff	1819	<i>Wanted a Wife</i>	828
Didbin	1822	<i>Life in London</i>	606
Buckstone	1826	<i>Luke the Labourer</i>	1000
Hackett	1828	<i>Jonathan in England</i>	1000
Kenney	1828	<i>Raising the Wind</i>	871
Croker	1832	<i>The Adventures of Barney Mahoney</i>	1000
Pirronson	1832	<i>The Discarded Daughter</i>	971
Stirling	1838	<i>Nicholas Nickleby</i>	639
Dickens	1839	<i>Nicholas Nickleby</i>	1000
Stirling	1840	<i>The Fortunes of Smike</i>	1000
Arnold	1842	<i>Free and Easy</i>	671
Brontë, A	1847	<i>Agnes Grey</i>	1000
Brontë, E	1847	<i>Wuthering Heights</i>	998
Brontë, C	1849	<i>Shirley</i>	1000
Forester	1851	<i>The Warwick Woodlands</i>	961
Simms	1883	<i>Nicholas Nickleby</i>	1000
Lemon	1900	<i>Hearts are Trumps</i>	1000

Table 4.2 Corpus of Nineteenth-Century Literary Dialect texts sampled for Quantitative Analysis

There is also an exception to criterion (v) in the literary dialect data; Stirling's adaptation of *Nicholas Nickleby* for the stage was produced as two separate plays: *Nicholas Nickleby* and *The Fortunes of Smike* in 1838 and 1840 respectively (Bateson (ed) 1969:441). As with the *Song of Solomon* 'translations' into different "Yorkshire" varieties above, so there are differences between Dickens' original *Nicholas Nickleby* and the stage adaptations. The different versions of the text were also intended for different audiences, as the original is a novel meant to be read, the adaptations are plays meant to be watched; hence both of Stirling's plays have been included in the corpus.

### Qualitative Corpus

The selection criteria for texts including qualitative metacommentary were: firstly, the text must contain some direct discussion of the features of the Yorkshire dialect. For example, Morris extensively discusses the grammar, phonology, and lexis of Yorkshire; he makes statements such as: 'The Yorkshire for *whose is the basket?* would be either *wheea's owes 't skep?* or *wheea belongs t' skep?*' (1892:26 – italics in original), where the Standard English construction is compared with the distinct "Yorkshire" version. He goes on to present discussion on the pronunciation of every letter in the Roman alphabet in Yorkshire, with

comments such as: ‘The *d*-sound plays a distinctive part in the dialect, especially in connection with *th* and *t*, which it very frequently takes the place of’ (ibid. p.56).

Secondly, in addition to the discussion above, the text may contain examples of general discussion of the Yorkshire dialect, with references to its ‘character’, ‘strangeness’, ‘peculiarity’, or, in some cases, its ‘purity’. For instance, White, who describes himself as not a native to the region, but ‘fresh from the south’ talks about the ‘strange rustic dialect’ of Yorkshire (1858:1); or Harland, who states that : ‘In some respects the Swaledale dialect is rather peculiar’ (1873:2). Some writers, however, discuss the distinctive nature of the Yorkshire dialect, discussing what they describe as its ‘pure’ or ‘independent’ status. Jackson, for example, states that ‘it is a vulgar mistake to consider the speech of ancient Yorkshiremen as corruptions of the language, for such they clearly were not’ (1869:150); he goes on to state that the Yorkshire dialect is ‘a pure and independent local outgrowth from ancient Anglo-Dano-Saxon forms’ (ibid. p.152). Hamilton even goes so far as to describe the Yorkshire dialect as ‘a pure, genuine, self-sustained, and self-governed, language’ (1841:361). The nineteenth-century reference to the Yorkshire ‘character’ is discussed further in Chapter 8.

Additionally, as with the quantitative material discussed above, I aimed to collect qualitative data from texts which discussed “Yorkshire” varieties distributed as evenly as possible across the county. However, although some texts discussed the dialect in specific areas of Yorkshire, several simply discussed “Yorkshire” dialect. The distribution of varieties across the county as discussed in the nineteenth-century qualitative texts is shown in figure 4.2.












<b>Author</b>	<b>Year</b>	<b>Title</b>	<b>Content</b>
Addy	1888	<i>A Glossary of Words used in the Neighbourhood of Sheffield</i>	Prefatory material and alphabetised word list
Atkinson	1848	<i>A Glossary of the Cleveland Dialect</i>	Prefatory material and alphabetised word list
Banks	1865	<i>A List of Provincial Words in use at Wakefield in Yorkshire</i>	Prefatory material and alphabetised word list
Bywater	1839	<i>The Sheffield Dialect</i>	Prefatory material; alphabetised word list, and extensive illustrative dialogues
Carr	1828	<i>The Dialect of Craven, in the West Riding of the County of York</i>	Prefatory material; alphabetised word list, and illustrative dialogues
Jackson	1869	'The Dialects of Yorkshire' in <i>Churchman's Shilling Magazine</i>	Illustrative article featuring Yorkshire dialect
Easther	1883	<i>A Glossary of the Dialect of Almondbury and Huddersfield</i>	Prefatory material and alphabetised word list
Grainge	1863	<i>Nidderdale</i>	Extensive descriptive overview of Nidderdale region including dialect
Hamilton	1841	<i>Nugæ Literariæ: Prose and Verse</i>	Discussion of Yorkshire dialect and grammar; glossary
Harland	1873	<i>A Glossary of Words Used in Swaledale, Yorkshire</i>	Prefatory material and alphabetised word list
Howson	1850	<i>An Illustrated Guide to the Curiosities of Craven</i>	Extensive descriptive overview of Craven region including dialect
Hunter	1829	<i>The Hallamshire Glossary</i>	Prefatory material and alphabetised word list
Morris	1892	<i>Yorkshire Folk-Talk with characteristics of those who speak it in the North and East Ridings</i>	Illustrative and descriptive material regarding Yorkshire dialect
Nicholson	1889	<i>The Folk Speech of East Yorkshire</i>	Prefatory material; glossaries; illustrative examples of dialect
Piper	1824	<i>An Essay on the Peculiarities of Pronunciation and the Dialect of Sheffield and its Neighbourhood</i>	Public lecture on Sheffield dialect
Robinson	1855	<i>A Glossary of Yorkshire Words and Phrases, collected in Whitby and the Neighbourhood</i>	Prefatory material and alphabetised word list
Robinson	1862	<i>The Dialect of Leeds and its Neighbourhood</i>	Prefatory material and extensive illustrative dialect material (dialogues, &c.)
White	1858	<i>A Month in Yorkshire</i>	Travel writing

*Table 4.3 Corpus of Nineteenth-Century Qualitative Material*

These criteria highlighted evidence of nineteenth-century awareness of the 'otherness' of the Yorkshire dialect and explicitly linked language forms with place. The texts which meet these criteria are listed in table 4.3.



(Map data © 2013 Google)

- |   |   |   |                                   |  |                            |
|---|---|---|-----------------------------------|--|----------------------------|
|  | Cleveland (Atkinson 1848);                                    |  | Wakefield (Banks 1865);           |  | Swaledale (Harland 1873)   |
|  | Craven (Carr 1828; Howson 1850);                              |  | Huddersfield (Easter 1883);       |  | Nidderdale (Grainge 1863); |
|  | East Yorkshire (Nicholson 1889);                              |  | Whitby (Robinson 1855);           |  | Leeds (Robinson 1862);     |
|  | Sheffield (Addy 1888; Bywater 1839; Hunter 1829; Piper 1824); |  | North & East Riding (Morris 1892) |  |                            |

*Figure 4.2 Distribution of Qualitative Texts Discussing Specific Local “Yorkshire” Varieties*

In the next section I will discuss the selection criteria for the corpus of modern Yorkshire dialect material.

## 4.2 Modern Corpus Design

### *Quantitative Corpus*

The corpus of modern Yorkshire dialect material comprised 10 texts; this included 5,000 words of both dialect literature and literary dialect. The selection criteria for these texts were similar to those used for the nineteenth-century material, although the relative scarcity of the data and smaller size of the corpus dictated that slightly different criteria be used. The selection criteria were:

- (i) 1,000 words of Yorkshire dialect represented in each text
- (ii) As recent a publication date as possible
- (iii) Only one text per author

Criterion (i) was easily fulfilled; criterion (ii), however, proved more difficult due to the lack of available modern dialect literature analogous to that available in the nineteenth century. The majority of the modern texts were published in the late twentieth and early twenty-first centuries, as listed in table 4.4. The difficulty in locating analogous modern data also meant that some of the modern dialect literature was sampled from electronic copies on the website <http://www.yorkshire-dialect.org>.

In addition, representations of “Yorkshire” features in the nineteenth-century corpus were relatively consistent in texts from across the county. I am assuming that this trend would also be found in modern dialect representations; therefore, there is no criterion listed above stating that county-wide representativeness be required for the modern data. As a result, I did not consider the particular sub-variety of “Yorkshire” dialect purported to be represented in each text in the modern corpus, as consistency in the modern “Yorkshire” features’ representations was assumed, based on the consistency observed in the historical data.

<b>Author</b>	<b>Date</b>	<b>Title</b>
<b>Dialect Literature</b>		
Kellett	2007	<i>Ee By Gum, Lord! The Gospels in Broad Yorkshire</i>
Hague	1976	<i>Totley Tom: Tales of a Yorkshire Miner</i>
Hirst	[2011]	<i>A Coil Fire; Adam An’ Eve An’ T’ Apple; A Deep Grave; A Mucky November Neet; A Pain I’ T’ Neck</i> ( <a href="http://www.yorkshire-dialect.org/authors/fred_hirst.htm">http://www.yorkshire-dialect.org/authors/fred_hirst.htm</a> )
Greensmith	[2011]	<i>Christmas Party; Len Wilde; Mi Secret Luv; Robin Hood Wor a Yorkshireman</i> ( <a href="http://www.yorkshire-dialect.org/authors/bert_greensmith.htm">http://www.yorkshire-dialect.org/authors/bert_greensmith.htm</a> )
Alden	[1933] 2011	<i>T’ Concert Party Ride</i> ( <a href="http://www.yorkshire-dialect.org/authors/gertie_alden.htm">http://www.yorkshire-dialect.org/authors/gertie_alden.htm</a> )
<b>Literary Dialect</b>		
Smith	1998	<i>Plaintiffs, Plonkers and Pleas</i>
Taylor Bradford	1981	<i>A Woman of Substance</i>
Herriot	1977	<i>Vet in a Spin</i>
Hines	[1967] 2000	<i>A Kestrel for a Knave</i>
Holtby	[1935] 2011	<i>South Riding</i>

Table 4.4 Corpus of Modern Dialect Literature and Literary Dialect texts sampled for Quantitative Analysis

For some of the dialect literature texts sampled here, it is uncertain as to when they were actually written; the provisional date of 2011 shown in brackets in table 4.4 relates to the date when these sources were sampled. Only in the case of Alden is there a specific date for the writing of her dialect poetry given; the dialect literature sampled from Hirst and Greensmith can be said to be twentieth century, though, as both writers are stated on the [www.yorkshire-dialect.org](http://www.yorkshire-dialect.org) website to have been born in that century.

### *Qualitative Corpus*

The modern qualitative corpus was designed to be as analogous to the nineteenth-century material as possible. As a result, sources in media that are not traditionally published, such as web-based sources, were excluded; this included internet pages such as a wikiHow entry on ‘How to speak with a Yorkshire accent’ (<http://www.wikihow.com/Speak-With-a-Yorkshire-Accent>), or Youtube videos such as ‘How To: Be a Proper Yorkshire Pud’ (<http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=6V54g0314UA>), which discusses the Yorkshire accent and dialect.

The selection criteria for these texts were largely same as those used for the nineteenth-century corpus; the modern corpus’ smaller size and the consistency of the discussion of features in the historical corpus again seemed to negate the need for a criterion demanding geographical representativeness. The data from the modern corpus was also to be augmented with that from the online survey discussed below. The texts which comprised the modern qualitative corpus are listed in table 4.5.

The only distinctly different selection criterion for the modern corpus was to include texts with as late a publication date as possible. Therefore, the majority of the texts were either published in the twenty-first century, or were twenty-first century editions.

<b>Author</b>	<b>Year</b>	<b>Title</b>	<b>Content</b>
Markham	2010	<i>Ee Up Lad! A Salute to the Yorkshire Dialect</i>	Description of Yorkshire dialect; glossary; illustrative examples of dialect literature
Collins	2009	<i>The Northern Monkey Survival Guide</i>	Humorous discussion of ‘Northern’ culture; frequent references to Yorkshire and Yorkshire dialect; ‘Northern’ glossary including several Yorkshire words
McMillan	2007	<i>Chelp and Chunter How to talk Tyke</i>	Prefatory material; predominantly alphabetised word list and definitions; some illustrative material
Battye	2007	<i>Sheffield Dialect and Folklore since the Second World War: a Dying Tradition</i>	Brief preface; alphabetised word list and definitions
Johnson	2006	<i>Yorkshire-English</i>	Dictionary of “Yorkshire” words with definitions
Kellett	2002	<i>The Yorkshire Dictionary of Dialect, Tradition and Folklore</i>	Extensive dictionary of “Yorkshire” words with definitions
Whomersley	1981	<i>Sheffieldish A Beginners Phrase-Book</i>	Discussion of Sheffield area and dialect; glossary; illustrative examples of dialect literature

*Table 4.5 Corpus of Modern Qualitative Material*

In the next section, I will discuss the sampling methodology employed in collecting the data for quantitative analysis.

### **4.3 Sampling Methodology**

Following Biber et al, who state that ‘For many common grammatical features...counts are relatively stable across 1,000-word samples from a text’ (2006:249), I aimed to take 1,000-word samples from each text in both the nineteenth-century and modern corpora. In the majority of cases, this included transcribing the first 1,000 words of dialect from the original text into Microsoft Word. In some cases, however, the text was in digital format so the sample could simply be copied and pasted into Word. This was predominantly the case with the literary dialect, some of which was located via the use of both the Chadwick Healy Literature Online (LION) database (<http://lion.chadwyck.co.uk/marketing/index.jsp>) and the online Dialect in British Fiction database (<http://cherry.shef.ac.uk/dialectfiction/home.jsp>). In the case of the former database, texts and dialect representations were located using search terms such as “Yorkshire” and “Yorkshireman”; with the latter, the key-word search term “Yorkshire” was used, which brought up extensive data regarding texts which feature Yorkshire dialect, including character descriptions and dialect extracts.



In the next section, I will discuss the search methodology employed for highlighting the frequently and consistently-occurring non-standard dialect features in the quantitative material.

#### 4.4 Search Methodology

The MS Word files mentioned above were converted into plain text files and analysed using Oxford WordSmith Tools 4.0 (Scott 2004). The samples were thus organised into alphabetised word lists; the beginning of such a word list is shown in figure 4.3.

Non-standard orthographical representations of Yorkshire features were noted, such as *abaht*; *agean*; *amang* as shown in figure 4.3; Standard English words such as ‘A’ were investigated using WordSmith’s concordance tool so as to ascertain whether these features were being used in a standard manner or representations of Yorkshire dialect features – such as the use of <A> for the first person pronoun ‘I’. If features were found to be Standard English usages, they were removed from the word list.

N	Word	Freq.	%	Texts	%emmas Set
1	A	48	4.84	1	100.00
2	ABAHT	6	0.61	1	100.00
3	ABBUT	1	0.10	1	100.00
4	ABODDA	1	0.10	1	100.00
5	ABOOLDER	1	0.10	1	100.00
6	ABOON	1	0.10	1	100.00
7	AD	1	0.10	1	100.00
8	AFTER	1	0.10	1	100.00
9	AGEAN	1	0.10	1	100.00
10	AGECAN	1	0.10	1	100.00
11	AHR	3	0.30	1	100.00
12	AHT	5	0.50	1	100.00
13	AHTERDS	1	0.10	1	100.00
14	AL	6	0.61	1	100.00
15	ALE	1	0.10	1	100.00
16	ALL	4	0.40	1	100.00
17	ALLADS	1	0.10	1	100.00
18	ALLT	2	0.20	1	100.00
19	AMANG	1	0.10	1	100.00
20	AN	18	1.82	1	100.00
21	AND	3	0.30	1	100.00
22	ANOTHER	1	0.10	1	100.00
23	ANT	3	0.30	1	100.00
24	ARE	2	0.20	1	100.00
25	ARM	1	0.10	1	100.00
26	ARSTON	1	0.10	1	100.00
27	ART	1	0.10	1	100.00
28	AS	9	0.91	1	100.00
29	AT	18	1.82	1	100.00
30	AWLIS	2	0.20	1	100.00
31	ΔWN	1	0.10	1	100.00

Figure 4.3 Alphabetised Word List in WordSmith 4.0 for Bywater 1839 (*ibid.*)

Consistently-occurring features were then tabulated by comparing the word lists described above, as shown in table 4.6. These features' individual frequencies were calculated by importing the modified WordSmith word lists into Microsoft Excel, as exemplified in table 4.7. The procedure described in this section was repeated for all texts in both corpora.

<b>Dialect Feature</b>	<b>DL texts featuring tokens</b>	<b>LD texts featuring tokens</b>	<b>Total</b>	<b>Percentage of corpus texts featuring tokens</b>
<t'>	26	13	39	83
<i>Sen</i> 'self'	23	11	34	72
<o> for <a>	25	8	33	70
<i>Nowt</i> 'nothing'	19	14	33	70
<oa> in <i>dooar</i> 'door'	21	11	32	68
<ea> in <i>theare</i> 'there'	22	8	30	64
<i>Mun</i> 'must'	19	11	30	64
<ah>/<aw>/<o> for 'I'	23	5	28	60
<i> for <u> in <i>sich, mich</i> 'such', 'much'	23	4	27	57
<i>Oud/owd</i> 'old'	20	7	27	57
<i>reight/reet</i> 'Right/really'	22	4	26	55
<eea> in <i>wheare</i> , 'where'	22	1	23	49
<ooa> in <i>whooam</i> 'home'	21	1	22	47
<i>Gan</i> 'go'	12	8	20	43
<i>Summat</i> 'something'	7	13	20	43
<ah> in <i>abaht</i> 'about'	16	3	19	40
<i>Owt</i> , 'anything'	15	4	19	40
<oi> in <i>loike</i> 'like'	12	7	19	40
<i>shoo/hoo</i> 'she'	12	1	13	28
<i>Nobbut</i> , 'only'	11	2	13	28
<i>Bairn</i> , 'child'	8	2	10	21
<th'>	7	3	10	21

*Table 4.6 Consistently Occurring Features in Nineteenth Century Quantitative Corpus Material*

<b>Dialect Feature</b>	<b>Tokens</b>	<b>Percentage of Sample</b>
<ah> in <i>abaht</i> , ‘about’	48	4.8
<oi> in <i>loike</i> , ‘like’	39	3.9
<ooa> in <i>whooam</i> , ‘home’	23	2.3
<t’>	22	2.2
<i>Owd/oud</i> , ‘old’	9	0.9
<eea> in <i>wheare</i> , ‘where’	8	0.8
<o> for <a> in <i>mony</i> , ‘many’	7	0.7
<i>Reight/reet</i> ‘right/really’	7	0.7
<ea> in <i>theare</i> ‘there’	6	0.6
<i>Mun</i> ‘must’	6	0.6
<i> for <u> in <i>sich, mich</i> ‘such’, ‘much’	5	0.5
<i>Sen</i> , ‘self’	4	0.4
<i>Nowt</i> , ‘nothing’	3	0.3
<i>Summat</i> , ‘something’	2	0.2
<ah> / <aw> / <o> for ‘I’	1	0.1
<i>Nobbut</i> , ‘only’	1	0.1
<i>Shoo/hoo</i> ‘she’	1	0.1
<i>Tother</i> ‘the other’	1	0.1
<i>Owt</i> , ‘anything’	1	0.1

Table 4.7 Tokens of non-standard orthographical representations of Yorkshire dialect in 1,000-word sample from *Bywater* (1839)

In the next section, I will discuss the methodology used in the design of the online survey.

#### 4.5 Online Survey

The online survey was created using the online web service [www.kwiksurveys.com](http://www.kwiksurveys.com). Respondents were asked to provide their age, gender, and whether or not they were from Yorkshire; a box was provided for a more specific response to this question. If respondents were from Yorkshire, they were asked to state where within the county they were from, in a format such as ‘Sheffield, South Yorkshire’. Respondents not from Yorkshire were also asked for a specific location in the similar form of ‘town/city, county’. This created three groups of respondents: ‘Yorkshire’, ‘non-Yorkshire’, and ‘International’; the latter group were respondents from outside of the UK.

The survey was split into two parts; in part 1 of the survey, respondents were asked to provide, if possible, up to ten features they felt were representative of the Yorkshire dialect; these could be words, pronunciations, phrases, etc. They could progress no further in the survey until this was complete; the second part of the survey was unseen to the respondents at

this stage on a separate page. Part 2 of the survey was a multiple-choice exercise where respondents were asked to rate 23 features selected from both corpora according to several criteria listed in table 4.9. Features were predominantly chosen for the survey if they displayed tokens in both modern and historical quantitative corpora and featured commentary in both modern and historical qualitative corpora. Certain features like *bairns* and *shoo* were included due to their relative consistency in the historical corpus; the survey would therefore highlight whether these features were still associated with Yorkshire despite the lack of consistent evidence for them in the modern data. Features from the historical corpus which displayed no modern equivalent, such as <i> for <u> in *sich*; were ambiguous as to their pronunciation, such as <oi> in *loike*; or both, were also not included in the survey. Several features were consistent only in the modern corpus; these features should therefore be strongly associated with Yorkshire in the survey data, thus proving the validity of the method. The final list of features is shown in table 4.8.

Feature	Historical commentary	Historical quantitative tokens	Modern commentary	Modern quantitative tokens
<ah> in <i>abaht</i> ‘about’	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
<ah> / <aw> / <o> for ‘I’	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
<i>Gan</i> ‘go’	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
<i>Mun</i> ‘must’	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
<i>Nobbut</i> ‘only’	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
<i>Nowt</i> ‘nothing’	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
<i>Owt</i> ‘anything’	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
<i>Summat</i> ‘something’	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
<i>Reight</i> ‘right’ / ‘really’	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
<i>Sen</i> ‘self’	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
DAR	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
<ooa> in <i>rooad</i> ‘road’	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
<i>Bairn</i> ‘child’	Yes	Yes	Yes	No
<i>Shoo/hoo</i> ‘she’	Yes	Yes	Yes	No
<i>Aye</i> ‘yes’	No	No	Yes	Yes
/h/-dropping	No	No	Yes	Yes
‘g-dropping’	No	No	Yes	Yes
Secondary contraction of negatives	No	No	Yes	Yes
<i>Allus</i> ‘always’	No	No	Yes	Yes
<i>Berra</i> ‘better’	No	No	Yes	Yes
<i>Thee/tha</i> ‘you’	No	No	Yes	Yes
<i>Ower</i> ‘over’	No	No	Yes	Yes
<ee> in <i>neet</i> ‘night’	No	No	Yes	Yes

Table 4.8 Yorkshire Dialect Features included in Multiple Choice Exercise in Online Survey

Criterion	Implication
I say this	Strong association with Yorkshire
I have heard of this	
This is current, modern Yorkshire dialect	
I have heard this (or know people who say this) but don't myself	
My parents say this	
My grandparents say this	Weak association with Yorkshire
This is old fashioned. Nobody talks like this any more	
I have never heard of this	
I would never say this	

*Table 4.9 Online Survey Multiple Choice Criteria*

#### 4.6 Conclusions

In this chapter I have outlined the various methodological approaches employed in the data collection and analysis for this study. The methodology employed here is designed to yield as representative a sample as possible across the county and diachronically for nineteenth-century Yorkshire so as to gain a reasonably accurate picture of how the dialect was being represented in writing. The use of only one text per author in the historical corpus was to avoid skewing the data towards any one writer's individual style of dialect representation as much as possible. The methodology is also intended to give as much historical metapragmatic discourse data as possible. The combination of these two types of data will allow this study, as Biber et al state, to 'go beyond simple counts of linguistic features...it is essential to include qualitative, functional interpretations of quantitative patterns' (2006:5). Using the same methodology to construct and search the modern corpus will give consistent and comparable data when analysed with the historical corpus data.

Finally, supplementing the modern corpus data with the online survey will allow for the observation and investigation of patterns in the data vis. Yorkshire dialect features' salience and association with Yorkshire. The use of the multiple choice selection criteria listed in table 4.9 above will highlight survey respondents' perceptions of the features listed in table 4.8 as being salient Yorkshire features. Respondents who list features as meeting the criteria in the first half of table 4.9 will indicate that those features are strongly associated with

Yorkshire; those features meeting the criteria in the lower half of table 4.9 will be indicative of a weaker association with Yorkshire. Discussion of the results from the corpus analysis and the survey are discussed in Chapters 7 and 8.

In the next chapter I present the results from studying the qualitative and quantitative data collected for the historical corpus of Yorkshire dialect material.

## 5. Results I: Nineteenth-Century Corpus Data

In her discussion of Northern English after the Industrial Revolution, Wales states that written representations of dialect in formats such as songs ‘tend to reveal quite consistently those features which were linguistically salient to the speech community’ (2006:131), despite the differences in representing dialect between individual texts.

In this chapter, I discuss the various types of nineteenth-century dialect representation for Yorkshire, beginning with qualitative material from texts which feature overt commentary on the Yorkshire dialect. I then go on to discuss the types of text which feature Yorkshire dialect represented in writing, including dialect literature in the form of poems, ballads, songs, and dialogues; and literary dialect in the form of Yorkshire dialect represented in the dialogue of characters in works of literature such as novels and plays.

I also discuss the individual features of the Yorkshire dialect which commonly and consistently occur in these texts; and the conventions used by nineteenth-century writers to represent and discuss the Yorkshire dialect.

### 5.1 Nineteenth-Century Qualitative Corpus

The corpus of nineteenth-century qualitative material highlights the metapragmatic commentary that is available for nineteenth-century Yorkshire dialect. This is the closest analogue to ‘talk about talk’ in the absence of any living speakers of Yorkshire dialect from the nineteenth century. The corpus is comprised of 18 texts and includes material from various sources including: introductory material for dialect dictionaries, essays about particular dialects, travel writing, articles from popular magazines, books written about particular dialects, dialect glossaries, and dialect grammars, summarised in table 4.3 in the previous chapter. I will discuss the commentary therein in terms of the most salient topics and features vis. the features that occur the most frequently (in the largest number of texts). These include: definite article reduction; phonological features such as /h/-dropping; representations of Yorkshire-specific alternate diphthongs in the pronunciation of ‘hole’ as *oil*; Yorkshire-specific monophthongal realisation of diphthongs such as *Ah* for ‘I’; lexical items such as *hoo* and *shoo* for ‘she’; and *owt*, *nowt* and *summat* for ‘anything’, ‘nothing’ and ‘something’.

### 5.1.1 Definite Article Reduction

By far the most prominent feature to be discussed in the nineteenth-century material is that of Definite Article Reduction (DAR). The earliest treatment of this feature in this study comes from Piper. Directly referring to definite article reduction, he states:

[I]n common conversation and in poetry, “the” is elided and joined to the next word, when it begins with a vowel. But in Sheffield, and its neighbourhood, this article is cut up before a consonant, and forms a combination as difficult and harsh as almost any language presents. Thus we say o’er t’Brig into t’Wicker (1824:13)

The initial discussion of ‘the’ here refers to English in general. It is when Piper talks about DAR that he immediately locates the feature as being distinctive ‘in Sheffield, and its neighbourhood’. His orthographic choice of <t’> to represent the reduced article is also one of the earlier examples of a writer employing this form.

Discussion of this feature occurs so frequently that we can observe commentary on it throughout the nineteenth century. In doing this, we can diachronically observe metapragmatic discourse regarding DAR. This is similar to Johnstone et al’s discussion of using historical newspaper archives which discuss Pittsburghese to ‘explore how shifting indexicalities have shaped and been shaped’ by speakers’ ‘sociolinguistic experience’ over time’ (2006:84).

We can also see examples of DAR in two successive volumes of Carr, who gives an introduction to the first volume of his text written in Yorkshire dialect. This introduction is replete with <t’> constructions for the definite article. It is interesting to note that this text was published relatively early in the nineteenth century, and features no discussion or explanation in the introductory matter as to what <t’> signifies; or that, in the Yorkshire dialect, the definite article is reduced at all. The second volume of Carr’s text, however, does contain a brief reference to the phenomenon of Definite Article Reduction. The first entry in his ‘T’ section states:

T, The. This article suffers an elision, not only when the next word begins with a vowel, but even when it begins with a consonant, as, “t’ lad,” the lad; “t’ cow,” the cow (1828:186)



This is one of the earliest examples of a discussion of DAR in a commentary text like this, showing that even in the early part of the nineteenth century this feature was salient in the Yorkshire dialect.

A further writer to employ DAR in his representation of dialect is Sheffield writer Abel Bywater, who deals with DAR directly in the introduction to his text. Under the heading ‘General Rules for Understanding the Orthography’, he states:

*The*, article, is generally contracted to *t*, and added to the preceding or succeeding word; as “*at tend at wheel*,” “at the end of the wheel.” When occurring between one word ending, and another beginning with *t*, it is omitted: as “*at top*” “at the top.” (1839:ix – italics in original)

This ‘Understanding’ section suggests that Bywater’s intended audience would not necessarily understand the orthographical representations of dialect presented in the text without the aid of the ‘rules’ he presents.

Some writers’ discussion of DAR is only brief, but highlights both the usage of DAR and its unusual nature in the Yorkshire dialect. An example of this is Hamilton, who not only points out the existence of DAR, but goes so far as to give precedent for the feature by citing similar tendencies in classical literature:

The elision of vowels, and even consonants, is another fruitful source of peculiarity. There is high sanction for this in Greek and Latin poetry; and in our purest epics it is done. The French constantly practise it in pronouncing their language, however they write it. Sometimes the entire article is mute, though the *th* is supposed to be present. Sweep room. Lay cloth. Bring carriage. There is a well-known phrase as the exempli gratiã of this remark: a shower of rain falling upon some chickens, a countryman exclaimed – “T’ wet maks em pik ’em.” (1841:329)

It is interesting to note the classical ‘sanction’ for this feature, although Hamilton gives no actual examples of such usages in Greek or Latin poetry. Hamilton is the only author, though, who gives comparative examples from other modern languages.

By mid-century, we can observe discussions of the historical origin of DAR in various Yorkshire dialects. Atkinson, for instance, discusses definite article reduction as part of a discussion of whether or not the Old English Northumbrian dialect can be labelled as ‘Dano-Saxon’ as opposed to ‘Anglo-Saxon’ (1848:xxi). This historical analysis is extensive, and

serves as part of Atkinson's theme of tracing the dialect of Cleveland back to the Danish and Old Norse influences that affected Northumbrian English speakers during the Anglo-Saxon era. However, the analysis Atkinson provides highlights the suggestion that the article <t'> would be sounded in mid-nineteenth-century Cleveland dialect, as is made evident by the following:

If we further bear in mind that our English sound of *th* was unknown – almost impossible – to the Scandinavian tongue; that as Thor was and is sounded almost as we sound Tor...so *the* must have been sounded nearly as our *te*; we arrive at the conclusion that the Northumbrian definite article, after all, may be, or rather almost certainly is, the Old Danish definite article, but that its proper form is *t'* (1848:xxv – italics in original).

Modern work on DAR (discussed further in the next chapter) also considers the possibility of an Old Norse connection to a reduced article. Jones, for instance, asserts that a possible origin of a reduced article in English could have come about due to the tendency in both Old Norse and Modern Icelandic to, in some environments, realise /θ/ as [t]. However, he discounts this theory almost altogether by stating that 'this phenomenon is restricted to only a small part of the DAR area' and as such, 'it cannot offer any direct insights into the reduction of the article' (2002:330-1). This suggests that, although Atkinson's historical explanation may be logical, it is not necessarily completely accurate. However, it does follow a trend in nineteenth-century Yorkshire dialect commentary: many writers highlight the connection between Yorkshire dialect and older languages, usually dating from around the Anglo-Saxon period, such as Old Norse and Old English. Atkinson above suggests a link to the former; whereas Howson suggest a link to the latter, stating that the Craven dialect has 'decided claims on an Anglo-Saxon origin' (1850:107).

Many writers around mid-century, though, did not discuss the phenomenon of definite article reduction at all (Robinson 1855, White 1858, Robinson 1862, Grainge 1863, Banks 1865, Jackson 1869, for instance), although they do include the feature (usually) in illustrative examples of their varieties, but with no explanation as to what DAR actually represents. Some include only a one-sentence long explanation, as with Harland, who has as the first entry in the 'T' section of his Swaledale glossary: '**T** [t] *a shortened form of the*' (1873:26 – italics in original). This is not explained any further and, as nineteenth-century dialect glossary writers are inconsistent with listing this feature in their word lists, the fact that

Harland chooses to include it means that we can infer that DAR was salient in the dialect of Swaledale, as it prompted overt commentary in his glossary.

Similarly brief discussions of DAR can be observed towards the end of the nineteenth century, although some, as in the case of Easter (1883), give indications as to the pronunciation of the feature. In the ‘T’ section of his glossary of the areas of Almondbury and Huddersfield, Easter states that <t> and <th> variants can be found to represent the definite article (1883:134). However, he goes on to discuss the ‘omission’ of the definite article:

Although it is warmly disputed, it seems to me that the *t* is sometimes omitted. In *Dolly’s Gown, or the Effects of Pride*, I find the expressions, ‘When church did loase,’ ‘Lads ran at apples, spice, and nuts,’ in which cases at least three definite articles are wanting; and I am of the opinion it is often omitted. But it is said that the ghost of a *t*’ is always to be recognized. (1883:134)

It appears that Easter is here referring to the glottal realisation of DAR, especially with his reference to the ‘ghost of a *t*’. Because of this, and the similarity of Easter’s above statement to what can be observed today as discussed in Chapter 1, we can infer that the glottal realisation of DAR could be observed in certain nineteenth-century Yorkshire dialects. Further evidence for this kind of pronunciation can potentially be observed in Nicholson, who makes the unique statement that the Holderness dialect ‘has no definite article’ (1889:2), compared to elsewhere in the county where he states that the article is reduced to /t/ or /d/. This is reflected in Nicholson’s dialect literature, where there are no reduced articles at all; we can see examples such as: ‘Jack’s best-like bayn i’ all famly’ (1889:92), meaning ‘Jack is the best child in all the family’. However, Nicholson also presents a “Yorkshire” translation of the first chapter of the Book of Genesis, where he highlights the ‘omission’ of the definite article (ibid. p.47), suggesting that no sound is made when realising this feature, not even the ‘ghost of a *t*’, that Easter describes above. Therefore, Nicholson’s description may be referring to a zero-realisation of DAR as opposed to a glottal one.

The salience of DAR in nineteenth century Yorkshire was also explicitly and overtly commented upon by contemporary observers. In Addy’s Sheffield glossary, he begins his discussion of the definite article by saying: ‘The absence of *þ* or *th* in the definite article is remarkable in the Sheffield dialect’ (1888:xviii). There is no other discussion as to how the reduced article is pronounced, other than to give the example of ‘intot’ for ‘into the’.

However, in terms of the salience of DAR, this comment is important as it highlights the feature as being distinctive in the Sheffield dialect as it is described as ‘remarkable’. In addition, Morris dedicates the first section of his discussion of Yorkshire grammar to ‘The Article’ (1892:19). This discussion centres on the rendering of the definite article as <t’>, and states that the definite article is always reduced to <t’> (ibid. p.66). Interestingly, Morris states that the article should be written as <t’> (ibid. p.19), suggesting that by the late nineteenth century, orthographical representations of reduced definite articles may have undergone a certain amount of standardisation. There is also a similar reference to Easter’s description of what appears to be a glottal realisation of reduced articles in Yorkshire, as he states that the article is not omitted before consonants, but ‘scarcely audible’ (ibid.). In addition, he also makes reference to a ‘softening’ of this <t’> to a /d/, ‘thus, *gan inti d’ hoos* (go into the house)’ (ibid.). Morris then goes on to discuss DAR again in his chapter on pronunciation. He states that the ‘abbreviation of ‘the’ to *t*’ is practically a universal rule’ (ibid. p.53). He also discusses the realisation of the reduced article in speech, stating that it should always be sounded, ‘however lightly in some connections’ (ibid.). Morris also states that ‘strangers’, i.e. speakers from outside of Yorkshire, may think that the definite article is omitted altogether in Yorkshire speech. This is further alluded to in a discussion about the pronunciation of ‘*t toon*’, where Morris describes ‘a very slight and almost imperceptible pause between the *t* and *toon*’ (ibid. p.54), again suggesting what appears to be a glottal realisation of the reduced article.

It appears that over the course of the nineteenth century definite article reduction is frequently and relatively consistently viewed as a ‘remarkable’ feature of the Yorkshire dialect. Its frequent appearance in metapragmatic discourse such as that observable in the texts listed above serve to highlight the salience of this feature and link its use with place.

In the next section I discuss the phonological features which were frequently commented on with regards to Yorkshire dialect in the nineteenth century.

### **5.1.2 Representations of Phonological Features**

The features discussed below are the most common in the commentary material. They were either included as items for discussion by nineteenth-century authors; had their own sections in glossaries where the author felt that the feature was distinctive enough to warrant the individual listing of the feature and a definition; or were so commonly used as illustrative

examples in the commentary material that their discussion is warranted here due to their frequency.

*Monophthongal PRICE, MOUTH, & GOAT*

This group of features involves the realisation of certain diphthongs as monophthongs. The first example of this is the orthographic representation <Ah> for the first person singular pronoun ‘I’, suggesting a pronunciation of /a:/ as opposed to /aɪ/, based on the work of Ellis and Wright discussed in Chapter 1. Jackson uses this feature in illustrative examples in an article from an 1869 edition of *The Churchman’s Shilling Magazine and Family Treasury*. Jackson also uses <ah> to represent the pronunciation of certain PRICE words, as in the pronoun ‘my’ in this article, and shows consistency in the representation of this Yorkshire-specific monophthong (1869:158). Morris also notes that the Yorkshire pronunciation of ‘I’ is ‘ah’ (1892:13 – italics in original).

The monophthong /a:/ is also consistently suggested in representations of MOUTH words in the qualitative material. This can be observed in texts like Bywater, where there are descriptions of some of the phonological features of the Sheffield dialect, including examples of where the MOUTH words include a pronunciation like /a:/, as in words like ‘pound’, which is rendered as ‘*pahnd*’ (1839:ix – italics in original). We can observe a similar example in White, who gives *craad*, which is immediately glossed following the non-standard orthographical representation as ‘(crowd)’ (1858:285). Banks also gives an example of this in ‘*Hahsumivver*’ for ‘however’ (1865:33 – italics in original), which displays a word-initial <h> that is intended to be silent, hence the italics, stated by the author to signify the fact that the aspirate is not pronounced (/h/-dropping is discussed in more detail below).

The final feature I will discuss in this section is the representation of GOAT words with orthographic renderings which suggest pronunciations of either /o:/ or /ɔ:/. An example of this is White’s representation of the words ‘poking’ and ‘nose’ as *poakin*’ and *noaze* (1858:285). Jackson also uses this particular feature in an illustrative example using the word *goa* for ‘go’ (1869:158), and it can also be seen in Banks, who gives *doarstoans* for ‘door stones’, or ‘flags outside the door’ (1865:20). This particular orthographical representation of <oa> for this monophthong is in contrast to <ooa>, which I believe to represent a different diphthong, and is discussed in the next section. However, there are conflicting accounts as to the pronunciation of this diphthong in the late nineteenth century. For instance, Wright

suggests that this <oa> represents a diphthong, as he lists *doan't* as /duənt/ (1892:179), whereas Morris suggests that 'oa is pronounced aw' (1892:61), suggesting a pronunciation of /o:/ or /ɔ:/ . The difference here could have been influenced by the development of the pronunciation of GOAT words in RP; Beal notes that Walker describes the pronunciation of words GOAT as being /o:/ at the end of the eighteenth century, and that a diphthongal pronunciation becomes more common over the course of the nineteenth (2004:138). Therefore, it is possibly that this <oa> orthography was the result of a desire for a distinct way of marking a diphthongal form of GOAT which was different from the monophthongal form /o:/ in RP which was more common in the early nineteenth century. However, as RP began to adopt the diphthongal GOAT, <oa> may have begun to represent /o:/ in words like *soa*, *goa*, *doan't*. Indeed, Jones notes that Ellis states that the vowels in 'go' and 'so' have a diphthongal quality, likely that of /ou/, in RP by the late nineteenth century (2006:305), so Morris' comment about *oa* representing *aw* could reflect Northern writers wanting to distinguish the pronunciation of these words as monophthongal rather than the now more typical diphthong. It therefore became necessary to have an orthographic representation that signified a monophthongal pronunciation of GOAT in the Yorkshire dialect over the course of the nineteenth century as a diphthongal pronunciation of 'so' and 'go' became the norm in RP. The use of <oa> for Wright's /uə/ was supplanted by <ooa>, discussed below. The diachronic distribution of <oa> suggesting a "Yorkshire" pronunciation of GOAT is discussed further in Chapter 7.

### *Alternate Diphthongs*

Nineteenth-century representations of Yorkshire dialect feature several orthographic renderings which suggest alternate diphthongs in certain words. For example, in words like 'hole', the Yorkshire pronunciation of this word is often given orthographically as 'oil' or something similar, so that the pronunciation of the word indicates the diphthong /ɔɪ/ instead of RP /ou/. This was noted from the early nineteenth century; Piper notes this pronunciation in 1824, and it is a feature which is frequently commented upon as it is mentioned by several writers. Bywater also includes this feature in a brief glossary at the beginning of *The Sheffield Dialect*, and gives both 'coat' as 'Coit' (1839:vii) and 'hole' as 'Hoil' (ibid. p. viii). Discussion of this feature can be seen throughout the nineteenth century; Hamilton discusses various aspects of Yorkshire pronunciation, including the realisation of the vowel in 'coat', which is rendered as 'coīt'(1841:329). Most discussions of this feature are brief, though; for

instance, Banks simply gives an example of the feature in ‘Sump *hoil*’ meaning ‘a hole for wet refuse to drain into’ (1865:71 – italics in original). However, Hunter’s discussion of this pronunciation is more extensive; he presents an anecdote of some apparent evidence for the origin of the use of /ɔɪ/ in ‘coal’: ‘I had long thought the *coylle* for *coal* was a mere vulgarism til I met with it in an abbey-lease of the reign of Henry VII’ (1829:xxii – italics in original). Unfortunately Hunter does not give the exact reference for this abbey lease, and there is little evidence to suggest that this *coylle* spelling was representative of general pronunciation in the fifteenth century, as the ME vowel in ‘coal’ was likely to be /o:/ around the time of the Great Vowel Shift (Wright 2002:272); however, Dobson states that there may have been two pronunciations for the ME vowel in words like ‘coal’ in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries: ‘a more advanced pronunciation with close [o:], and a more conservative one with...[ɔ:]’ (1957:673), despite there only being what he describes as ‘vague evidence’ to support this notion (ibid.). Therefore, this orthographic rendering of ‘coal’ as *coylle* could have been representative of the local pronunciation of the area in which the abbey lease was written, and related to the ‘conservative’ [ɔ:] vowel described by Dobson.

Representations of this pronunciation are reasonably consistent in the nineteenth-century commentary material; they are somewhat less frequent in the quantitative corpus, however, as they only occur in around 20% of the corpus texts, and then predominantly only in the dialect literature. The implications of a correlation between consistent discussion in the commentary material and quantitative consistency and frequency are discussed further in Chapter 8.

Further examples of orthographic renderings suggesting alternate diphthongs can be seen in cases like *weer* for ‘where’ (Piper 1824:10), where the <ee> suggests a pronunciation of /ɪə/ as opposed to /eə/. This can also be observed by Robinson, as ‘again’ is presented as *agean* (1862:234). An additional suggested pronunciation based on orthographical representations can be observed in the use of <ooa>, which is given as a Yorkshire pronunciation of words containing the diphthong /ou/. Examples of this are Addy, who gives *whooam* for ‘home’ (1888:283), and Hunter, who presents the same word (1829:97); this suggests a pronunciation of /ʊə/.

One of the more unusual orthographic representations of a Yorkshire pronunciation is *loik* for ‘like’. This spelling seems also to suggest a pronunciation with the diphthong /ɔɪ/, but based on the evidence discussed above which indicates that PRICE words in Yorkshire suggest a

pronunciation of /ɑ:/ based on the <ah> orthography, we might therefore expect an orthographical representation like *lahk* for ‘like’ in the Yorkshire dialect material. This is not the case, however, and this <oi> construction occurs in both the commentary material (Hamilton 1841, White 1858), and the corpus data; although in the commentary material the discussion surrounding this construction is brief. Hamilton, for instance, gives only one example of *loik* in a somewhat randomly-ordered word list. He lists: ‘*It’s loik*, asseverates the truth of any account’ (1841:354), which gives no indication as to the pronunciation of this feature, nor its usage in context. White uses the <oi> construction in *noight* (1858:285), meaning ‘night’, but the feature is not glossed, unlike the case with *craad* ‘crowd’ discussed above. This spelling may be an attempt at representing a pronunciation that is something like /lɑɪk/ as opposed to /lɔɪk/, as the latter is unprecedented in Yorkshire and there are no examples of a description of such a pronunciation; both Ellis and Wright list pronunciations which seem to suggest /ɑ:/, as discussed in Chapter 1, for instance. There also does not appear to be a modern equivalent of this feature in the twentieth and twenty-first century material; indeed, for ‘might’, the SED predominantly records [maɪt], and in a small number of instances [mɑɪt] (Orton & Deith 1963:1030), neither of which suggest an orthographical representation of <oi>.

Finally, the RP diphthong /aɪ/ and monophthong /i:/ are replaced by orthographic representations which suggest a pronunciation of /eɪ/ in “Yorkshire” pronunciations of certain words. Banks, for instance, gives ‘*Reight*’ for ‘right, entirely’ (1869:58 – italics in original), which, when used in Banks’ examples like ‘*Reit dahn*’, seems to suggest a similar usage to the modern intensifier used in Yorkshire dialect today – Kellett, for instance, gives *reight* as ‘right, very’ (2002:148). Banks, however, also gives ‘*Teich*’ for ‘teach’ (1869:73 – italics in original), showing the same orthographic construction as in *reight*, suggesting a pronunciation of /eɪ/ in ‘teach’.

#### *Additional Phonological Features*

The substitution of <i> for <u> in *sich* and *mich* for ‘such’ and ‘much’ is also reasonably consistently listed in the commentary material, however, there are several different variants of these features. For instance, Addy lists *mich* for ‘much’ (1888:148) and both *sich* and *sich-like* for ‘such’ and ‘such like, of the same kind’ (ibid. p.214) in his glossary; Easter likewise lists *sich* and *mich* (1883:119). This construction is also listed by Atkinson as being



‘a very old form’, particularly with regards to *mich* (1848:336); however, for ‘such’, he lists *sik* and *sike*, but does not suggest that the latter forms are ‘old’ (ibid. p.451); Nicholson also lists *sike* alone for ‘such’, but does not list an alternative for ‘much’. Harland, however, lists *Mickle* for ‘much’ (1873:123), but *sic*, *sike*, or *siker* for ‘such’ (ibid. p.170), showing a tendency for <ch> to be replaced with either <c>, <k>, <ke>, or <ker>, suggesting a pronunciation of /k/ or /kə/ as opposed to /tʃ/. With regards to the vowel <u>, Morris states that one of its 6 apparent realisations in the Yorkshire dialect is represented with <i>; he highlights this with the examples of *sich* and *mich* (1892:62), but goes on to list *sike*, *sike-an*, and *sikan* (and not *sich*) in his glossary (ibid. p.368-9). The substitution of the vowels is consistent in all variants of this feature, however.

A further additional feature which displays considerably less variation in form than the forms of ‘such’ and ‘much’ above is the suggested pronunciation of ‘old’, predominantly using <ow> and <ou> to represent the dialectal variant. The use of <ow> is suggested by Wales to represent l-vocalisation (2006:120), and is the more frequent construction employed in the commentary material. For instance, *owd* is given for ‘old’ by Addy (1888:167); Banks (1865:50-1); Hunter (1829:70); and Robinson (1862:379). Additionally, *oud* is given by Carr, who lists ‘old’ as the primary definition, but also gives ‘cunning’ as a secondary meaning (1828:21-2); Easther, however, lists ‘Old’ in his glossary, stating that it ‘becomes *oud* or *oad*’ (1883:94). Finally, there is a third, yet infrequent variant for a Yorkshire pronunciation of ‘old’, as Robinson lists *aud* (1855:6). The vocalisation of /l/ is suggested in each of these variants here; the representations of this suggested pronunciation are much more consistent than with *sich* and *mich* above.

In the next section, I discuss the various Yorkshire lexical items which were consistently listed and commented upon in the nineteenth-century qualitative material.

### 5.1.3 Lexical Items

Several lexical items appear frequently in the commentary material throughout the nineteenth century. The data presented in table 5.1 shows their occurrences in the commentary material diachronically, beginning with the most consistently frequent.

Table 5.1 shows that commentary on *Shoo* (or variants thereof – including *sho*, *shoe*, *schoo*, or *hoo*) meaning ‘she’ is fairly consistent across the nineteenth century. These texts also purport to represent Yorkshire varieties from across the county, highlighting the ‘pan-

Yorkshire' status of many of these words. Initially, *shoo* appears to be an alternate pronunciation of 'she'; most commentary text writers simply list this word as a variant pronunciation. However, this pronoun could be etymologically linked to the Anglo-Saxon pronoun 'hēo' meaning 'she' (Mitchell and Robinson 2005:18). Easther, for instance, gives *Hoo* for 'she' (1883:64), as does Hunter (1829:51), which appears to descend directly from its Anglo-Saxon counterpart. In addition, following his link between the Craven dialect and Old English, Howson gives a list of words including *Schoo* for 'she' (1850:114), which could also highlight this etymology.

*Bairn*, which is also given as *Baarn*, *Barn*, and *Bayn*, is simply listed as 'children' in each case. This is also the case in modern texts – Kellett, for instance, lists *Bairn* as 'a child'; he also gives an etymology for this word, stating that it comes from the Old English 'bearn' (2002:6). This can be corroborated by evidence from Mitchell and Robinson, who also list 'bearn' as 'child' in their Old English glossary (2005:323). The OED similarly defines 'bairn' as a 'child; a son or daughter. (Expressing relationship, rather than age.)' (www.oed.com); the OED's etymology also traces this word back to Old English.

Similar cases exist for *gan* 'to go', *sen* 'self', *mun* 'must', and *nobbut* 'only', as they are listed in numerous texts but with the consistent meanings listed; these words were also relatively frequent in the quantitative corpus data.

Table 5.1 also highlights the consistency with which these features appeared in dialect commentary material across the nineteenth century. Discussion of *mun* and *nobbut*, for instance, is relatively evenly spread across the qualitative corpus texts suggesting diachronically consistent salience of these features. With certain features, this diachronic consistency was not reflected in the corpus data, however, particularly with regards to *gan* and *mun*, as discussed in Chapter 8.

Writer	Year	<i>Shoo</i>	<i>Bairn</i>	<i>Gan</i>	<i>Sen</i>	<i>Mun</i>	<i>Nobbut</i>
Piper	1824	X					
Carr	1828	X	X	X	X	X	X
Hunter	1829	X		X	X	X	X
Bywater	1839	X			X	X	X
Hamilton	1841	X					
Atkinson	1848		X	X		X	X
Howson	1850	X		X			
Robinson	1855		X	X		X	X
Robinson	1862		X			X	X
Grainge	1863		X				
Banks	1865	X	X		X	X	X
Harland	1873		X	X	X	X	
Easther	1883	X	X		X		X
Addy	1888	X	X	X	X	X	X
Nicholson	1889		X	X	X	X	X
Morris	1892		X	X	X	X	X

*Table 5.1 – Diachronic Distribution of Lexical Items in Nineteenth-Century Commentary Material*

In the next section, I discuss three of the most frequently and consistently-occurring examples of Yorkshire lexis in the qualitative corpus: *owt*, *nowt* and *summat*.

#### *Owt, Nowt, & Summat*

These three lexical items occur frequently in the nineteenth-century quantitative corpus (discussed in more detail below). However, despite their quantitative frequency, they were not afforded the same amount of qualitative discussion in the nineteenth century as were some of the features discussed above. There is some variation in the spelling of these items; some of these variants include, for ‘Nothing’: *Nout* (Carr 1828), *Nought* (Hunter 1829; Robinson 1855; White 1858; Easther 1883), *Nowt* (Robinson 1862; Banks 1865; Harland 1873; Easther 1883; Addy 1888; Nicholson 1889; Morris 1892), and possibly *Naught* (Hamilton 1841). For ‘Anything’, we can see: *Out* (Carr 1828; Howson 1850); *Owt* (Banks 1865; Harland 1873; Addy 1888; Morris 1892); *Ought* (Hunter 1829; Atkinson 1848); and *Aught* (Hamilton 1841; Robinson 1855). Finally, for ‘Something’, we see: *Summat* (Carr 1828; Robinson 1862; Banks 1865; Addy 1888); and *Summot* (Harland 1873). But there is a

consistency in these representations in that they are all different orthographical representations which suggest similar pronunciations, which, for both the variations of *nowt* and *owt* suggest pronunciations containing either the diphthongs /ou/ or /aʊ/. There is less variation for ‘something’; both orthographical renderings suggest a pronunciation like /sʊmət/. There is much less variation in the representation of these items in the modern corpus, suggesting that the orthographical renderings of these features may have undergone some standardisation over time. The repetition of these features again and again in the nineteenth-century commentary material is similar to a tendency noted by Johnstone et al, who state that as features are referred to and discussed in ‘metadiscursive’ material like the commentary material discussed here, variants ‘acquire legitimacy’ and become increasingly standardised. They go on to say that in the metapragmatic discourse, features are ‘talked about repeatedly in the same or similar ways...The same words, sounds, and structures are mentioned again and again.’ (Johnstone et al 2006:96). This kind of repetition can be observed in the nineteenth century commentary material, particularly with these three lexical items; and the acquisition of legitimacy and subsequent standardisation may explain why there is a distinct lack of variation in these features’ representations in the modern corpus.

In the next section I will discuss the data we can observe in the quantitative corpus of nineteenth-century Yorkshire dialect material which is comprised of dialect literature and literary dialect.

## **5.2 Nineteenth-Century Quantitative Corpus**

In this section I discuss the nineteenth-century Yorkshire dialect material used for quantitative analysis. Samples of the corpus texts were analysed for token frequency so as to identify the most commonly-occurring features in both the nineteenth-century dialect literature and literary dialect.

The data from the samples was normalised following Biber et al (2006:263) by converting the tokens of each Yorkshire dialect feature in a sample into the percentage of instances in that sample which each feature represented.

I will firstly discuss the results from the dialect literature texts in the corpus here, then move on to the literary dialect texts.

### 5.2.1 Nineteenth-Century Yorkshire Dialect Literature

The nineteenth century saw a tremendous output of dialect representation, particularly in Northern England. Beal notes that the ‘growth of urban population in towns and cities such as Newcastle, Manchester, and indeed Halifax, led to the creation of a market for popular forms of literature in dialect’ (2004a:204). This also led to an increase in the performance of dialect, which in turn led to an increased awareness on the part of Northern English speakers of their own dialects (Wales 2006:128). Wales goes on to state that increased levels of literacy gave way to both dialect writing and the subsequent reading of texts written in dialect, which were aimed at what she describes as ‘a voracious middle-class local reading public...who also read and even wrote themselves in local newspapers’ (ibid. p.129). Bailey also discusses the ‘linguistic curiosity’ generated by regional speech at this time, and comments on how different approaches were taken to the consideration of dialects, noting how texts like these began to appear towards the end of the eighteenth century, and their production continued into the nineteenth. He states that some writers produced largely comic, but original works written entirely in the vernacular, whereas others gave ‘unsystematic observations’ of dialects they thought to be ‘exotic’ (1996:269-70).

The county of Yorkshire, it seems, was of particular interest to nineteenth century audiences, as the production of dialect literature was particularly fervent there. This was even commented on at the time by noted Yorkshire historian Joseph Hunter, who stated that ‘more attention has been paid to the verbal peculiarities of Yorkshire than of any other county’ (1829:xx). This can be attested to by taking into consideration the sheer number of texts published which were written in or about the Yorkshire dialect at the time. In 1877, Skeat and Nodal published *A bibliographical list of the works that have been published, or are known to exist in ms., illustrative of the various dialects of English*, which listed by genre and region texts that included or were representative of regional dialects of English. Their chapter on Yorkshire is noticeably one of the longest, and contains a considerable number of texts.

I will discuss in this section the various types of dialect literature that was produced in the nineteenth century. The kinds of dialect literature produced can be further sub-categorised depending on their content, in a manner similar to that discussed by Bailey (above). These categories include ‘dialogues’, both rhyming and non-rhyming; ‘poetry’; and ‘tales’.

### *Dialogues*

As stated above, nineteenth-century dialogues written in dialect appear as either rhyming or non-rhyming. For instance, Bywater exemplifies the Sheffield dialect in extensive non-rhyming dialogues which he labels ‘conversations’. Many of his conversations take place between Sheffield characters, however some include characters whose speech is rendered in Standard English; we can assume that these characters are portrayed as not using Sheffield dialect. For example, the following conversation is presented as a dialogue between a local factory worker and a ‘gentleman’:

GUIDE – Gud mornin, sur; o’ve heeard at hah yo wantn a chap to sho ya throot factoriz, and sitch loik.

GENTLEMAN – Yes, my man and if you will be so kind as to conduct me to those places, I will give you five shillings.

GUIDE – Yo will? Wa, o’l tak ya onna whear for that; it al be’t best day’s wark o’ve dun for menny a month; and yo’st gooa to ahr wheel furst.

GENT – With all my heart; and I hope you will enter into as much conversation with your colleagues as possible. (1839:1)

These dialogues appear to be inventions by the author as opposed to representations of actual recorded speech. Indeed, Bywater’s publications included the characters in the ‘conversations’ discussing various topics which were aimed at promoting ‘the principles of good living in private life’ among his readership (ibid. p.iv). These topics included temperance; drunkenness is described by Bywater as a ‘wretched crime which is a stain upon our country’ (ibid.), and the presentation of ‘some caricatures’ of the utopian socialist movement known as Owenism. In presenting these arguments in dialect in this way, Bywater states that he ‘got access to the very lowest of society, and thus directed our energies against the principles of infidels’ (ibid).

The non-rhyming dialogues exemplified by Bywater above contrast with rhyming dialogues; for example, the dialogue ‘T’ Deeach of Awd Deeasy’ in the anonymously-authored *Specimens of the Yorkshire Dialect* features two characters, ‘Geoorgy’ and ‘Robin’ apparently conversing in Yorkshire dialect, albeit a rhyming conversation:

GEOORGY

Weel met, good Robin! seed ye my awd meer?  
 Ah've lated her an hoor i' t' looanin here,  
 But, hoosomivver, spite of all my care,  
 Ah cannot spy her, nowther heead nor hair.

ROBIN

Whah, Geoorgy, Ah've te tell ye dowly news,  
 Sike as Ah's varra seer 'll mak ye muse:  
 Ah just this minute left your poor awd tike,  
 Deead as a steean, i' Johnny Dobson's dyke

(1808:9)

Both of these dialogues include many of the Yorkshire dialect features discussed further below. The rhyming dialogues are also distinct from dialect poetry, even though they rhyme, as they are not presented in the dialect literature as poetry, always as either dialogues or 'specimens'.

### *Poetry*

Yorkshire dialect poetry is presented in a more conventional manner; for example, in his tourist guide to the 'curiosities' of Craven in North Yorkshire, Howson presents two poems written in the Yorkshire dialect to serve as 'specimens' of the dialect of the region, an example of which is given below:

Iz't fear o' me at maks ye spring  
 Wi sich a feaful flap ot' wing?  
 My bonny brood!  
 Lig saaf ith' beald ot' greenest ling,  
 Yer dainty food.  
 I'ze ower fond o' life mesell,  
 An freedom too to gang an fell  
 The likes o' ye  
 Bud thear's a day at I can tell,  
 When mooargam dee. (1850:116)

A further example of this type of dialect literature can be seen in Heaton's *Nancy o' Johnny's visit to th' thump*, which is described as a 'Yorkshire tale', which differs from the category of 'tales' discussed below as, although Heaton's poem tells the story of his two characters Nancy and Johnny, it is written as a poem in the same style as the example from Howson above:

Ould Nancy went amang the rest,  
 As fine as hoo could be,  
 Hoo don'd hur booits wi th' lace hoils ewt  
 Hoo thout at nubb'dy 'd see.  
 Hoo had a lincy woolsy gewn,  
 Soa long it trail'd o'th flooar,  
 Hoo bought it at hur uncle's shop,  
 Hoo saw it hing at th' dooar. (Heaton 1866:3)

Again, we can see here several examples of non-standard orthographic representations of Yorkshire dialect; in Howson we can see *sell* 'self'; *gang* 'go'; and both <t> and <th> forms of definite article reduction. Heaton includes *hoo* 'she' frequently; <th> forms of definite article reduction; and *hoils* 'holes'. The significance of the frequency of these features in the corpus data is discussed in more detail below.

### 'Tales'

In a similar method to Bywater, Heaton, and the anonymous author of *Specimens of the Yorkshire Dialect*, writers like Rogers employed the use of Yorkshire 'characters' who use dialect. However, unlike the dialogues and poetry discussed above, Rogers' 'character' is used to tell 'tales' written in Yorkshire dialect. Rogers wrote several dialect works under the pseudonym of 'Tom Treddlehoyle', and an example of one of his 'tales' is *Tom Treddlehoyle's jont ta Lunnan ta see t'league bazaar*, which can be translated as 'Tom Treddlehoyle's jaunt to London to see the League Bazaar'. The initial section of the text is written as a first-person narrative as 'Treddlehoyle' describes his experiences in London:

NAH, then, foaks, sam yersenze raand; hey, ivvery man jack on yo at izant deaf, for, yo mun naw, ah been up e Lunnan, ta see t'League Bazaar, ta be suar, ah hev – diddant yo expeckt it? an ah want yo ta naw az weel az mesen wot it wor like. So just lizan, if yo pleaze, wal ah tell yo abit a summat abaght it. Bud mind, al hev noa squeazin, nor noise made, wal am agate; if ther iz, ah sal drop it dereckly, cos its bad behavior iz owt a that soart.  
 (1845:5)

Rogers' text is initially constructed as a 'tale' told directly to the reader; 'Treddlehoyle' even invites the reader to *lizan* 'listen' to his 'tale', but states that he will stop telling it if any 'noise' is made on the part of this imagined audience. This particular style of writing may be due to Rogers possibly intending that this text be read aloud; Wales discusses the attempts of



John Hartley, author of the *Halifax Clock Almanac*, ‘to seek his fortune (twice) in America and Canada (1872-5, 1894) by public readings of his poetry’ (2006:152).

*Sub-regional versus pan-county Dialect Literature*

There is also a distinct split in the nineteenth-century Yorkshire dialect literature between texts which purport to represent individual regional varieties and the county as a whole. Indeed, Robinson states that there is a great deal of variation within the county; in his discussion of the dialect of the neighbourhood of Leeds, he states:

We have said that this dialect of Pudsey partakes of the features of those of Leeds and Bradford, and so the Bradford dialect in its turn...is a compound of those of Leeds and Halifax, as also is that of Huddersfield. The Leeds and Bradford dialects have each their own broad and peculiar features (1862:iv-v)

The amount of texts produced for sub-regional varieties further suggests that there was a nineteenth-century perception that specific regions within Yorkshire each had their own ‘broad and peculiar features’. Table 5.2 shows the dialect literature texts included in the quantitative corpus which state that they are written in a specific intra-Yorkshire dialect versus those which state that they contain simply “Yorkshire” dialect.

Table 5.2 also shows that the majority of the texts listed state that they represent a specific area within Yorkshire. This suggests that there was a nineteenth-century perception that the term “Yorkshire” dialect was not a concise enough term to describe the amount of intra-regional variation which was believed to exist in the region. In fact, Robinson goes on to comment on the texts which purport to represent all of Yorkshire:

Most of these glossarial compilations and “Yorkshire Dialects,” we opine, to be the work either of leisured clergymen, upon their annual visits to particular watering places, or of gentlemen from town, whose tastes are inclined this way, visiting their friend the rector of some country parish. (1862:vii)

In addition, Nicholson also remarks on the distinct differences between “Yorkshire” dialects, stating that it is in the pronunciation of vowels where these differences can be seen. He goes on to state that the ‘majority of words is common to all Northern dialects, but this variation of vowel sounds makes the dialect of a district almost as different as another language’ (1889:6).

<b>Specific intra-Yorkshire texts</b>	
<b>Writer</b>	<b>Title</b>
Bywater (1839)	<i>The Sheffield Dialect</i>
Brown (1833)	<i>York Minster Screen being a specimen of Yorkshire Dialect, as spoken in the North Riding</i>
Howson (1850)	<i>An Illustrated Guide to the Curiosities of Craven</i>
Preston (1864)	<i>Poems and Songs in the Dialect of Bradford-Dale Be a Yorkshur Likeness Takker</i>
Carr (1824)	<i>Horae Momenta Cravenae, or, The Craven Dialect</i>
Robinson (1862)	<i>The Dialect of Leeds and its Neighbourhood</i>
Castillo (1831)	<i>A Specimen of the Bilsdale Dialect</i>
Twisleton (1869)	<i>Poems in the Craven dialect</i>
<b>Pan-Yorkshire texts</b>	
<b>Writer</b>	<b>Title</b>
Anon. (1808)	<i>Specimens of the Yorkshire Dialect</i>
Hartley (1868)	<i>Yorkshire Ditties</i>
Forshaw (1892)	<i>Holroyd's collection of Yorkshire ballads</i>
Ingledeu (1860)	<i>The Ballads and Songs of Yorkshire</i>

*Table 5.2 Nineteenth-century dialect literature texts containing specific regional dialect versus “Yorkshire” dialect*

Despite the somewhat scathing view of these ‘pan-Yorkshire’ texts put forward by Robinson, there were many features which commonly occurred across all the dialect literature texts in the corpus, many of them lexical items, as suggested by Nicholson. In the next section, I discuss these frequently-occurring features in the nineteenth-century quantitative corpus which, like the qualitative material presented above, fell into three categories: definite article reduction, representations of phonological features, and lexical items.

### *Definite Article Reduction*

DAR was both the most consistently occurring dialect feature and the most frequently-occurring feature in the dialect literature. Two main variants of DAR emerged in these texts: those which took a <t> form, and those which took a <th> form. However, there was a great deal of variation in how these variants were used, as reduced articles could appear as both prefixes or suffixes, with or without the use of apostrophes. Table 5.3 shows the range of variation of both these forms.

The variants shown in table 5.3 were used consistently across the dialect literature texts in the corpus. Indeed, 26 of the 27 dialect literature texts featured some use of <t> forms; 7 texts showed use of <th> forms. Only one writer, Hartley, used only <th> forms and no <t> forms.

However, the consistency of writers' use of these individual forms varied considerably; for instance, Bywater is extremely inconsistent with his use of apostrophes to represent reduced articles. He uses constructions with a preceding apostrophe and the reduced article is attached to the following word, as in *shank end at 'tweek* 'shank end of the week' (1839:17); no apostrophe and the article is again a prefix as in *O, tlanlords shud satttle trents* 'Oh, the landlords should settle the rents' (ibid. p.19); and a suffixed article with a preceding apostrophe, as in *marchin up an dahn 't cuntra* 'marching up and down the country' (ibid).

Bywater also shows use of 0-representations of reduced articles: for example, 'an as sooin as ivver o lifted trap dooar up an sho'd me soota face' (1839:23) seems to be 'missing' a definite article before 'trap'; so in Standard English the sentence would read 'and as soon as ever I lifted the trap door up and showed my sooty face'. However, these 0-representations are not frequent and not consistently employed by writers of dialect literature.

DAR variant	Description	Examples
<t'>	Reduction of 'the'; neither prefix nor suffix; with apostrophe	<i>into t'</i> <i>o' t'</i> <i>t' Lord's table</i>
<t'*>	Prefixed to following word, with apostrophe	<i>t'last neet</i> <i>t'next</i> <i>t'chimla</i>
<*t>	Suffixed to preceding word, without apostrophe	<i>tot</i> <i>Dahnt</i> <i>Ift</i>
<*t'>	Suffixed to preceding word, with following apostrophe	<i>at'</i>
<*t'>	Suffixed to preceding word, with preceding apostrophe	<i>on't</i> <i>for't</i> <i>all't</i>
<*t'>	Suffixed to preceding word, with following and preceding apostrophe	<i>i't'</i> <i>into't'</i>
<'t*>	Prefixed to following word with preceding apostrophe	<i>'tchap</i> <i>'tleet</i>
<th'>	Reduction of 'the'; neither prefix nor suffix; with apostrophe	<i>i' th' air</i> <i>o' th</i>
<th'*>	Prefixed to following word, with apostrophe	<i>Th'Thump</i> <i>th'lasses</i>
<*th>	Suffixed to preceding word, without apostrophe	<i>Oth</i>
<*th'>	Suffixed to preceding word, with following apostrophe	<i>inth'</i> <i>toth'</i>
<*th>	Suffixed to preceding word, with preceding apostrophe	<i>o'th</i>
<*th'>	Suffixed to preceding word, with following and preceding apostrophe	<i>i'th'</i> <i>o'th'</i>
0-representation	No marking of reduced article	<i>but chap at teld me, seed him do it</i>  <i>an as sooin as ivver o lifted</i> <i>__trap dooar up an sho'd me</i> <i>soota face</i>

Table 5.3 Range of DAR forms in Nineteenth-Century Yorkshire Dialect Literature

Additionally, some texts feature use of both <t> and <th> forms, as in the case of Howson, who displays use of <it'> for 'in the', with an example of <ith'> on the same line (1850:116). There does not appear to be any discernible pattern governing the choice of variant or placement of apostrophes; this seems to be random choice on the part of individual writers.

*Representations of Phonological Features*

As with the data in the qualitative texts discussed above, the most commonly-occurring and consistent representations of Yorkshire phonological features in the dialect literature can also be categorised further. Firstly, we can observe representations which suggest certain monophthongal realisations. For example, this can be seen in the suggested pronunciation of the singular first-person pronoun, ‘I’. There are three common non-standard orthographical representations of this in the dialect literature: <ah>, as in ‘Ah’ve wisht at ah’d tell’d her by’t gardin doar’ (Preston 1864:32), meaning ‘I’ve wished that I’d told her by the garden door’; <aw>, as in ‘As aw luk’d on, aw sed to misen’ (Hartley 1868:7), meaning ‘As I looked on, I said to myself’; and <o>, as in ‘o ger up tot top, an sum hah me feet slipt throo under me, an o fell dahnt insoid, reit tot bottom’ (Bywater 1839:30), meaning ‘I got up to the top, and somehow my feet slipped through under me, and I fell down the inside, right to the bottom’. These three constructions all suggest a monophthongal pronunciation of ‘I’, as opposed to the RP diphthong /aɪ/, for instance. Similar examples of this can be seen in other words; for instance, in the example from Bywater above, he also uses this <ah> construction in *hah* ‘how’, and *dahnt* ‘down the’, suggesting that these are representations of monophthongal pronunciations of MOUTH words.

Secondly, we can observe orthographic constructions which suggest Yorkshire-specific diphthongs in certain words. For instance, we can see the use of <ea> in *fe’ace* meaning ‘face’ (Brown 1833:3), which, by analogy with the Standard English use of <ea> in words like ‘hear’ or ‘appear’, seems to suggest that the “Yorkshire” diphthong being represented in *fe’ace* is /ɪə/ as opposed to the RP diphthong /eɪ/. A related construction can be observed in the use of <eea> in *ageean* for ‘again’ (Carr 1824:41). The use of <eea> also suggests that this is a representation of a pronunciation like /ɪə/. A similar phenomenon occurs in the use of <ooa> in words like *hooam* for ‘home’ (Hartley 1868:27), suggesting that this is a representation of a pronunciation where the diphthong is pronounced /ʊə/. In addition, we can also observe a further “Yorkshire” diphthong in PRICE words, as in the pronunciation of ‘right’ as *reight* in the Bywater example above, where one of his characters states that they fell ‘reit tot bottom’ (1838:30), suggesting a pronunciation like /eɪ/ by analogy with the pronunciation of the Standard English word ‘eight’. However, this non-standard orthographical rendering can also be seen in the use of *reight* as a lexical item meaning

‘really’, as in ‘Reight cautiously, wi’ noiseless feet’ (Twisleton 1869:12), meaning ‘really cautiously, with noiseless feet’.

Thirdly, there were several additional features which occurred frequently in the dialect literature. These features include *owd* or *oud* for ‘old’, as in ‘Reyt back i me owd arm chair’ (Preston 1864:31), meaning ‘right back in my old arm chair’. This <ou/ow> construction is suggestive of l-vocalisation, as discussed above. There is also the use of <o> for <a> in words like *many* and *any*, as can be seen in ‘On my brow I gat monie hard knocks’ (Browne 1800:154), meaning ‘on my brow I got many hard knocks’; and the use of <i> for <u> in ‘sich’ or ‘mich’ – for instance ‘T’ gaffer didn’t saay mich tul him ah reckon’ (Robinson 1862:49), meaning ‘the boss didn’t say much to him I reckon’. Finally, there is the use of <oi> in *loike* ‘like’, as in ‘whin you’ve gotten foive or six fellows i’ red cooates, who eat loike Fussikers i’ yer oon hoose, why then ah say it isna noice or pleeasant’ (Featherston 1870:1), where we can see this <oi> construction in *foive* ‘five’, *loike* ‘like’, and *noice* ‘nice’. The exact pronunciation suggested by this orthographical rendering is unclear; Bywater states in his ‘rules’ for understanding the orthography in *The Sheffield Dialect* that ‘i long changes to oi, as *foine*, fine’ (1839:ix), but gives no direct indication as to what pronunciation <oi> is intended to represent. However, this construction does suggest a diphthong distinct from the diphthong /ai/ in these words.

### *Lexical Items*

Several lexical items also proved to be both frequent and consistently occurring in the dialect literature. These items could also commonly be observed in the commentary material discussed above. Table 5.4 shows the most frequent and consistent lexical items in the nineteenth-century dialect literature.

Several of these lexical items were extremely consistently used to represent Yorkshire in dialect literature, particularly *sen*, which appeared in 85% of the dialect literature texts. *Mun* and *nowt* were also very common, as they were used in 70% of the DL texts in the corpus. The implications of such frequency and consistency are discussed in more detail below.

Lexical Item	Definition	DL texts with tokens	% of DL texts	Examples
<i>Sen</i>	Self	23	85	<i>he fansa's his sen</i> Bywater 1839:37 <i>offended</i> <i>tak' care o' mysen</i> Browne 1800:155
<i>Mun</i>	Must	19	70	<i>for, yo mun naw</i> Rogers 1845:iii <i>we mun teugh an</i> Carr 1824:8 <i>addle summat</i>
<i>Nowt</i>	Nothing	19	70	<i>Ah's nowt bud an</i> Halliwell 1847:25 <i>ignarant mushrum</i> <i>An nowt can happen,</i> Howson 1850:118 <i>gay, or serious</i>
<i>Owt</i>	Anything	15	56	<i>Diz thoo knaw owt at</i> Brown 1833:4 <i>all about it Mike?</i> <i>nivver good to owt</i> Robinson 1862:7
<i>Hoo/shoo</i>	She	12	44	<i>Hoo went in an hoo</i> Heaton 1866:4 <i>axt him th' price</i> <i>shoo does luke as if</i> Robinson 1862:7 <i>shoo hed come</i> <i>through thear</i>
<i>Gan/gang</i>	Go	12	44	<i>I'd gang and get me</i> Browne 1800:156 <i>listed</i> <i>Gangin ower some</i> Carr 1824:6 <i>healdin grund</i>
<i>Nobbut</i>	Only	11	41	<i>ye'll nobbut hev hauf</i> Halliwell 1847:24 <i>Ah wor nobbut</i> Anon. 1808:5 <i>reeghtly sarrad</i>
<i>Bairn</i>	Child	8	30	<i>When I was a wee</i> Browne 1800:154 <i>little tottering bairn</i> <i>An the voice o' bairn</i> Howson 1850:118 <i>or wife</i>
<i>Summat</i>	Something	7	26	<i>summat abaght it</i> Rogers 1845:iii <i>they'l do summat for</i> Bywater 1839:2 <i>uz</i>

Table 5.4 Frequently and consistently-occurring lexical items in nineteenth-century Yorkshire dialect literature

In the next section, I will discuss the results from the literary dialect section of the nineteenth-century quantitative corpus.

### 5.2.2 Nineteenth-Century Yorkshire Literary Dialect

As opposed to the dialect literature discussed in the previous section, literary dialect appears in works such as novels and plays, in which there was also an increased focus on regional dialects in the nineteenth century. As Bailey states, 'literary fashion swung in the direction of the vernacular' (1996:66), and there are many examples of literary works from this period which feature characters who speak in regional dialects. Novels and plays set in or featuring characters from the North of England were also common; Wales discusses the impact of this,

stating that by the 1870s, ‘the novelistic representation of Lancashire dialect against an industrial setting appears to have become so commonplace as to inspire metropolitan parody’ (2006:123). This parody led to certain features of regional dialects becoming stereotypes and in some cases, possibly only used in literary works to index certain varieties. An example of this is likely the ‘/v/-/w/ interchange’ described by Beal (2004a:194), in words like ‘willain’ for ‘villain’. She goes on to note that this feature of the Cockney dialect was used in nineteenth century literature (notably by Dickens), although it is likely that even in the nineteenth century, this feature was a stereotype of Cockney and, according to normative magazine *Enquire Within upon Everything*, by the second half of the century, was ‘generally abandoned’ in speech (1878:63, cited in Beal, *ibid.*).

In this section I will discuss the characterisations of the Yorkshire dialect in the literary dialect texts; the kinds of characters that speak in Yorkshire dialect; and the particular Yorkshire features that mark their speech as being Yorkshire.

#### *Discussion of the Yorkshire Dialect*

In a similar fashion to the dialect commentary material discussed below, some nineteenth-century writers give descriptions of the Yorkshire dialect used by their characters. This is most likely due to the intended readership of these works – many were intended for a national readership across England; some were either intended for, or were ultimately read by an international readership, as English novels were also read in America, for instance. An example of this kind of discussion of Yorkshire dialect can be found in Croker’s *The Adventures of Barney Mahoney* (1832). Towards the end of this novel, Croker describes how scenes where some Yorkshire cousins of his main characters visit them in London. These Yorkshire characters are stated as being from Swaledale. He feels it necessary to explain the alien nature of the Yorkshire dialect to ‘the English reader’, describing it as a patois (p.226), and he states that his transcriptions are as close to the pronunciation as possible. The Yorkshire dialect here is described as a language in its own right (p.227), and ‘somewhat deficient’ (p.229) due to its unique variations when compared to Standard English. Croker then goes on to describe some of the specific features of the Yorkshire dialect: he states that the singular first person pronoun, ‘I’ is pronounced ‘Agh’ (p.227). This suggested pronunciation is also indicated in the dialect literature discussed above.

However, some writers are somewhat less extensive in their discussions of Yorkshire dialect. For instance, Forrester’s *The Warwick Woodlands; or, Things as they were there Twenty*



*Years Ago* (1851) introduces us to the character of Tim Matlock, who is described by Forrester as a ‘piece of Yorkshire oddity’ (p.6). With regards to Tim’s speech, Forrester states that he uses ‘the most extraordinary West-Riding Yorkshire’ (p.7), and presents it using non-standard orthography. No other description of the Yorkshire dialect is given in this text; it appears as though Forrester is assuming that his audience will know what this ‘extraordinary’ Yorkshire dialect will sound like. Given the number of nineteenth-century texts to feature Yorkshire dialect, it is possible that the tendency described by Wales above with regards to the Lancashire dialect was also true of Yorkshire; by the time Forrester was writing, it is possible that it was reasonable for him to assume that his readership would have had a relatively good idea of what a Yorkshire dialect was supposed to sound like. At the very least, the audience would be aware that the Yorkshire dialect would have an alien quality to it; a degree of ‘otherness’ to set it apart from Standard English.

Overt commentary on the Yorkshire dialect can also be seen in nineteenth-century plays. For instance, in Kenney’s *Raising the Wind* (1828), the character of Sam identifies himself as a Yorkshireman (p.11), although there is also presented in this play an example of another character commenting on Sam’s speech: the character of Jeremy Diddler refers to Sam’s speech as his ‘unsophisticated tongue’ (1828:11), and his ‘Disastrous accents’ (1828:10). Evidence for this type of commentary can also be seen in Pirsson’s *The Discarded Daughter* (1832), where the character of Lubin Gubbins identifies himself as a Yorkshire speaker; although, in the line of dialogue where this occurs, he is responding to a comment from another character, who states that he won’t ‘make a practice of putting up’ with Gubbins’ Yorkshire dialect. Gubbins replies by stating: ‘Why, mun, that’s the way us Yorkshire volks talk’ (p.20). This kind of overt comment linking a particular way of speaking in the reference ‘that’s the way’, to a group of speakers sharing only geographical location in ‘us Yorkshire volks’ is key to the process of indexing a particular way of speaking to a particular area. This same kind of comment can also be found in the dialect commentary material. The suggested voicing of the word-initial /f/ via the use of <v> in ‘volks’ is discussed further below.

### *Yorkshire Characters*

As opposed to the ‘Yorkshire character’ discussed in Chapter 8, the term ‘character’ here simply refers to characters in the literary dialect whose dialogue is presented in Yorkshire dialect. The types of Yorkshire character represented in nineteenth-century literary dialect are not particularly varied. Most are lower-class; many are in positions of servitude, although

some are farmers. However, with perhaps one notable exception, Yorkshire characters in these texts tend to be lower-class, rural characters whose speech is normally presented in non-standard orthography. A possible exception to the trend described above occurs in Charlotte Brontë's *Shirley* (1849). In this text we are introduced to several Yorkshire-speaking characters. However, there are two who stand out as having the most dialogue represented in non-standard orthography: Hiram Yorke, a Yorkshire landowner; and Joe Scott, a mill foreman.

The extent to which non-standard orthography is used in depicting the Yorkshire speech of these characters varies here. Yorke's dialogue features less non-standard vocabulary than does Scott's. This appears to be due to the difference in social class of the two characters; indeed, at one point in the novel, Yorke is shown conversing in French with the character of Helstone (p.59). Scott's dialogue, however, features many more non-standard representations than Yorke's. We can see in the speech of both characters, though, use of definite article reduction in both <th> forms (Yorke, p.53; Scott, p.79), and <t> forms (Yorke, p.55; Scott, p.181). There is also evidence for the use of: *nobbut* for 'only' (p.54); *mun* for 'must' (p.77); and *summat* for 'something' (p.81). Also highlighted in this text are non-standard orthographical representations which suggest Yorkshire pronunciations. There is the use of *onybody* for 'anybody' (p.80), featuring a replacement of <a> with <o>. This tendency can also be seen elsewhere, as discussed above. Other examples of this are: *sich* for 'such'; *spreed* for 'spread'; *seveges* for 'savages'; *knaws* for 'knows'; and *allus* for 'always' (p.81). These examples all come from Scott's dialogue, and are far more common with this character, than with Yorke. These two characters appear to represent some of the only instances where the characters speaking in Yorkshire dialect were not lower-class.

There are, however, two distinct and overlapping methods by which writers identify Yorkshire characters in their works. Some explicitly state that their characters are from Yorkshire, as in the case of Forrester above; this is more common in the plays, however. There are several examples of characters in plays introducing themselves as being 'Yorkshire'. For instance, in Colman's play *Love Laughs at Locksmiths* (1803), The character of Risk is identified as a Yorkshireman, as he states 'I'm Yorkshire myself, sir' (1803:16), as the play itself is set in London. However, Risk does not display any Yorkshire speech that is represented by non-standard orthography. The majority of his dialogue is presented in Standard English. The only deviation from this is when he is impersonating another Yorkshire character, Lob, later in the play. He then employs some non-standard

dialect, represented by non-standard orthography. The character of Lob also states that he is from Yorkshire, as he explains that he has come to London from Tadcaster (p.16), in North Yorkshire. And, despite their shared place of origin, Lob's dialogue is far more non-standard than Risk's, as Lob's dialogue is characterised by the use of several non-standard features. These include representations of phonological features like *pleace* for 'place'; and *neame* for 'name' (p.14). Lob's dialogue also displays evidence of secondary contraction of negatives, as in *ant* for 'haven't'; *thee* is also presented for 'your'; and *be* is used for 'are', displaying non-standard use of the verb (p.15). Further examples of Yorkshire lexis in Lob's dialogue, though, include items which also occur frequently in the dialect literature and the commentary material, such as *summit* for 'something' (p.15); *now't* for 'nothing', and *mun* for 'must' (p.16).

The majority of Risk's dialogue is written in Standard English for the first half of the play, despite his statement that he 'is Yorkshire'. Later, however, he is impersonating Lob, and affects Lob's pronunciation. In doing so, he displays: voicing of /s/, which is most likely an attempt at representing nonstandardness and is discussed further below; and *mun* for 'must' (p.23), which are the same features displayed by Lob.

Some writers explicitly state that their characters came from Yorkshire in the prefatory material of their works. In Beazley's play *The Steward* (1819), the character of Jonathan Winter is described in the preface to the play as being 'a Yorkshireman' (p.vii). Indeed, Winter's dialogue displays many Yorkshire features similar to those described in dialect dictionaries and grammars in the nineteenth century. However, one notable omission of a feature is the lack of representations of definite article reduction in the speech of this character, as Winter makes regular use of the full, un-reduced article, <the>. In the play itself, the character of Winter is explicitly referred to as being from Yorkshire, as another character calls him a 'Yorkshire rascal' (p.24), rather than Winter himself stating it.

The character of Winter was played by an actor called John Emery when the play was first performed. Emery was renowned at the time for the accuracy of his portrayal of the Yorkshire dialect, which earned him 'critical acclaim' (Davis 2007:162). Davis also notes that Emery grew up in Yorkshire, but 'spent the last 24 years of his life as a member of the Covent Garden Company in London' (ibid. p.159). This suggests that Emery may not have needed as many written cues for "Yorkshire" pronunciation as another actor with less experience of the Yorkshire dialect. However, Beazley does employ several distinctly

“Yorkshire” features in presenting the character of Winter’s dialogue. These include the use of *doan’t* for ‘don’t’ (1819:1), which also displays a non-standard subject-verb agreement, as Winter says *It doan’t*, as opposed to the Standard English ‘it doesn’t’. Winter’s character also makes use of secondary contraction of negatives as in *an’t* for ‘haven’t’ (ibid.). Interestingly, this particular instance also displays /h/-dropping, which is in contrast with a second example of this same word rendered as ‘ha’n’t’ (ibid. p.3), where the <h> is included. In terms of Yorkshire lexis, however, there are not many instances of specific items, although *mun* appears for ‘must’ (ibid. p.82). We can also observe that *Yoursel* appears for ‘yourself’, as does *himsel* for ‘himself’ (ibid. p.2); later, we see *yoursen* used for ‘yourself’ as well (ibid. p.37). ‘Have’ is frequently represented as *ha*’ (ibid. p.5, for instance); and *ganging* appears for *going* (ibid. p.26). And, in a similar manner to the character of Ralph in Arnold’s *Free and Easy* (1842, above), Winter also uses ‘on’ for ‘of’, as in the line: ‘it wouldn’t be much more use my throttling him to get it out *on* him’ (1819:61 – my italics).

#### *‘Nonstandardness’*

Examples of Yorkshire speech in the literary dialect of the nineteenth century feature in some cases markers of what appear to be general ‘nonstandardness’, or features which are salient of lower-class speakers in other varieties, rather than features that are specific to Yorkshire. One of the most overt methods of denoting nonstandardness used by nineteenth-century writers is to present the speech of Yorkshire characters in non-standard orthography, particularly when compared with characters from other regions or other social classes whose dialogue is represented in Standard English. An example of this comes from Croker, where the dialogue of the Yorkshire characters in his text is presented largely in non-standard orthography, whereas the speech of the London characters is all presented in Standard English; there are no instances of the Yorkshire characters speaking entirely in Standard English.

In addition, some writers also display use of features that are completely inconsistent with the Yorkshire dialect. For instance, in Colman’s play, there is *Eees* presented for ‘yes’ throughout. There are no similar examples in the dialect commentary for Yorkshire; although this appears to be a feature of West Country dialect, particularly Cornwall. Jago, for instance, in his nineteenth-century discussion of the dialect of Cornwall, notes examples of for ‘yes’, highlighting what appears to be evidence of an orthographical representation of yod-dropping (1882:59). Additionally, Colman presents words like ‘sir’ which are rendered

*zur* (1803:15), representing what appears to be a tendency to voice the alveolar fricative /s/. However, this voicing is inconsistent, as the character states his name to be ‘Solomon Lob, zur’ (ibid. p.15), showing the voiceless fricative in ‘Solomon’, rather than ‘Zolomon’. This is also a tendency that is not reflected in the dialect commentary for Yorkshire, although this /s/-/z/ voicing can also be observed in dialect commentary for the West Country. Indeed, Jago goes on to state that in the Cornwall dialect, there is the voicing of /s/ in words like ‘said’, rendering them as *zaid* (1882:57); this phenomenon had also been discussed over a century earlier by Sheridan, who noted that south-western speakers pronounce ‘Somersetshire’ as ‘*Zomerzetshire*’ (1780, cited in Beal 2004a:193). In addition, voicing of word-initial fricatives in representations of West Country accents also appears in Shakespeare; as Altendorf and Watt state, ‘it is a feature of the stage accent “Mummerset”, a form of which is used by the disguised Edgar in... *King Lear*’ (2004:198), suggesting that the association of this feature with the West Country is older still than Sheridan’s record of it.

Further examples of seemingly incongruous “Yorkshire” dialect features can be seen in Pirsson. His character of Gubbins displays dialect features which are more akin to Cockney than Yorkshire. For instance, there is the substitution of <v> for /w/ displayed when Gubbins says: ‘Very well, zir, I vool’ (p.12), where *vool* means ‘will’. This pronunciation was associated with lower-class status; Elphinston states that this substitution is ‘confined to ‘vulgar’ speakers’ (1787 cited in Beal 2004a:193). There is also again here the voicing of /s/ in ‘zir’, which could also be evidence of the use of this feature as a generic marker of low social class, rather than of Yorkshire, as the existence of <z> for /s/ in Yorkshire dialect is not supported by either the Yorkshire dialect commentary material or the dialect literature.

Finally, with regards to grammar, some writers employ non-standard constructions which are not reflected in any other writing in or about the Yorkshire dialect. An example of this can be seen in Moncrieff’s play *Wanted a Wife* (1819) in the character of Jolter, who is a servant, and is explicitly identified by another character as being from Yorkshire. While Jolter displays many expected Yorkshire features, his dialogue is extremely consistent in the use of ‘be’; Moncrieff seems to have regularised the verb paradigm for ‘be’ for this character, as Jolter uses ‘be’ for ‘is’, ‘are’, or ‘am’ in his dialogue throughout the play.

The tendency to use these seemingly generic ‘nonstandardness’ markers in the literary dialect is much more frequently observed in the plays. In *Agnes Grey*, though, Anne Brontë has one of her Yorkshire characters, Nancy Brown, making use of the construction *I’se* for ‘I am’

(1847:162); this feature is not consistently found in either the dialect literature or the dialect commentary, initially indicating that it may simply be an attempt to represent ‘nonstandard’ speech rather than “Yorkshire” dialect. However, many of the Yorkshire locations recorded in the SED list [az] for ‘I am’ (Orton & Dieth 1963:974), although this is also by no means consistent. Indeed, the SED locations of Gargrave and Heptonstall, which are the closest to Haworth (Brontë’s home village in Yorkshire and the likely basis for her representations of Yorkshire dialect) list [am] and [ɒm] for ‘I am’ respectively, and not [az], suggesting that if *I’s*e was the preferred variant in those areas in the nineteenth century, it does not seem to be any more. The SED data therefore highlights that [az] for ‘I am’ is variable across Yorkshire; it was likely similarly so in the nineteenth century, hence the feature’s inconsistent representation in the historical corpus data. This suggests that Brontë’s use of *I’s*e here may indeed be a representation of “Yorkshire” dialect and not simply a ‘nonstandardness’ marker. Generally speaking, however, the nineteenth-century novels tend to show more of a correlation with the dialect literature and the dialect commentary vis. their representations of Yorkshire dialect than do the plays.

#### *Definite Article Reduction*

In the literary dialect definite article reduction is again a prominent feature. Representations of reduced articles as <t> occur in 65% of the texts; <th> forms occur in 15% of the texts. However, unlike with the dialect literature, the amount of variation for each of these forms is much lower in the literary dialect. The majority of writers use either <t’>, where the reduced article is by itself, or <t’\*>, where the reduced article has a following apostrophe and is then attached to the following word. The greatest degree of variation comes in the dialect representation of Emily Brontë, who, in the sample from *Wuthering Heights* (1847), makes use of <t’>, <t’\*>, <\*t’>, <\*’t> and <th>. This was not the case for all of the Brontë sisters, as Charlotte Brontë only used <t’> in the sample from *Shirley* (1849); Anne Brontë did not use <t’> at all in the sample from *Agnes Grey* (1847). All three, however, made use of <th> forms, and were the only writers in the literary dialect texts in the corpus to do so. The greater degree in variation on the part of Emily Brontë is potentially due to the fact that she and her sisters grew up and lived much of their adult lives in a village on the Yorkshire moors called Haworth (Alexander 2000:273). Indeed, her use of dialect, Barker argues, was likely influenced by ‘personal observation of Haworth Methodists’ (1995:207).

The majority of the examples of DAR that can be observed in the literary dialect, however, take a form similar to those shown below:

- (i) <t'> form: *Awe! ar' you t' sarvent? well, which is t' way?*  
(Croker 1832; also Brontë 1847; Brontë 1849; Bucktone 1826; and Forester 1851)
- (ii) <t'\*> form: *I don't much like t'sight of it my sen*  
(Didbin 1822; also Morton 1805; Hackett 1828; Kenney 1828; Stirling 1839; and Simms 1883)

It appears therefore, that although the variation in the forms of the reduced article is less in the literary dialect than in the dialect literature, DAR is used in similarly consistent amounts in the literary dialect data, given the smaller numbers of features employed overall by literary writers.

### *Representations of Phonological Features*

As with the dialect literature, there are examples of nineteenth-century literary dialect writers using non-standard orthographical representations which suggest Yorkshire pronunciations. Some correlate with the commentary material, particularly Dickens and Emily Brontë, who display evidence of Yorkshire-specific alternate diphthongs in words like *neight* (Dickens 1839:82) for 'night', and *raight* (Brontë 1847:29) for 'right', suggesting a pronunciation of /eɪ/ as opposed to /aɪ/, the latter example here is formed by analogy with the Standard English word 'straight' and may indicate the same pronunciation as the diphthong in 'straight' would have in RP; *agean* (Dickens 1839:118) for 'again' and *thear* (Brontë 1847:28) for 'there', suggesting that /ɛ/ and /ɛə/ respectively are replaced with /ɪə/. In addition, Brontë also displays orthographic renderings which suggest the replacement of /aʊ/ with a monophthong, as in *rahnd* for 'round' (p.16) and *aght* for 'out' (p.28).

### *Lexical Items*

Finally, the use of Yorkshire-specific lexical items is much less frequent in the literary dialect than in the dialect literature or the dialect commentary. However, there is a direct correlation to be observed between the Yorkshire lexis which occurs in the literary dialect and the dialect commentary. Table 5.5 shows the most commonly-occurring lexical items in the literary dialect texts and which texts these items appear in diachronically.

Table 5.5 shows that the 6 lexical items: *summat* ‘something’; *mun* ‘must’; *nowt* ‘nothing’; *nobbut* ‘only’; *gang* ‘to go’; and *owt* ‘anything’ occur in many of the literary dialect texts.

<b>Text</b>	<b><i>Summat</i></b>	<b><i>Mun</i></b>	<b><i>Nowt</i></b>	<b><i>Nobbut</i></b>	<b><i>Gang</i></b>	<b><i>Owt</i></b>
Morton 1805	X	X				
Beazley 1819		X			X	
Dibdin 1822	X		X	X		
Buckstone 1826			X			
Hackett 1828	X			X		
Kenney 1828		X				
Croker 1832	X	X	X		X	X
Dickens 1839	X	X	X		X	
Stirling 1840	X					
Bronte, A 1847	X		X			
Bronte, E 1847	X	X	X	X	X	
Bronte, C 1849	X	X		X		X
Forester 1851		X	X	X		
Simms 1883	X	X	X			

Table 5.5 - *Diachronic Distribution of Lexical Items in Literary Dialect*

These 6 items are also consistently discussed in the commentary material, as discussed above. *Summat*, *mun*, and *nowt* are the most common examples of Yorkshire lexical items in the literary dialect, in that they occur in the highest number of texts. Occasionally, we can see instances of more specific and obscure Yorkshire dialect words: Croker presents the word ‘diddher’ (1832:230) which he glosses at the bottom of the page via the use of an asterisk. This word means ‘tremble’, usually associated with fear, and can be found in some of the Yorkshire glossaries, such as Atkinson (1848:142), and Robinson (1855:45). This word was also listed in the SED meaning ‘tremors’, largely taking forms similar to [dɪðəz] (Orton & Dieth 1963:587), and suggests that speakers may be aware of and use particular dialect words despite apparent inconsistency in, or lack of, representation.

Generally speaking, however, the most commonly and consistently occurring Yorkshire lexical items are the 6 listed above; the implications of the correlation between the quantitative corpus data and that from the qualitative texts are discussed in more detail in Chapter 8 below.



### 5.3 Conclusions

In this chapter I have shown that there were several features of the Yorkshire dialect which consistently drew overt commentary in a variety of sources in the nineteenth century. In addition, although there is variation in these features' orthographic representations, similar pronunciations are suggested in many cases; for instance, Yorkshire lexical items meaning 'anything' are given as: *out*; *owt*; *ought*; and *aught*, as stated above. These renderings suggest pronunciations which potentially contain: the diphthong /aʊ/ (*out* and *owt*), or the monophthong /ɔ:/ (*ought* and *aught*). There is also evidence to suggest that *owt* and (possibly) *ought* indicate a third possible pronunciation; Wright gives the pronunciation of *owt* as /out/ in his grammar of the dialect of Windhill (1892:176).

I have also shown that there were certain frequently-occurring conventions for writing in dialect; particularly the dialogue format used extensively by Bywater, for instance. A similar format to this is the 'monologue' format used by Rogers in his dialect 'tales' told through the character of Tom Treddlehoyle. This convention can also be seen in dialect poetry where rhyming dialogues were used.

In addition, I have highlighted that some features may appear consistently and frequently in one type of dialect writing but not another. For instance, the use of <oi> to represent the pronunciation of /ɔɪ/ as opposed to the diphthong /əʊ/ in words like *coil hoil* for 'coal hole' was discussed frequently in the commentary material. However, instances of this feature were neither frequent nor consistent in the quantitative corpus data. The importance of frequency and consistency of features in both quantitative and qualitative data is discussed further in Chapter 8.

Finally, several nineteenth-century writers felt that there was no one, single, homogenous "Yorkshire" dialect. This is evidenced by both the explicit statement by Robinson discussed above, and the greater number of texts purporting to represent or describe various individual sub-regional dialects of Yorkshire (such as Sheffield, Leeds, Craven, &c.) than texts describing themselves as "Yorkshire" as a whole. This tendency was strong in the dialect literature; however, the literary dialect did not show this kind of variation, with characters being simply described as 'from Yorkshire' or announcing themselves as 'Yorkshire', suggesting one broad dialect representative of the whole county. This notion of many

“Yorkshire dialects” can also be observed today in several of the comments made by respondents to the online survey; this is discussed in more detail in Chapters 7 & 8 below.

In the next chapter I consider the results from the corpus of modern Yorkshire dialect material.

## 6. Results II: Modern Corpus

With regards to the modern Yorkshire dialect, Beal states that perceptual studies have shown that speakers demonstrate ‘overt awareness of a ... “Yorkshire” dialect’ (2009a:150). This can also be observed in the production of what Johnstone et al describe as ‘mass media representations like folk dictionaries’ (2006:94).

In this chapter, I examine various examples of modern dialect commentary and both modern dialect literature and literary dialect which are analogous to sources available in the nineteenth century. I discuss features which are consistently and frequently listed in both types of dialect material; the range of orthographical representations for particular Yorkshire features; and the types of metacommentary we can observe about these features and the Yorkshire dialect in general.

Finally, I discuss the different types of dialect literature available to modern audiences, and the way in which Yorkshire dialect is presented in modern literary dialect both in terms of individual features and the way in which these representations have changed when compared with the nineteenth-century data, particularly when we consider elements which were not present in the historical data at all, such as swearing.

### 6.1 Modern Qualitative Corpus

As with the nineteenth-century texts, there are also many modern dialect texts which comment upon the features of the Yorkshire dialect. These texts mostly take the form of popular books aimed at a non-specialist audience; however, they give an insight into how the Yorkshire dialect is portrayed and viewed in the late twentieth and early twenty-first centuries. These texts are predominantly word lists, which in some cases include general descriptions of the Yorkshire accent and dialect and are analogous to similar works that were available in the nineteenth century as discussed in the previous chapter. Although there are other forms of dialect commentary available to modern speakers in the twenty-first century in the form of newspapers, television, and internet sources (as discussed in Chapter 2), the types of dialect commentary discussed in this chapter are limited to those which are similar to what was available to speakers in the nineteenth century. The modern qualitative corpus, therefore, is comprised of 7 texts, as summarised in table 4.5 above.

In this section I will discuss these texts in terms of the features they list and discuss. These features include: definite article reduction; /h/-dropping; orthographical representations

suggesting monophthongal realisation of diphthongs; the suggested pronunciations of alternate diphthongs; and Yorkshire lexical items including *owt*, *nowt*, and *summat*.

### 6.1.1 Definite Article Reduction

This feature is extremely common in the commentary material and in many cases is discussed at length in its own dedicated section. Kellett, for instance, devotes a paragraph to ‘Glottal stops’ where he discusses: ‘**t**’ (the) which is not actually sounded, but replaced by a brisk opening and shutting of the glottis at the top of the windpipe’ (2002:xxviii – emphasis in original). He goes on to discuss this further in the ‘T’ section of his Yorkshire dictionary, where ‘t’ is the first entry. This entry states:

The definite article ‘the’ is pronounced as a glottal stop before consonants, or as **t**’ before vowels. West of Halifax it is sometimes pronounced as **th**’ before vowels. In the ER, esp in Holderness, it is sometimes not pronounced at all (2002:180 – emphasis in original)

The identification of a <th’> variant as an alternative to <t’> is rare in later texts, where <t’> is usually presented as the only variant. Indeed, the representation of DAR in many modern texts is very consistent. Johnson, for instance, also displays use of <t’> for ‘the’ where the reduced form serves as a replacement for the full article; however, he also gives *int*’ for ‘in the’, which is an example of an instance where the <t> is affixed to another word. The tendency to do this is not as great in modern texts; modern dialect writers tend to prefer <t’> as an effective replacement for the definite article, rather than to use affixed variants. Johnson, though, seems to be inconsistent with his treatment of <t’> vis. affixation, as he uses *t’brush* for ‘the brush’ (2006:23), where <t’> is prefixed, but *t’ t’ corner* for ‘to the corner’ (2006:25), where <t’> is not affixed. This particular treatment of reduced definite articles can also be seen in McMillan, who also uses <t> to represent DAR but seems to prefer affixation as in the examples: ‘Watch out for’t boggarts in’t snug o’t Red Lion’ (2007:11), where *for’t*, *in’t*, and *o’t* represent ‘for the’, ‘in the’, and ‘of the’ respectively; and ‘Stop bunching t’ball agin’t wall’ (2007:14), where we can observe *t’ball* and *agin’t wall* for ‘the ball’ and ‘against the wall’. McMillan and Johnson also display no use of <th> forms of DAR in their texts. However, unlike Kellett’s suggestion above that there is a pattern to the use of what appears to be /t/ before vowels, no such pattern emerges in either Johnson’s or McMillan’s discussions of DAR. The variation in representations of reduced articles

displayed by Johnson and McMillan is more common among nineteenth-century dialect writers than modern ones.

Some writers attempt to address the issue of this largely consistent modern representation of DAR as <t'>. For instance, Battye states that he has: 'selected t' as the method I will use to represent the Northern 'the', frankly I do not believe that we have a suitable way of showing this in our alphabet' (2007:3). However, although he does not explain what the 'Northern 'the'' is, Battye later suggests that the use of <t'> can lead speakers to misinterpret the pronunciation of reduced articles in the region. He lists what he labels a stereotypical Sheffield phrase: 'Asta been dahn Twicker wear Twatter runs o'er Tweir', meaning 'have you been down to the Wicker where the water runs over the weir', stating that this is 'fake Sheffield dialect', as it suggests that the <t'> is pronounced as [t]. Battye replaces these constructions with his more 'accurate' renderings where constructions like 'Twicker' become 't' Wicker' (2007:51), where the <t'> constructions represent glottal realisations of reduced definite articles in Sheffield. Indeed, Battye describes this by stating that the glottal pronunciation of DAR can be observed when we consider the 'difference...in the phrases 'In-house' and 'In t'house'. To say the second properly requires a definite break in the throat which is audible' (ibid.).

Battye's above reference to 'The Wicker' here is a reference to an iconic Sheffield railway aqueduct system which runs through the city centre. One of its main features is its system of arched bridges, as shown in figure 6.1:



Figure 6.1 The Wicker Arches, Sheffield ([www.flickr.com/photos/starquake/3886835097/](http://www.flickr.com/photos/starquake/3886835097/))

And, although The Wicker is now mainly blocked from view by houses, when it was opened in 1845 before the existence of these houses, this arch was ‘merely the main feature in a 41-arch viaduct’ (Rennison 1996:200), hence the above reference to water running over the weir at the Wicker.

Some modern writers, however, give no explanation at all as to the pronunciation of reduced definite articles. Whomersley, for instance, makes use of <t> forms of DAR throughout his text, displaying a tendency to use compounded sentences like: ‘lerrer gerrontbus’, which he translates as ‘kindly make way for the lady to board the bus’ (1981:29). This type of sentence displays a unique way of representing DAR, as ‘get’, ‘on’, ‘the’, and ‘bus’ are compounded to form one word. However, Whomersley also makes use of <t’> constructions, where the reduced article is both affixed and not affixed. He also does not make use of <th> forms at all, as is predominantly the case with modern writers.

The lack of explanation as to the pronunciation of DAR in Whomersley’s text is noteworthy when we consider some of the reasons behind its publication. Beal states that ‘Whomersley’s dictionary was published as a humorous guide to incomers when the relocation of National Health Service (NHS) jobs to Sheffield created an influx of white-collar workers’ (2009a:151) in the 1980s. Indeed, the text was officially produced by Sheffield City Council and presented as a phrase-book to enable speakers from outside of the region to speak ‘Sheffieldish’. The front cover to this text features a cartoon image of a stereotypical tourist, complete with camera and ‘Guide to Sheffield’, obviously flummoxed by the pronunciation of a Sheffield area called Beauchief, and has assumed it is pronounced /boutʃi:f/. Standing with this tourist is a stereotypical Sheffield woman who gives the tourist the accurate local pronunciation of the place, which is /bi:tʃɪf/, rendered in the cartoon as ‘BEECHIFF’.

With images such as this one where the specific issue of Sheffield pronunciation is dealt with, one might expect some discussion of definite article reduction. However, some explanation for the lack of discussion is potentially observed in Whomersley’s description of the Sheffield dialect as a separate ‘language’, stating that ‘to fully develop the true accent, you must reside for 40 years in the Sheffield district, preferably starting before the age of 2 years’ (1981:1). This potentially suggests that discussion of the pronunciation of DAR in Sheffield would be fruitless due to Whomersley’s statement regarding the apparent long-term nature of ‘true’ acquisition of a command of the Sheffield dialect.

Finally, discussions of definite article reduction are not limited to texts which focus on Yorkshire in the modern corpus. Collins (2009), for instance, presents what is intended to be a humorous commentary on the north-south divide in his text *The Northern Monkey Survival Guide*. On the cover of this text there is a knitted monkey wearing a flat cap, smoking a cigarette with a pint of ale, which apparently represents a stereotypical ‘northerner’. Stereotypes such as these are presented throughout this text for comedic purposes. At various points in his text, Collins discusses language use; however, he presents his discussion as though certain language features occur across the entire North of England. In a section designed to be advice for Southerners travelling to the North, he states:

And for pity’s sake don’t ask for a lager top. You’ve got more chance of finding the letters ‘h’ and ‘e’ in the definite article than lime cordial in lager in most northern pubs (2009:40)

The statement that ‘h’ and ‘e’ would be missing from the definite article in ‘northern’ speech is again a reference to the rendering of the definite article as <t’>. Collins later refers to DAR again in relation to the pronunciation of the name of eighties rock band *The The*. He states that the band’s name was:

especially hard to say for anyone who suffers from definite article reduction. Unsure of whether to ask for the latest single by T’The or T’T’, northerners plumped for the new Rick Astley record instead (2009:132)

The example of the pronunciation of *The The* in the ‘north’ has also been referred to by English stand-up comedian Michael McIntyre in his stereotypical description of its pronunciation in the North as [t t]; McIntyre’s treatment of “Yorkshire” pronunciation is discussed further in Chapter 8. Collins’ description of DAR as a condition from which one can ‘suffer’ is presumably intended to be taken as humorous. No similar descriptions appear in the modern commentary material.

Collins’ final chapter, however, is entitled ‘Northern Accents’, where he celebrates the variety of accent and dialect in the North, in contrast to his somewhat generalised statements presented above: ‘you can stop your car for directions every half an hour and hear a different accent each time’ (2009:134). DAR and the Yorkshire accent in general are also specifically discussed:

You'll also hear t' definite article begin to contract as you head for the Yorkshire border.

Cross it and you'll hear the famous Yorkshire accent with its flat vowels and dropped aitches. Associated with plain speaking, common sense and boasting how tough you had it when you were a lad, this is the only northern accent most southerners know, because the nearest they've come to visiting the region is watching *Last of the Summer Wine* or *The Chuckle Brothers* (ibid. p.135)

Collins uses the common representation of <t'> to represent DAR, illustrating this by affixing the reduced article to 'definite article' so as to highlight the phenomenon. It is interesting to note that vowel quality, definite article reduction, and /h/-dropping are the three most salient features he describes; references to these features in the modern commentary material are discussed in more detail below.

In the next section I will discuss the orthographic renderings which suggest Yorkshire pronunciations which occur frequently and consistently in the modern qualitative material.

### **6.1.2 Representations of Yorkshire Phonological Features**

In addition to definite article reduction, there are several other features of the Yorkshire dialect for which we can observe frequent and consistent metapragmatic discourse in the modern commentary material. Several of these are similar to the features discussed in the nineteenth century, which allows us to draw a direct comparison between modern meta-commentary and its analogous forms in the historical context.

#### */h/-dropping*

Compared to analogous sources in the nineteenth century (discussed in the previous chapter), the phenomenon of /h/-dropping in the Yorkshire dialect is discussed or referenced much more consistently in modern texts. Kellett, for instance, states categorically that the consonants 'g' and 'h' are '*almost* universally dropped in Yorkshire dialect' (2002:xxviii); he then proceeds to represent words without word-initial /h/ with an apostrophe, for instance: 'er for 'her' (ibid. p.18). It would appear that this feature is more salient to a modern audience in representing Yorkshire dialect than to a nineteenth-century one; many modern writers include specific sections or discussion in their texts of this phenomenon. Johnson's text, for instance, begins with an introduction to the dialect, which gives both a brief history of Yorkshire and descriptions of pronunciation. One of Johnson's examples is: 'hole = 'oil' (2006:5), which



also includes a representation of /h/-dropping. The *oil* representation can be found elsewhere in modern dialect works, notably on the cover of one such text: Battye (2007), where a Sheffield speaker is depicted saying ‘*Nah* lad, put t’ wood in t’ oil’ (emphasis in original), meaning, ‘No, lad, put the wood in the hole’ (shut the door) – this particular use of a variant diphthong in the word ‘hole’ is discussed separately below. Representations of /h/-dropping can be seen throughout Johnson’s text, such as *’od* meaning ‘hold’ (2006:27), and *’e* meaning ‘he’ (ibid. p.39). The ‘H’ entry for his dictionary, however, (which is, indeed, the only entry for ‘H’) states:

H: Not used much to start words with in Yorkshire. Sometimes when trying to talk ‘posh’, people over-compensate and put aspirants in places where there is no need. Yorkshire, like German, has silent aitches, so when written down, *e.g. harkled* = entangled it is never pronounced (ibid. p.21 – emphasis in original)

And, although Johnson incorrectly refers to German as having ‘silent aitches’ (possibly meaning French instead), these examples show the modern salience of /h/-dropping in representing Yorkshire dialect, as Johnson consistently represents the loss of the sound with an apostrophe throughout his dictionary; it is also apparently so salient in written representations of Yorkshire dialect that it appears on the front cover of Battye’s text.

Not all modern writers specifically discuss /h/-dropping in their texts, although they do include examples of words where the /h/ is dropped. McMillan, for instance, uses word-initial apostrophes to represent /h/-dropping, as in *’appen* (2007:1), meaning ‘maybe, possibly’, which is a representation of an /h/-less form of ‘happen’. This can also be found in Kellett, who lists *’appen* in the ‘A’ section of his dictionary with the note ‘see *happen*’ (2002:3 – emphasis in original). However, McMillan does not explicitly state that /h/ can be dropped in Yorkshire dialect. Indeed, his word-list includes a section dedicated to words beginning with /h/, although it has only two entries. This treatment of /h/-dropping can also be observed in Markham, who also does not give any specific commentary on the phenomenon of /h/-dropping, but consistently represents it in both his dictionary entries and his illustrative examples. For instance, he presents *Appen* for ‘perhaps’ (2010:11), which does not include an apostrophe denoting missing word-initial /h/. However, in his ‘H’ section, he also presents *Happen* meaning ‘Maybe, perhaps’ (ibid. p.18), which is arguably the same word. This inconsistency in representation appears to apply unilaterally for word-initial /h/, as shown in one of Markham’s entries in the ‘H’ section of his dictionary, which

includes the following sentence, displaying representations which suggest both the presence and loss of word-initial /h/: ‘He’ll stand fer coal on ’is ’ead’ (ibid. p.19). The initial word of this sentence would arguably be pronounced without the /h/ in Yorkshire, as suggested by both the data from the modern linguistic studies of Yorkshire dialect discussed in Chapter 1, and the numerous entries in Markham’s ‘E’ section, where the pronoun ‘He’ is represented as *Ee*. There is no explanation given in the text for the lack of consistency in the representation of /h/-dropping here.

In a similar fashion to Markham, though, Battye also presents a section of ‘H’-initial words; however, his first entry for ‘H’ states:

I have assumed that most of you will be aware that the ‘H’ on all of the following words would almost always be missing. This, of course, is not a Sheffield but a national trait (2007:29)

The notion that /h/-dropping is ‘a national trait’ has also been noted by Chambers and Trudgill, who state that in ‘many – perhaps most – varieties of Welsh and English English are variable in their pronunciation of /h/’ (2002:59), and suggest that /h/-dropping increases as one moves further down the social scale. There does not appear to be the apparent stigmatisation of this feature as ‘vulgar’ in the modern commentary as discussed in Chapter 3, though. The above example is also an instance of a writer directly stating assumed knowledge of pronunciation on behalf of the reader. As stated above, this text also features an example of /h/-dropping on the front cover; although in the dictionary itself, the word ‘hole’ is given as *Hoil* (ibid. p.30), rather than *oil* (as it is on the cover). With the exception of the example on the cover, this renders Battye’s representation of /h/-dropping in the Sheffield dialect consistent, the prior statement of assumed knowledge on the part of the reader means that although the <h> is presented orthographically, words beginning with <h> are intended to represent /h/-less pronunciations.

Whomersley also acknowledges the phenomenon of /h/-dropping in the Sheffield dialect: ‘Words are compressed with the lack of the sound ‘h’. For ‘house’ in dialect you would say ‘owse’ (1981:6). He is also consistent in his representations, although unlike some of the writers above, Whomersley does not use an apostrophe to represent the missing sound.

*Allus*

The pronunciation of ‘always’ as /ɔ:ləs/ is suggested by the orthographic construction *allus* relatively consistently in the modern commentary texts. This can be seen in both Kellett (2002:3) and Johnson (2006:7), who both list *allus* in their Yorkshire dictionaries. Markham lists ‘Like ’oss muck, he’s allus in t’road’ meaning ‘He’s perennially in the way’ (2007:22); Battye also lists this construction in ‘Ee wor allus more clever nor any on us’ (2007:40), meaning ‘He was always more clever than any of us’. These latter two instances are only used as illustrative examples, as opposed to the former two which appear as dictionary entries. The spelling <allus> is also relatively consistent; the corpus data (discussed below) also reflected use of this feature, and it can be seen on commodities featuring Yorkshire dialect, discussed further in Chapter 8.

*Over as /ouə/*

In a similar manner to *allus* above, ‘over’ is represented with orthographic constructions which suggest a pronunciation of /ouə/ frequently and consistently in the modern quantitative material. However, there is much more variation in the representation of this feature orthographically. For example, Kellett lists ‘over’ as *ower* (2002:131); as does Markham, who lists ‘It’s gerrin’ a bit black ower our Bill’s mother’s’, meaning ‘The dark clouds over there portend heavy rain’ (2007:20). Both Battye and Whomersley present constructions which suggest the same pronunciation, but give two separate orthographical representations. Battye lists *Gi’o’er* for ‘give over’ (2007:28); Whomersley lists *geoar* for ‘stop it’ (Whomersley 1981:24). The “Yorkshire” pronunciation of ‘over’ as /ouə/ appears to be consistently associated with the region; this is also apparent in both the quantitative results from the modern corpus and the responses to the online survey (discussed below), although there is not the same level of consistency in the orthographical representation of this feature as with many other features discussed here.

*Monophthongal GOAT & PRICE*

There are several frequently occurring representations of Yorkshire features which suggest a monophthong in their pronunciation. For instance, PRICE words are rendered in two different ways in Yorkshire dialect: Battye, for instance, gives *Ar* for ‘aye’ (2007:5), suggesting a pronunciation of the monophthong /a:/. A second pronunciation is given in the example *Freeten* for ‘frighten’ (ibid. p.27), where the long vowel /i:/ is suggested. Kellett

also states that something like /a:/ would appear in the pronunciation of the pronoun ‘I’, as he renders it *Ah* (2002:xxvii); he also cites *freeten* for ‘frighten’ (ibid. p.65) as well as *leet* for ‘light’ (ibid. p.103), also suggesting /i:/. However, neither Kellett nor Battye suggest that the latter pronunciation using /i:/ is always used in PRICE words; this particular variant appears only to be confined to specific words like ‘light’ or ‘frighten’. The restriction of /i:/ to these words is likely explained by considering the history of the vowel pronunciations in Middle English; Dobson states that in ME there was variation in the pronunciation of words including <igh>, such as *night* and *nigh*. Such words could include pronunciations of either [ɪç] in the former case, and [i:ç] in the latter, where in both cases the <gh> represents the voiceless palatal fricative [ç]. He goes on to state that in ‘late ME [ɪç] developed to [i:]’ and that the process was ‘that the [ç] became voiced [j], and the group [ɪj] was then assimilated to [i:]’ (1957:667). We therefore see orthographic representations of [i:] in words such as *leet* and *freeten*, but representations of /a:/ in *Ah* for ‘I’, or *Ar* for ‘aye’ or ‘yes’, despite the fact that ‘light’, ‘frighten’, ‘I’, and ‘aye’ would all include the diphthong /aɪ/ in RP.

A further example of a suggested pronunciation of /a:/ is in MOUTH words such as ‘down’. We can see renderings such as *dahn* (Kellett 2002, Johnson 2006, Markham 2010.); or *tarn* for ‘town’ (Whomersley 1981); Kellett also presents similar examples, although he gives some alternate variants for each of the three Ridings of the county (see Map 6.1 below): *abaht* versus *about* for ‘about’ in the West Riding then North and East Ridings respectively (2002:xxix).

### *Alternate Diphthongs*

In addition to the monophthongal realisation of certain diphthongs in the Yorkshire dialect, we can also observe recurring representations which suggest variant diphthongs. Battye, for instance, has a separate entry in his glossary discussing the tendency to use variant diphthongs in Sheffield. He states: ‘Sheffielders enjoy diphthongs and stretch them out and separate them whenever possible. Hence meat becomes ‘meeat’, door ‘dooer’... In extreme cases it is even possible to manage a triphthong’ (2007:22). He does not give any examples of Yorkshire triphthongs, however.

There are several frequently-occurring features in the modern commentary material which suggest a pronunciation of /ʊə/ in GOAT words. For instance, Whomersley gives *rooad* for

‘road’ (1981:23), as does Battye (2007:43); Kellett lists *stooane* for ‘stone’ (2002:xxvii), although he goes on to state that this pronunciation may be disappearing, as he mentions that ‘Nowadays this is more likely to be a simple unrounded ‘o’’ (ibid.), which seems to be referring to a pronunciation like /o:/ as discussed above. Interestingly, though, this Yorkshire diphthong variant can also replace certain monophthongs in a similar manner to Battye’s description above – he also lists *rooar* meaning ‘to cry’ (from ‘roar’), which, in the use of <ooa> suggests a pronunciation of /ʊə/ rather than /o:/.

A further variant diphthong frequently suggested by non-standard orthographical constructions is /ɔɪ/ in GOAT words. Examples of this are representations of ‘coal’ or ‘hole’ as *coil* or *oil*. This can be found in almost every modern commentary text considered here (Whomersley 1981, Kellett 2002, Johnson 2006, Battye 2007, McMillan 2007); the representations are also very consistent, with the exception of Whomersley, who renders ‘coal’ as *coyal*. Markham, however, gives two separate orthographical representations for ‘hole’; the first retains the standard spelling, minus the initial <h> as in *Arse ’oled* meaning ‘Extremely well intoxicated’ (2007:11), which does not suggest the /ɔɪ/ pronunciation; rather, it suggests one similar to that in a ‘supra-local’ pan-Northern variety where words in the GOAT lexical set are pronounced with /o:/ rather than with a diphthong (Beal 2010:77). Markham later lists *Oil* as a ‘hole or place’, where the <oi> spelling suggests the “Yorkshire” pronunciation /ɔɪ/ in *oil* for ‘hole’, which is not indicated by his earlier rendering of ‘hole’ as *’ole*. Furthermore, Markham also presents two diagrams depicting the differences in the appearance of colliers over time, showing four colliers and their clothes from 1877, 1900, 1930, and 1977. Labelled on the collier’s face in all four pictures is *coil dust*, for ‘coal dust’, where *coil* again suggests the /ɔɪ/ pronunciation. The former <’ole> construction in *Arse ’oled* may be a phrasal use of ‘hole’ distinct from the /ɔɪ/ pronunciation indicated by the <oi> construction.

As with several other suggested Yorkshire pronunciations, orthographical constructions which suggest a pronunciation of /ɔɪ/ can not only appear in GOAT words, but also in GOOSE words. Evidence for this can be seen in Battye, who presents *loise* for ‘lose’ (2007:35), and Whomersley, who gives *skoyal* for ‘school’ (1981:23). However, as both of these texts are about the Sheffield dialect, and this particular variant pronunciation does not appear in any of the other texts considered here, it is possible that this feature is geographically restricted to Sheffield.

As with the nineteenth-century data discussed above, though, the use of <oi> to represent /ɔɪ/ in words like ‘hole’ only appears consistently in the commentary material; this consistency is not reflected in the quantitative corpus data as representations of this feature only occur in 30% of the corpus texts, all of which are dialect literature. This was also the case with certain lexical items such as *nesh* and *mardy* (discussed below), in that they were only frequent in the qualitative and not the quantitative material.

One particular Yorkshire variable can be observed in every commentary text considered here, albeit with two slightly different suggested pronunciations. The variants in question appear in PRICE words, which can include a suggested pronunciation of /eɪ/, which can be seen in both *reight* (Whomersley 1981, Kellett 2002, Battye 2006, McMillan 2007), and in *reet* (Johnson 2006, Markham 2010), where /i:/ is indicated. The former variant is more common, and can also be seen in words like *feight* (Whomersley 1981, Battye 2006) or *feyt* (Kellett 2002:59) for ‘fight’; although the latter rendering can also be seen in words like *leet* for ‘light’ (Kellett 2002, Battye 2006, McMillan 2007), and *toneet* for ‘tonight’ (Whomersley 1981:24) – even though these writers give *reight* or *reyt* for ‘right’. This suggests that perception of the use of this variant diphthong is restricted to a small number of words and that its use is not consistent across every PRICE word.

Finally, the last “Yorkshire” diphthong I will discuss here is the suggested pronunciation of the diphthong /ɪə/ in words which would include the SQUARE diphthong /ɛə/, or in some cases the DRESS vowel /e/ in RP. An example of this is Whomersley, who gives an example of the Sheffield pronunciation of ‘where’ as *weer* (1981:6). This echoes Piper’s comments on the same pronunciation of the same word in Sheffield in 1824 (discussed further in Chapter 8). Kellett also lists this variant, giving *wheear(e)* (2002:197), as does Battye: *wheear* (2006:57), who also gives *theer* for ‘there’ (ibid. p.53), highlighting that this pronunciation may have been formed by analogy with the pronunciation of ‘here’, as ‘there’ and ‘where’ are similar orthographically. This variant diphthong can also be found in words not in the SQUARE lexical set, however, as it can be seen to be represented in *ageean* for ‘again’ (Whomersley 1981, Kellett 2002).

### 6.1.3 Lexical Items

As was observed in the nineteenth-century data discussed in the previous chapter, there were several lexical items which occurred frequently in the modern qualitative material. For instance, *sen* meaning ‘self’ appears in various constructions, such as *mysen* ‘myself’; *hissen* ‘himself’; *theirsens* ‘themselves’, &c. in the majority of the commentary texts (Kellett 2002, Johnson 2006, McMillan 2007, Battye 2007, Markham 2010).

In addition, the use of seemingly archaic second-person pronouns was also both frequent and consistent but, in a similar manner to the case with ‘over’ above, there was some variation between orthographic representations. For example, Whomersley lists *tha thi thee da dee* in his dictionary entry for ‘you’ (1981:23) and uses these various constructions throughout his text. Johnson is similarly inconsistent with his representations; he gives several illustrative examples of “Yorkshire” dialect including ‘Ey Nimrod ’at’s my beer tha’s suppin’ and it’s nobbut a fly waint arm thee’ (2007:27), displaying both *tha* and *thee* for ‘you are’ and ‘you’ respectively. He later goes on to give ‘’Od thi ’osses’ (ibid. p.38), where *thi* is given for ‘your’. Kellett lists *ta, tha* for ‘you’ (2002:180), showing a similarity to Johnson’s first construction, but he gives no example of a *thee/thi* form equivalent to Johnson’s latter example. McMillan also displays use of more than one non-standard ‘you’ variant, as he gives *What’s up wi thi?* for ‘what’s up with you?’ and *Are tha nesh?* for ‘are you cold?’ (2007:73). Battye, however, further complicates this inconsistency in usage of this feature, as he lists *tha* as the second-person singular pronoun, but *thee* as ‘‘You’ as in the emphatic sense’ (2007:53). The difference here could reflect the difference between grammatical cases in these archaic pronouns; Beal states that in Middle English, ‘thou’ was the subject form of the second-person singular pronoun, and ‘thee’ was the object form (2010:40). It is unclear whether this is the case here due to the relative inconsistency in the representations.

Finally, in an unusual parallel to the data collected from the nineteenth century as discussed in the previous chapter, a small number of these texts list dialect words which appear to have fallen out of use. Two such examples are *mun* meaning ‘must’, and *gang* meaning ‘go’. *Mun* is cited in four of the modern commentary texts, which, although this word appears to have been more common in representations of nineteenth-century Yorkshire dialect as discussed above, it appears to have fallen out of common use in modern Yorkshire dialect. In addition, Markham lists *gang*, but not for ‘to go’, as would have been expected from the nineteenth century data. His definition is ‘an adit or gallery in a lead mine’ (2010:17), which could also

illustrate the fact that *gan* or *gang* for ‘to go’ are not associated with Yorkshire almost at all; *gan* is now much more readily associated with the North-East, and is also discussed further in Chapter 8.

#### *Owt, Nowt, & Summat*

These three lexical items meaning ‘anything’, ‘nothing’, and ‘something’ respectively appear in every modern commentary text considered here. Most texts simply give the definitions for these words as above; some give etymologies which date back to Old English, such as Kellett, for instance, who states that *nowt* derives from OE ‘na-wiht’ (2002:125). The OED also gives this etymology, stating that *nowt* represents ‘a variety of English regional, Scots, and Irish English pronunciations of nought’ (www.oed.com), and that ‘nought’ derives from the Old English form also given by Kellett. In addition, the majority of these texts give the orthographical forms <owt>, <nowt>, and <summat> for these words, showing a distinct reduction in the amount of representational variation when compared with the data from the nineteenth century above. Markham, however, is the only modern writer who deals with these words in a slightly different way to the somewhat standardised manner given above. In his glossary, *owt* is given for ‘anything’ (2010:25), but *summat* does not appear actually in the glossary, which is unusual given the word’s frequency in other modern Yorkshire texts: *Summat* appears in almost equal quantities of the literary dialect and dialect literature in the corpus (discussed below). However, *summat* only appears in a cartoon towards the end of the book which depicts Charles II in hiding from the Roundheads in the seventeenth century. The lack of an entry for *summat* in Markham’s text is unclear. Additionally, *nowt* does not appear in this form in the glossary either, as *Naught* is given for ‘nothing’ (2010:24) as part of the phrase ‘Naught cottens weel’ meaning ‘nothing goes right’, showing an orthographical variant of *nowt* which can also be observed in the nineteenth-century data. This is the only instance of a writer employing a form other than <nowt> in the modern qualitative data, however.

#### *Nesh & Mardy*

These are two additional lexical items which are consistently discussed in the modern commentary material. *Mardy*, meaning ‘easily upset’ is referred to in every text in the qualitative corpus. Battye, for instance, even includes *Mardy bum* on the cover of his text; this is a term which has recently experienced relatively wide public exposure in a song called *Mardy bum* by Sheffield band Arctic Monkeys (Beal 2009b:231). However, *mardy* is not



necessarily restricted to Yorkshire; Beal goes on to state that it is ‘fairly widespread in dialects of the North Midlands but not understood elsewhere’ (ibid. p.234). Indeed, Battye describes *mardy* as a ‘Northern word’ in his glossary (2007:36); Collins also lists it in his ‘Northern glossary’ (2009:143) and, unlike some of the other features he lists, he does not specifically mark *mardy* as “Yorkshire”. The remainder of the texts in the qualitative corpus simply list *mardy* as a Yorkshire feature, however, with relatively consistent definitions. For instance, McMillan defines it to mean ‘moody or irritable’ (2007:64); Markham gives ‘broody, sulky; spoilt’ (2007:23); Johnson lists ‘spoilt child’ (2006:24). Kellett also defines *mardy* to mean ‘spoilt’, particularly when talking of a child, but he goes on to list ‘moody, sulky’ and ‘easily upset’ (2002:108); the latter definition is also given by Whomersley (1981:21). *Mardy* was also provided by non-Yorkshire and international respondents to the online survey as a word representative of Yorkshire (discussed further in Chapter 7), although it was not listed by Yorkshire speakers and it did not occur in the quantitative corpus at all.

Additionally, *nesh* ‘cold; sensitive to cold’ is discussed almost as consistently as *mardy*, and was listed as a representative Yorkshire word by all three groups of respondents to the online survey. Again, the meanings given for *nesh* are quite consistent: Whomersley defines it as ‘sensitive to cold’ (ibid. p.24), as does McMillan (2007:69), with both definitions here referring to a person’s sensitivity to cold temperatures; Johnson, however, retains the sense of ‘cold’, but states that *nesh* refers to cold weather (2006:26). Kellett again provides a more broad definition, giving ‘delicate, squeamish, easily feeling cold’ (2002:122); the sense of ‘delicate’ is also reflected in Markham’s definition of ‘Physically weak or soft; unable to cope with the normal rigours of life’ (2007:25). Despite the consistency of qualitative discussion of *nesh*, and the consistent listing of it as representative Yorkshire feature in the online survey, the quantitative corpus again did not display any instances of it.

In the next section, I will discuss the consistency with which the secondary contraction of negatives is featured in the modern commentary material.

#### **6.1.4 Morphological Features**

A further notable difference between the nineteenth-century data discussed above and the modern data was evidence for orthographic representations of the secondary contraction of negatives. Beal states that with regards to contraction of negatives, in the dialects of the ‘Lower North, notably Lancashire and Yorkshire, there is also a pattern of secondary contraction’ so that *wouldn’t*, *isn’t*, *shouldn’t*, and *hasn’t/hadn’t* become /wɒnt, ɪnt, ʃɒnt,

ant/ respectively (2010:35). The secondary contraction of negatives can be observed in the modern commentary material in examples such as *I ampt gorrit on me* (Markham 2010:19), where *ampt* suggests the secondary contraction of ‘hasn’t’; Whomersley also makes frequent use of this feature in constructions such as *Eesezeeantadit*, meaning ‘He says that he has not had it’ (1981:29), where *ant* represents the contraction of ‘hasn’t’, and *Ateldim burreewunt lissen*, meaning ‘I told him but he would not listen’ (ibid. p.30), where *wunt* represents the contraction of ‘wouldn’t’. Furthermore, Johnson lists the example of *tintintin* in his dictionary (2006:33), where the first and final of the three elements of this ‘word’ represent different features of Yorkshire dialect. The first element, *tint* means ‘it isn’t’, highlighting the secondary contraction of ‘isn’t’; the second element, *in*, retains its standard function and meaning as a preposition; the final element, *tin*, mean ‘the tin’, displaying a representation of definite article reduction. The entire definition, therefore, of *tintintin* is ‘it isn’t in the tin’.

This feature was also relatively strongly associated with Yorkshire by respondents to the online survey (discussed in Chapter 7); however, it was not consistently represented in the quantitative corpus, suggesting that there is some disparity in the perceived association of this feature with Yorkshire dialect.

Finally, a parallel with the nineteenth-century data can also be observed here in the representations of the secondary contraction of ‘must not’. Battye gives *moan’t* as ‘must not’ (2007:38), and Kellett gives *munt* (2002:120). These two instances are arguably examples of archaic features; the modern quantitative data from the corpus and the respondents to the online survey suggest that the realisation of ‘must’ as *mun* is largely dissociated with modern Yorkshire dialect.

In the next section, I will discuss the results from the corpus of modern Yorkshire dialect material, comprised of dialect literature and literary dialect, which were used for quantitative analysis.

## 6.2 Modern Quantitative Corpus

The modern corpus of Yorkshire dialect used for quantitative analysis comprised 10,000 words sampled from 10 individual texts; 5 literary dialect and 5 dialect literature. 1,000-word samples were taken from each text. This corpus was designed to be around a quarter of the size of the historical corpus as the quantitative data gathered here were supplemented with the data from the online survey.

### 6.2.1 Modern Yorkshire Dialect Literature

Unlike the dialect literature in the nineteenth century discussed above, twentieth and twenty-first century dialect literature is not as widespread. There is much more commentary material available in this period than there are examples of either dialect literature or literary dialect, when compared to the nineteenth century.

#### *Web-based Dialect Literature*

A notable difference in the sources of dialect literature in this period is that examples of it can be found on the internet. An internet search for ‘Yorkshire dialect’ brings up a large number of pages dedicated to it; these pages include the Yorkshire Dialect Society’s website (<http://www.yorkshiredialectsociety.org.uk/>), a site dedicated to the Yorkshire dialect (<http://www.yorkshiredialect.com/>), and a website devoted to Yorkshire dialect verse (<http://www.yorkshire-dialect.org/>). In addition, there is also a Wikipedia entry for the Yorkshire dialect, and a page on the BBC Voices project for Yorkshire, as well as a site called ‘Whoohoo!’ that features ‘translation’ matrices for several UK dialects including Yorkshire ([www.whoohoo.co.uk](http://www.whoohoo.co.uk)).

The Yorkshire Dialect Society’s website provides historical accounts of both Yorkshire and the Yorkshire dialect; it also gives a short history of the English Language. They also present some short extracts of Yorkshire dialect taken from works of dialect literature. The first example is from a compilation of the works of dialect writers like John Hartley published in 1959. This extract also includes Standard English ‘translations’ of the written Yorkshire dialect: ‘Brass taen aart o yan's pocket is mair than hauf spent. *Money taken out of one's pocket is more than half spent.*’

([http://www.yorkshiredialectsociety.org.uk/all\\_dialect\\_writing.html](http://www.yorkshiredialectsociety.org.uk/all_dialect_writing.html) - emphasis in original).

The remainder of the examples of Yorkshire dialect on this site do not feature a translation. However, the YDS website simply presents examples of previously-published dialect literature, like that of Hartley above, rather than being a forum for modern dialect literature. A similar case can be seen on the website [www.yorkshiredialect.com](http://www.yorkshiredialect.com). In this site’s ‘Description of Yorkshire Dialect’ section, for instance, there is a sub-section devoted to definite article reduction (or, as it states on the site: ‘the Yorkshire t’). This particular site features an in-depth academic analysis of DAR – referencing, amongst others, Barry (1972), Ellis (1889), Jones, M. J. (2000, 2002, 2004), and Jones, W. E. (1950) – which discusses the realisation of DAR in speech in detail. There does not, however, appear to be any discussion

of DAR in writing. Other sub-sections of this part of the site include ‘Phonology’; ‘Grammar’; ‘Lexis’; and a ‘Dialect Words’ glossary section. Each of these is dealt with in a similar way to the DAR section – as they include detailed academic discussions. This is likely due to the fact that the site belongs to the department of English Language and Linguistics at York St John University.

However, this is not the case with [www.yorkshire-dialect.org](http://www.yorkshire-dialect.org). As stated above, this site is dedicated to ‘Yorkshire Verse’, and features dialect poetry from several authors, and encourages contributors to submit their own. These works can be browsed by author, or by the title of the particular work of dialect verse. There is also a section for Yorkshire ‘Ex Pats’, which provides links to online versions of Yorkshire newspapers. There is also a section entitled ‘Humour’ which gives several humorous anecdotes (some of which are written in dialect, with one in particular titled ‘Trouble at t’Mill’). A glossary is also provided containing both Yorkshire dialect words (‘Addle – Earn by labour, Addle a living’) and Yorkshire pronunciations (‘Aht – Out, Outside’). Finally, there is a section devoted to Yorkshire recipes – including Parkin (a sticky treacle cake traditionally consumed in the region on Bonfire Night).

#### *Traditionally Published Dialect Literature*

The [www.yorkshire-dialect.org](http://www.yorkshire-dialect.org) website above is similar to some of the output of dialect literature in the nineteenth century in that it features works written entirely in Yorkshire dialect by Yorkshire speakers. However, the websites like [www.yorkshire-dialect.org](http://www.yorkshire-dialect.org) are not the only source displaying analogous dialect literature in the twentieth and twenty-first centuries to that which was available in the nineteenth century. Arnold Kellett’s *Ee By Gum, Lord!* (2007) is a ‘translation’ of the gospels into Yorkshire dialect, and is entirely written in Yorkshire dialect. The only exception to this is the introduction, which states that the text is not simply a translation into dialect, ‘but a retelling of them by a homely old Yorkshireman who has a sense of humour, as well as a love of his Lord’ (p.x).

In addition, whilst Kellett displays a fairly consistent use of dialect forms – i.e. the same dialect words and variants are written consistently throughout, unlike many nineteenth century examples – some of the dialectal forms that were common in the nineteenth-century data have been replaced by newer ones. An example of this is the loss of the lexical item *shoo* meaning ‘she’. *Shoo* does not seem to appear in this text, although the female third person pronoun is represented by *sh*. However, there are still forms like *ah* for ‘I’ (2007:79),

which can also be found in the nineteenth century data, and in modern dialect commentary, as discussed above. In addition, Kellett also displays consistent representation of /h/-dropping. There are instances of 'appen for 'happen', and 'oo for 'who' (2007:19); amongst several other words that begin with /h/ that are presented with the initial <h> omitted. This is a current trend in Yorkshire dialect; but it is one that is not consistently represented in nineteenth century dialect literature. Furthermore, Kellett also lists several words in a glossary at the end of this text which include features of the Yorkshire dialect that are commonly discussed in the commentary material, such as: *afooare* for 'before', suggesting a "Yorkshire" diphthong variant; *dee* for 'die', suggesting a pronunciation including the monophthong /i:/; *missen* for 'myself' highlighting the use of *sen*; and, of course, *summat*, *owt*, and *nowt* for 'something', 'anything', and 'nothing' (2007:113-6). However, Kellett states in his introduction that the Yorkshire dialect presented in this text is not representative of the current spoken dialect of Yorkshire, as he points out that some of the features that appear in his text are 'no longer in everyday use, [but] this dialect – with its quaint vocabulary and idiomatic turns of phrase – is still understood and loved' (2007:ix).

Finally, there is also the work of Sheffield writer Tom Hague, also known as Totle Tom. Hague's text, *Totle Tom: Tales of a Yorkshire Miner* (1976) is a collection of poems written in the Yorkshire dialect; some of these poems are politically motivated, which can also be seen in the nineteenth century. Hague was born in Sheffield in 1915, and did not publish his first work of dialect literature until the age of 60. During the 1972 miners' strike, Hague began to write his dialect poetry down and, following a letter written by Hague published in *The Times* newspaper, he was approached to publish his work (*Topic Magazine*, April 1976). *Topic* magazine describes the language of Hague's writing as 'the day-to-day language of South and West Yorkshire' (ibid.), and we can see examples of definite article reduction; Yorkshire-specific diphthongs such as *theer* for 'there', showing an orthographic rendering suggesting that this word is pronounced with the diphthong /ɪə/; monophthongal pronunciations, as in *Ah* for 'I', suggesting a pronunciation of /a:/; and lexical items such as *ussens* for 'ourselves', throughout his work.

### *Definite Article Reduction*

Definite article reduction is prominent in modern representations of written Yorkshire dialect. In all instances, where an article is reduced, it is rendered as <t'> by modern writers. We see constructions like:

- ‘thru t’door’ (Greensmith 2011)
- ‘For t’thing was mare an horf full then’ (Alden 2011)
- ‘Its wahrm glow penetrated all t’corners o’ t’room’ (Hirst 2011)
- ‘All t’ pleasure went frum aht o’ t’ day’ (Hague 1976)
- ‘T’ Babby Born in a Mistal’ (Kellett 2007)

Wales discusses the use of <t> for the reduction of the definite article, stating that it is one of the most ‘salient features of traditional Northern English...conventionally represented in writing and stereotypes as <t>’ (2006:187). However, instances of the full article *the* can be seen in the modern dialect literature, although it appears to be used for the purposes of rhythm in poetry:

‘An’ me an’ Bennett gans ti’ ‘elp  
 An’ sort o’ taks the lead,  
 An’ we enjoys oorsens an’ all  
 An’ gets a rare good feed’

(Alden 2011)

The rhythm of the second line of this stanza would not scan properly were the definite article reduced, potentially explaining why <t’> was not used here. Examples like this are infrequent, though, suggesting that <t’> is enregistered as being the general form of the definite article in written Yorkshire dialect, unless the rhythm of the poem demands otherwise.

### *Representations of Phonological Features*

There are several features of the phonology of the Yorkshire dialect which are represented in similar orthographic ways in these works of dialect literature. The first is the representation of the pronunciation of PRICE words, particularly in the representation of the pronunciation of the first person pronoun ‘I’. This is commonly rendered <Ah> or <A> in the literature, examples being: ‘An’ Ah’ll tell thi summat else’, meaning ‘and I’ll tell you something else’ (Kellett 2007); ‘Ah stud theer sad, an’ owd an’ gray’, meaning ‘I stood there sad, and old, and grey’ (Hague 1976); and ‘Av finished gardin an’ tidied up’, meaning ‘I’ve finished the gardening and tidied up’ (Greensmith 2011). The pronunciation suggested here is something like /a:/ in the case of <Ah> and /a/ in the case of <A>. This monophthong is also indicated

in words like ‘about’, where in RP we would have the diphthong /aʊ/ in the second syllable. This is rendered as: ‘T’ woman tasted, she fahnd it wo good’, meaning ‘the woman tasted, she found it was good’ (Hirst 2011); ‘Cum on aht, an’ ‘a’ sum snap’, meaning ‘come on out, and have some food’ (Hague 1976); and ‘but it’ll nut amahnt ter much’, meaning ‘but it’ll not amount to much’ (Kellett 2007).

Additionally, PRICE words are also rendered orthographically as suggesting a pronunciation of /i:/, as in: ‘An’ later that neet’, meaning ‘and later that night’ (Kellett 2007); ‘Ah wo fretened’, meaning ‘I was frightened’ (Hirst 2011); and ‘Tha’ll move like leetnin’ then alreight’, meaning ‘you’ll move like lightning then alright’ (Hague 1976). However, this particular rendering appears to be restricted to a certain set of words including those listed above; it does not apply categorically to every PRICE word. Words like *alreight*, meaning ‘alright’, for instance, feature an orthographic representation which suggests a pronunciation of /eɪ/, and this also occurs in words like *feight*, meaning ‘fight’ (Hague 1976); *reight* meaning ‘right’ (Hirst 2011); and also *reight* meaning ‘really’ (Kellett 2007).

Word-initial /h/-dropping is also represented in these texts; we can observe examples like ‘news ‘at ‘ll gladden all t’ fowk ‘oo ‘ear it’, meaning ‘news that will gladden all the folk who hear it’ (Kellett 2007); and ‘It’s vain tuh ‘ark back tuh us youth’, meaning ‘it’s vain to hark back to our youth’ (Hague 1976). This tendency to drop /h/ is frequently represented in twentieth and twenty-first century orthographic representations of the Yorkshire dialect.

Furthermore, the non-standard pronunciation of ‘always’ can be seen in each of the dialect literature texts in the modern corpus. However, unlike with representations of this feature in the qualitative material above, the orthographic representations of this suggested pronunciation are not entirely consistent. For instance, we can see constructions like ‘’Er, ’usband orlus tells mi abart ’er’ (Greensmith 2011), where ‘always’ is rendered as *orlus*; although in the rest of the corpus, the more common *allus* is used, as in ‘ed allus plenty ta do’ (Hirst 2011); ‘We allus cum tuh ‘urtful truth’ (Hague 1976); ‘Ah allus see Joseph as a gentle sooart o’ chap’ (Kellett 2007); and ‘They allus hes a Social Doo’ (Alden 2011). In every instance, however, the pronunciation /ɔ:ləs/ is suggested by analogy with the pronunciations of the Standard English words ‘all’ and ‘us’ (if we assume a pronunciation of ‘us’ where the consonant is voiceless and pronounced as /s/ as opposed to /z/).

### *Lexical Items*

Several examples of Yorkshire lexical items occur frequently in the dialect literature. These include *sen* meaning ‘self’; *owt*, *nowt*, and *summat*, meaning ‘anything’, ‘nothing’, and ‘something’ respectively; and the use of archaic pronouns such as *thee* and *tha* in the second person. These words are also consistently discussed in the commentary material, as mentioned above. We can see examples like ‘An wy dint a gu an luk fer missen’, meaning ‘And why didn’t I go and look for myself’ (Greensmith 2011); ‘Ah dooan’t suppoose the’ thowt ‘at this lad wor owt aht o’ t’ ordinary’, meaning ‘I don’t suppose they thought that this lad was anything out of the ordinary’ (Kellett 2007); ‘Why, nowt ti fuss about’, meaning ‘Why, nothing to fuss about’ (Alden 2011); and ‘A coil fire wor a must, summat that ivvrybody ‘ad’, meaning ‘a coal fire was a must, something that everybody had’ (Hirst 2011).

Wales states that *sen* forms of ‘self’ are ‘marked and archaic’ and ‘threatened with obsolescence’ (2006:185); although these forms persist in dialect literature, and Hedevind 1967 records *sen* for ‘self’ in Dentdale (as discussed in Chapter 1). Additionally, Kellett also lists *sen* as ‘self’ (2002:163), and does not suggest that this is an archaic or obsolete term. Furthermore, *sen* was consistently listed as representative of Yorkshire dialect by respondents to the online survey. This is discussed in more detail in Chapters 7 and 8.

*Owt*, *nowt*, and *summat* are consistently and frequently discussed in the commentary material, suggesting that they are still salient for Yorkshire speakers. They are also recorded by Tidholm (1979) in Egton, Glauser (1984) in Grassington, and Hedevind (1967) in Dentdale, as discussed in Chapter 1. Kellett (2002) also records these words in his dialect dictionary, suggesting that these words are still currently in use in the Yorkshire dialect. However, the frequency of these terms in the dialect literature suggests that they are still salient in representing the Yorkshire dialect to modern audiences.

Finally, the pronouns *thee*, *tha*, and *thi* appear in all of the modern dialect literature texts and appear to conform to the case-dependent usages in Middle English as described by Beal (discussed above). Table 6.1 highlights the differences in the forms of the “Yorkshire” second-person pronouns in the modern dialect literature.

We can see from table 6.1 that *thi* for ‘your’ appears to correspond to the use of *thy* for ‘your’ in certain Northern dialects as mentioned by Beal (2010:30); *tha* appears to be a “Yorkshire” pronunciation of *thou*, suggesting a pronunciation of /ðə/; and *thee* and *thi* functioning as the



direct object appears to equate to the Middle English object pronoun *thee* (ibid. p.40). The distribution of these variants is relatively consistent throughout the modern dialect literature.

<b>Form</b>	<b>Function/definition</b>	<b>Examples</b>
<i>Thi</i>	'your'	<i>It wor foggy an tha</i> Hirst 2011 <i>cud 'ardly see thi feet</i> <i>Tha'd ne-an 'av 'ad</i> Alden 2011 <i>thi tea</i>
<i>Thee</i>	Direct object	<i>Ah'm fain ter 'ave</i> Hague 1976 <i>thee fo' mi friend!</i>
<i>Thi</i>	Direct object	<i>an' t' beeasts 'll keep</i> Kellett 2007 <i>it nice an' wahrm fer</i> <i>thi</i>
<i>Tha</i>	Subject	<i>Tha can gu ta</i> Ossitt Greensmith 2011 <i>an tork brooad if tha</i> <i>wants</i>

Table 6.1 Forms of Second-person Pronouns in Modern Yorkshire Dialect Literature

In the next section, I discuss the “Yorkshire” dialect features which appear frequently and consistently in the corpus of modern literary dialect.

### 6.2.2 Modern Yorkshire Literary Dialect

When compared to the dialect literature, the use of particular “Yorkshire” features is not as consistent as in the modern literary dialect. This is potentially due to the fact that in many cases, literary dialect is intended for a wider audience than the immediate dialect region featured in their texts. However, there are still representations of certain features that are quantitatively frequent and appear consistently in the literary dialect samples.

With regards to the validity of literary dialect evidence, Ellis states that ‘linguists are faced with the task of assessing the reliability of individual authors and literary works and sorting out those features which are most likely to represent valid linguistic evidence’ (1994:128). As for ascertaining this authenticity Ellis goes on to cite Ives (1950), who proposed that ‘a literary dialect is authentic if a significant number of features used in a literary source are also found in the corresponding present-day dialect’ (1994:129). Certain parallels of this nature can be seen when we consider the data from Hedevind (1967), Tidholm (1979) and Glauser (1984), as discussed in Chapter 1, we can see that DAR, *summat*, *owt*, *nowt*, and *reight* for instance, can all be observed in modern Yorkshire dialect. The data gathered from the respondents to the online survey also suggest that certain of the features represented in the literary dialect are also currently in use.

### *Definite Article Reduction*

In a similar fashion to what can be observed in the dialect literature the phenomenon of definite article reduction is widely used in literary dialect depicting Yorkshire. The orthographic form <t> also appears to be favoured by modern writers as it is in the dialect literature. For instance, we can see constructions like:

When I was courting Annie we used to meet in chapel and walk home together and her ma would put a lamp in t'window, and if blind was up, I'd come right in for a cuddle in t'parlour (Holtby [1935] 2011:155)

We can see here three separate instances of definite article reduction: two which are marked by <t'>; the third is a zero-realisation in 'if blind was up', which although rare, can be observed in some written representations of Yorkshire dialect. Kellett, for instance, notes that in some parts of Yorkshire, notably in the East Riding (see figure 6.1), the definite article is not pronounced at all, even as a glottal stop (2002:180).



*Figure 6.2 The Historical Ridings of Yorkshire*

(<http://www.yorkshireridings.org/photos/uncategorized/2008/03/18/map.gif>)

The example above is from an early twentieth-century text; however, in later texts, we can also see the same construction in use:

Well me mother 'ad a big pot a stew ont' cooker like, ready to cook for tea. It must 'ave been some bugger wi' a grudge 'cos the dirty bastard did 'is business int' pot (Smith 1998:3)

In the example above we can clearly see <t'> used to represent a reduced definite article, although the reduced form is not exclusively used for every instance of the definite article, as we can see the full un-reduced form *the* in 'the dirty bastard'. The use of profanity in literary dialect is discussed further below.

### *Representations of Phonological Features*

Unlike definite article reduction, however, the use of non-standard orthographical forms to represent Yorkshire pronunciations is somewhat less consistent in modern literary dialect. There are three main features which tend to occur repeatedly; but these occurrences are surprisingly sparse when compared to the dialect literature.

The first feature I will discuss here is the use of *Ah* for the first person pronoun 'I', suggesting a pronunciation of /a:/. Examples can be seen in Herriot: 'Aye, a know he is, but there's all kind o' vitneries and this 'un's a dead loss. Ah could tell ye some tales about this feller' (1977:59), which also highlights the use of *a* for 'I', suggesting a pronunciation of /a/. This is then followed by the *Ah* rendering, illustrating the lack of consistency in this representation of Yorkshire pronunciation. Smith displays a similar rendering in the construction: 'I will get 'im back, waint a?' (1998:9), which has the potential suggested /a/ pronunciation at the end of the sentence, but the Standard English <I> at the start.

The above example from Smith also displays /h/-dropping which, although common in the region, is not consistently represented in the literary dialect. In addition, the feature is also not consistently represented by individual authors. For instance, elsewhere, Smith has one of his Yorkshire characters display the following dialogue:

'Ee was in his golf bag where 'ee lives. It's a big golf bag and it opens at t'side in-stead o' top and it's got, like, cushion inside to keep him warm. He sleeps a lot, but he's reight affectionate. (1998:6)

The above example demonstrates both /h/-less representations with the use of ''ee', and those where <h> was present, as in 'He sleeps a lot'. The same lack of consistency can also be seen in Herriot, where we can see sentences like 'Well, 'e's a vitnery, isn't he?' (1977:59). It is possible that the reader is supposed to assume that all instances of /h/ in the Yorkshire dialect are dropped, as stated by Kellett (2002:xxviii), and that the occasional representation of an /h/-less form with the /h/ replaced by an apostrophe serves only to remind the reader of this pronunciation.

Overall, however, the representation of phonological features in the modern literary dialect appears to be fairly inconsistent, even within texts by individual writers. In order to denote the Yorkshire dialect in literature it seems as though the use of lexical items is more common, which is discussed further in the next section.

### *Lexical Items*

As stated above, the use of Yorkshire lexical items is much more consistent across the literary dialect texts considered in this study. The first such item is the use of ‘Aye’ for ‘yes’. This can appear in a variety of forms including *ah*, *ar*, and *argh*, which also suggests a pronunciation similar to that for ‘I’ above: /a:/, which is particularly indicated by the use of the three aforementioned variants. For instance, in Taylor-Bradford, we see her characters use constructions like: ‘Aye, lass. I’ll just wash this coal dust off me hands’ (1981:109), which does not suggest a pronunciation other than /aI/. However, in Smith, one of his Yorkshire characters, Albert (an older character from Rotherham) is seen to employ constructions like ‘Argh, nicked, pinched, leafed...’ (1998:4), but also ‘Aye’ (ibid.), and even ‘Ah’ (ibid. p.6). This could suggest a distinction between the pronunciation of ‘yes’ as *aye* /aI/, and *argh* or *ah* /a:/. Kellett, for instance, simply gives *aye* for ‘yes’, but gives no indication as to its pronunciation (2002:5). However, for the pronoun ‘I’, he lists *Ah*, stating that it is pronounced with a ‘short a’, suggesting a pronunciation like that discussed in the previous section (ibid. p.1). This distinction between *aye* and ‘I’ could explain these two distinct orthographical representations to a certain extent; some writers may feel it necessary to insert the Standard English *aye* to highlight to readers who may not be familiar with the Yorkshire dialect that there is a difference between the two words, even though their pronunciations are the same.

The next most-consistently used lexical items are *owt*, *nowt* and *summat*. These can be seen in several of the texts considered here. In Holtby, for instance, we can see the use of ‘D’ye hear owt, lad?’ ([1935] 2011:146); and Hines has ‘I’ve never taken owt o’ yours, have I?’ ([1967] 2000:8). Smith’s character of Albert can be observed using *nowt* in the line: ‘There’s ’nowt wrong with ‘im ‘e’s as soft as they come’ (1998:22), which also highlights an unusual representation of *nowt* with a preceding apostrophe. It is unclear what this apostrophe represents, however; this construction is not employed elsewhere. Taylor-Bradford also makes use of this item in character dialogue such as ‘Yer can’t stop me if I runs away and run

away I will, out of this godforsaken hole, here there's nowt but misery and poverty and dying' (1981:101-2).

With regards to *summat*, Herriot has his characters employing constructions like 'Yes ah thought ah'd better take 'im to somebody as knows summat about dogs. He's a vallible dog is that' (1977:61) which not only illustrates use of *summat*, but *ah* for *I* and /h/-dropping also.

Finally, there is also an inconsistency in some writers' use of *thee* and *tha* as opposed to 'you'. Taylor-Bradford presents a scene in which three Yorkshire characters are involved in an argument: a father, John Harte, and his two children, Winston and Emma. The character of John can be seen to be using *thee* forms of 'you' in such instances as the following:

Don't think I didn't see that, our Winston! I'll teach thee ter raise thee hand ter me, lad! That I will. I'm going ter give thee a good hiding thee won't forget as long as thee lives. And it's long overdue! (1981:102)

Whereas his children use forms which are more similar to the Standard English 'you', rendered as *yer* in the dialogue of John's son Winston: 'Yer wouldn't dare hit me! Me mam won't never forgive yer, if yer puts that strap on me!' (ibid.). The character of Emma also uses this form of 'you': 'What's got in ter yer?' (ibid. p.103), which also displays *ter* for 'to', suggesting that the pronunciation of the vowels in these words is /ə/. This particular usage also suggests that the use of *thee* forms of 'you' are age dependent; John's dialect usage is indicative of more 'traditional' or 'old fashioned' dialect lexis, as opposed to the more modern words used by his children. There does not appear to be any instance where either the characters of Winston or Emma use *thee* or *tha* instead of *yer* or *you*. This usage can also be observed in Smith; his characters' use of these lexical items is similarly inconsistent. The character of Albert, for instance, has lines of dialogue like: 'Neow, tha's just got to mek sure it dun't get thee round t'neck, cos it'll gi thee a reight 'eadache' (1981:6), where he uses *tha* and *thee*; however Albert later says 'Steve, would you write the advert for me?' (ibid. p.8) where 'you' is used. Albert's immediate next line of dialogue in the book has him asking the protagonist, Steve, 'Tha dunt want any bottles of whisky for Christmas does tha Steve?' (ibid.) where *tha* is used for 'you'. However, this apparent inconsistency could represent the use of *thee* and *tha* to mark social difference. As Freeborn states, 'A superior used *thou* to an inferior, who had to address his superior with *you*. A friendly relationship was also marked in this way' (1998:310); this likely explains the younger characters' use of *you* to their father in the Taylor-Bradford example discussed above. The 'friendly relationship' use of *you* may

also explain why the character of Albert uses this to elicit a favour from his friend, Steve, in the Smith example. This usage of *thee* and *tha* is reflected more in the literary dialect than the dialect literature, however, suggesting that the use of these pronouns to mark social difference is not consistent in the Yorkshire dialect.

Several of the features which occur in these texts are discussed by Wales, who talks about the use of similar ‘pan-Northern’ features in early episodes of the British soap opera *Coronation Street*. She states that particular features were chosen due to their familiarity with speakers who were not from Yorkshire, and cites ‘<t> for the definite article; *aye* for yes; ...*owt* for... ‘anything’ (2006:162, italics in original). She also includes the word ‘*appen*’ meaning ‘perhaps’, which highlights /h/-dropping, and categorises these features as markers of Northern ‘difference’ (ibid.).

### *Swearing*

Finally, one of the more conspicuous elements of the modern Yorkshire dialect literature is the amount of swearing portrayed in the dialogue of Yorkshire characters. In Hines we can see lines like ‘What’s up wi’ thee, shit t’ bed?’ ([1967] 2000:12) as well as repeated instances of words like ‘bloody’ and ‘bugger’ throughout. Smith’s character of Albert also swears frequently; we can see examples like ‘Well the dirty bastards did sommat’ (1998:3) and ‘Fuck all now’ (ibid. p.4); however, we can see examples of this in more of Smith’s Yorkshire characters. An example is the character of Tank, a young man in his twenties, who is frequently in and out of prison. In one scene, he says:

Arh Mr Smith, it is aye, but they’ve got me on these bang to rights, I’ve got four charges and fifteen TIC’s and don’t tell me that I’m up shit creek for bail? (ibid. p.14)

Herriot also presents characters who swear; in one instance, the protagonist of *Vet in a Spin*, James Herriot, asks a farmer, Mr Birtwhistle, about what particular poultice he has been using to treat a sick cow. The farmer simply replies ‘Cow shit’. When pressed, the character of Birtwhistle elaborates, stating: ‘Well, ah’ve never found owt better than cow shit and ah’ve been among stock all me life’ (1977:70-1).

It is possible that the use of swearing in texts such as these is an attempt to represent the ‘nonstandardness’ of the dialogue of these characters. It could also be an attempt by the writers to represent ‘authentic’ dialogue. Indeed, in the case of the farmer above, it could be

that this character does not realise that ‘cow shit’ counts as swearing. In any event, the modern literary dialect is the only medium where this occurs.

### 6.3 Conclusions

In this chapter I have shown that written representations of some features of the Yorkshire dialect display less variation in the modern corpus than in the historical corpus. For instance, there are fewer variants of definite article reduction in the modern data. This is similar to a trend noted by Johnstone et al, who state that the ‘orthography of “Pittsburghese” has also tended to become more and more consistent over time’ (2006:96). This same process appears to have occurred with representations of DAR.

I have shown how several dialect features occur frequently and consistently throughout the modern corpus. Representations of DAR, *nowt*, and *thee*-forms of second-person pronouns occurred in 90% of the corpus texts quantitatively studied; these features were also consistently discussed in the qualitative material. The consistency of both the usage and the orthographic representations of these features is observable even in a relatively small corpus like the one discussed in this chapter. This suggests that there is a repertoire of salient “Yorkshire” features which writers can draw upon and employ in order to represent “Yorkshire” dialect in writing. This repertoire is discussed in more detail in Chapter 8. I have also highlighted that, just as in the nineteenth-century data, there are features discussed consistently in the modern qualitative data which are not quantitatively frequent in the dialect literature and literary dialect, such as *nesh*, *mardy*, and the secondary contraction of negatives; although in the cases of *nesh* and *mardy*, these lexical items have relatively specific meanings, suggesting that their use would depend on equally specific literary settings in the quantitative corpus data. This could, therefore, go some way to explaining this disparity in the data. However, the fact that these features were also commonly listed as representative of Yorkshire by respondents to the online survey suggests that the identification of salient features based on consistency and frequency in both quantitative and qualitative material is not 100% accurate; but the features which do show a strong correlation between consistent discussion and quantitative frequency are clearly shown to be strongly associated with Yorkshire based on the data from the online survey, discussed in Chapter 7. Therefore, using this method can highlight a reasonably accurate repertoire of features which are perceived to be salient and representative of Yorkshire.

In the next chapter, I present the analysis of the quantitative data collected for both the nineteenth-century and modern corpora. I also consider the diachronic consistency in the use of these features in the nineteenth-century quantitative corpus, and compare the results from the modern corpus with those collected from the online survey.



## 7. Results III: Data Analysis

In their study of ‘Pittsburghese’, Johnstone et al discuss the understanding of ‘historical contexts in which attention to and talk about dialect emerges and circulates’, and how this can allow us to ‘understand the ebb and flow of such activities over time’ (2006:99-100). The results presented in this chapter include data from both the nineteenth-century and modern corpora which highlight the features of the Yorkshire dialect that are consistently paid attention over time.

In this chapter, I begin by presenting the quantitative instances of the most frequently-occurring Yorkshire dialect features in the nineteenth-century dialect literature and literary dialect. I then go on to highlight the diachronic variation of certain features which are quantitatively numerous in the corpus to investigate the ‘ebb and flow’ of their apparent salience in representing Yorkshire dialect in writing over the course of the nineteenth century. I also present data collected from modern dialect material and from current English speakers. Finally, a comparison of the results from the modern textual dialect data with both the quantitative and qualitative data gained from the online survey is a key component in achieving one of the main aims of this thesis: the construction of a framework for the historical study of enregisterment. A correlation between current speakers’ perceptions of the salient features of the Yorkshire dialect and the quantitative instances of consistent features in the corpus material would indicate the possibility of such a framework. Evidence for this correlation is presented and discussed below.

### 7.1 Corpus of Nineteenth-Century Yorkshire Dialect Material

In total, the Nineteenth-Century corpus included 47 texts: 27 dialect literature (DL) and 20 literary dialect (LD). The total number of words collected for each half of the corpus represents a ratio of 1.4:1 words of DL:LD; this ratio was normalised to represent a 1:1 distribution of the data and is discussed below.

The tallied instances for the commonly-occurring dialect features listed above were tabulated for each text, an example of this for one text is shown in Table 7.1 below. Conversion of the raw instances of the features into percentages of the samples was done so as to normalise all the data from each sample, following Biber et al (2006): the percentage for each feature was calculated by dividing the number of tokens in the sample by the number of words in each

sample, then multiplying this by 100. So, where there were 1,000 words in a sample, the percentage for a feature with 9 tokens was calculated as follows:  $(9 / 1000) * 100 = 0.9\%$ .

Where a sample was less than 1,000 words, as in Howson's *An Illustrated Guide to the curiosities of Craven*, which only featured 459 words of dialect, the percentage for a feature with 9 tokens was as follows:  $(9 / 459) * 100 = 2.0\%$ . We can therefore assume that had there been 1,000 words of dialect in the Howson sample, the above 9 tokens of the particular feature would have been closer to 20.

Commonly-occurring Feature	Tokens in Sample	Percentage of Sample
<t'>	41	4.1
<ah> / <aw> / <o> 'I'	40	4
<oi> ( <i>loike</i> )	35	3.5
<ah> /aʊ/	28	2.8
<ooa> ( <i>rooad</i> )	15	1.5
<oa> ( <i>doar</i> )	13	1.3
<ea> ( <i>theare</i> )	12	1.2
<i>Mun</i> 'must'	7	0.7
<i>Oud/owd</i> 'old'	6	0.6
<i>Sen</i> 'self'	5	0.5
<i> for <u> ( <i>sich</i> )	3	0.3
<eea> ( <i>theeare</i> )	2	0.2
<i>Reight / reet</i> right/really	2	0.2
<i>Nobbut</i> only	2	0.2
<i>Summat</i> something	2	0.2
<i>Nowt</i> nothing	1	0.1
<o> for <a> ( <i>onny; monny</i> )	1	0.1
<i>Tother</i> the other	1	0.1

Table 7.1 Commonly-occurring dialect features in 1,000-word sample from *A Friend to't Shevelders* (1850)

Table 7.1 shows high instances of definite article reduction, followed by similarly high instances of orthographical representations of Yorkshire phonology. From *mun* onwards, the commonly-occurring features are predominantly lexical items and the instances of these

features are significantly smaller in the sample. A similar distribution can be seen in an example of the literary dialect data, as shown in Table 7.2 below.

Commonly-occurring Feature	Tokens in Sample	Percentage of Sample
<t'>	36	3.6
<ah> / <aw> / <o> 'I'	27	2.7
<ah> /au/	26	2.6
<oa> ( <i>goa</i> )	22	2.2
<th'>	9	0.9
<i>Nowt</i> 'nothing'	8	0.8
<o> for <a> ( <i>ony</i> ; <i>mony</i> )	6	0.6
<i>Reight</i> / <i>reet</i> 'right/really'	6	0.6
<i>Mun</i> 'must'	5	0.5
<i>Nobbut</i> 'only'	4	0.4
<i>Shoo</i> 'she'	4	0.4
<i>Sen</i> 'self'	3	0.3
<oi> ( <i>loike</i> )	3	0.3
<ea> ( <i>theare</i> )	2	0.2
<i>Owd/oud</i> 'old'	2	0.2
<i> for <u> ( <i>sich</i> )	2	0.2
<i>Summat</i> 'something'	2	0.2
<ooa> ( <i>stooar</i> )	1	0.1
<i>Gan/gang</i> 'go'	1	0.1
<eea> ( <i>theeare</i> )	1	0.1
<i>Owt</i> 'anything'	1	0.1

Table 7.2 Commonly-occurring dialect features in 1,000-word sample from *Brontë* (1847)

The mean averages of the percentages like those shown in Tables 7.1 and 7.2 for the whole corpus highlighted patterns in the data as certain features occurred more frequently in one type of dialect writing than the other. For instance, definite article reduction occurred much more frequently in dialect literature than in literary dialect, as shown in Table 7.3. This suggests that certain dialect features were more salient than others in representing the Yorkshire dialect, depending on whether the audience was local (i.e. the audience of DL), or non-local (the audience of LD).

Commonly-occurring Feature	DL Average % of sample	LD Average % of sample
<ah> / <aw> / <o> 'I'	2.75	0.44
<t'>	2.57	0.89
<ah> /au/	1.15	0.15
<oa> ( <i>goa</i> )	1.01	0.45
<eea> ( <i>theeare</i> )	0.98	0.01
<oi> ( <i>loike</i> )	0.81	0.24
<ea> ( <i>theare</i> )	0.63	0.47
<i>Oud/owd</i> 'old'	0.47	0.06
<i>Reight/reet</i> 'right/really'	0.43	0.05
<o> for <a> ( <i>onny; mony</i> )	0.42	0.15
<ooa> ( <i>stooar</i> )	0.42	0.01
<i>shoo/hoo</i> 'she'	0.39	0.02
<i>Sen</i> 'self'	0.3	0.13
<th'>	0.27	0.14
<i> for <u> ( <i>sich</i> )	0.24	0.04
<i>Nowt</i> 'nothing'	0.21	0.13
<i>Mun</i> 'must'	0.19	0.18
<i>Gan/gang</i> 'go'	0.14	0.07
<i>Owt</i> 'anything'	0.1	0.02
<i>Nobbut</i> 'only'	0.09	0.03
<i>Bairns</i> 'children'	0.05	0.02
<i>Summat</i> 'something'	0.04	0.12
<i>Tother</i> 'the other'	0.01	0.08

*Table 7.3 Mean averages of commonly-occurring dialect features in dialect literature versus literary dialect across nineteenth-century corpus*

Table 7.3 shows that, with the exceptions of *summat* and *tother*, there are more instances of the commonly-occurring dialect features in the DL samples than in the LD. This is partially due to the fact that there are a slightly larger number of DL texts in the corpus than LD. However, several dialect features emerged as appearing equally salient to both groups, as they appeared in similar quantities in both DL and LD, although table 7.3 shows un-normalised data; that is to say that the distribution of the averages shown is based on the 1.4:1

ration of DL:LD mentioned above. However, the normalised results shown in figure 7.1 do not vary significantly from the table above.

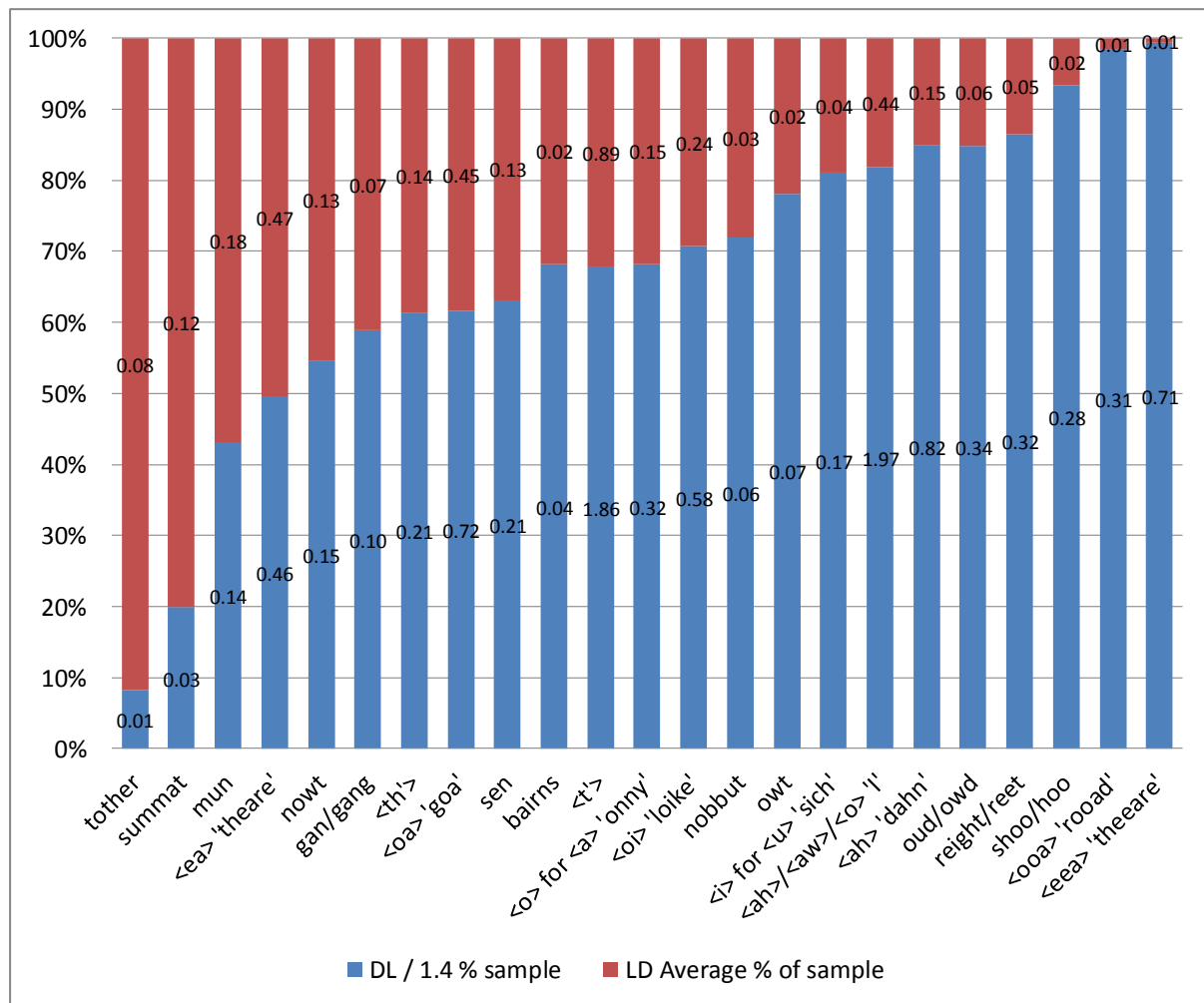


Figure 7.1 Mean averages of commonly-occurring dialect features in dialect literature versus literary dialect across nineteenth-century corpus, normalised to 1:1 DL:LD

Figure 7.1 shows the data from the DL half of the corpus normalised so as to make the numbers equivalent to the LD half. The graph also highlights the fact that certain features are more salient to a Yorkshire audience than a non-Yorkshire one, and vice-versa. For instance, the results towards the left of the graph show higher occurrences in the literary dialect than the dialect literature (*tother*, *summat*). The results from <oi> (*loike*) onwards show a much higher rate of occurrences in the dialect literature and ever-decreasing numbers of instances in the literary dialect, suggesting that these features were far more salient to a local Yorkshire audience in the Nineteenth Century in representing the Yorkshire dialect.

However, the features: *mun*, <ea> in *theare* ‘there’, *nowt*, *gan/gang*, <th’>, <oa> in *soa* ‘so’, *sen*, *bairns*, <t’>, and <o> for <a> in *onny* ‘any’ all appear in almost equal proportions in both the DL and the LD, falling between roughly 40:60 DL:LD and 60:40 DL:LD. The implications of this are discussed in Chapter 8.

In the following section, I discuss how instances of these features varied diachronically over the course of the nineteenth century.

## 7.2 Nineteenth-Century Diachronic Results

When the data from the Nineteenth Century Corpus was considered diachronically, three distinct patterns emerged in the data: firstly, several Yorkshire features appeared in similar amounts in both the literary dialect and the dialect literature relatively consistently across the Nineteenth Century; secondly, there were also several features which were consistently quantitatively more numerous in the dialect literature than in the literary dialect; and finally, two features displayed the opposite pattern and were quantitatively more numerous in the literary dialect.

### 7.2.1 Diachronically Consistent Features

The diachronic results showed that 10 features displayed similar patterns across the Nineteenth Century. This pattern occurred with representations of Yorkshire phonology, lexical items, and representations of morpho-phonemic features. For instance, figure 7.2 below shows the diachronic distribution of the occurrences for the orthographic representation <oa> in *doant* ‘don’t’.

Figure 7.2 also shows an apparent disparity between the distribution of the occurrences of this feature between the early and late Nineteenth Century. This can be observed in the higher rate of instances in the literary dialect from 1800 to mid-century. From 1860 onwards, this feature appears less frequently in literary dialect; with the exception of the seemingly anomalous result in the 1880-90 data, the <oa> representation of the Yorkshire pronunciation of GOAT words does not appear at all in literary dialect. This suggests that this feature becomes less salient in representing the Yorkshire dialect to a non-Yorkshire audience, yet it appears still to be salient to a local one. This could be due to the development of a diphthongal pronunciation of GOAT in RP over the course of the nineteenth century as noted by Beal (2004a:138) and Jones (2006:305), and discussed in Chapter 5. We can infer from

this that the salience of this feature is variable; this is similar to Johnstone et al's observation that diachronic corpora can highlight 'shifting indexicalities over time' (2006:84).

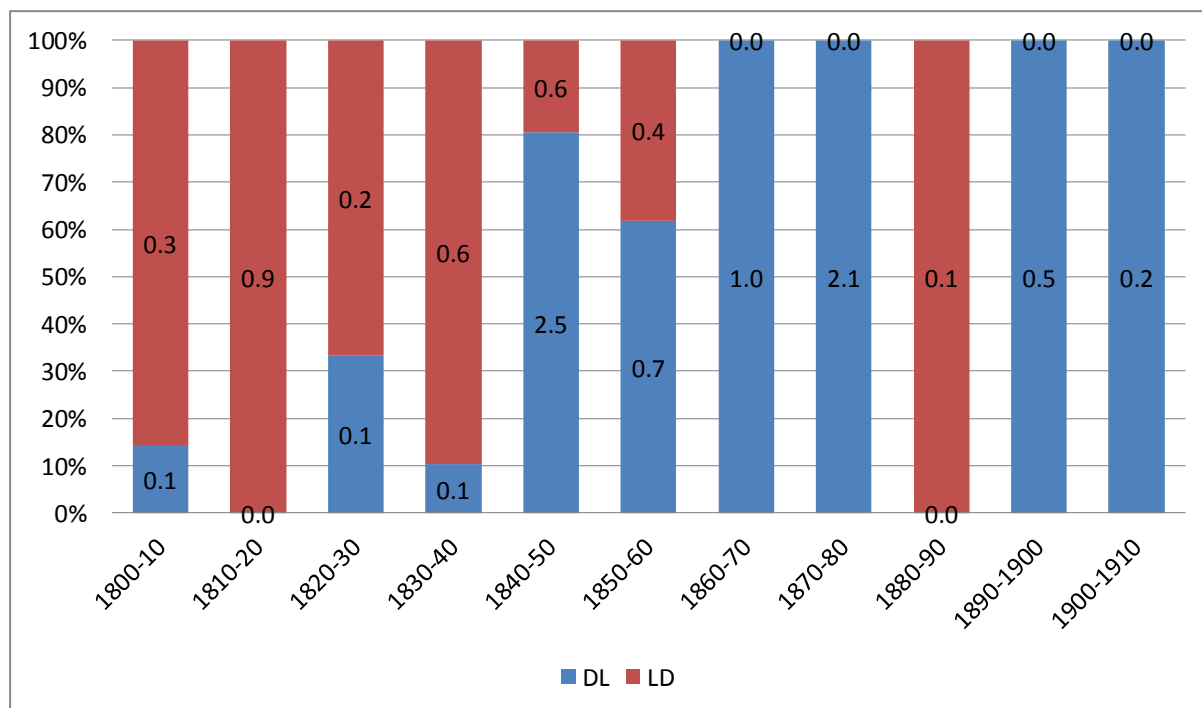


Figure 7.2 Diachronic results for instances of <oa> representations in GOAT words in Nineteenth-Century corpus data showing dialect literature versus literary dialect

The pattern displayed in Figure 7.2 can also be seen for the features: <ea> in *thear* 'there'; <oi> in *loike* 'like'; <o> for <a> in *onny* 'any', and *oud/owd* for 'old'. The prominence of these features in both forms of dialect writing in the early nineteenth century suggest that they may have been enregistered to a wider audience at the beginning of the century, but became 'deregistered' towards its end. This could also represent a shift in the order of indexicality of these features from third-order at the beginning of the century to second-order at the end. The concept of 'deregisterment' is discussed further in Chapter 8.

With regards to lexical items, the distribution of *nowt* 'nothing' shows a similar pattern. Figure 7.3 below shows a pattern in occurrences from 1800 to mid-century which is more consistent than the pattern displayed in figure 7.2 above; figure 7.3 also displays the same apparently anomalous spike in the data at 1880-90 – although this is the result of there being no dialect literature data available for this decade (it is likely that if there were DL data here, it would show results for *nowt* based on the data from the rest of the corpus). However, figure 7.3 also shows that the distribution of *nowt* continues into the Twentieth Century,

despite there being no LD data for the 1890-1900 range. The continued occurrence of <oa> into twentieth-century LD is not evident in figure 7.2; the continued presence of *nowt* in twentieth-century LD highlights the continued association of *nowt* as Yorkshire dialect: *nowt* does not appear to have undergone the same process of ‘deregisterment’ as <oa> seemed to above. The presence of *nowt* in the modern corpus in similar quantities also supports this hypothesis.

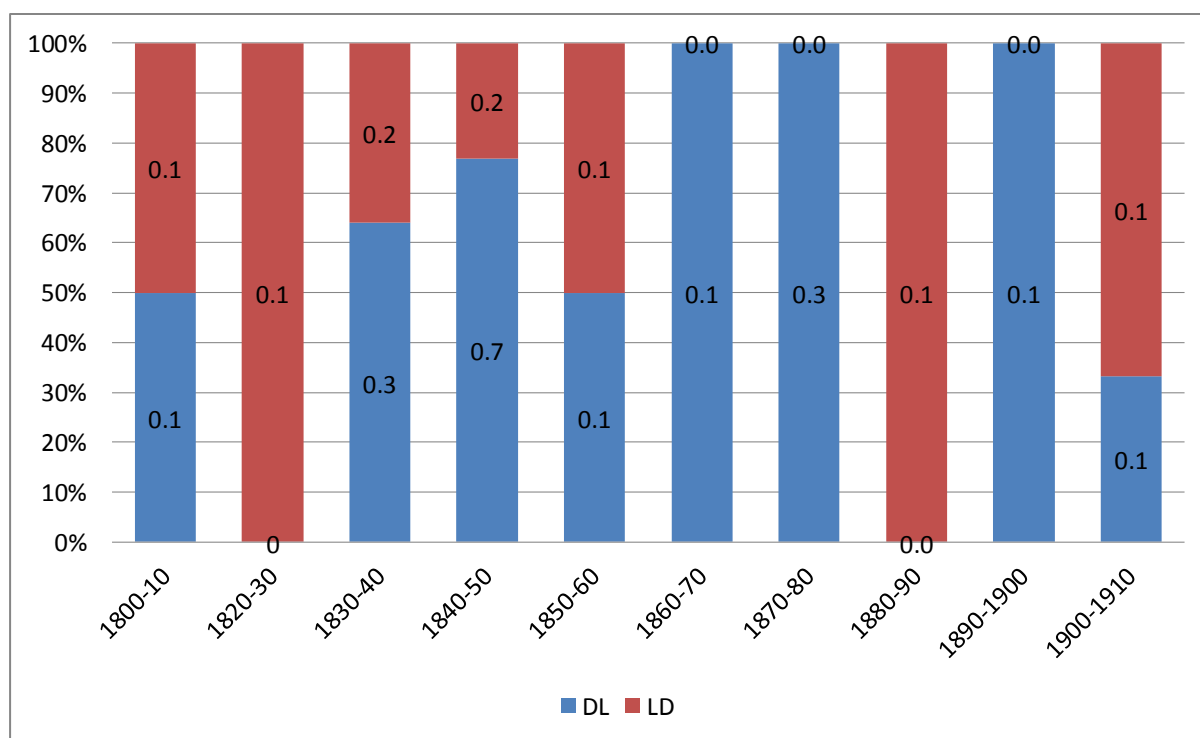


Figure 7.3 Diachronic results for instances of *nowt* in Nineteenth-Century corpus data showing dialect literature versus literary dialect

The distribution for *nowt* was similarly found in *sen* ‘self’. A slightly different pattern could be observed in *gan/gang* ‘go’ and *mun* ‘must’: these two features differed from *nowt* and *sen* in that they did not appear in LD into the Twentieth Century; they also showed continually decreasing numbers where they did occur in DL. I believe *gan/gang* and *mun* have also been ‘deregistered’ over the course of the late-Nineteenth to early-Twentieth Centuries; the lack of instances in the modern corpus supports this. In addition, the results from the online survey suggested that *gan* is now much more readily associated with the North-East of England (discussed further in Chapter 8), and *mun* was virtually unrecognised by respondents.

Finally, with regard to morpho-phonemic features, the results for definite article reduction showed that a split existed between the <t> forms and the <th> forms. As shown in figure



7.4, the <t> forms of DAR were relatively consistent across the nineteenth century, showing a similar pattern to the features listed above. There is a gap in the literary dialect data for the period 1860-1880 as I was unable to locate any Yorkshire dialect in literature for this period. However, if we consider the results for the LD plotted as an individual graph, as in figure 7.5, it is possible to see a trend in the data whereby we can postulate an estimate for the amount of potential LD data in that two-decade period. This is shown by the broken line on the graph. This trend further indicates the overall consistency of quantitative instances of <t> forms of DAR in both DL and LD throughout the nineteenth century.

The results for <th> forms of DAR show a different pattern. Although there is no data for this feature for the periods 1800-10 and 1870-1900, the data which does exist for this feature shows a trend where <th> forms appear much more prominently in the DL than in the LD.

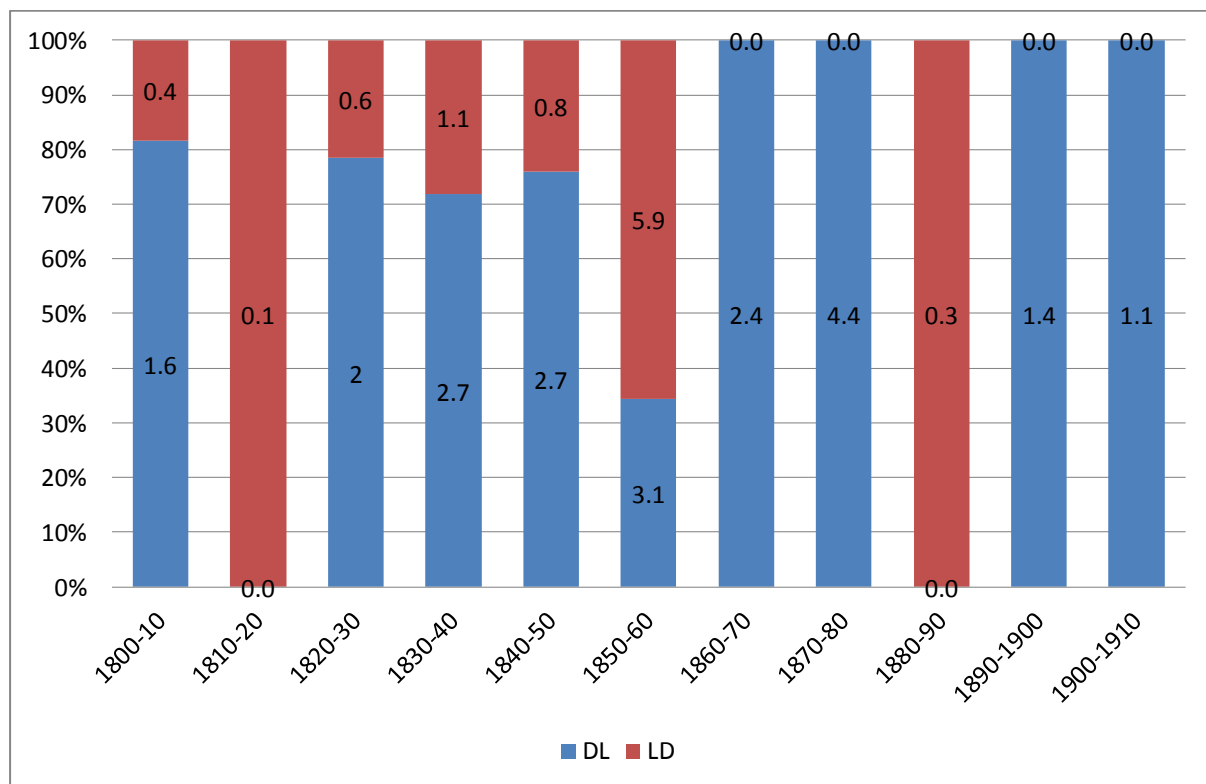


Figure 7.4 Diachronic results for instances of <t> forms of DAR in Nineteenth-Century corpus data showing dialect literature versus literary dialect

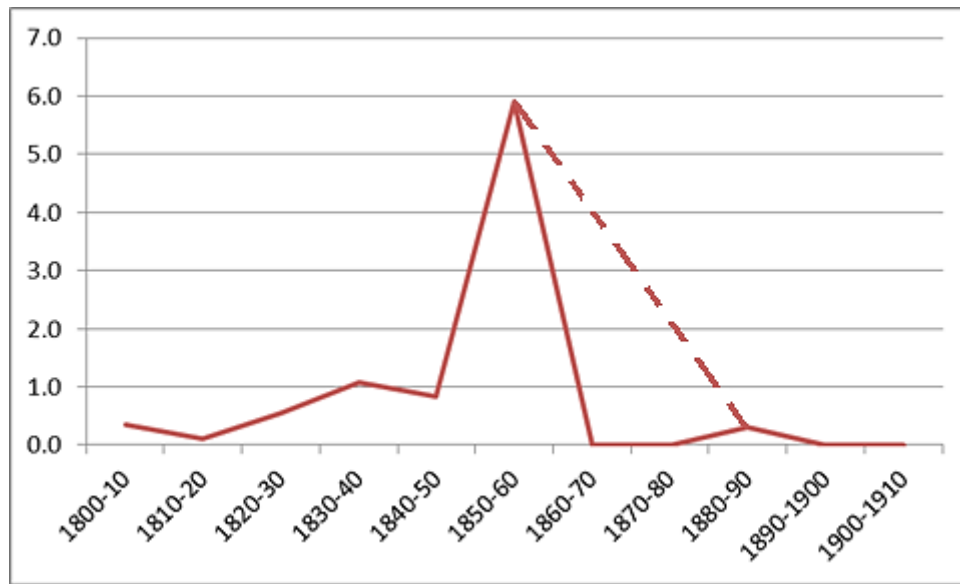


Figure 7.5 Diachronic results for instances of <t> forms of DAR in Nineteenth-Century corpus data showing only literary dialect

Figure 7.6 shows the distribution of <th> forms of DAR in both the nineteenth-century dialect literature and literary dialect. With the exception of the spike at 1840-50 in the LD data, there are no recorded instances of <th> forms in that half of the corpus. This suggests that <th> forms were only particularly salient to a local audience due to their appearance in dialect literature. However, when compared to the results for <t> forms of DAR the <th> forms are very much in a minority. This suggests that although there was variation in the representation of DAR in written Yorkshire dialect in the nineteenth century, the form which would end up becoming the dominant form in modern written representations, <t>, was already in the majority. The use of <t> forms of DAR was also noted by Petyt in the late twentieth century as the second most-common realisation after a glottal stop (1985:197), as discussed in Chapter 1. The dominance of <t> forms in written representations of DAR in the nineteenth century could be a reflection of a similar trend to that noted by Petyt. Indeed, as discussed in Chapter 5, several nineteenth-century writers allude to a potential /t/ pronunciation of DAR (such as Morris 1892), as well as what may be a glottal realisation (such as Easter's 'ghost of a t' 1883:134).

The trend shown in figure 7.6 also shows that quantitative instances of <th> forms of DAR were rapidly decreasing even in dialect literature by the turn of the twentieth century, suggesting that this feature was no longer salient to a local audience in representing Yorkshire dialect in writing.

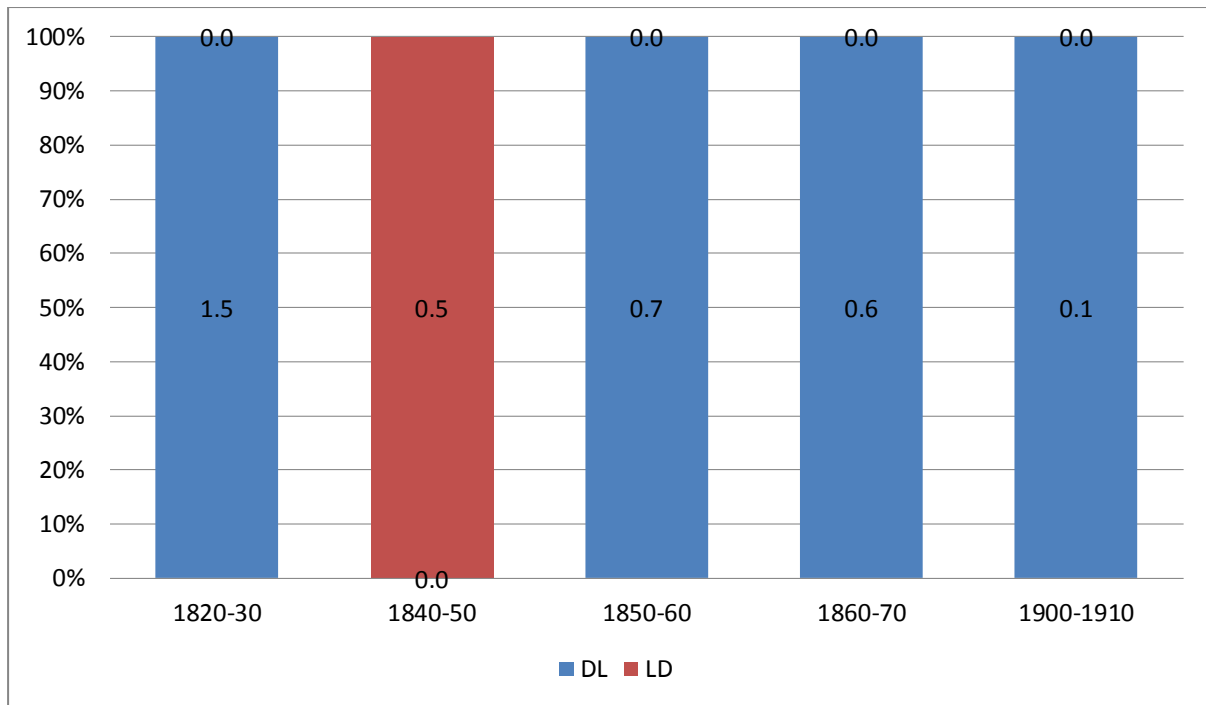


Figure 7.6 Diachronic results for instances of <th> forms of DAR in Nineteenth-Century corpus data showing dialect literature versus literary dialect

### 7.2.2 Common Dialect Literature Features

Several features occurred much more frequently in the dialect literature than in the literary dialect in the nineteenth-century corpus. For example, figure 7.7 below shows the distribution of the lexical item variants *reight* and *reet* as representations of Yorkshire pronunciations of ‘right’. We can see here that with few exceptions, these features appear almost completely in the dialect literature. The lack of DL data for 1880-90 again explains the apparent spike in the LD data in this decade.

This suggests (as with <th> forms of DAR above) that features with this distribution were more salient to a local audience than a non-local one. Distributions like this can be seen for the representation <ah> in both MOUTH words and in the pronunciation of ‘I’; <eea> and <ooa> in SQUARE and GOAT words respectively; and the lexical items *bairns*, *nobbut*, *owt*, and *shoo*. It is perhaps unsurprising that this distribution is most common among representations of Yorkshire lexical items; it is likely that a local audience would have more readily understood these features without the aid of a gloss.

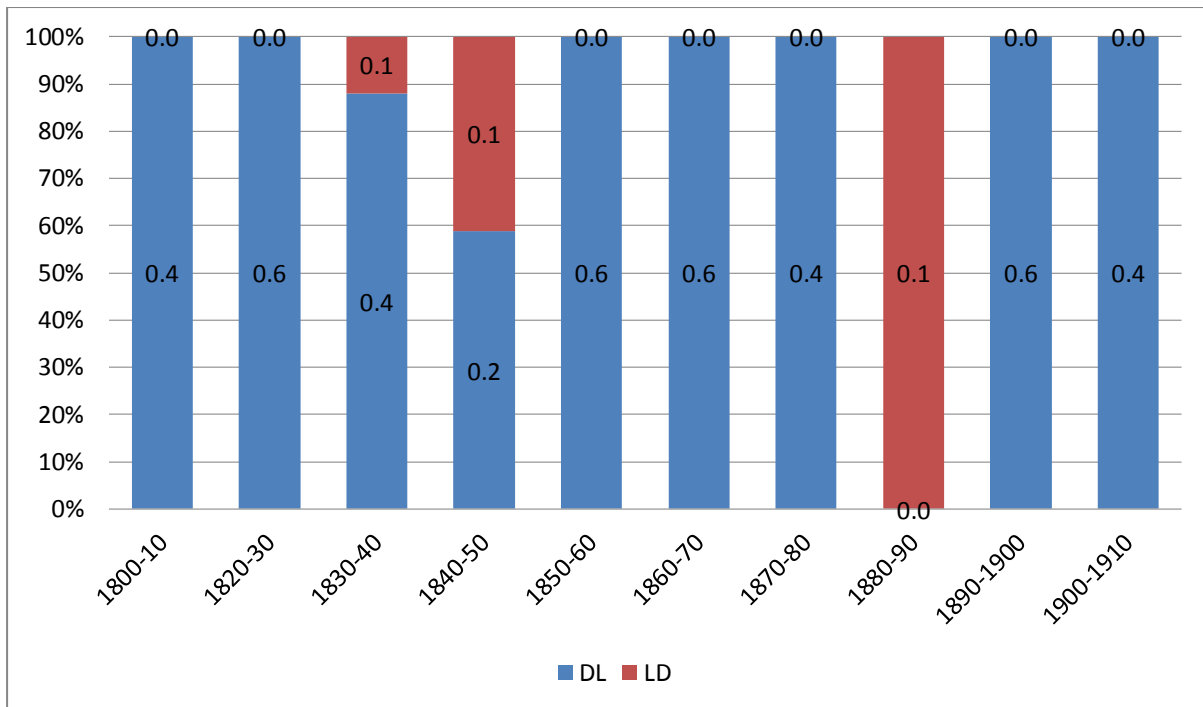


Figure 7.7 Diachronic results for instances of reight/reet in Nineteenth-Century corpus data showing dialect literature versus literary dialect

### 7.2.3 Common Literary Dialect Features

Only two features appeared more frequently in the literary dialect than the dialect literature: *summat* ‘something’ and *tother* ‘the other’. Figure 7.8 shows the diachronic distribution of *summat*, highlighting the prominence of the feature in LD as opposed to DL. This distribution suggests that *summat* was widely understood by a non-local audience and more salient in representing Yorkshire to this audience than it was to a local one. This trend was also consistent across the nineteenth century. In the next section, I will discuss the similar occurrence of consistent features in the corpus of modern Yorkshire dialect material.

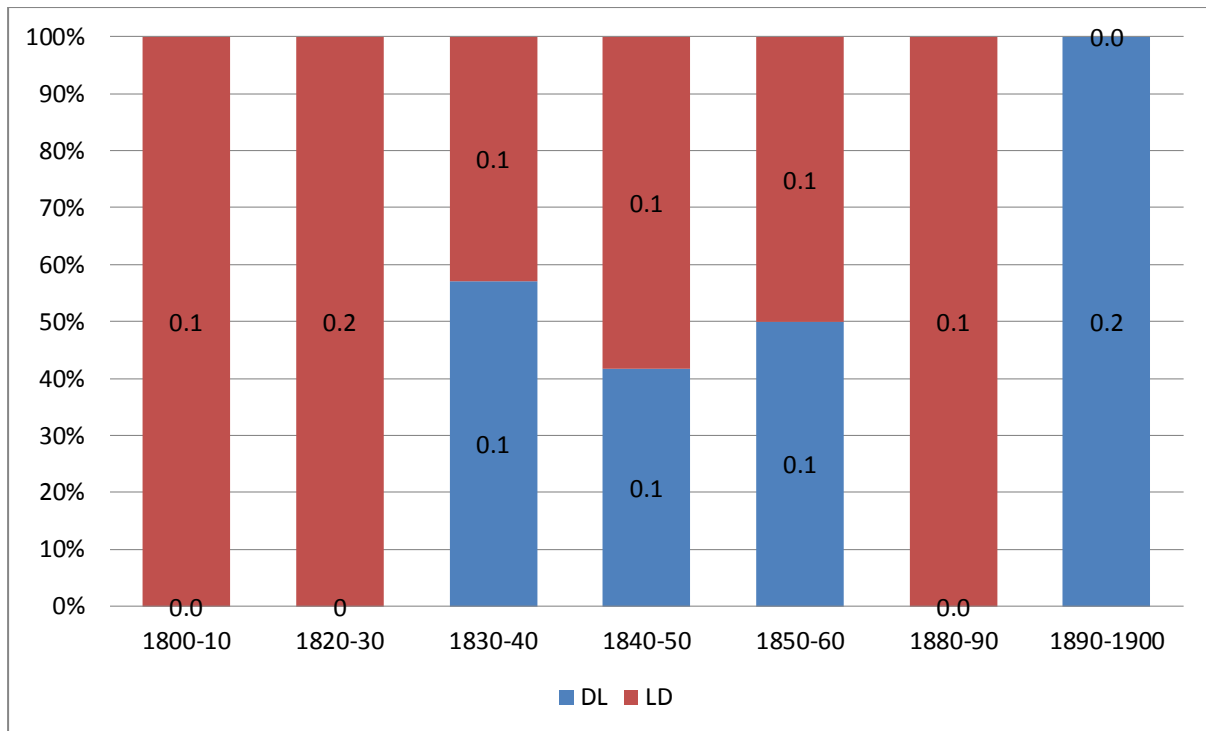


Figure 7.8 Diachronic results for instances of *summat* in Nineteenth-Century corpus data showing dialect literature versus literary dialect

### 7.3 Corpus of Modern Yorkshire Dialect Material

The modern corpus comprises 10 texts: 5 LD, 5 DL. The total size of this corpus is 10,000 words; unlike the nineteenth-century corpus, it was possible to obtain 1,000-word samples from each of the modern texts. This corpus is notably smaller than its nineteenth-century counterpart as the results from the modern corpus are to be augmented with the results from the online survey discussed below.

The mean averages of the instances of these commonly-occurring features across the modern corpus show a similar pattern to that found for the nineteenth-century data. Table 7.4 once again shows a trend where the use of dialect features is much more prominent in dialect literature rather than literary dialect; it also shows a similar pattern vis. the types of features which seem to be more prominent generally. For instance, definite article reduction is one of the most commonly-occurring features; and, although it is not the most common in the literary dialect, it certainly has one of the highest numbers of instances in the corpus.

Commonly-occurring Feature	DL Average % of sample	LD Average % of sample
<t'>	4.2	0.9
h-dropping	3.6	0.9
<A> / <Ah> - /aI/	2.2	0.9
<i>Thi/tha/thee</i> 'you'	2.1	1.2
<ar> / <ah> for /aU/	1.5	0.1
g-dropping (word-final)	1.2	0.2
<ooa> (goa)	0.8	0
<i>Owd</i> 'old'	0.6	0
<i>Reight</i> 'right/really'	0.4	0.1
<i>Ivver</i> 'ever'	0.3	0.1
<a> for <o> <i>mony</i> 'many'	0.3	0.1
<i>Sen</i> 'self'	0.3	0
<ee> for /aI/ <i>neet</i> 'night'	0.3	0
<eea> <i>theeare</i> 'there'	0.3	0
<i>Yer/ye</i> 'you'	0.2	1.3
<i>Nowt</i> 'nothing'	0.2	0.2
<i>Ower/o'er</i> 'over'	0.2	0.1
<i>Aye/ah/ar/argh</i> 'yes'	0.1	0.7
<i>Owt</i> 'anything'	0.1	0.1
Secondary contraction of negatives	0.1	0.1
<i>Summat</i> 'something'	0.1	0.1
<i>Allus/alis</i> 'always'	0.1	0.1
<i>Yon</i> 'that, those'	0.1	0.1
<r> for <t> <i>berra</i> 'better'	0.1	0
<i>Gan</i> 'go'	0.1	0
<i>Nobbut</i> 'only'	0.1	0
<i>Mun</i> 'must'	0.1	0

Table 7.4 Mean averages of commonly-occurring dialect features in dialect literature versus literary dialect across modern corpus

Table 7.4 also displays lack of evidence for certain dialect features; the use of <ooa> in *dooar* 'door' or *ooam* 'home', <ee> in *leeted* 'lighted', <eea> in *theeare* 'there', *owd*, *sen*, *gan*, *mun*, and *nobbut* all only appear in dialect literature and do not occur at all in the literary

dialect samples. This suggests that these features are potentially more salient to a local audience than to a non-local one.

Figure 7.9 shows the dialect features listed above according to their relative proportions in each half of the modern corpus. Like with the nineteenth-century data, we can see that some features are more prominent in the literary dialect: an orthographical representation of the monophthong /a:/ as a pronunciation of ‘aye’ for yes, and <ye> or <yer> for ‘you’, for instance. The features from ‘yon’ onwards show a steadily increasing tendency to be used only in dialect literature; this again suggests that these features are only salient in representing Yorkshire to a local audience.

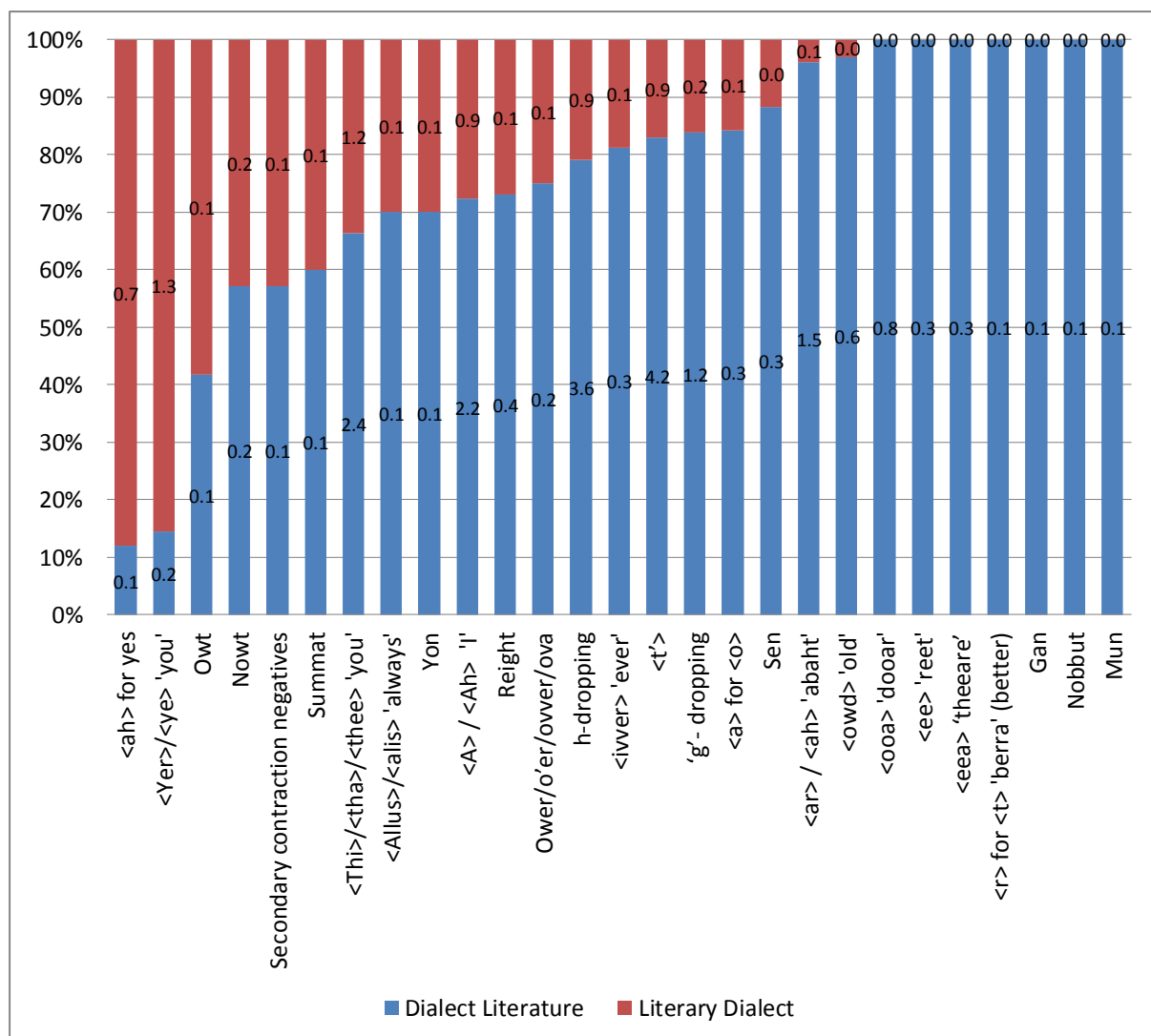


Figure 7.9 Mean averages of commonly-occurring dialect features in dialect literature versus literary dialect across modern corpus

However, there are again features which occur in similar quantities in both the dialect literature and the literary dialect. *Owt, nowt, summat, thee/thi, allus*, and the secondary contraction of negatives all occur within the range of 40:60 to 60:40 DL:LD, suggesting that these features are almost equally as salient to a Yorkshire audience as to a non-Yorkshire one. There is little similarity between the nineteenth-century data and the modern data, though; the only feature which appears in this range in both corpora is the lexical item *nowt*, suggesting that the features which are salient in representing the Yorkshire dialect in writing for both audiences have changed over time.

In the final section below, I will discuss the results of the online survey of modern speakers.

#### 7.4 Online Survey

The online survey was conducted via email over a period of 1 month. In that time there were 410 respondents; 56% of the respondents stated that they were from Yorkshire (230), 44% said they weren't from Yorkshire (180). Overall, 33% of respondents were male (135) against 67% female (275). Table 7.5 shows the distribution of respondents' ages across the survey.

Age	Yorkshire		Non-Yorkshire	
	<i>n</i>	%	<i>n</i>	%
17 and under	1	0.43	0	0
18-29	59	25.54	47	26.26
30-39	44	19.05	57	31.84
40-49	47	20.35	28	15.64
50-59	60	25.97	30	16.76
60 and over	20	8.66	17	9.50

*Table 7.5 Online Survey Respondents in each age group for Yorkshire versus non-Yorkshire*

Table 7.5 also shows that there were more similar numbers of respondents in each age group for the Yorkshire respondents than the non-Yorkshire ones; overall, however, this is a reasonably consistent range of informants.

Of the 410 respondents, the group with the smallest number was female Yorkshire speakers aged 60 and over. As table 7.5 shows, there were 20 respondents who participated in the



survey from the 60 and over age group; of those 20 respondents, 7 were female, and only 6 actually completed it. As a result, 12 respondents were chosen from each age group for analysis (6 male and 6 female), giving a total of 120 respondents analysed overall. The 17 and under age bracket was not considered here due to the number of responses in this group being only 1. The 120 respondents were also chosen from respondents who weren't international; 21 responses to the survey were speakers from overseas. These results were dealt with separately and are discussed further below.

#### 7.4.1 Non-Yorkshire Respondents Online Survey Results

The 12 non-Yorkshire respondents from each age group were chosen so as to represent as broad a range across the whole country as possible. The responses to the survey questions did not vary significantly according to gender; hence, 1 respondent from each location was deemed to be representative thereof. Figures 7.10-7.15 below show the distribution of non-Yorkshire speakers in each age group.



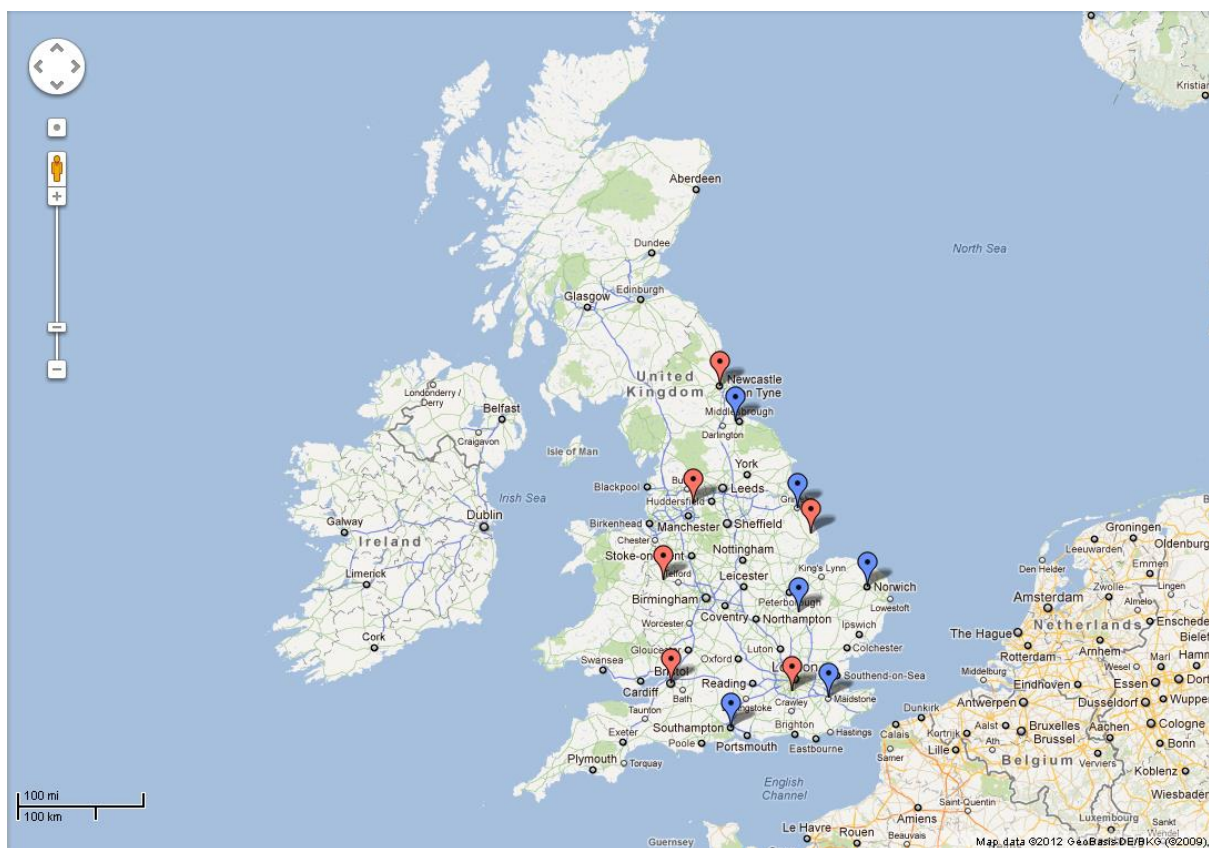
(Map data © 2012 Geobasis DE/BKG (© 2009) Google)

*Figure 7.10 Distribution of Non-Yorkshire Respondents for Online Survey in 18-29 Age Group*

The blue markers on figure 7.10 denote male respondents, the pink markers female. The locations listed by respondents in this age group are:

- (a) Female: Cambridgeshire; Eastbourne; Milton Keynes; Hertfordshire; Bare Regis, Dorset; Reading
- (b) Male: Warrington; Hexham; London; Colchester; Droitwich; Nottingham

The distribution of respondents in this age group is generally well-representative of the country; however, the South-West, the North-West, and East Anglia are somewhat underrepresented.



(Map data © 2012 Geobasis DE/BKG (© 2009) Google)

*Figure 7.11 Distribution of Non-Yorkshire Respondents for Online Survey in 30-39 Age Group*

The locations represented by informants in the 30-39 age group are:

- (a) Female: Rochdale; Shrewsbury; Bristol; Newcastle; Surrey; Lincolnshire
- (b) Male: Southampton; Grimsby; Norwich; Stockton-on-Tees; Maidstone; Cambridgeshire

Both the Midlands and the South-West are underrepresented in this age group.



(Map data © 2012 Geobasis DE/BKG (© 2009) Google)

*Figure 7.12 Distribution of Non-Yorkshire Respondents for Online Survey in 40-49 Age Group*

The locations represented by informants in the 40-49 age group are:

- (a) Female: Southend; Leicester; Runcorn; Sussex; Cumbria; Cleveland
- (b) Male: Wilmslow; Bedford; Surrey; Peak District; Lincoln; Grimsby

This distribution of respondents is also not ideal; the South-West, parts of the Midlands, and East Anglia are not represented at all in this age group.



(Map data © 2012 Geobasis DE/BKG (© 2009) Google)

*Figure 7.13 Distribution of Non-Yorkshire Respondents for Online Survey in 50-59 Age Group*

The locations represented by informants in the 50-59 age group are:

- (a) Female: Leicester; Manchester; Hertfordshire; Watford; Wymondham; Cornwall
- (b) Male: Buckinghamshire; Nottingham; Wigan; Hampshire; Scunthorpe; Herefordshire

This distribution also leaves certain areas underrepresented; the majority of the South-West (with the exception of one respondent at Cornwall), the South-East, parts of the Midlands, the North-East and the North-West all have no respondents.





(Map data © 2012 Geobasis DE/BKG (© 2009) Google)

*Figure 7.14 Distribution of Non-Yorkshire Respondents for Online Survey in 60 and over Age Group*

The locations represented by informants in the 60 and over age group are:

- (a) Female: Derby; Northampton; Birkenhead; Buxton; London; London
- (b) Male: Sunderland; Cheshire; Manchester; Lancashire; Nottinghamshire; London

The above distribution of respondents as shown in figure 7.14 is the least ideal of any age group in terms of its geographical representativeness. This is due both to its almost linear run through the centre of the country, and the fact that there are three speakers from the same location in this group.

When we consider all the non-Yorkshire respondents in all age groups, however, the distribution is relatively well-representative. This is highlighted in figure 7.15.



(Map data © 2012 Geobasis DE/BKG (© 2009) Google)

*Figure 7.15 Distribution of Non-Yorkshire Respondents for Online Survey in all Age Groups*

There are several trends highlighted by the distribution of respondents shown in figure 7.15. Firstly, the Home Counties, Lancashire, and Merseyside are generally represented quite well. Secondly, the South-West is largely underrepresented; as is East Anglia, the North-West and parts of the Midlands. Finally, 4 speakers in the sample are from London; this could possibly cause a slight skew in the data due to just fewer than 7% of the overall respondents being from the same area. These trends are due to the relatively small number of respondents chosen for analysis.

#### 7.4.2 Non-Yorkshire Respondents ‘Provide Yorkshire Features’ Results

The ten Yorkshire features respondents were asked to provide were analysed for commonalities; the common features listed were then tallied. Table 7.6 shows the most common features listed in the survey. The listing of these features also did not show any noticeable patterning according to either age or gender.

<b>Yorkshire Feature</b>	<b>Definition</b>	<b>Respondents</b>	<b>%</b>
<i>Definite Article Reduction</i>	<t> forms listed only	32	53
<i>Reight</i>	Really	26	43
<i>Thee/tha</i>	You	25	42
<i>While</i>	Until	21	35
<i>Terms of endearment</i>	E.g. ‘love’, ‘duck’	20	33
<i>/a/ and /ʊ/</i>	Northern BATH and STRUT vowels	16	27
<i>h-dropping</i>	N/A	15	25
<i>Nesh</i>	Cold, prone to cold	14	23
<i>Gennel</i>	Alleyway	14	23
<i>Nowt</i>	Nothing	13	22
<i>Ey up</i>	Hello	10	17
<i>Mardy</i>	Easily upset	9	15
<i>Aye</i>	Yes	9	15
<i>Owt</i>	Anything	8	13
<i>Breadcake</i>	Bread roll	8	13
<i>Were</i>	Was	8	13
<i>Sen</i>	Self	7	12

*Table 7.6 Commonly Listed Yorkshire Features by non-Yorkshire Respondents*

Several of the features listed in table 7.6 can be seen in both the modern and nineteenth-century corpora. However, there were numerous features listed that did not; *nesh*, for instance, was particularly common and, although this feature can be observed in modern Yorkshire commentary material (see Kellett 2002:122), it was not numerous in the

quantitative corpus. The same can be said for *gennel* and *mardy*. The listing of the northern vowels /a/ and /ʊ/ are somewhat unsurprising as being markers of Yorkshire dialect; however there are no non-standard orthographical representations present in the corpus data to suggest these pronunciations. There were also several respondents who listed *breadcake* as representative of Yorkshire; the lack of evidence for this term in the corpus can be explained by the lexically restricted nature of the word – a piece of dialect writing would have to explicitly discuss or refer to bread in order for this word to occur. However, terms for bread rolls are numerous in varieties of British English; Clark, for instance, states that ‘possibilities in British English include *bap*, *roll*, *breadcake*, *teacake* and *barmcake*’ (2007:30, italics in original). In addition, Beal lists *bread cake* as a Sheffield word, stating that terms like those listed by Clark ‘persist and are part of our everyday vocabulary’ (2006:54), which suggests that *breadcake* may be strongly associated with Yorkshire due to its everyday usage, despite not being prominent in the corpus data. Finally, *while* meaning ‘until’ and terms of endearment such as *love* and *duck* were also listed by many respondents whilst not being quantitatively numerous in the corpus data. Features such as *while*, *nesh*, *gennel*, *mardy*, and terms of endearment like *love* and *duck* may indeed be enregistered as “Yorkshire” in ‘real life’; i.e. speakers are aware of them and associate them with Yorkshire but this is not indicated in textual samples like those from the quantitative corpus. Evidence for this can be seen in the data for the aforementioned features. Generally speaking, between 10 and 35% of respondents in all three groups listed these terms in this section of the online survey and, although they were not quantitatively numerous in the dialect literature or literary dialect, these features were relatively consistently discussed in the quantitative material. For instance, *mardy* was listed in all of the modern commentary texts; *nesh* and *gennel* were listed in 6 of the 7; and terms of endearment and *while* were listed in 4 and 3 respectively. Therefore, the survey provides evidence for features which are enregistered as “Yorkshire” to speakers but may not occur in text samples due to their lexical meanings, as is the case of *breadcake* above. This highlights the differences between what can be represented in literature versus what speakers encounter in real life.

However, although there are certain Yorkshire features listed by the survey respondents that are not apparent in the corpus data, these features were in the minority. The corpus data, therefore, aligns itself reasonably accurately with current speakers’ perceptions.



### 7.4.3 Non-Yorkshire Respondents Multiple Choice Results

The instances of each multiple choice criterion of the survey were tabulated for each respondent in each age group. These instances were converted into the percentage of the sample. An example of this can be seen in table 7.7 below; only a section of the table is presented here due to limited space. Table 7.7 shows that there is also no specific patterning here according to age or gender; therefore, the averages of these results were used to show the average percentage of respondents selected which multiple choice criterion.

		I say this		I have heard of this		This is current, modern Yorkshire dialect	
		<i>n</i>	%	<i>n</i>	%	<i>n</i>	%
Female	18-29	0	0	5	83	2	33
Male	18-29	1	17	3	50	4	67
Female	30-39	0	0	5	83	4	67
Male	30-39	0	0	4	67	3	50
Female	40-49	0	0	3	50	1	17
Male	40-49	0	0	5	83	2	33
Female	50-59	0	0	4	67	2	33
Male	50-59	0	0	4	67	4	67
Female	60 and over	0	0	5	83	4	67
Male	60 and over	0	0	3	50	4	67

*Table 7.7 Non-Yorkshire Respondents' selections for individual criteria in online survey*

Initial analysis of the results for the multiple choice answers showed that the data for the categories: ‘my parents say this’ and ‘my grandparents say this’ did not seem to vary with regard to any of the other criteria in the survey; they also appear in similar quantities to each other for each individual Yorkshire feature. There was no noticeable pattern in the results here, so the data from these categories was not considered any further. This initial analysis also showed that there was a correlation between the results for the answers ‘I have heard of this’ and ‘I have heard this (or know people who use this) but wouldn’t myself’ in that many respondents who checked the first answer also tended to check the second. With regard to the non-Yorkshire respondents it was expected that even if they had heard of a particular Yorkshire feature, they would not necessarily use it themselves. Therefore, due to the similar nature of these two answers, the figures for them were averaged and dealt with under one heading. This meant that the categories analysed became: ‘I say this’; ‘I have heard of this’; ‘this is current, modern Yorkshire dialect’; ‘this is old fashioned’; ‘I have never heard of this’; and ‘I would never say this’, as opposed to the full range of multiple-choice categories listed in Chapter 4. These data are presented in figure 7.16.

Analysing the results of the survey under the smaller number of criteria listed above made it much easier to see trends in the data. Figure 7.16 shows the data analysed according to these criteria.

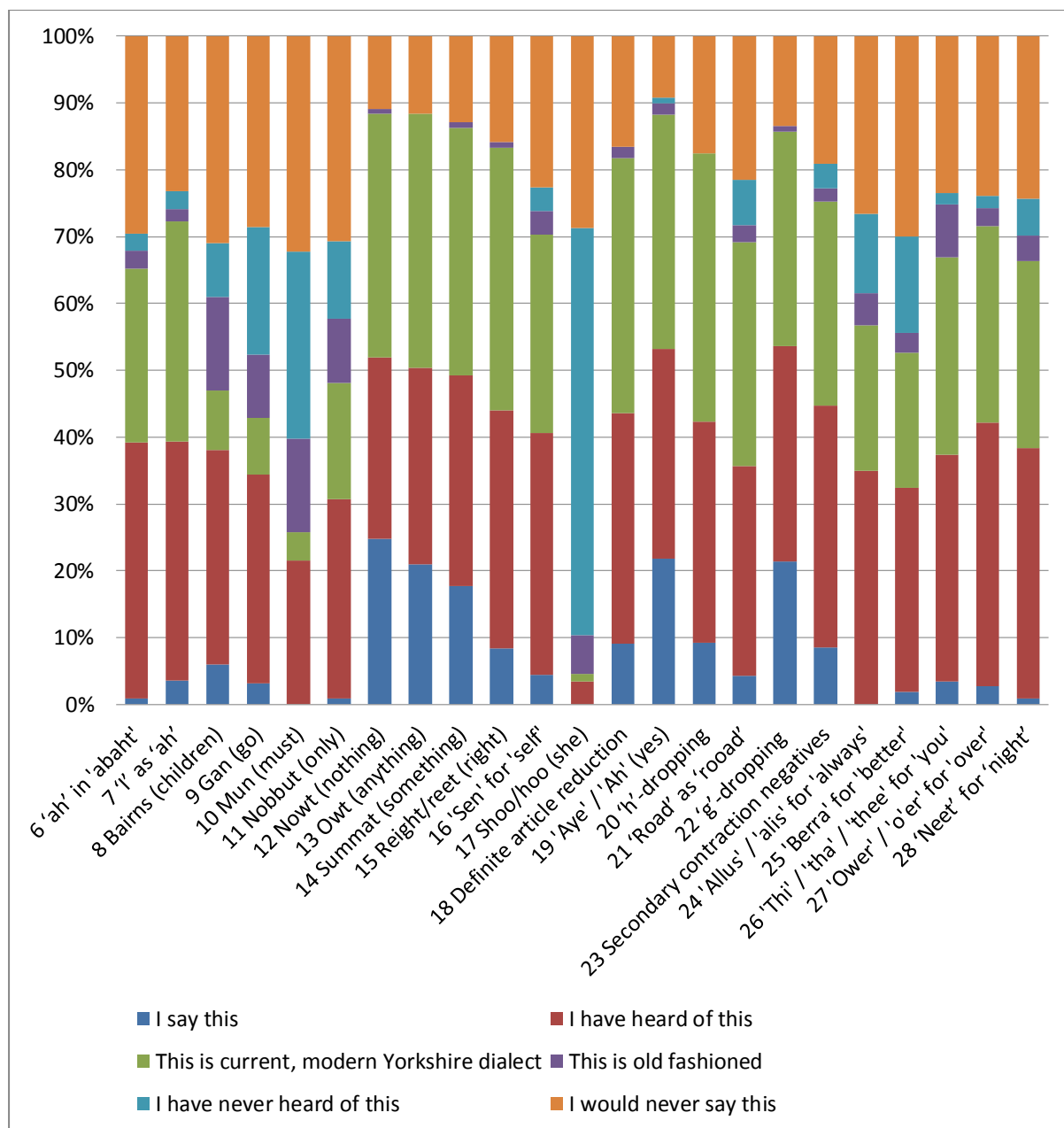
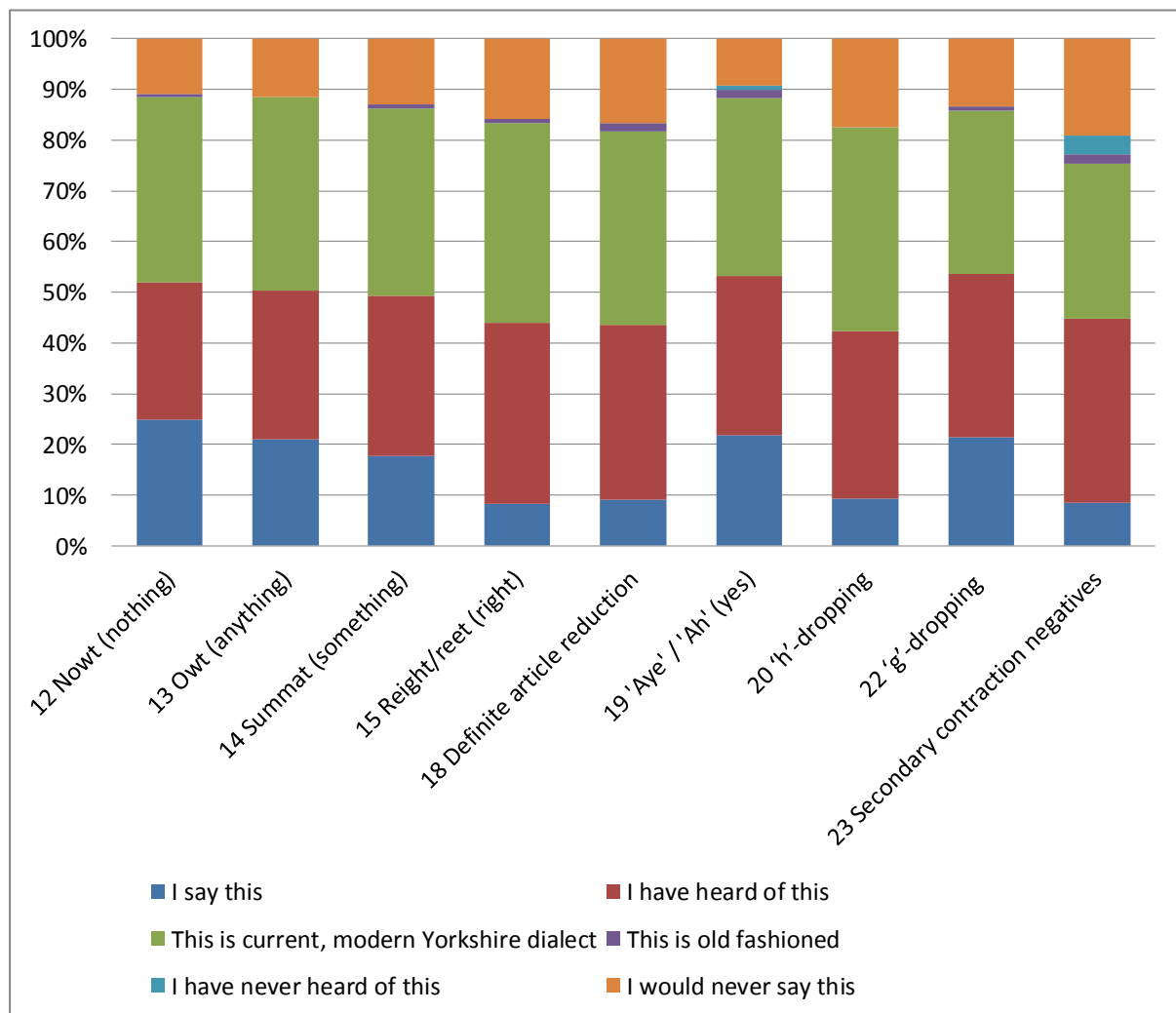


Figure 7.16 Average Percentages of Non-Yorkshire Respondents to general criteria of online survey

Based on the data presented in figure 7.16, a tripartite pattern emerged in the percentages of respondents' answers to each multiple choice question for each feature. Firstly, for the features *nowt*, *owt*, *summat*, *reight*, DAR, *aye*, h-dropping, g-dropping, and the secondary contraction of negatives, there is a correlation between several of the multiple choice answers. For each of the aforementioned features, the results for the criterion 'I say this' are

greater than 10% of respondents; ‘This is current, modern Yorkshire dialect’ are greater than 20%; and ‘I would never say this’ is less than 40%. This can be seen in figure 7.17.



*Figure 7.17 Average Percentages of Non-Yorkshire Respondents to general criteria of online survey for the features: nowt, owt, summat, reight, DAR, aye, h-dropping, g-dropping, and the secondary contraction of negatives*

The data presented in figure 7.17 suggest that these features are very strongly associated with Yorkshire for non-Yorkshire speakers. This is based on the large proportions of respondents who stated that each feature fell into the ‘This is current, modern Yorkshire dialect’ category. However, significant numbers of respondents checked ‘I say this’ for these features. This suggests that this particular subset of Yorkshire features is still strongly associated with Yorkshire despite being used in other areas.

The second pattern to emerge involved the features: <ah> in *abaht*; <Ah> for 'I'; *nobbut*; *sen*; *rooad*; *allis*; *berra*; *thee*; *ower*; and *neet*. For these features, the results for 'I say this' were less than 10% of respondents; 'This is current, modern Yorkshire dialect' were greater than 20%; and 'I would never say this' were greater than 40%. This is shown in figure 7.18.

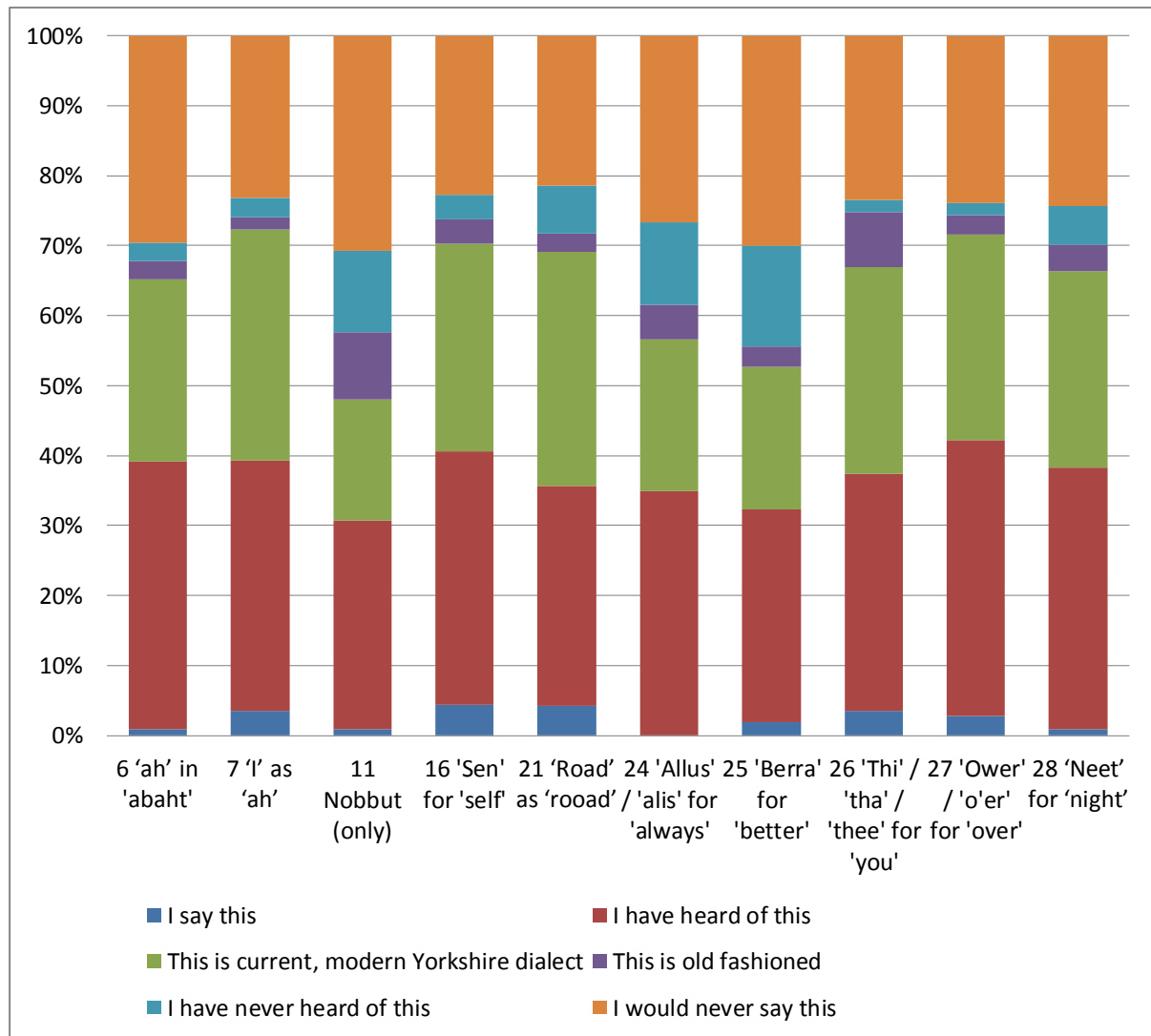


Figure 7.18 Average Percentages of Non-Yorkshire Respondents to general criteria of online survey for the features: <ah> in *abaht*; <Ah> for 'I'; *nobbut*; *sen*; *rooad*; *allis*; *berra*; *thee*; *ower*; and *neet*

Figure 7.18 shows that although there is still a strong perception that these features are Yorkshire dialect, indicated by the large proportions of respondents who have heard of the features and identify them as current, modern Yorkshire dialect, only small numbers of respondents state that they would use them. In addition, there are increasing numbers of

respondents who state that they have either never heard of or would never use this subset of features.

The third and final pattern involved the features: *bairns*, *gan*, *mun* and *shoo*. For these features, the results for ‘I say this’ were less than 10% of respondents; ‘This is current, modern Yorkshire’ were less than 20%; and ‘I would never say this’ were greater than 40%. This can be seen in figure 7.19.

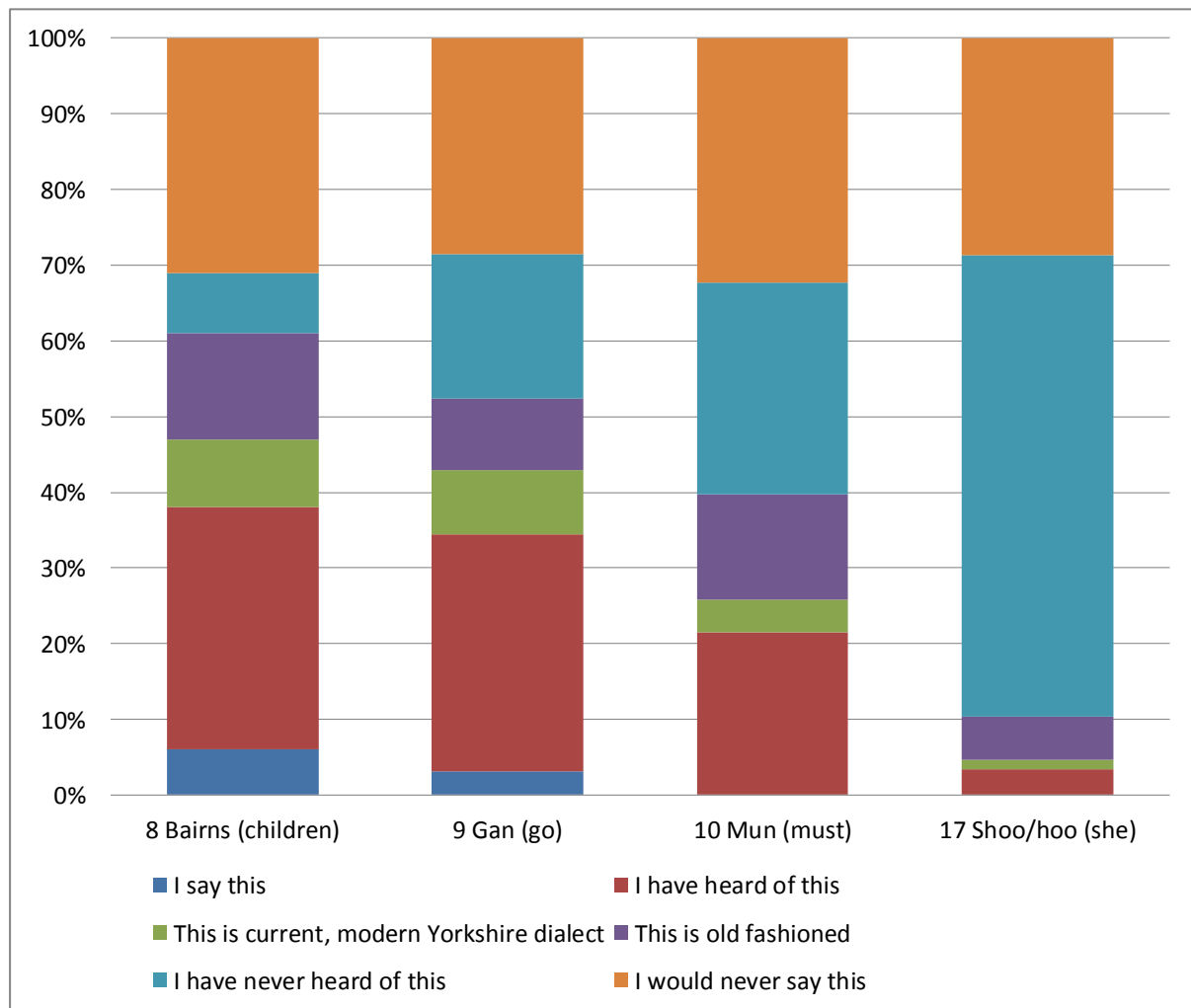


Figure 7.19 Average Percentages of Non-Yorkshire Respondents to general criteria of online survey for the features: *bairns*; *gan*; *mun*; and *shoo*

Fig. 7.19 shows that, for these features, very small numbers of respondents perceive these to be current, modern Yorkshire dialect. There are also increasing numbers who state they have never heard of these features, or would never say them. The features *bairns* and *gan* seem to be anomalous at first as many respondents state that they have heard of them. However, this

could be due to these features' current association with areas further north than Yorkshire. This is particularly the case with *gan*; respondent 10953900, a female in the 30-39 age group from Newcastle states: 'I'd say 'gan' was more North east' in the comments section at the end of the survey. The association of *gan* with the North-East and "Geordie" is discussed further in Chapter 8. It appears from the above graph that although these features were relatively numerous in the nineteenth-century corpus, there is little association with Yorkshire dialect for modern, non-Yorkshire speakers.

#### **7.4.4 Summary of Non-Yorkshire Respondents Multiple Choice Results**

There appear to be three 'levels' of association with Yorkshire for the features included in the multiple choice survey:

- (i) Level 1 – where features are strongly associated with Yorkshire despite being used in other areas, as shown in fig. 7.17 above. These features are 'active' in that they are currently in use by speakers today.
- (ii) Level 2 – where features are strongly associated with Yorkshire but, generally speaking, are not used in other areas, as shown in fig. 7.18 above. Respondents have heard of them; think that they are current, modern Yorkshire; but would not say them themselves.
- (iii) Level 3 – where features are distinctly not currently associated with Yorkshire, despite being quantitatively numerous in the nineteenth-century corpus, as shown in fig. 7.19 above. This is where features can be described as 'deregistered'.

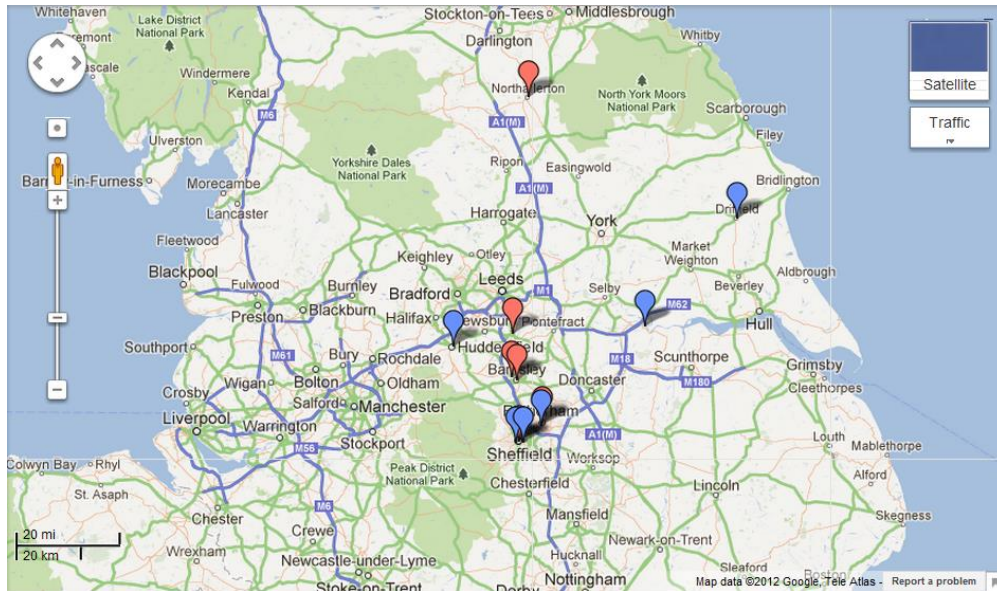
#### **7.4.5 Yorkshire Respondents Online Survey Results**

The 12 respondents from Yorkshire were chosen to represent as broad a range across the county as possible; however, there was a notable bias towards South Yorkshire. Again, the responses to the survey did not vary significantly according to gender, hence one speaker from each area within Yorkshire was deemed representative of that area, regardless of gender. Figures 7.20-7.25 show the distribution of respondents across Yorkshire.

The locations represented by informants in the 18-29 age group shown in figure 7.20 are:

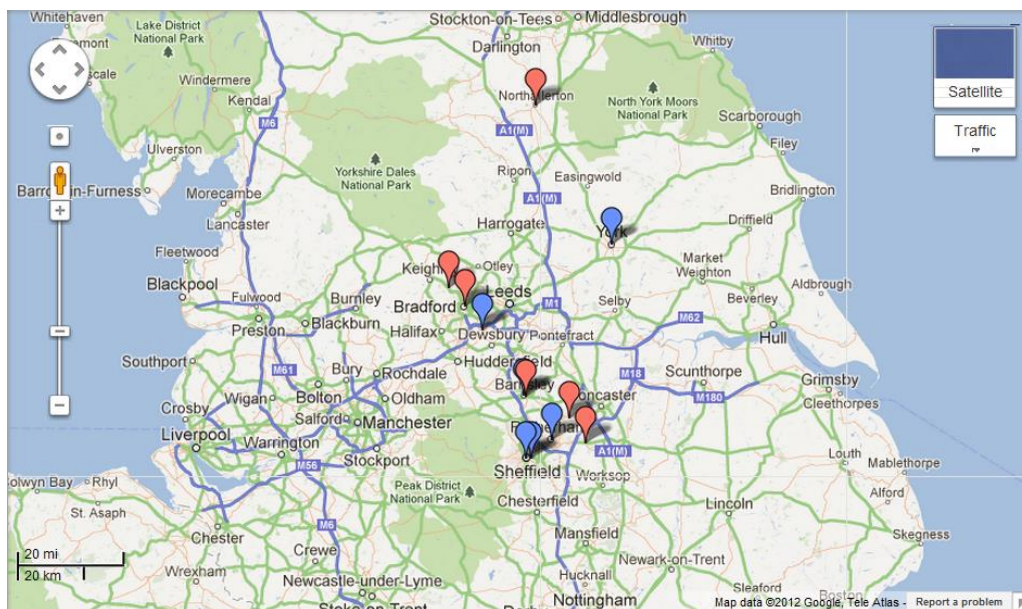
- (a) Female: Barnsley (twice); Wakefield; Rotherham; Sheffield; Northallerton
- (b) Male: Sheffield (twice); Goole; Driffield; Rotherham; Huddersfield

The distribution shown here clearly highlights the South Yorkshire bias, and that the rest of the county is only sparsely represented; however, this could be due to population numbers (discussed further below).



(Map data © 2012 Google, Tele Atlas)

*Figure 7.20 Distribution of Yorkshire Respondents for Online Survey in 18-29 Age Group*



(Map data © 2012 Google, Tele Atlas)

*Figure 7.21 Distribution of Yorkshire Respondents for Online Survey in 30-39 Age Group*



The locations represented by respondents in figure 7.21 are:

- (a) Female: Bingley; Mexborough; Barnsley; Bradford; Northallerton; Maltby
- (b) Male: York; Barnsley; Rotherham; Gomersal; Sheffield (twice)

Again, the South Yorkshire bias is apparent here; the east of the county is not represented at all.



(Map data © 2012 Google, Tele Atlas)

*Figure 7.22 Distribution of Yorkshire Respondents for Online Survey in 40-49 Age Group*

The locations represented by the respondents in the 40-49 age group displayed in figure 7.22 above are:

- (a) Female: Sheffield (twice); Knaresborough; Beverley; Barnsley; Doncaster
- (b) Male: Doncaster (twice); Sheffield; Rotherham; Ossett; Hull

The locations represented by the respondents in the 50-59 age group displayed in figure 7.23 below are:

- (a) Female: Hull; Ilkley; Bradford; Barnsley; Sheffield; Keighley
- (b) Male: Sheffield; Hetton; Barnsley; Leeds; Wakefield; Bradford

Finally, the locations represented by the respondents in the 60 and over age group displayed in figure 7.24 below are:

- (a) Female: Sheffield (three times); Barnsley; Rotherham; Bradford  
 (b) Male: Doncaster; Penistone; York; Todmorden; Harrogate; Leeds



(Map data © 2012 Google, Tele Atlas)

*Figure 7.23 Distribution of Yorkshire Respondents for Online Survey in 50-59 Age Group*



(Map data © 2012 Google, Tele Atlas)

*Figure 7.24 Distribution of Yorkshire Respondents for Online Survey in 60 and over Age Group*



The distribution of respondents in figure 7.24 represents the least ideal of any age group. This is particularly due to the prominence of South Yorkshire (and specifically Sheffield) in the data. The overall distribution of all the respondents is shown in figure 7.25.



(Map data © 2012 Google, Tele Atlas)

*Figure 7.25 Distribution of Yorkshire Respondents for Online Survey in all Age Groups*

The general distribution across the county is reasonably well representative of the county as a whole; the North and East of Yorkshire seem a little underrepresented, although this could simply be representative of the fact that North Yorkshire and the East Riding are more sparsely populated than the rest of the county. Indeed, according to the 2011 census, the population of North Yorkshire was 796,400, and the East Riding only 590,600. This is compared with South Yorkshire, which had a population of 1,343,600, and West Yorkshire, which had the largest population of 2,226,100 (Adapted from data from the Office for National Statistics licensed under the Open Government Licence v.1.0 at <http://www.ons.gov.uk/ons/rel/mro/news-release/census-result-shows-increase-in-population-of-yorkshire-and-the-humber/censusyorkandhumbernr0712.html>). This means that the population of South and West Yorkshire combined is almost 2.5 times larger than the combined population of North Yorkshire and the East Riding, and could explain the disparity in the numbers of respondents across the county.

In addition, several locations were repeatedly represented by the survey respondents; this is highlighted in table 7.8, which shows that just under a quarter of the Yorkshire respondents represented Sheffield as their location. This was due to the large number of respondents to the survey in general who stated that they were from Sheffield; overall, from the 410 people who took the survey, 141 respondents gave Sheffield as their location.

In addition, just over 50% of the Yorkshire sample stated that they were from South Yorkshire, as indicated by the locations Barnsley, Rotherham, and Doncaster. This was due to the fact that, in addition to the 141 Sheffield respondents mentioned above, 19 respondents were from Barnsley; 15 from Rotherham; 5 from Doncaster; and 5 from Bradford. There were also slightly more specific locations stated, such as Rawmarsh, Maltby, and Mexborough, all of which are in South Yorkshire. This meant that of the 232 overall respondents to the survey who said they were from Yorkshire, 188 were from South Yorkshire, leading to a bias in the results for these respondents as 81% of them were all from a similar location. This made the selection process for Yorkshire respondents somewhat restricted.

<b>Location</b>	<b>Instances</b>	<b>Percentage of sample</b>
Sheffield	13	22%
Barnsley	8	13%
Rotherham	5	8%
Doncaster	4	7%
Bradford	4	7%

*Table 7.8 Instances of Repeated Locations represented by Yorkshire Respondents*

#### **7.4.6 Yorkshire Respondents ‘Provide Yorkshire Features’ Results**

The 10 Yorkshire features respondents were asked to provide were again analysed for commonalities, as with the non-Yorkshire respondents discussed above. The common features listed were again tallied; table 7.9 shows the most common features listed in the survey. The listing of these features again did not show any significant patterning according to either age or gender.

<b>Yorkshire Feature</b>	<b>Definition</b>	<b>Respondents</b>	<b>%</b>
<i>Tha/thee</i>	You	39	65
DAR	N/A	27	45
<i>Nowt</i>	Nothing	24	40
<i>Reight</i>	Really	19	32
<i>Ey up</i>	Hello	18	30
<i>Now then</i>	Hello	18	30
<i>Owt</i>	Anything	16	27
h-dropping	N/A	16	27
<i>Gennel</i>	Alleyway	14	23
g-dropping	N/A	14	23
<i>Sen</i>	Self	14	23
Secondary contraction of negatives	N/A	13	22
<i>Dahn</i>	Down	13	22
<i>Summat</i>	Something	10	17
/a/ and /ʊ/	Northern BATH and STRUT vowels	9	15
<i>Laiking</i>	Playing	9	15
<i>Gi' ower</i>	Give over	8	13
<i>Nesh</i>	Cold, prone to feel cold	8	13
<i>Aye</i>	Yes	8	13
Terms of Endearment	e.g. 'love'; 'duck'	8	13

*Table 7.9 Commonly Listed Yorkshire Features by Yorkshire Respondents*

Of the 24 common features listed by both Yorkshire and non-Yorkshire respondents, 13 appear in both tables 7.6 and 7.9 above. The overlap between these data sets is discussed in more detail below.

However, the features: *Now then* 'hello'; g-dropping; the secondary contraction of negatives, *gi' ower* 'give over'; *dahn* 'down'; *summat* 'something'; *laiking* 'playing', only appear in table 7.9. This suggests that these features are more familiar to Yorkshire speakers. For

instance, *laiking* is listed by Kellett a Yorkshire dialect word which can be traced back to Old Norse (2002:99), which is also defined by the OED online as having the meaning of ‘play’ which derives from the Old English *lácan* ([www.oed.com](http://www.oed.com)); it is possible that this word is not widely known or understood outside of Yorkshire.

#### **7.4.7 Yorkshire Respondents’ Multiple Choice Results**

The process described above for the multiple choice section of the survey was repeated for the Yorkshire respondents. As with the non-Yorkshire respondents, the data from the criteria: ‘my parents say this’ and ‘my grandparents say this’ also did not show a correlation with any of the other criteria for the Yorkshire respondents. Because of the lack of correlation with these data to the rest of the results from the survey, these two categories were again not included with the later analysis. The categories ‘I have heard of this’ and ‘I have heard this (or know people who say this) but don't myself’ were again combined due to the similar nature of these criteria. The resulting patterns in the data can be seen in figure 7.26.

A further expected trend visible in fig. 7.26 is the larger number of respondents who placed many of the Yorkshire features in the ‘I say this’ category. This is again due to the fact that the respondents here were from Yorkshire and therefore much more likely to be familiar with these features.

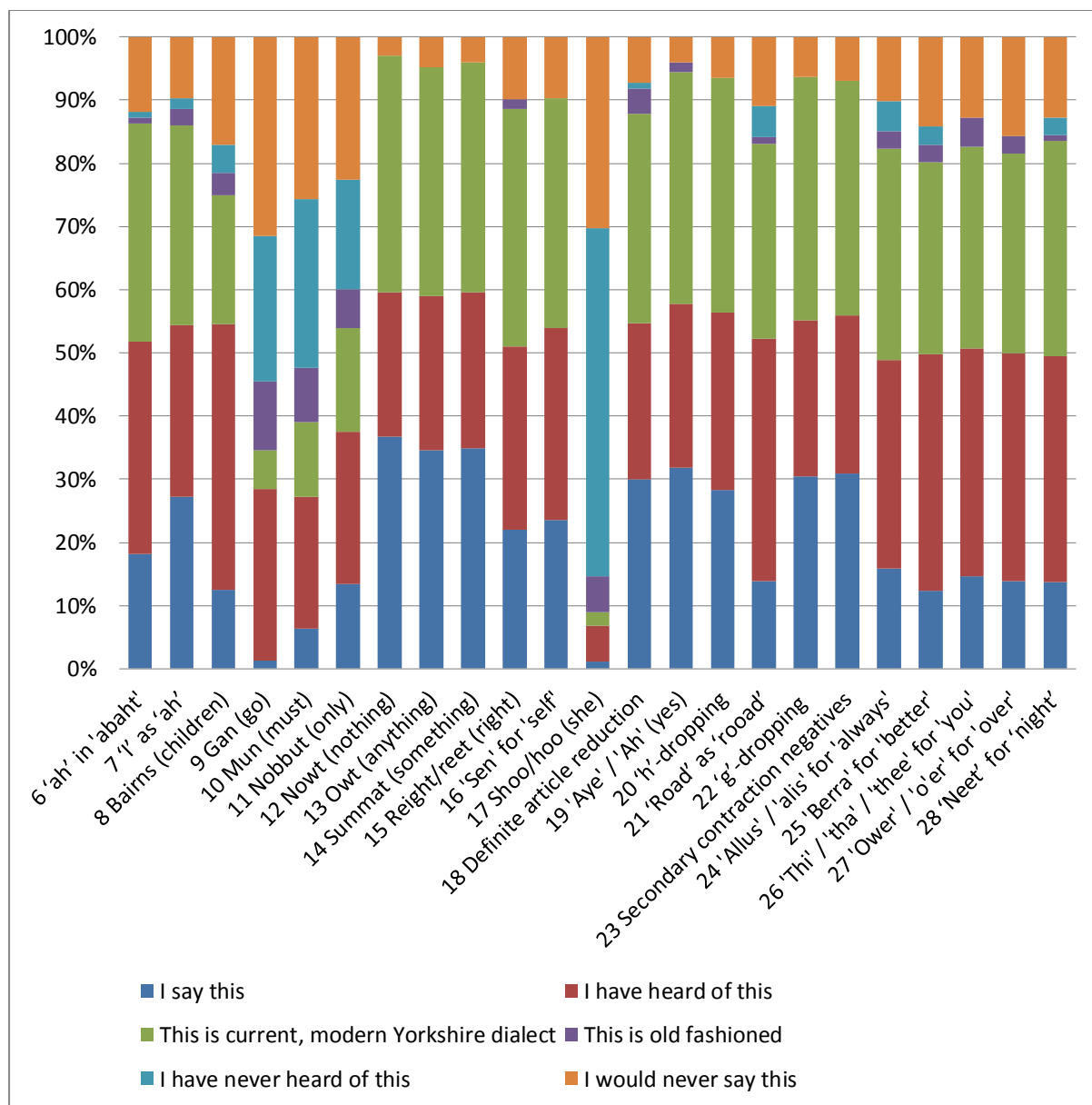


Figure 7.26 Average Percentages of Yorkshire Respondents to general criteria of online survey

As with the non-Yorkshire respondents, a tripartite pattern in the data displayed in fig. 7.26 emerged. Firstly, the features: 'I' as <ah>; *nowt*; *owt*; *summat*; *reight*; *sen*; DAR; *aye*; h-dropping; g-dropping; and the secondary contraction negatives all show a strong correlation between the survey criteria 'I say this', where more than 40% of respondents selected this; 'This is current, modern Yorkshire dialect' was selected by more than 30%; and less than 20% of respondents selected 'I would never say this'. This can be seen in figure 7.27.

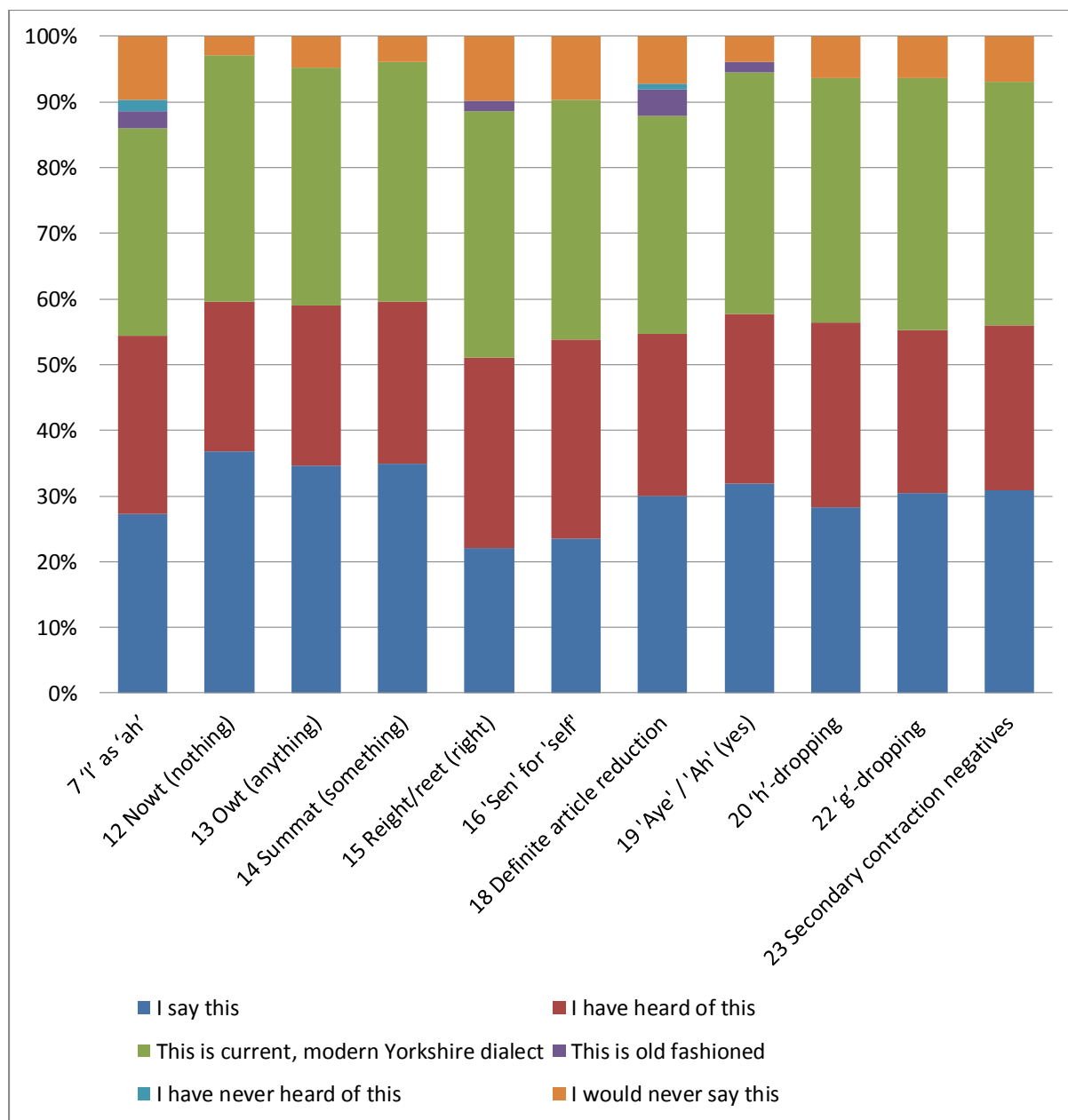


Figure 7.27 Average Percentages of Yorkshire Respondents to general criteria of online survey for the features: 'I' as <ah>; nowt; owt; summat; reight; sen; DAR; aye; h-dropping; g-dropping; and the secondary contraction negatives

Fig. 7.27 also highlights that the features: *nowt*, *owt*, *summat*, *sen*, h-dropping, g-dropping, and secondary contraction of negatives, there are no instances of respondents selecting the criteria: 'This is old fashioned' or 'I have never heard of this'. This pattern suggests that these features are very strongly associated with Yorkshire and are currently in use by speakers today.



The second observable pattern involves the features: <ah> in *abaht*; *rooad*; *allus*; *berra*; *thee*; *ower*; and *neet*. The data for these features shows a strong correlation between the following criteria: less than 40% of respondents selected ‘I say this’; but more than 30% selected ‘this is current, modern Yorkshire dialect’; and more than 20% selected ‘I would never say this’. This can be seen in figure 7.28.

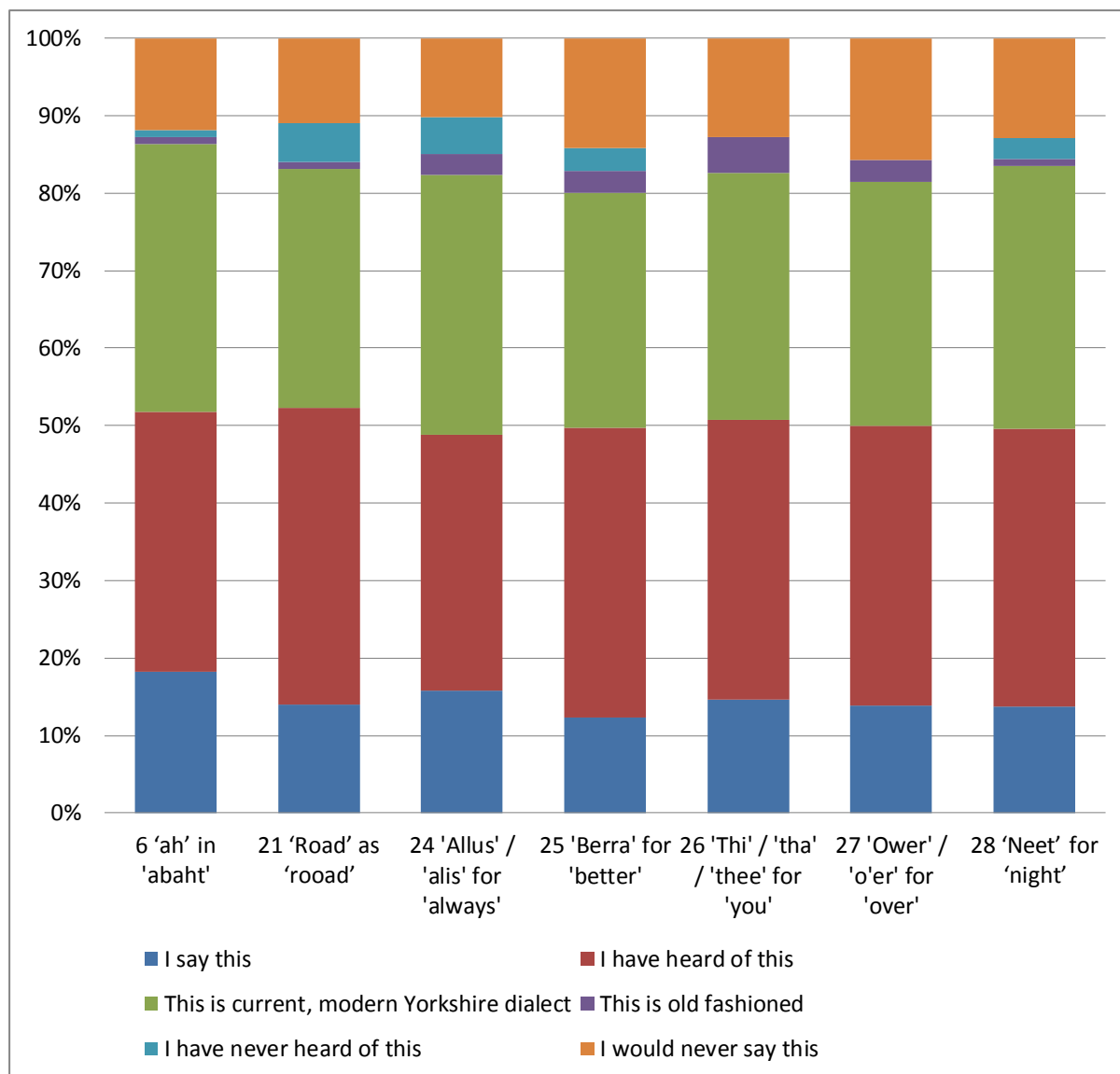


Figure 7.28 Average Percentages of Yorkshire Respondents to general criteria of online survey for the features: <ah> in *abaht*; *rooad*; *allus*; *berra*; *thee*; *ower*; and *neet*

Fig. 7.28 also shows comparatively high instances of ‘I have heard of this’; but the relatively low instances of ‘I say this’ suggest that these features are not actually as current in the Yorkshire dialect as they are perceived to be. In addition, *allus* appears to be an anomaly

here, as it is actually only 18% ‘I would never say this’; however it fits the pattern with the other two criteria so I have included it in this subset of features. As 18% is not much less than the 20% marker given above it is only slightly anomalous.

Finally, the third observable pattern here involves the features: *bairns*; *gan*; *mun*; *nobbut*; and *shoo*. These features show a correlation between: ‘I say this’, where less than 40% of speakers selected this category; ‘this is current, modern Yorkshire dialect’, less than 30%; and ‘I would never say this’, more than 20%. This can be seen in figure 7.29 below.

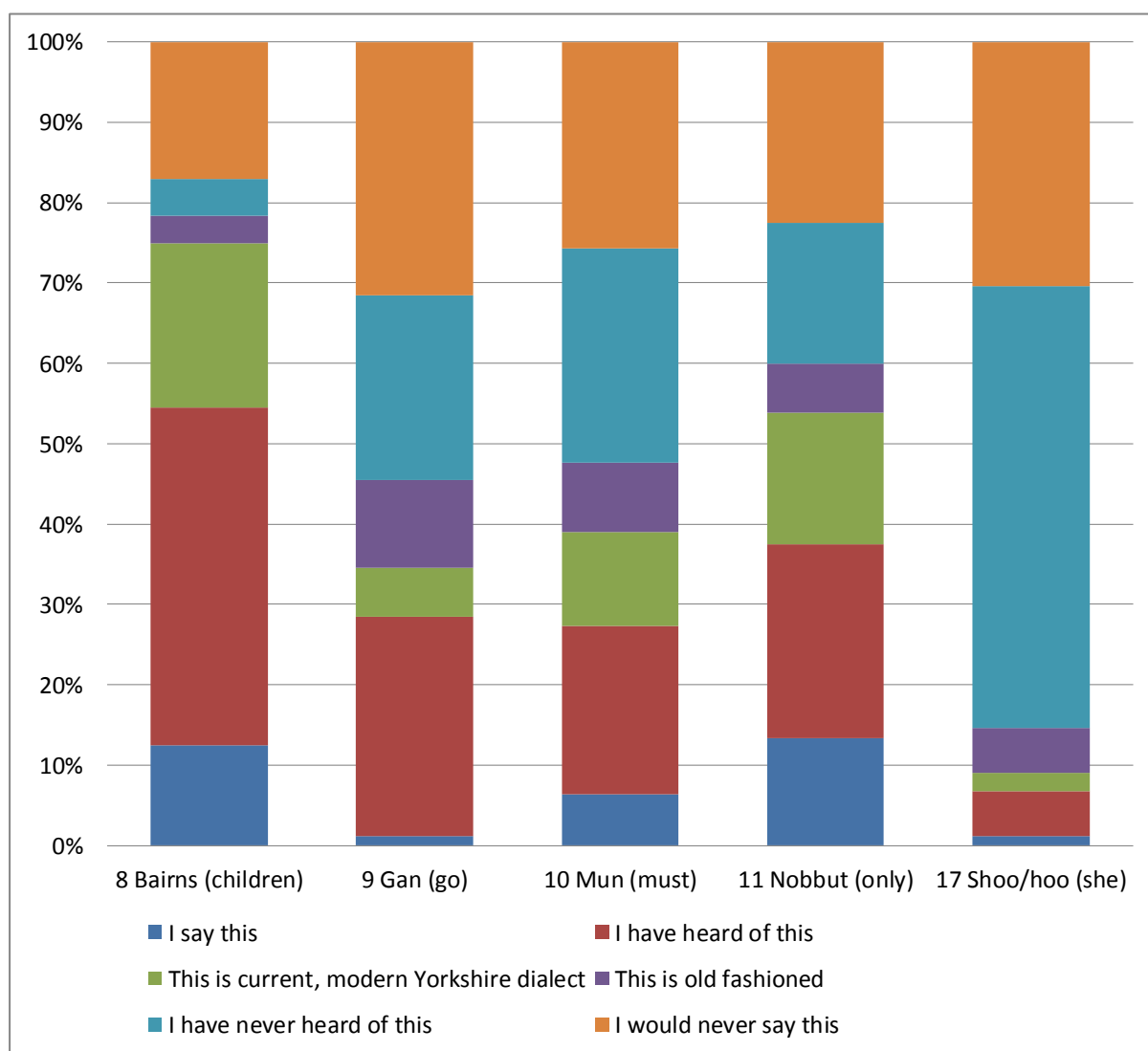


Figure 7.29 Average Percentages of Yorkshire Respondents to general criteria of online survey for the features: *bairns*; *gan*; *mun*; *nobbut*; and *shoo*

*Bairns* also appears to be something of an anomaly here; it has a large number of respondents saying that they have heard of it (62%) but only 30% identifying it as current, modern Yorkshire. This could again be due to the word's current association with the North-East, as discussed in Chapter 8.

#### 7.4.8 Summary of Yorkshire Respondents Multiple Choice Results

As with the non-Yorkshire respondents, it again appears that there are three levels of association with Yorkshire represented in the data from the Yorkshire respondents:

- (i) Level 1, as shown in fig. 7.27 – large numbers of respondents identify features with Yorkshire; large numbers of respondents state that they would actually use these features; but comparatively small numbers state that they would *not* say them – in some cases, no respondents would never use these features. Again, these could be said to be ‘active’ in the Yorkshire dialect.
- (ii) Level 2, fig. 7.28 – These features are similarly strongly associated with Yorkshire but only small numbers of respondents actually state that they use them. There are also increasing numbers who state that these features are old fashioned, or that they have never heard of them.
- (iii) Level 3, fig. 7.29 – The features at this level are only weakly associated with Yorkshire. In some cases (such as *gan*, for instance), respondents stated that they had heard of them, but they are no longer seen as Yorkshire words. For example, we see commentary such as: respondent 10952274, male, 18-29, who states ‘some of the sayings I associate with Geordies (e.g. *gan*)’; respondent 10952729, female, 30-39, who states ‘I feel that 'bairns' and 'gan' would be more north yorkshire and possibly even Durham/Newcastle area words’; and respondent 10955517, male, 50-59, who states “‘Gan’ is more often associated with Geordies’. The trend observable in the data at this level suggests that although these features may once have been associated with Yorkshire (as indicated by the data from the nineteenth-century corpus), they are no longer thus. We can therefore infer from this that features at level 3, like *gan*, are now ‘deregistered’ as Yorkshire.

#### 7.4.9 Overlap between Yorkshire and non-Yorkshire respondents' results

There were several correlations between the survey results for both the Yorkshire and non-Yorkshire respondents. I am referring to these correlations as 'overlap'.

When we consider tables 7.6 and 7.9 above, a comparison shows that the 13 overlapping features provided by both Yorkshire and non-Yorkshire respondents are those listed in table 7.10 below.

Yorkshire Feature	% non-Yorkshire Respondents	% Yorkshire Respondents
DAR	53	45
<i>Reight</i>	43	32
<i>Thee</i>	42	65
Terms of endearment	33	13
/a/ and /ʊ/	27	15
h-dropping	25	27
<i>Nesh</i>	23	13
<i>Gennel</i>	23	23
<i>Nowt</i>	22	40
<i>Ey up</i>	17	30
<i>Aye</i>	15	13
<i>Owt</i>	13	27
<i>Sen</i>	12	23

Table 7.10 Common Yorkshire features provided by both Yorkshire and non-Yorkshire respondents

Table 7.10 shows that not only were these features given by both groups of non-international respondents, but also that they provided them in similar amounts. For instance, *gennel* was provided by 23% of both Yorkshire and non-Yorkshire respondents. This suggests that this dialect lexical item is just as salient in representing Yorkshire to both groups. The majority of the differences between the percentages in table 7.10 were between 10 and 20%; *thee* had

the largest difference, as 23% more Yorkshire respondents listed this feature than non-Yorkshire respondents. Interestingly, DAR was listed by more non-Yorkshire respondents than Yorkshire, and was the most common feature listed by this group. For Yorkshire respondents, *thee* was the most commonly listed feature, with DAR second. This suggests that although the above list is relatively consistent, there is a slight disparity in the way Yorkshire features are viewed by regional and extra-regional respondents. The prominence of *thee*, however, could also be due to the large number of respondents from South Yorkshire, particularly Sheffield, in the survey; the nickname for Sheffield speakers, according to Beal is “dee-dahs”, based on the Sheffield tendency to pronounce initial /ð/ as /d/ (2009b:234). This is also noted by Wales, who states that Sheffielders are referred to as ‘*thee-thous* (/ði: ða:z/)’ (2006:183). Furthermore, this was reflected in some of the respondents’ comments: respondent 10955677, a male in the 30-39 age group from Rotherham, stated:

I have members of my direct family who speak different to me (thee, thaa, compared to dee,daa) and it's simply because I've been brought up on the far west side of Rotherham

Additionally, respondent 10954302, a male in the 40-49 age group from Sheffield stated:

Also think some phrases are more common to certain areas of Yorkshire than others, for instance in the South of the County Thi and Tha becomes Di and Da (Hence nickname for Sheffielders - Dida's)

However, it is apparent that *thee* ‘you’ is a salient representative feature of Yorkshire dialect for both Yorkshire and non-Yorkshire respondents, despite the South Yorkshire bias.

With regard to the three ‘levels’ identified above for both Yorkshire versus non-Yorkshire respondents’ multiple choice answers, a comparison of these highlights that we can again see that there are certain features salient to one group in terms of representing Yorkshire which also appear to be salient to the other as well. Table 7.11 shows the extent of this overlap.

The data shown in the boxes for each level is where this overlap occurs. For instance, both Yorkshire and non-Yorkshire respondents consider *nowt* ‘nothing’ to be strongly associated with Yorkshire dialect; believe it to be currently in use both in Yorkshire and other areas; and both sets of respondents have heard of it.

Yorks Level 1	Non-Yorks Level 1	Yorks Level 2	Non-Yorks Level 2	Yorks Level 3	Non-Yorks Level 3
7 'I' as 'ah'		6 'ah' in 'abaht'	6 'ah' in 'abaht'	8 Bairns (children)	8 Bairns (children)
12 Nowt (nothing)	12 Nowt (nothing)		7 'I' as 'ah'	9 Gan (go)	9 Gan (go)
13 Owt (anything)	13 Owt (anything)		11 Nobbut (only)	10 Mun (must)	10 Mun (must)
	14 Summat				
14 Summat (something)	14 Summat (something)		16 'Sen' for 'self'	11 Nobbut (only)	
	15 Reight/reet				
15 Reight/reet (right)	15 Reight/reet (right)	21 'Road' as 'rooad'	21 'Road' as 'rooad'	17 Shoo/hoo (she)	17 Shoo/hoo (she)
		24 'Allus' / 'alis' for 'always'	24 'Allus' / 'alis' for 'always'		
16 'Sen' for 'self'		25 'Berra' for 'better'	25 'Berra' for 'better'		
18 Definite article reduction	18 Definite article reduction	26 'Thi' / 'tha' / 'thee' for 'you'	26 'Thi' / 'tha' / 'thee' for 'you'		
19 'Aye' / 'Ah' (yes)	19 'Aye' / 'Ah' (yes)	27 'Ower' / 'o'er' for 'over'	27 'Ower' / 'o'er' for 'over'		
20 'h'-dropping	20 'h'-dropping	28 'Neet' for 'night'	28 'Neet' for 'night'		
22 'g'-dropping	22 'g'-dropping				
	23 Secondary contraction				
23 Secondary contraction negatives	23 Secondary contraction negatives				

Table 7.11 Overlap between Yorkshire and non-Yorkshire Respondents' Multiple Choice answers

This highlights that the features included at level one for both groups are relatively stable, as there are only two features which are level 1 for Yorkshire respondents but not for non-Yorkshire respondents. At level 2, the results are similar; both groups consider *thee* ‘you’ to be strongly associated with Yorkshire; have heard of it; but do not consider it to be currently in use when compared with the features at level 1. There is more of a discrepancy here, though, as there are three level 2 features which do not match: <Ah> for ‘I’, *nobbut* only, and *sen* self are included at level 2 for non-Yorkshire respondents but not for Yorkshire respondents. The features at level 3, however, are the most consistent, with only one feature, *nobbut*, being included by Yorkshire respondents but not by non-Yorkshire respondents. These features are not strongly associated with Yorkshire; are not believed to be currently in use; and (particularly in the case of *shoo* and *mun*) respondents have largely never heard of them.

Trends in the data can also be seen if we consider the overlap between the multiple choice section of the survey and the ‘provide features’ section. This can be seen in table 7.12.

Table 7.12 highlights the consistency between Yorkshire and non-Yorkshire respondents’ views of the Yorkshire dialect. The darker blue section of the table shows the overlap of level 1 features when both groups of respondents were asked to provide features they considered to be representative of Yorkshire when compared with the features that were quantitatively numerous in the modern corpus material. When given these same features to consider in the multiple-choice section of the survey, both groups indicated that these were strongly associated with Yorkshire and thus well-representative of Yorkshire.

Survey multiple choice overlap	N-YorksSurvey 'provide words' overlap	Yorks 'provide words' overlap	Modern Corpus Overlap	All 4 categories	3 of 4
<u>Level 1</u>					
12 Nowt (nothing)	Nowt	Nowt	Nowt	Nowt	
13 Owt (anything)	Owt	Owt	Owt	Owt	
14 Summat (something)		Summat	Summat		Summat
15 Reight/reet (right)	Reight	Reight	reight	Reight	
18 Definite article reduction	DAR	DAR	DAR	DAR	
19 'Aye' / 'Ah' (yes)	aye (yes)	aye (yes)	Aye (yes)	Aye (yes)	
20 'h'-dropping	h-dropping	h-dropping	h-dropping	h-dropping	
22 'g'-dropping		g-dropping	g-dropping		
23 Secondary contraction negatives		2 contraction negatives	2 contraction		2 contraction
<u>Level 2</u>					
6 'ah' in 'abaht'		ah' in 'dahn'	<ah> for /au/ rooad		<ah> for /aU/
21 'Road' as 'rooad'			allus		
24 'Allus' / 'alis' for 'always'			berra		
25 'Berra' for 'better'			thee	thee	
26 'Thi' / 'tha' / 'thee' for 'you'	thee/tha	thee/tha	ower		ower
27 'Ower' / 'o'er' for 'over'		gi' ower			
28 'Neet' for 'night'					
	while				
	Terms of endearment	Terms of endearment			
	/a/ and /u/ (northern BATH & STRUT)	/a/ and /u/ (northern)			
	Nesh	Nesh			
	gennel	gennel			
	mardy				
	breadcake				
	were (was)				
	sen	sen	sen		sen
		Ey up			
		Now then			
		Laiking			

Table 7.12 Overlap between Yorkshire and non-Yorkshire Respondents' Multiple Choice answers and 'Provided' features



The features at level 2 were somewhat less consistent; only *thee* ‘you’ appeared in all four categories. However, *sen* ‘self’, as shown in the red box above, was reasonably consistent in that it was provided as a salient Yorkshire feature by both sets of speakers; it was also common in the modern corpus material. It only falls into three of the above four categories, though, as in the multiple choice exercise, it appeared in level 1 for Yorkshire respondents but level 2 for non-Yorkshire respondents. None of the features at level 3 were either listed by respondents, nor were they quantitatively numerous in the corpus data.

The features listed in the lighter blue box in the two far right-hand columns of table 7.12 are the features which are most consistently common in the majority of the categories. The features listed in these columns show that although there is variation between the perceptions of current speakers and the textual data from the modern corpus, there are several consistent features which can all be found in written representations of Yorkshire dialect. The implications of this correlation are discussed in more detail below.

#### **7.4.10 International Respondents’ Online Survey Results**

As stated above, several of the respondents to the online survey stated that they were from overseas. Table 7.13 gives the gender, age group, and location of these respondents.

As there was neither a consistent nor representative sample of international respondents in the survey, these data were not considered in the above analysis. However, the consistency of the international respondents’ results with the data presented in the previous sections suggests that, although this is not an ideally representative sample of people who are familiar with the Yorkshire dialect on an international scale, there is awareness of it for respondents as far afield as the United States of America, and China. Figure 7.30 shows the locations of the international respondents.

<b>Gender</b>	<b>Age</b>	<b>Location</b>
Female	18-29	Raleigh, North Carolina, USA
Male	18-29	Frankfurt, Hesse, Germany
Female	30-39	Anshan, Liaoning, China
Female	30-39	Frankfurt, Germany
Female	30-39	Various-UK and Holland
Female	30-39	Kolkata, India; Cambridge, Cambridgeshire.
Female	30-39	Auckland, New Zealand
Female	30-39	Clonbullogue, Offaly, Republic of Ireland
Male	30-39	Uppsala, Sweden
Male	30-39	Belfast, UK
Male	40-49	Chicago
Female	40-49	Dublin, Ireland
Female	40-49	New York, NY
Female	40-49	Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania, USA
Female	40-49	Chicago, IL
Male	40-49	Chico, California, USA
Female	50-59	Belfast, Northern Ireland
Female	50-59	Rennes, France
Male	50-59	New York, NY, USA
Female	60 and over	Seattle WA USA
Female	60 and over	Republic of Ireland

*Table 7.13 International Respondents to Online Survey*



(Map data © 2012 Google, Tele Atlas)

*Figure 7.30 Locations of International Respondents to Online Survey*

The majority of these respondents are from countries where English is spoken as a first language; additionally, there is a notable bias towards the United States and Ireland. The results from these respondents, however, did align considerably with the results presented above.

#### **7.4.11 International Respondents' 'Provide Yorkshire Features' Results**

As there were only 21 international respondents to the survey, the resulting data set was somewhat smaller than those discussed above. However, these respondents provided 100 Yorkshire features out of a possible 210. Table 7.14 shows the most commonly occurring features; the most common of these are again *thee* 'you' and definite article reduction. The most noticeable difference between the words listed below and those listed above is the inclusion of 'Ee, by gum'; this is a stereotypical Yorkshire phrase (Wales 2006:192) where 'Ee' is defined in the modern commentary data as 'an expletive expressing surprise,

annoyance’ (Kellett 2002:56) and ‘by gum’ is a euphemism for ‘by God’ – this has a figurative meaning of ‘my word! fancy that!’ (ibid. p.24).

The overlap between these results and the data presented above is discussed in more detail below.

<b>Yorkshire Feature</b>	<b>Definition</b>	<b>Respondents</b>	<b>%</b>
<i>Thee</i>	You	9	56
<i>DAR</i>	N/A	6	38
<i>Nowt</i>	Nothing	6	38
<i>While</i>	Until	5	31
/a/ and /ʊ/	Northern English BATH and STRUT vowels	5	31
Terms of endearment	e.g. ‘love’ and ‘duck’	4	25
<i>Reight</i>	Right; used as intensifier <i>really</i>	4	25
<i>Ey up</i>	Hello	3	19
h-dropping	N/A	3	19
<i>Owt</i>	Anything	2	13
<i>Summat</i>	Something	2	13
<i>Sen</i>	Self	2	13
<i>Ee by gum</i>	By God! (My word!)	2	13
<i>Mardy</i>	Easily upset	2	13
<i>Aht</i>	Out	2	13
<i>Nesh</i>	Cold, prone to feeling cold	2	13

*Table 7.14 Commonly Listed Yorkshire Features by International Respondents*

#### **7.4.12 International Respondents’ Multiple Choice Results**

The same process that was applied to the multiple choice results for the Yorkshire and non-Yorkshire respondents described above was also applied to the results for the international respondents. Thus, the data for ‘my parents say this’ and ‘my grandparents say this’ were not considered for analysis. Perhaps unsurprisingly, there were very little data for these categories. Additionally, the data for ‘I have heard of this’ and ‘I have heard this (or know people who use this) but don’t myself’ were combined and a mean average taken. The resulting data can be seen in figure 7.31.

As with the previous data discussed above, three trends emerged here which I am also going to categorise as ‘levels’ of association with Yorkshire dialect.

Level 1 involved the following features: *nowt*; *owt*; *summat*; DAR; *aye*; and g-dropping. The results for these features showed a strong correlations between: ‘I say this’, where the number of respondents to select this criterion was greater than or equal to 10%; ‘I would never say this’, which was less than 20%; and ‘I have heard of this’ and ‘this is current, modern Yorkshire dialect’, which were both greater than 30% of respondents. This pattern can be seen in figure 7.32.

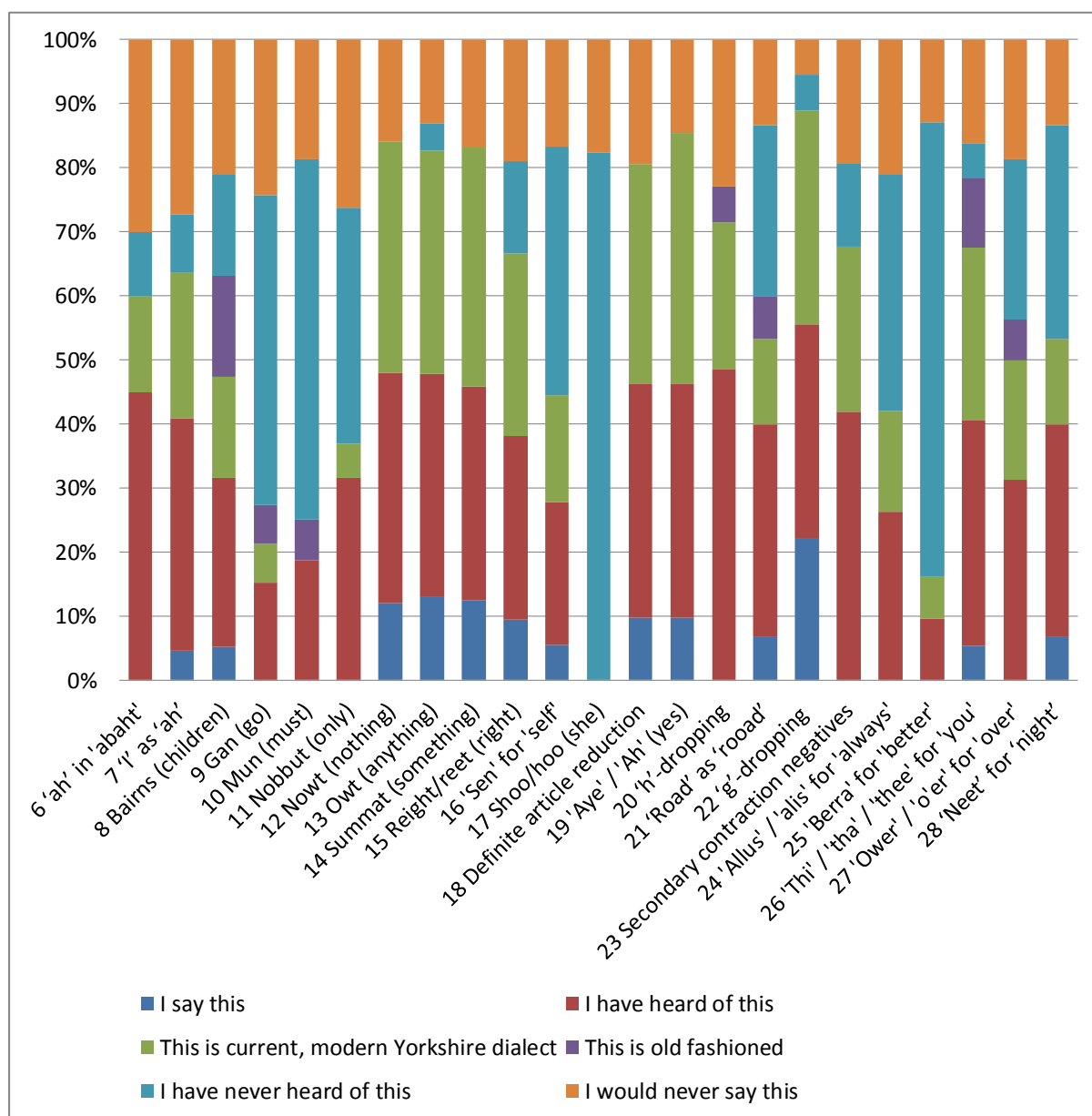


Figure 7.31 Average Percentages of International Respondents to general criteria of online survey

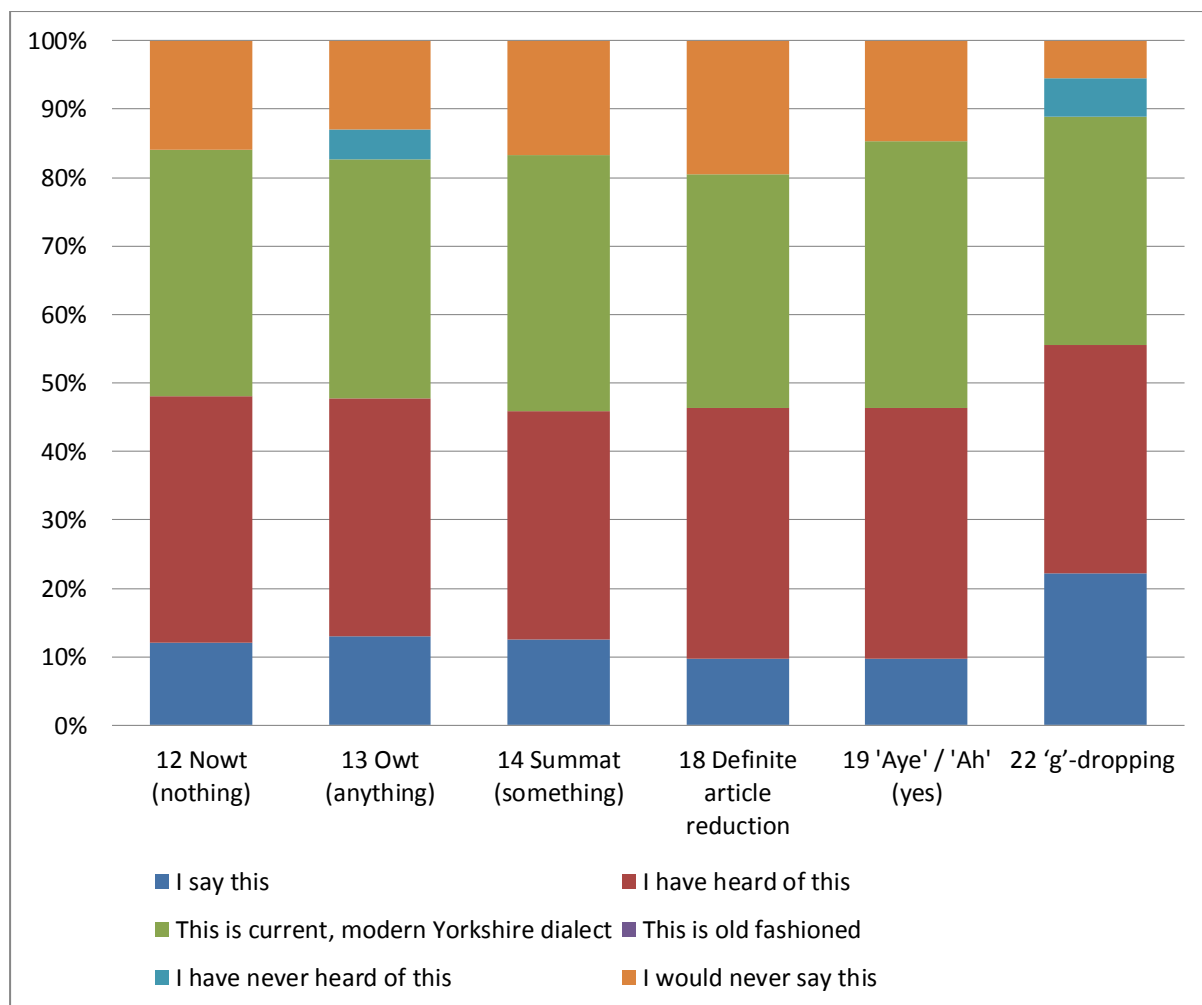


Figure 7.32 Average Percentages of International Respondents to general criteria of online survey for the features: nowt; owt; summat; DAR; aye; and g-dropping

Level 2 involved the features: <ah> in *abaht* 'about'; <Ah> for 'I'; *bairns*; *reight*; *sen*; h-dropping; *rooad*; the secondary contraction of negatives; *thee*; *ower*; and *neet*. These features showed a correlation between the criteria 'I say this', where the number of respondents was less than or equal to 10%, and 'I would never say this', which was greater than or equal to 10%. In addition, there are significant numbers of respondents who selected 'I have never heard of this' for these features (between 20 and 30%); the number of respondents who selected 'this is current, modern Yorkshire' was also less than 30%. This is illustrated in figure 7.33.

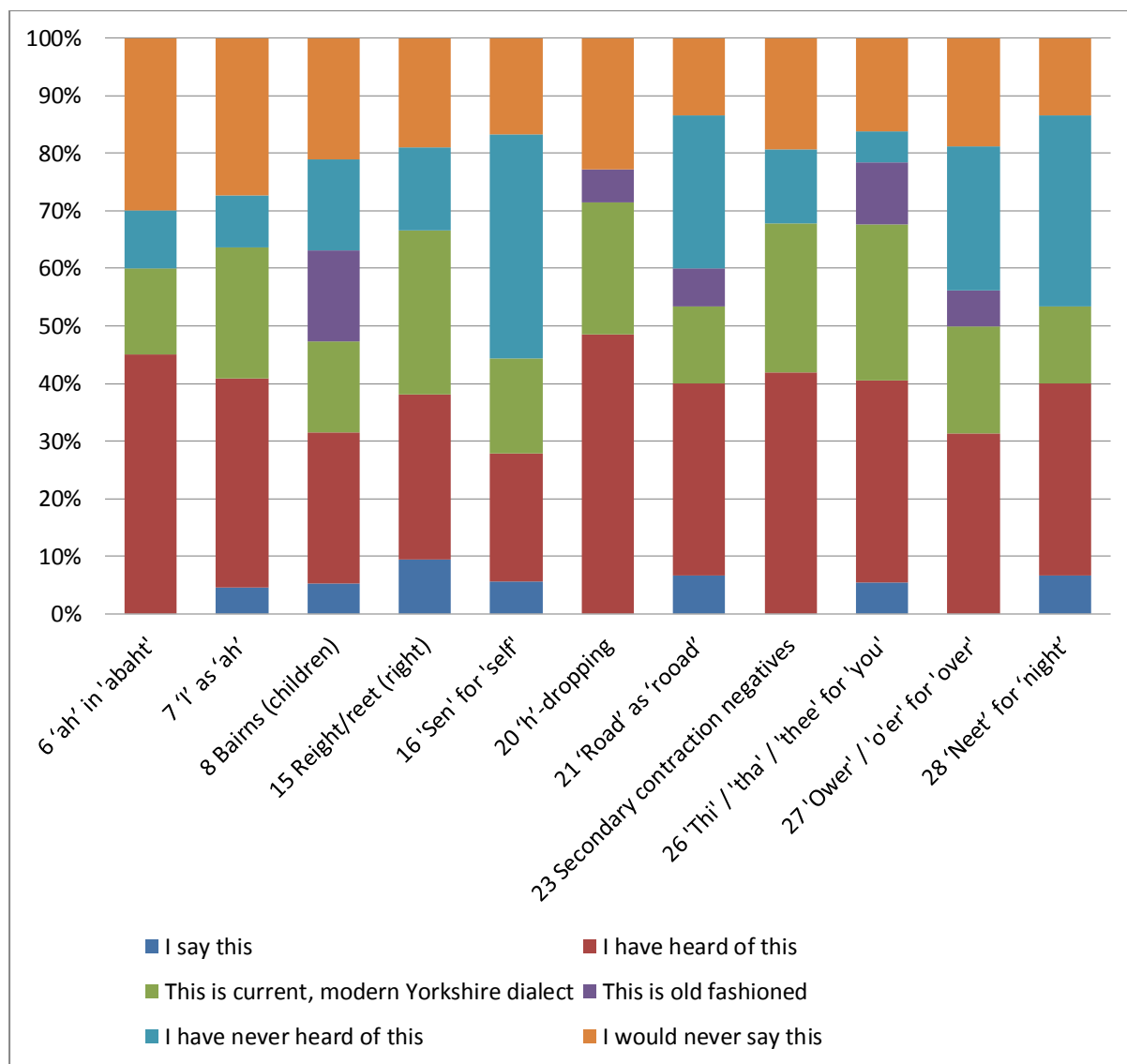


Figure 7.33 Average Percentages of International Respondents to general criteria of online survey for the features: <ah> in abaht 'about'; <Ah> for 'I'; bairns; reight; sen; h-dropping; rooad; the secondary contraction of negatives; thee; ower; and neet

Finally, level 3 involved the features: *gan*; *mun*; *nobbut*; *shoo*; *allus*; and *berra*. These features showed a correlation between the criteria 'I say this', where no respondents selected this; 'I would never say this', which was greater than 10% of respondents; and 'I have never heard of this', which was greater than 30%. This can be seen in figure 7.34.

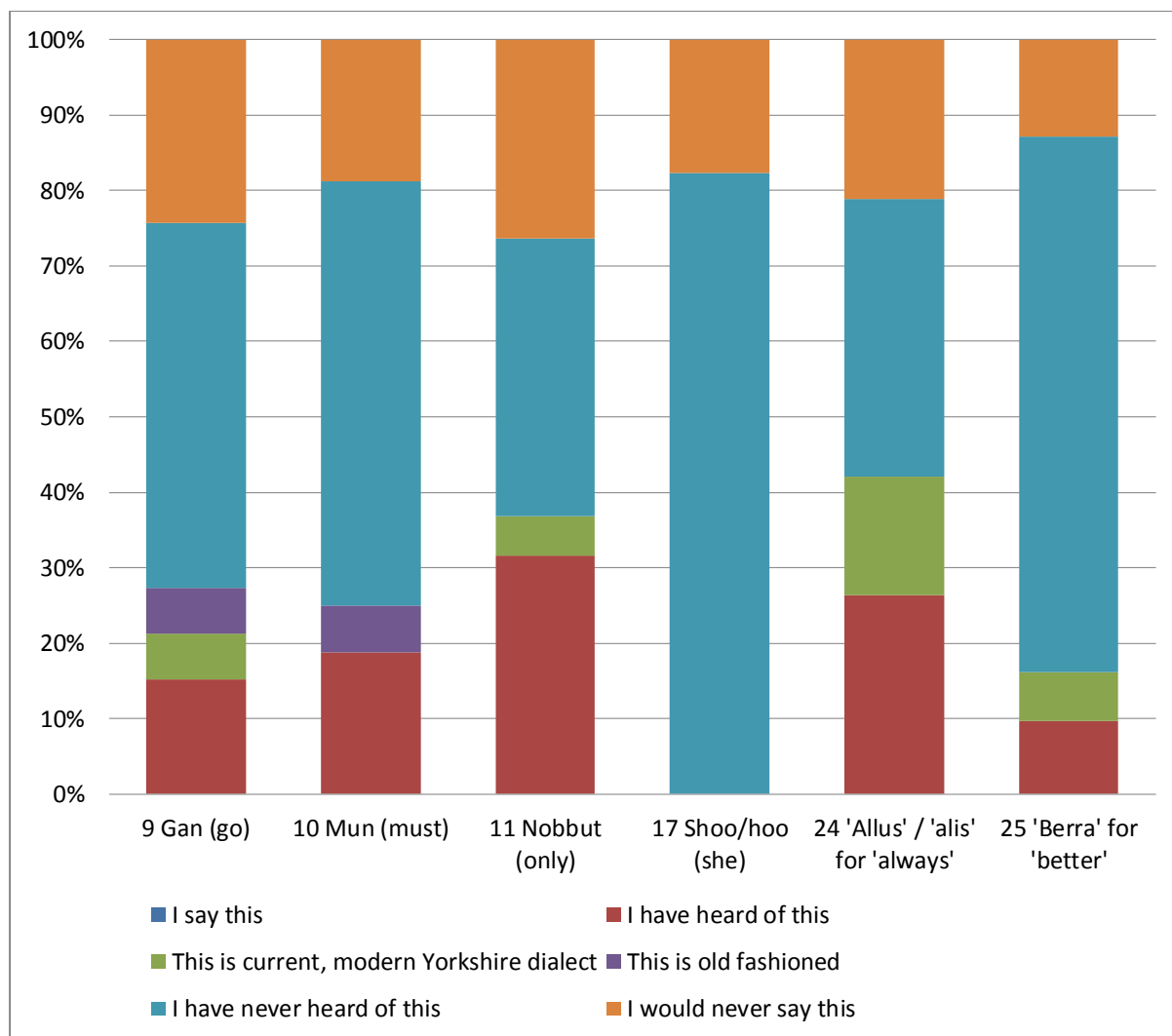


Figure 7.34 Average Percentages of International Respondents to general criteria of online survey for the features: gan; mun; nobbut; shoo; allus; and berra

Again, we can identify three ‘levels’ of association of features with the Yorkshire dialect. If the three levels for the international respondents are compared with those for the Yorkshire and non-Yorkshire respondents above, several common features can again be identified.

#### 7.4.13 Overlap between International, Yorkshire, and non-Yorkshire respondents’ results

Table 7.15 highlights the features which were at level 1 for all three groups of respondents according to the multiple choice part of the online survey. From this data we can see that there are six Yorkshire features common to all three groups that are strongly associated with Yorkshire and believed to be currently in use.



<b>Yorkshire Respondents</b>	<b>Non-Yorkshire Respondents</b>	<b>International Respondents</b>	<b>Common Features</b>
'I' as <ah>			
<i>Nowt</i> (nothing)	<i>Nowt</i> (nothing)	<i>Nowt</i> (nothing)	<i>Nowt</i> (nothing)
<i>Owt</i> (anything)	<i>Owt</i> (anything)	<i>Owt</i> (anything)	<i>Owt</i> (anything)
<i>Summat</i> (something)	<i>Summat</i> (something)	<i>Summat</i> (something)	<i>Summat</i> (something)
<i>Reight/reet</i> (right)	<i>Reight/reet</i> (right)		
<i>Sen</i> for 'self'			
DAR	DAR	DAR	<i>DAR</i>
<i>Aye / Ah</i> (yes)	<i>Aye / Ah</i> (yes)	<i>Aye / Ah</i> (yes)	<i>Aye / Ah</i> (yes)
h-dropping	h-dropping		
g-dropping	g-dropping	g-dropping	g-dropping
Secondary contraction of negatives	Secondary contraction of negatives		

*Table 7.15 Level 1 Overlap for Yorkshire, non-Yorkshire, and International Respondents*

A secondary trend can also be observed here in that fewer features become so strongly associated with Yorkshire the further afield respondents come from. However, the features *nowt*, *owt*, *summat*, definite article reduction, *aye* 'yes', and word-final g-dropping are consistently and strongly associated with Yorkshire for all respondent groups.

Table 7.16 shows the overlap for level 2; this is somewhat less consistent than for level 1 above, as there is more variation in which features appear at level 2 for each group of respondents. There are also fewer features which are consistent across all groups than at level 1.

Yorkshire Respondents	Non-Yorkshire Respondents	International Respondents	Common Features
<ah> in <i>abaht</i>	<ah> in <i>abaht</i>	<ah> in <i>abaht</i>	<ah> in <i>abaht</i>
	'I' as <ah>	'I' as <ah>	
		<i>Bairns</i> (children)	
	<i>Nobbut</i> (only)		
		<i>Reight/reet</i> (right)	
	<i>Sen</i> for 'self'	<i>Sen</i> for 'self'	
		h-dropping	
'Road' as <i>rooad</i>	'Road' as <i>rooad</i>	'Road' as <i>rooad</i>	'Road' as <i>rooad</i>
		Secondary contraction of negatives	
<i>Allus / alis</i> for 'always'	<i>Allus / alis</i> for 'always'		
<i>Berra</i> for 'better'	<i>Berra</i> for 'better'		
<i>Thi / tha / thee</i> for 'you'	<i>Thi / tha / thee</i> for 'you'	<i>Thi / tha / thee</i> for 'you'	<i>Thi / tha / thee</i> for 'you'
<i>Ower / o'er</i> for 'over'	<i>Ower / o'er</i> for 'over'	<i>Ower / o'er</i> for 'over'	<i>Ower / o'er</i> for 'over'
<i>Neet</i> for 'night'	<i>Neet</i> for 'night'	<i>Neet</i> for 'night'	<i>Neet</i> for 'night'

Table 7.16 Level 2 Overlap for Yorkshire, non-Yorkshire, and International Respondents

Finally, table 7.17 shows the overlap for level 3. This is the most consistent grouping of features and shows the least variation between respondent groups. The features *bairns*, *gan*, *mun*, and *shoo/hoo* are consistently not associated with Yorkshire; respondents also consistently state that they have never heard of these features.

<b>Yorkshire Respondents</b>	<b>Non-Yorkshire Respondents</b>	<b>International Respondents</b>	<b>Common Features</b>
<i>Bairns</i> (children)	<i>Bairns</i> (children)		<i>Bairns</i> (children)
<i>Gan</i> (go)	<i>Gan</i> (go)	<i>Gan</i> (go)	<i>Gan</i> (go)
<i>Mun</i> (must)	<i>Mun</i> (must)	<i>Mun</i> (must)	<i>Mun</i> (must)
<i>Nobbut</i> (only)		<i>Nobbut</i> (only)	
<i>Shoo/hoo</i> (she)	<i>Shoo/hoo</i> (she)	<i>Shoo/hoo</i> (she)	<i>Shoo/hoo</i> (she)
		<i>Allus</i> / <i>alis</i> for 'always'	
		<i>Berra</i> for 'better'	

*Table 7.17 Level 3 Overlap for Yorkshire, non-Yorkshire, and International Respondents*

When these data are compared with the Yorkshire features respondents were asked to provide, we see a similar pattern emerging as in table 7.11 above. Table 7.18 below shows this comparison.

The green box shows the overlap between the data at levels 1 and 2 from the multiple choice survey, the Yorkshire features provided by the respondents, and the features which were quantitatively numerous in the modern corpus. These data show that there is still consistency in these features even when we take into account the international speakers.

The blue boxes highlight the features that were not common in the corpus data (with the exception of *sen*, which appears at level 1 for Yorkshire respondents, and level 2 for non-Yorkshire and international respondents), but were provided as salient Yorkshire features in the first part of the online survey.

Survey multiple choice overlap	N-YorksSurvey 'provide words' overlap	Yorks 'provide words' overlap	International 'provide words' overlap	Modern Corpus Overlap	All 5 categories	4 of 5	3 of 5
<b>Level 1</b>							
12 Nowt (nothing)	Nowt	Nowt	Nowt	Nowt	Nowt		
13 Owt (anything)	Owt	Owt	Owt	Owt	Owt		
14 Summat (something)		Summat	Summat	Summat		Summat	
18 Definite article reduction	Reight	Reight	Reight	reight		Reight	
19 'Aye' / 'Ah' (yes)	DAR aye (yes) h-dropping	DAR aye (yes) h-dropping	DAR aye (yes) h-dropping	DAR Aye (yes) h-dropping	DAR	Aye (yes) h-dropping	
22 'g'-dropping		g-dropping 2 contraction negatives	g-dropping 2 contraction negatives	g-dropping 2 contraction			g-dropping
<b>Level 2</b>							
6 'ah' in 'abaht'		ah' in 'dahn'	<ah> for /aʊ/	<ah> for /aʊ/		<ah> for /aʊ/	
21 'Road' as 'rooad'				rooad allus berra thee ower			
26 'Thi' / 'tha' / 'thee' for 'you'	thee/tha	thee/tha	thee	thee	thee		
27 'Ower' / 'o'er' for 'over'		g' ower		ower			ower
28 'Neet' for 'night'							
	while		while				
	Terms of endearment	Terms of endearment	Terms of endearment			Terms of endearment	
	/a/ and /ʊ/ (northern)	/a/ and /ʊ/ (northern)	/a/ and /ʊ/ (northern)			/a/ and /ʊ/ (northern)	
	Nesh	Nesh	Nesh			Nesh	
	gennel	gennel					
	mardy		mardy				
	breadcake						
	were (was)						
	sen	sen	sen	sen			
		Ey up	Ey up				sen
		Now then					
		Laiking					
			ee by gum				
<b>Level 3</b>							
8 Bairns (children)							
9 Gan (go)							
10 Mun (must)							
17 Shoo/hoo (she)							

Table 7.18 Overlap between Yorkshire, non-Yorkshire, and International Respondents' Multiple Choice answers and 'Provided' features

The red box highlights the features which are common to three or more of the data sets. For example: *nowt* ‘nothing’ appears at level 1 for all respondents, was provided as a representative Yorkshire feature by all respondents, and was quantitatively numerous in the modern corpus. However, the Yorkshire dialect word *nesh* ‘cold, prone to feeling cold’ was not common in the corpus data but was unexpectedly provided by all three groups of respondents. This shows that although the textual data can give a reasonably accurate representation of current speakers’ perceptions of Yorkshire dialect, the method is not perfect.

Finally, the white box shows the level 3 features which were neither common in the corpus nor listed as representative of Yorkshire by any group of respondents.

## 7.5 Conclusions

In this chapter I have shown that by making use of corpora of dialect material, we can identify the features commonly used to represent Yorkshire dialect in writing. Throughout the course of the analysis presented above, it is apparent in both corpora that certain features are equally common in both the dialect literature and the literary dialect. This suggests that these features were almost equally salient in representing the Yorkshire dialect as people writing for both local and non-local audiences tended to use the same features in similar proportions. Because of this, I believe that the common features from the nineteenth-century corpus to be the strongest candidates for being enregistered to a nineteenth-century audience.

However, diachronic analysis of the nineteenth-century data showed that the use of these features varied in both LD and DL, highlighting that the salience of these features in representing Yorkshire dialect in the nineteenth century was also variable. This splitting of the historical corpus into time periods is similar to that of the Corpus of Nineteenth-Century English (CONCE); separating the CONCE data into three time periods, 1800-1830, 1850-1870, and 1870-1890 meant that, as Geisler states, ‘the results...can be compared diachronically through the nineteenth century’ (2002:249). By following a similar process here, I believe that the diachronic study of potentially enregistered terms shows that the phenomenon of enregisterment operates along a continuum ranging from ‘actively’ enregistered (or, as I label it above, level 1) to ‘deregistered’ (level 3). The process of ‘deregisterment’ can be observed particularly with the feature *mun*, which was relatively consistent and frequent in its use in both LD and DL until the middle of the nineteenth

century; it was then only prominent in the dialect literature, but in decreasing numbers; finally, it only appeared in a very small amount in the modern corpus' DL, and current speakers were largely unfamiliar with it. This suggests that *mun* was salient in representing Yorkshire dialect in writing from the beginning to the middle of the nineteenth century for both a local and non-local audience; it then came to be salient only to a local audience, before becoming virtually insignificant in representing Yorkshire to current audiences. It has likely progressed from being 'actively' enregistered in the early nineteenth century to being 'deregistered' by the twenty-first. The process of 'deregisterment' as it applies here is discussed further in Chapter 8.

Finally, by eliciting data from current speakers and comparing this to modern textual data, we can see that the combination of written representations of dialect and dialect commentary are very similar to current speakers' perceptions of representative dialect features. The Yorkshire features that were quantitatively numerous in both the modern corpus and modern commentary material were relatively consistently listed by current speakers as representative features of Yorkshire dialect. Therefore, I believe that a reasonably accurate repertoire of potentially enregistered features can be constructed via the use of written representations of dialect from textual evidence.

In the next chapter, I will discuss the implications of these results in more detail. I will explore the notions of the 'levels' of enregisterment postulated here; I will also discuss the notion of 'deregisterment' in more detail.

## 8. Discussion

In her discussion of the emergence of linguistic stereotypes in historical periods, Aaron states that the ‘occurrence of certain variants in written discourse is a far cry from independent evidence of their use in actual speech’ (2009:479). In this chapter I discuss the similarity between modern textual representations of Yorkshire dialect and modern speakers’ perceptions of the features which represent Yorkshire. I also discuss what this similarity can tell us about the enregisterment of those features, and how features can display different ‘levels’ of enregisterment.

I then go on to discuss the process of ‘deregisterment’ as discussed by Williams (2012) and mentioned above; I also consider how this process can apply to features in different ways, which in some cases can lead to a feature falling out of use altogether, and how this can highlight Labov’s definition of the ultimate fate of a linguistic stereotype.

Finally, I discuss both the enregisterment of “Yorkshire” dialect, based on the results from the modern corpus and the data from the online survey, and the enregisterment of nineteenth-century “Yorkshire” by making assumptions about the salience of particular nineteenth-century features based on the evidence we can observe from the ‘overlap’ between the quantitative and perceptual data from the modern corpus and survey.

### 8.1 Implications of ‘Overlap’ in Quantitative Results

When we consider the data from the modern corpus and compare this with the data collected from the online survey, we can see that there is consistency in the results. As stated in the previous chapter, the features *owt* ‘anything’, *nowt* ‘nothing’, *summat* ‘something’, *thee* ‘you’, *allus* ‘always’, and the secondary contraction of negatives all appear in the modern corpus in a ratio of between 40:60 and 60:40 DL:LD. If we are to continue to assume that dialect literature is produced predominantly for and received predominantly by a local Yorkshire audience and that literary dialect is aimed at a wider, potentially international audience, then the fact that the features listed above appear in almost equal proportions in each type of dialect material suggests that those features are almost equally salient in representing Yorkshire to a local audience as to a non-local one. We can also say that the above features are evidence of second-order indexicality, as we can infer that speakers are aware of them due to their frequency in the corpus data. As Johnstone et al state, second-order indexicality ‘occurs when people use first-order correlations to do social work, either

interpretive or performative’ (2006:83); we can see these features being used both in dialect literature and literary dialect by speakers both from and not from Yorkshire in interpretive and performative contexts. Furthermore, these features are also evidence of third-order indexicality, as we can infer that speakers are also aware of them due to the fact that they appear in ‘explicit lists of local words and their meanings and reflexive performances of local identities, in the context of widely circulating discourse about the connection between local identity and local speech’ (ibid. p.84). Indeed, all of these six features appear frequently and consistently in the modern qualitative data illustrating the extent of the modern metapragmatic discourse surrounding them.

When the corpus data is compared with the data from the online survey, however, the ‘overlap’ in the results becomes clearer. In the ‘provide Yorkshire features’ section of the survey, both Yorkshire and non-Yorkshire respondents consistently listed *owt*, *nowt*, and *thee* as representative features of Yorkshire dialect. *Summat* and the secondary contraction of negatives were similarly consistently listed but only by Yorkshire speakers. *Allus* was not listed by either group, despite its quantitative frequency in the corpus. However, on the multiple-choice section of the survey, *owt*, *nowt*, *summat*, and the secondary contraction of negatives were consistently ‘level 1’ features, in that respondents stated that they strongly associated these features with Yorkshire, they were widely recognised, and widely used. *Thee* and *allus* were consistently ‘level 2’ features, in that they were considered to be strongly associated with Yorkshire, widely recognised, but not widely used. Furthermore, the international respondents also consistently listed *owt*, *nowt*, *summat*, and *thee* in the ‘provide Yorkshire words’ section of the survey; these features were all consistently ‘level 1’ for international respondents, with the exception of ‘thee’ which was ‘level 2’. Therefore, we can state that the frequency of these features in the corpus material highlights their salience and points to their enregisterment.

However, as shown in tables 7.12 and 7.17 in the previous chapter, several other features occurred consistently across data sets that were not in the proportions stated above. Indeed, certain features were consistently listed by respondents as representative of Yorkshire, but were not quantitatively frequent in the corpus (hence their lack of inclusion in the survey’s multiple-choice section). For instance, all three groups of respondents listed terms of endearment (such as *love* and *duck*), the characteristically ‘northern’ English STRUT and BATH vowels /a/ and /ʊ/ (Wells 1982), and the lexical items: *nesh*, defined by the OED as



‘Delicate, weak, sickly, feeble; unable to endure fatigue, etc.; susceptible (to cold, etc.)’ (www.oed.com) – the latter meaning being the one commonly associated with the word in Yorkshire dialect; and *sen* self. While *sen* was frequent in the corpus data, it was not listed consistently by respondents in the multiple-choice section, as it appeared at ‘level 1’ for Yorkshire respondents and ‘level 2’ for non-Yorkshire and international respondents. This shows that although there is a great deal of consistency between the corpus data and the perception of modern speakers, there are features of Yorkshire dialect that are perceived to be salient which are not frequent in the corpus data. However, the total number of features which are consistent for Yorkshire, non-Yorkshire, and international respondents is 15. Of those 15, only 3 were not frequent in the corpus data at all. If we only consider the data for Yorkshire and non-Yorkshire respondents and not the international respondents, this method produces similar results: the total number of features consistent between these two groups of respondents is 21. Of those 21, only 4 are not frequent in the corpus data. Therefore, the use of the corpus data to reflect speaker perception of salient features can be said to be 80% accurate.

<b>‘Level 1’</b>	
<b>Feature</b>	<b>% Proportion DL:LD</b>
<i>Nowt</i> nothing	60:40
<i>Owt</i> anything	40:60
<i>Summat</i> something	60:40
<i>Reight</i> really	70:30
Definite Article Reduction	85:15
<i>Aye</i> yes	10:90
‘h-dropping’ (word-initial)	80:20
‘g-dropping’ (word-final)	85:15
Secondary contraction of negatives	60:40
<b>‘Level 2’</b>	
<b>Feature</b>	<b>% Proportion DL:LD</b>
<ah> in <i>abaht</i> about	95:5
<ooa> in <i>rooad</i> road	100:0
<i>Allus</i> always	70:30
<i>Berra</i> better	100:0
<i>Thee</i> you	60:40
<i>Ower</i> over	70:30
<i>Neet</i> night	100:0

*Table 8.1 Consistent ‘level 1’ and ‘level 2’ features versus proportion of instances in corpus for Yorkshire and non-Yorkshire respondents only*

As several of the consistent features listed above do not appear in the 40:60-60:40 DL:LD proportions it becomes necessary to discuss the results of the corpus versus the survey in more detail. Tables 8.1 and 8.2 show the features consistently listed as ‘level 1’ and ‘level 2’ in the multiple-choice section of the survey and the proportions of their quantitative instances in the corpus.

Table 8.1 shows that percentage proportions of features commonly listed as ‘level 1’ can fall within the following boundaries: percentage proportion of dialect literature is  $10 \geq DL \leq 85$ ; percentage proportion of literary dialect is  $20 \geq LD \leq 90$ . For ‘level 2’, the percentage proportions of instances fall within the boundaries:  $60 \geq DL \leq 100$  and  $0 \geq LD \leq 40$ .

Table 8.2 shows a similar distribution if we include the data from the international respondents.

<b>‘Level 1’</b>	
<b>Feature</b>	<b>% Proportion DL:LD</b>
<i>Nowt</i> nothing	60:40
<i>Owt</i> anything	40:60
<i>Summat</i> something	60:40
Definite Article Reduction	85:15
<i>Aye</i> yes	10:90
‘g-dropping’ (word-final)	85:15
<b>‘Level 2’</b>	
<b>Feature</b>	<b>% Proportion DL:LD</b>
<ah> in <i>abaht</i> about	95:5
<ooa> in <i>rooad</i> road	100:0
<i>Thee</i> you	60:40
<i>Ower</i> over	70:30
<i>Neet</i> night	100:0

*Table 8.2 Consistent ‘level 1’ and ‘level 2’ features versus proportion of instances in corpus for Yorkshire, non-Yorkshire, and international respondents*

The above two tables highlight that the majority of these features fall within the percentage proportion of up to 90:10 DL:LD. Therefore, the features in that range are likely to be enregistered as ‘Yorkshire’.

In the next section, I will discuss the idea of ‘levels’ of enregisterment with regards to the features considered above.

## 8.2 Enregisterment ‘Levels’

The results of the survey for all three groups of respondents produced similar patterns in the associations of particular features with Yorkshire. The nature of these patterns depends largely on the criteria ‘I have heard of this’ and ‘This is current, modern Yorkshire dialect’. A strong correlation between these criteria suggests firstly, that speakers are aware of the features in question; and secondly, that they associate those features with Yorkshire. This kind of correlation can indicate second and third-order indexicality, based on Johnstone et al’s definitions of these phenomena, which state that second-order features can include ‘regional forms...linked with locality’ (2006:82); third-order features reflect the ‘widely circulating idea that places and dialects are essentially linked’ (ibid. p.83). Therefore, we can infer that the features which show this kind of correlation, as shown in figures 7.17 and 7.18 above for instance, are enregistered as “Yorkshire” to current speakers. Additionally, the consideration of the criteria ‘I say this’ and ‘I have never heard of this’ in relation to ‘I have heard of this’ and ‘this is current, modern Yorkshire dialect’ also show that the enregistered features highlighted by the survey can be further subcategorised into what I have termed ‘enregisterment levels’, based on the features’ ‘level’ of association with Yorkshire and their current usage. I have identified three such ‘levels’ of enregistered features:

### *Level 1: ‘Active’ Features*

These are ‘active’ features in the sense that they are strongly associated with place, widely recognised, and widely used. For example, the features listed in the ‘level 1’ section of table 8.2 above have a consistently strong correlation between the criteria ‘I have heard of this’, ‘this is current, modern Yorkshire dialect’, and ‘I say this’ for Yorkshire, non-Yorkshire, and international respondents. Therefore, we can assume that these features are strongly associated with Yorkshire and are ‘actively’ in use by speakers. This displays a similar trend to that noted by Johnstone and Baumgardt, who note that in a discussion of Pittsburgh speech recorded in online chat forums, speakers would state that they used linguistic features which the speakers themselves listed. For instance, they list one contribution to this forum where the contributor states: ‘I am proud of being from the Pix-burgh area...I still say gum bands, pop, and drop the “g” off any word ending in “ing”’ (2004:123). This highlights several stereotypical features of “Pittsburghese”, including the representation of the pronunciation of ‘Pittsburgh’ (Johnstone 2009:170), and the lexical items *gum bands* ‘rubber bands’, and *pop* ‘carbonated soft drinks’ (Johnstone 2011:11). The use of these features in this online forum

suggests that the speaker has heard of them, associates them with Pittsburgh, and, as explicitly stated, uses them in his/her speech. Johnstone argues that these features are enregistered as ‘Pittsburgh’ based on this commentary. We can therefore assume that the similar correlation between the associative criteria listed above points to the enregisterment of Yorkshire features in the same manner. In addition, these features are also strongly associated with Yorkshire, despite respondents from outside Yorkshire stating that they say them as well, as discussed in section 7.4.4 above.

#### *Level 2: ‘Post-active’ Features*

These features are described as ‘post-active’ as they are strongly associated with place, widely recognised, but not as widely used as those in the ‘active’ level. For instance, the features listed in the ‘level 2’ section of table 8.2 above still have a consistently strong correlation between the criteria ‘I have heard of this’ and ‘this is current, modern Yorkshire dialect’, but much smaller numbers of respondents indicating ‘I say this’. This suggests that these features are strongly perceived to be ‘Yorkshire’ dialect, but are not ‘actively’ in use. This pattern aligns with Geda’s statement that features enregistered as representative of a variety do not represent actual patterns of usage in reality (2009:358). In addition, this trend is also similar to that noted by Agha in his discussion of RP, where he states that ‘Although RP is routinely *heard* and widely *recognized* as a valued accent, it is actually *spoken* by a very small proportion of the British population’ (2003:234, italics in original). We can therefore equate this high degree of association of ‘level 2’ features with Yorkshire to wide awareness and recognition of them, despite these features’ lack of actual usage. Under this scheme of classification, RP could be described as ‘level 2 enregistered’, as its features are strongly associated with social status and class membership, widely recognised, but not widely spoken.

#### *Level 3: ‘Inactive’ Features*

These are ‘inactive’ features in the sense that they are weakly associated with place, widely unrecognised (in some cases, the features in question display virtually a total lack of recognition), and are rarely used. For example, the features *bairns* ‘children’, *gan* ‘go’, *mun* ‘must’, and *shoo* ‘she’ display very low numbers of respondents selecting the criterion ‘this is current, modern Yorkshire dialect’ and very high numbers stating ‘I have never heard of this’. These features were quantitatively frequent in the nineteenth-century corpus of dialect material. In addition, with the exception of *shoo*, they fall within the 80:20 DL:LD

percentage proportion range established in the previous section to be indicative of features' enregisterment. Therefore, it would appear that *bairns*, *gan* and *mun* may have been enregistered to a nineteenth-century audience as 'Yorkshire'; this is no longer the case for modern speakers, however. Features which are 'level 3' are evidence of 'deregisterment'; these features were once enregistered as 'Yorkshire' but this is no longer the case for modern speakers. As in the case of *gan* described above, some of these features are now associated with varieties other than Yorkshire; some features, as in the case of *mun* described below, appear to have fallen out of use altogether. They are therefore 'inactive' in terms of their usage in current Yorkshire dialect. The notion of 'deregisterment' in this context is discussed in more detail below.

The difference between these 'levels' also highlights Agha's notion that 'cultural value is not a static property' and that those values can have what he terms a 'social life' (2003:232). For example, if we consider the features listed at 'level 3' by modern speakers compared with the corpus data for these features for the nineteenth century, we can see that the cultural value of these features has diachronically shifted from being salient in representing Yorkshire to not being particularly salient in representing Yorkshire at all. Based on a consideration of the features at all three 'levels', I argue that the difference between 'levels' highlights various stages of certain features' 'social lives'; 'level 1' is where the features are socially and culturally 'active', 'level 2' shows features which are not as 'active' as those at 'level 1' and may indicate that these features may soon fall out of use – they are therefore 'post-active'; 'level 3' features are no longer socially and culturally 'active', at least with regards to Yorkshire – as *gan* is now enregistered as "Geordie" but not as "Yorkshire". Therefore, we can state that 'level 3' features indicate their 'deregisterment' (Williams 2012:55) as "Yorkshire". In addition, the survey criteria 'I say this' and 'This is current, modern Yorkshire dialect' can be used as diagnostic of a feature's 'deregisterment'; low numbers of respondents selecting these criteria indicates that particular features are: no longer associated with Yorkshire, no longer have salient meanings, or both.

In the next section, I will discuss the notion of 'deregisterment', how this applies to features of Yorkshire dialect, and how we can observe this process diachronically by using quantitative corpus data.

### 8.3 ‘Deregisterment’

Williams’ definition of ‘deregisterment’ applies to the use of a more salient local variety over a previously salient enregistered non-local variety (*ibid.*). This is a definition that applies to an entire register and suggests that processes of enregisterment may operate along a continuum, where varieties’ status can shift from being enregistered as highly salient to not salient. The results presented in section 7.2 suggest that this ‘deregistering’ process can occur with individual features. For example, the pattern shown in figure 7.2 suggests that it became less salient in representing Yorkshire to a non-Yorkshire audience due to the gradual decrease in instances of this feature in the literary dialect. Additionally, nineteenth-century commentary on this feature appears in three texts, all of which are within a ten-year time span: White (1858), Banks (1865), and Jackson (1868). Figure 7.2 also shows that, with the exception of the anomalous spike in the results in the 1880-90 decade, there are no instances of this feature in the literary dialect from the 1860s onwards. The fact that there is no apparent commentary on this feature after 1868 would also suggest that the feature was no longer salient in representing Yorkshire as there is no metapragmatic discourse surrounding it. Finally, this feature is not present in the modern corpus, even though <ooa> appears for THOUGHT words. It seems likely that this <oa> representation has been ‘deregistered’ as Yorkshire since the nineteenth century.

This process can also be observed with lexical items; if we consider the case of *gan* ‘go’, we can see in figure 8.1 below that there is initial variation in the use of this feature in both dialect literature and literary dialect in the first half of the nineteenth century. After 1860, we can see that there is a distinct reduction in the instances of *gan* in literary dialect, again with the exception of the 1880-90 results. Indeed, figure 8.2 below also shows that the general trend in the use of this feature in dialect literature appears to decrease over the course of the nineteenth century, whilst in literary dialect the feature appears to be used in consistently small amounts across the century and not appearing in the 1900 sample. The gap in the data at 1870-80 is due to the fact that there was no literary dialect data available for that decade and that for the dialect literature, the average number of instances of *gan* was only 0.025%.

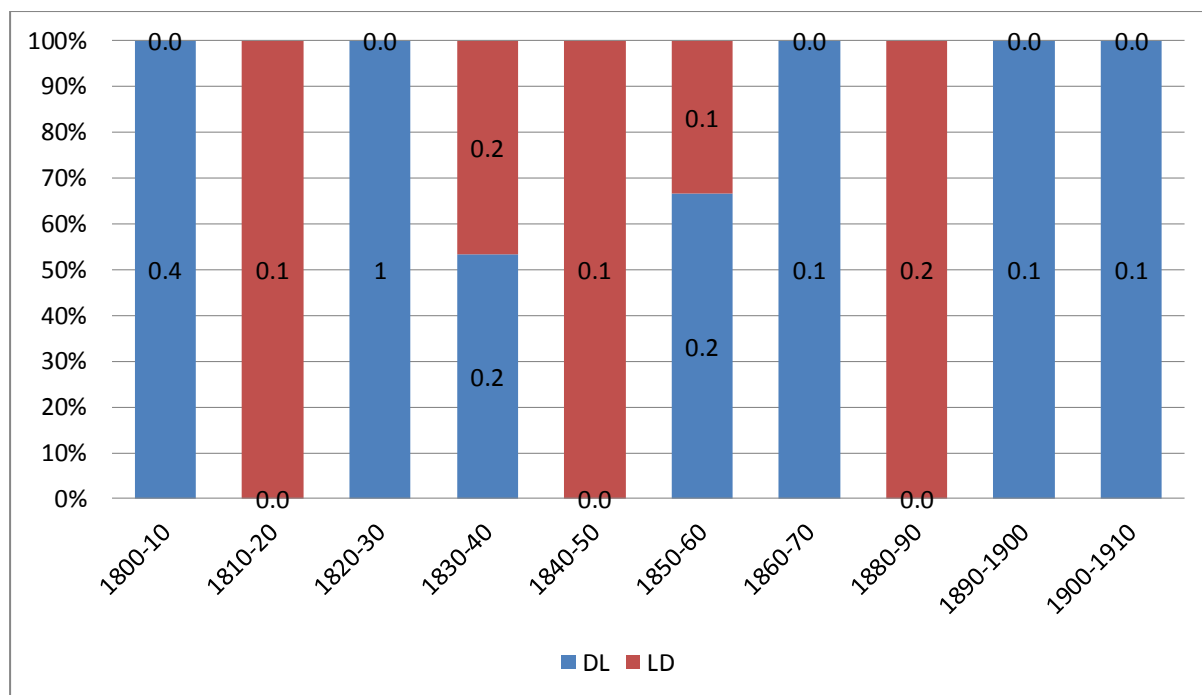


Figure 8.1 Diachronic results for instances of *gan* in nineteenth-century corpus data showing dialect literature versus literary dialect

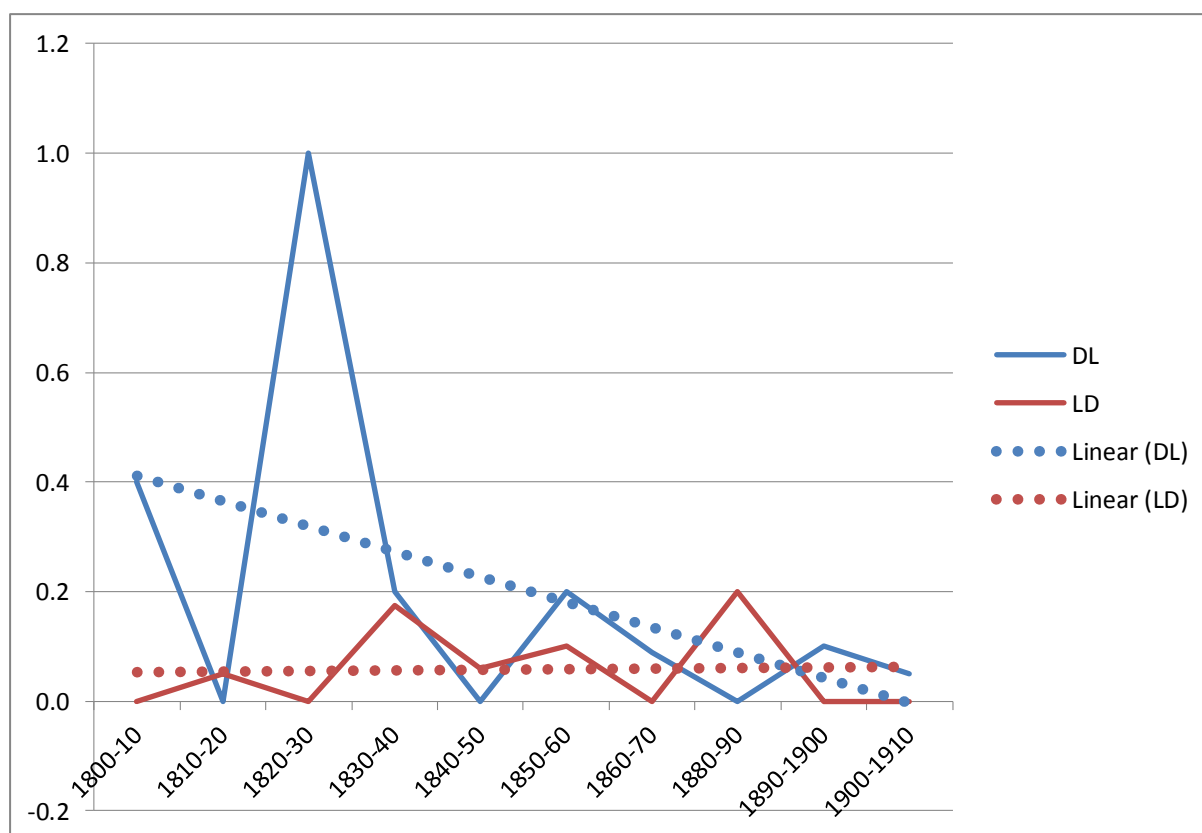


Figure 8.2 Diachronic trends for instances of *gan* in nineteenth-century corpus data showing dialect literature versus literary dialect

However, this steadily-decreasing pattern of usage can be explained by applying the notion of ‘deregisterment’ to *gan*. This word appears to be in decline in Yorkshire in the early nineteenth century, as noted by Hunter, who states in his entry for ‘Gang’: ‘in the sense of *to go*; not quite out of use’ (1829:42). In addition, Robinson also states that *gan* is apparently not a ‘native’ word in some parts of Yorkshire (in his case, Leeds):

“Gan” and “gang” are words not at all indigenous to this part of Yorkshire, yet of such constant recurrence to ourselves, and to which we confess an attachment, that the inclination to include them in our little list could not be well resisted (1862:ii)

Metapragmatic discourse for *gan* continues from mid-century into the late nineteenth century, though: Harland lists ‘Gang’ for ‘to go’ in his glossary of Swaledale (1873:14); Nicholson also lists ‘to go’ as ‘Gan or Gang’ (1889:62). But, when we consider the data from the modern corpus for *gan*, we can see that this feature has gone from occurring in almost equal numbers in dialect literature and literary dialect in the nineteenth century to appearing in very small numbers in modern dialect literature only. This suggests that the downward trend at the end of the nineteenth century may have continued throughout the twentieth and into the early twenty-first and that ‘gan’ is no longer associated with Yorkshire. Hence, it has been ‘deregistered’ as such.

It appears that *gan* has been ‘deregistered’ as Yorkshire and enregistered as being associated with the North-East, particularly with Newcastle and “Geordie”. However, *gan* is listed in several works of nineteenth-century dialect material which purport to represent the North-East. For example, Heslop lists ‘Gan’ as ‘to go’ in his extensive glossary of Northumberland words (1894:315). The feature can also be found in collections of dialect literature such as the anonymous *Tyne Songster*, which is a compilation of songs in the Newcastle dialect and features numerous examples of *gan*, such as:

In troth I’d gan monie a mile, my Peggy,  
 In troth I’d gan monie a mile,  
 Again, my dear Charmer, to view thy neat leggy,  
 And see on thy face a sweet smile, my Peggy,  
 And see on thy face a sweet smile  
 (1840:84)

This suggests that *gan* was not only associated with Yorkshire in the nineteenth century. Indeed, by the mid-twentieth century, *gan* still appears to have this dual association as the



SED records several instances of *gan*, largely in imperative statements like ‘gan to hell’ *go to hell*, and ‘gan on’ *go away* in Yorkshire, Durham, and Northumberland (Upton et al 1994:165). However, Beal notes that Newcastle dialect material in the 1960s and 1970s featured ‘gan’ for ‘go’ (2000:354); Wales also discusses this, as she states that ‘Geordies of the late 1960s apparently favoured ‘Hoo ye gannin?’’ (2006:193) to mean ‘how do you do?’. And although *gan* appears sparsely in modern Yorkshire dialect dictionaries, as highlighted by Kellett, who attributes it to the north-East Riding (2002:67), it is much more commonly found in dialect dictionaries of the North-East, such as Griffiths, who presents an extensive definition of *gan* in his North-East dialect dictionary (2005:65-6). In addition, Crystal states that in Tyneside, ‘*gan* is used as an alternative to *go*’ (2002:326, italics in original), illustrating the explicit link with the use of this word to the Tyneside region; Pearce also notes common use of *gan* in his study of a corpus of North East dialect (2011:7). *Gan* also appears to have been commodified as “Geordie”, as can be seen in its use on the ‘Geordie ware’ section of the website [www.moorlandpottery.co.uk](http://www.moorlandpottery.co.uk) as shown in figure 8.3.



Figure 8.3 ‘We’re gannin into toon’ Moorland Pottery logo ([http://www.moorlandpottery.co.uk/images/into%20Toon\\_01.jpg](http://www.moorlandpottery.co.uk/images/into%20Toon_01.jpg))

The website [www.zazzle.co.uk](http://www.zazzle.co.uk) also features a ‘Geordie valentine’s card’ which features the phrase: ‘Gan on be my valentine’ printed on it ([http://www.zazzle.co.uk/geordie\\_modern\\_valentine\\_card\\_valentines\\_day-137100956453137241](http://www.zazzle.co.uk/geordie_modern_valentine_card_valentines_day-137100956453137241)).

So, although *gan* appeared in dialect material for both Yorkshire and the North East in the nineteenth century, the gradual decline of quantitative instances of it in Yorkshire dialect material over the course of the nineteenth century suggests its ‘deregisterment’ as Yorkshire. The modern data shows almost no instances of *gan* in Yorkshire, but a strong association with the North-East. Furthermore, as stated in the previous chapter, respondents to the online

survey stated that they associated *gan* with “Geordies” rather than with Yorkshire, suggesting the feature’s current enregisterment as “Geordie”, but distinctly not “Yorkshire”.

In the next section, I will discuss how in some cases, the ‘deregisterment’ of a feature can involve it falling out of use altogether and how this can illustrate them becoming ‘fossil forms’ as Labov described.

#### 8.4 ‘Fossil Forms’

Silverstein’s notion of ‘indexical order’ suggests that indexicality ‘comes in integral, ordinal degrees’ dependent on the appropriateness of usage in context (2003:193). Johnstone et al relate this order to Labov’s notions of indicators, markers, and stereotypes, suggesting that third-order indexicality equates to Labov’s definition of a ‘stereotype’ (2006:82-3). However, Labov stated that the ultimate fate of a stereotype is that it will become ‘a fossil form whose meaning has been entirely forgotten’ (1972:317); this definition does not wholly apply to all examples of third-order indexicality. For example, Johnstone et al present an example of a young Pittsburghese speaker who demonstrates use of a third-order indexical feature of “Pittsburghese” in her everyday speech (2006:98); similar evidence can be observed in the ‘level 1’ terms listed above, as survey respondents stated that they actually use these features in speech. The use of such third-order features in speech suggests that they have not become ‘fossil forms’ as Labov suggests, though. The survey results highlighted certain “Yorkshire” features which may have indeed become ‘fossil forms’; although these features were common in the nineteenth-century data (suggesting that nineteenth-century speakers were familiar with them), they were unfamiliar to modern speakers. An example of such a feature is *mun* ‘must’. Figure 8.4 below shows the diachronic instances of this feature in the nineteenth-century corpus material.

Figure 8.4 shows a similar pattern to figure 8.1 above, where in the first half of the century there are similar numbers of instances of the feature in both the dialect literature and the literary dialect, but from 1860 onwards, there is a distinct lack of literary dialect data and steadily-decreasing instances in the dialect literature. Figure 8.5 below shows these trends over the course of the nineteenth century.

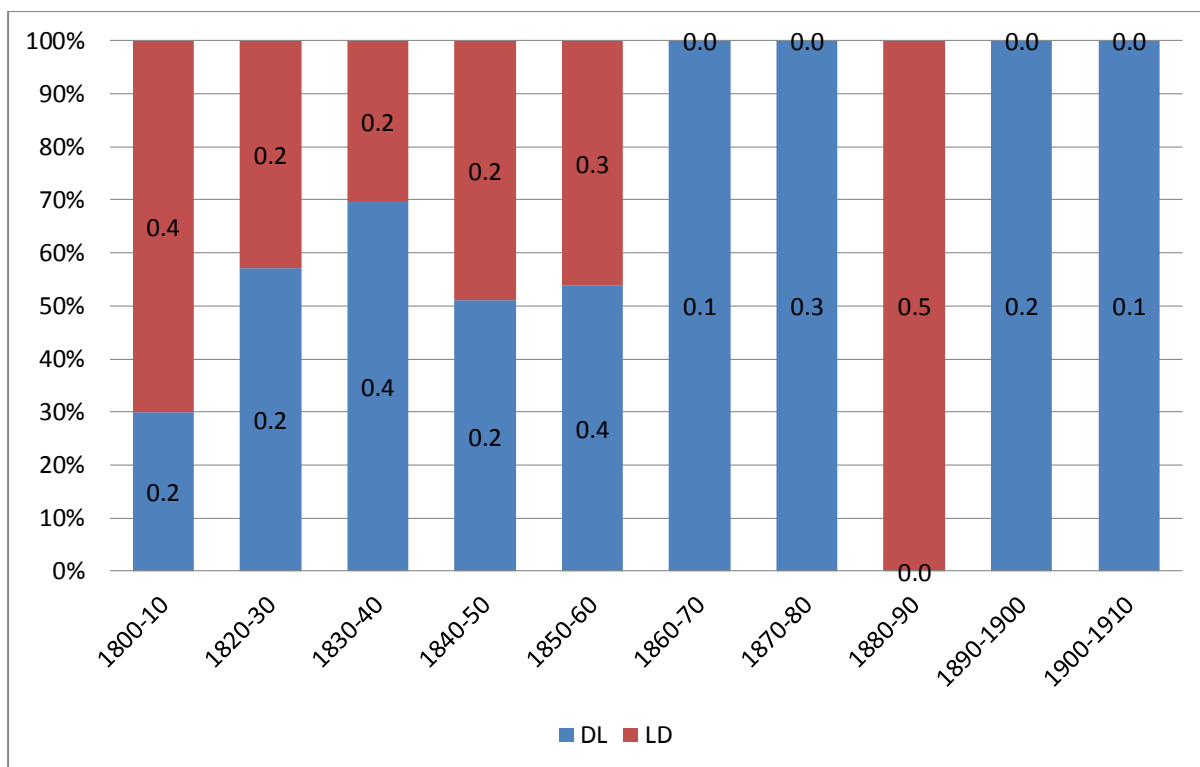


Figure 8.4 Diachronic results for instances of *mun* in nineteenth-century corpus data showing dialect literature versus literary dialect

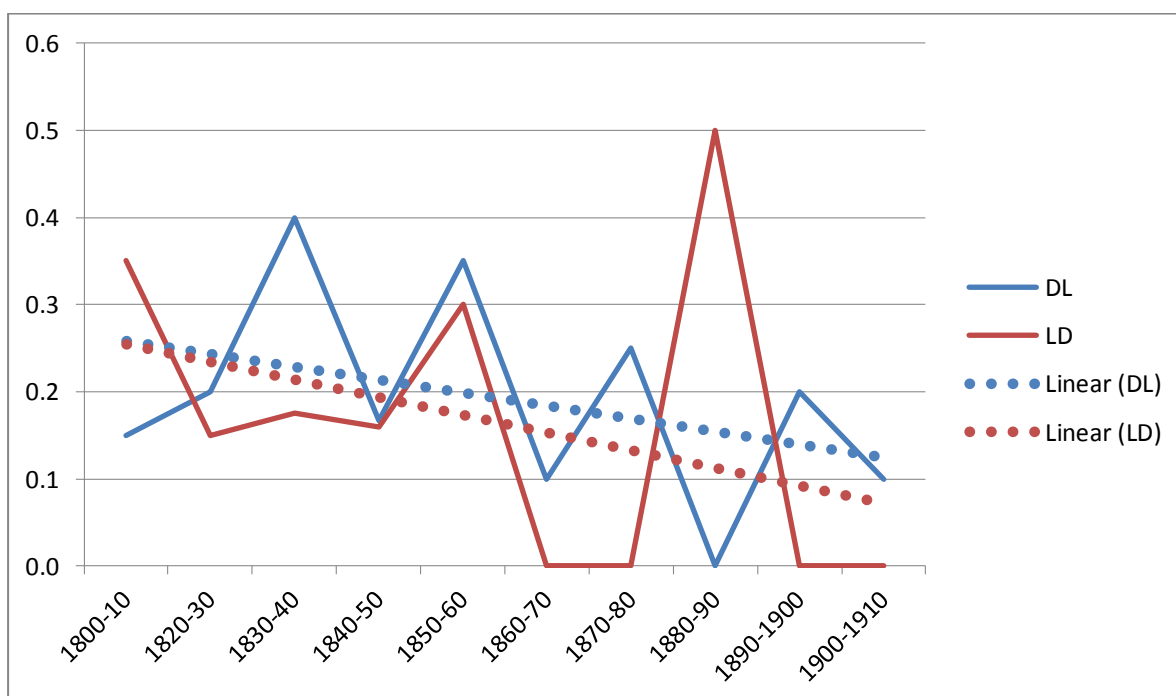


Figure 8.5 Diachronic trends for instances of *mun* in nineteenth-century corpus data showing dialect literature versus literary dialect

We can see in fig. 8.5 that there is a definite downward trend in both literary dialect and dialect literature for use of this feature, with the exception of the anomalous spike at 1880-90 in the literary dialect. This peak in the literary dialect data could be explained by Aaron's suggestion that 'a form may all but disappear from literary texts, only to reappear with greater frequency when its status as linguistic stereotype has been established' (2009:492), which would indicate that *mun* had become stereotypical of "Yorkshire" by the end of the nineteenth century. However, the overall trend in the literary dialect data suggests that this feature was being used less and less to represent Yorkshire as the century progressed.

The data from the online survey for *mun* displays a pattern which seems to align with Labov's statement above. Figure 8.6 below shows the results for *mun* for all three groups of respondents.

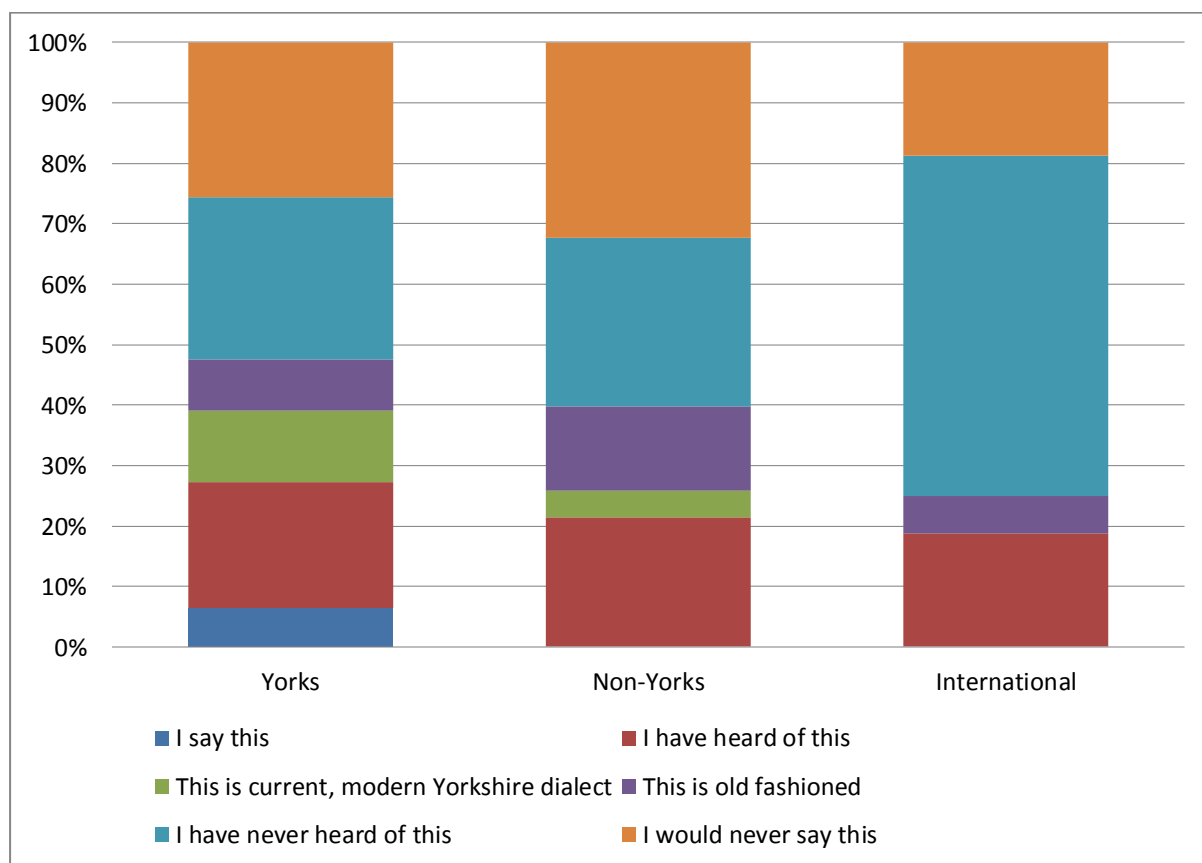


Figure 8.6 Average percentages for all respondents to general criteria of online survey for *mun*

Figure 8.6 shows that only a small number of respondents state that they actually use this feature; similarly small numbers associate it with Yorkshire; and respondents predominantly stated that they had never heard of *mun*. Indeed, respondents who stated ‘I say this’ and ‘this is current, modern Yorkshire dialect’ were predominantly in the 50-59 and 60 and over age groups for both Yorkshire and non-Yorkshire speakers, suggesting that association of this feature with Yorkshire decreases with decreasing age. The transition of *mun* to a deregistered ‘fossil form’ is seemingly less complete with the Yorkshire respondents, though. Respondent 10915314, a male in the 50-59 age group from Sheffield listed ‘munt’ for ‘must not’ in the ‘provide Yorkshire features’ section of the survey. Furthermore, *mun* is still listed in Yorkshire dialect dictionaries (Kellett 2002:119; Johnson 2006:26; McMillan 2007:68) which suggests that there is still some association of this feature with Yorkshire, although this is predominantly only reflected by older respondents in the online survey; respondents younger than the 50-59 age group displayed virtually no recognition of the meaning of *mun*, nor did they associate it with Yorkshire. In addition, the listing of ‘munt’ in particular here may simply be an example of the secondary contraction of negatives, as noted in certain modern dialect dictionaries, and discussed in section 6.1.4 above, as opposed to it being an example of Yorkshire dialect lexis. This further supports the notion that *mun* is hardly associated with “Yorkshire” dialect, has been deregistered, and its meaning forgotten.

The general trend shown in figure 8.6 indicates that *mun* has virtually become a ‘fossil form’ as Labov described, as its apparent association with Yorkshire in the nineteenth century has almost disappeared by the twenty-first. The data from the modern corpus also supports this, as there is only a 0.1% frequency for *mun* in the dialect literature. There are no instances for *mun* in the modern literary dialect data. In a similar manner to *gan* above, *mun* has been ‘deregistered’ as “Yorkshire”; in addition, *mun* appears to be falling out of use almost altogether over the course of the twentieth century. The data from the online survey suggests that both use and recognition of *mun* decreased as respondents’ age decreased. Based on this it is possible to theorise that the association of *mun* with Yorkshire is also becoming weaker as younger generations of speakers do not seem to recognise it. Further research into the apparent decline of *mun* is required; with regard to the ‘fate’ of stereotypes, Labov states:

The future prospects of this stereotype depend upon the fortunes of the group it is associated with...If the group is excluded from the mainstream of society, or its prestige declines, the linguistic form or rule will be stigmatized, corrected, and even extinguished (1972:320)

This suggests that *mun* may have become stigmatised over the course of the twentieth century, hence its apparent non-recognition with younger respondents, although further study is required here.

Therefore, I suggest that following the models of Silverstein and Johnstone et al, the notion of ‘deregisterment’ can also relate to Labov’s ultimate definition of a stereotype as a ‘fossil form’. Third-order indexicals may refer to language features that are widely recognised and allow speakers to ‘use regional forms drawn from highly codified lists to perform local identity’ (Johnstone et al 2006:83), whether they are native to a particular region or not, the third-order nature of these features indicates that their meanings are still understood; they can therefore be said to be enregistered. Features like *mun*, though, were once enregistered, have been ‘deregistered’, and their meanings, as Labov describes, have been ‘entirely forgotten’. We can therefore state that *gan* is ‘deregistered’ as “Yorkshire”, as it continues to be associated with “Geordie” and its meaning is still understood. The meaning of *mun*, however, is largely not understood and the feature is neither associated with Yorkshire nor any other area. It has therefore been deregistered to the extent that it is a ‘fossil form’.

In the next section I will discuss the enregisterment of the modern Yorkshire dialect based on the metapragmatic discourse available for the variety.

### **8.5 Enregistering “Yorkshire”**

Based on the results presented in the previous chapters and the discussion in the above sections, I argue that there is currently a repertoire of linguistic features which are enregistered as “Yorkshire”. With few notable exceptions (Beal 2009a, 2009b), the Yorkshire dialect has not been studied in terms of enregisterment. Following the body of work reviewed in Chapter 2 above, I shall here show how elements of the Yorkshire dialect have been enregistered.

#### *Public Sphere Metadiscourse*

In discussing public sphere metadiscourse, Agha makes reference to non-standard spellings used in popular media, stating that this ‘constitutes an implicit metapragmatic commentary on norms of speech’ (2003:237). Therefore, the spelling of the RP pronunciation of the word ‘cabinet’ as *kebinet*, for instance, ‘invites inferences about oddity of character’ (ibid.) and highlights the RP pronunciation of this word as /kæbɪnɛt/ as opposed to something like

/kabinət/. However, Agha then goes on to discuss the impact cartoons can have in conveying ideologies about language. His discussion centres on a cartoon which displays ‘improper discursive behaviour’, where two men are conversing: one a smaller, imperfectly dressed, socially anxious character; the other a taller, perfectly-attired, cigar-smoking, moustached aristocratic-looking character (ibid. p.239). Although the cartoon does not explicitly mention accent (indeed, it does not contain any examples of language at all), Agha argues that ideologies about language align with the other signs in the cartoon, stating that the latter character likely speaks RP, the former does not (ibid. p.238).

As discussed in Chapter 2 above, in her discussion of Putonghua, Dong also presents an example of a cartoon used to highlight language ideologies. In this case, though, the cartoon is accompanied by an article presenting the advantages of speaking Putonghua for non-Putonghua speakers moving into the city from rural areas (2010:269). The association of the cartoon and the language variety is more explicit in this case than with RP, but the imagery is similar. In Dong’s cartoon, there are three characters portrayed: a couple moving from a rural area into the city, dressed in traditional Chinese clothing; and a man from the city, who speaks Putonghua and is urging the couple to do the same. The latter character is described by Dong as wearing leather and a lapel jacket, indicating that he represents elements of living in the city and speaking Putonghua (ibid. p.270).

Humorous cartoons which focus on dialect can be observed for Yorkshire. The website [www.cartoonstock.com](http://www.cartoonstock.com) features several cartoons tagged with ‘Yorkshire’, which can be located on the site by searching for keywords which include: yorkshire men, yorkshire man, flat cap, the north, northerner, yorkshire, yorkshireman, owt, nowt, northerners. One particular cartoon which is yielded by entering these search terms features an old man sat at a desk wearing a flat cap; on his desk are ‘in’ and ‘out’ trays labelled ‘owt’ and ‘nowt’ (<http://www.cartoonstock.com/directory/y/yorkshire.asp>). While this cartoon does not explicitly reference Yorkshire, the implication that the character in the cartoon is from Yorkshire stems from a combination of the presence of the dialect words on the ‘in’ and ‘out’ trays and the image of the flat cap, which displays the ‘cloth cap’ stereotype commonly associated with northern English speakers (Wales 2006:30).

Additionally, in a similar manner to that described by Geda, the enregisterment of the Yorkshire dialect can be seen in stand-up comedians’ use of Yorkshire features in their routines. This is due to the fact that stand-up comedians can use ‘linguistic representations of

essentialized identities' (2009:354) in their use of enregistered features. An example of this including examples of Yorkshire dialect can be seen in the performance of London comedian Michael McIntyre. In an edition of the BBC programme *Michael McIntyre's Comedy Roadshow* first broadcast on the BBC on the 23<sup>rd</sup> of October 2010, McIntyre is performing at the Grand Theatre in Leeds. During his routine, he attempts to affect a Yorkshire 'accent'. In order to facilitate this performance, he draws upon Yorkshire stereotypes such as *ey up* [eɪjʊp] (see also Wales 2006:29-30); definite article reduction (he pronounces the name of 80s band *the The* as [t t]); he also references the lexical items *summat* [sʊməʔ], and *nowt* [nəʊ<sup>w</sup>t] (<http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=VpRMxu8DD4g>). This performance is before a local audience likely to be familiar with the features he uses. However, Geda goes on to state that features enregistered as being typical of certain varieties may not represent the reality of those varieties (2009:358), despite stating that stand-up comedians' use of enregistered features of 'gay' speech highlights that they 'have their hands on the heartbeat of what ... audiences recognise as essentially gay' (ibid.). The use of such features before wide audiences in performative contexts, though, suggests that these performances have some basis in reality. For instance, Michael McIntyre's use of *nowt* is based on the fact that this word exists in the Yorkshire dialect and would be used in Leeds. His pronunciation does not necessarily represent reality, however; the pronunciation [nɒʊt] was recorded in Leeds in the SED (Orton & Dieth 1963:862), suggesting that *nowt* in Leeds has a different pronunciation to McIntyre's. Indeed, McIntyre's programme was broadcast to a nationwide audience on the BBC, suggesting that the "Yorkshire" features he employs were recognisable enough to this audience to warrant its broadcast; however, as Johnstone states, in cases where dialect features are performed to audiences, 'different audience members may draw on different cultural frameworks to make these forms meaningful' (2011:658). This suggests that *ey up*, *summat*, and *nowt* index "local" to a Leeds audience as they are likely to be used in modern Leeds dialect, although certain pronunciations may differ in 'reality' (particularly *nowt*); these features also index "Yorkshire" to a national audience, although this audience is likely drawing on different cultural schemata for their understanding of "Yorkshire" features, as indicated by McIntyre's pronunciation of *nowt*, which is possibly influenced by a Lancashire pronunciation (the majority of Lancashire pronunciations of this word recorded in the SED are either [nəʊt] or [næʊt] (Orton & Deith 1963:862), which are similar to McIntyre's pronunciation). Therefore, Geda's notion of 'reality' requires further explanation and definition; if features are not used in 'reality', they are likely to be deregistered and 'fossil



forms' whose meanings have been forgotten, as opposed to second and third-order indexicals which may have a basis in reality (as they can be understood by wide audiences), but may not be completely accurately portrayed in performative contexts.

### *Elicited Metapragmatic Judgements*

In their study of "Pittsburghese", Johnstone et al (2006) interviewed several Pittsburgh speakers in order to ascertain their perceptions of the variety with regards to first, second and third-order indexicality. In one instance, an informant stated that when she moved away from Pittsburgh to go to university, her accent was noticeable to non-Pittsburghers. She states: 'And then there was a group of us actually who were from Pittsburgh, and got picked on for our Pittsburgh accents as well' (ibid. p.98). This awareness of the Pittsburgh accent on the part of the non-Pittsburghers, Johnstone et al argue, is evidence of the third-order indexicality of linguistic features associated with "Pittsburghese" (ibid. p.99). This type of comment was also found by Remlinger in her study of the Michigan Upper Peninsula. One of her informants, in discussing his experience in an interview 500 miles south of his native region, stated: 'They asked me about my – the way I talk and that. If everybody talks like me uh who are up here...I was like yeah' (2009:132). This comment highlights a direct link between place ('up here') and language ('the way I talk'; 'everybody talks like me').

The final question on the online survey in this study asked if respondents had any comments. Several of these comments reflect upon the features included in the survey, for example, respondent 10952729, a female speaker from Maltby, South Yorkshire in the 30-39 age group stated: 'I pronounce 'owt' and 'nowt' like 'oat' and 'note'. I pronounce 'reight' like 'rate''. Another respondent, ID 10954351, a male speaker from Penistone in the 60 and over age group, stated:

I use a lot of the above, but used a lot more of it when growing up. Some of the above words are not used as much as they were. I can slip in and out of the dialect and so can my friends when storytelling

Both of these comments highlight a link between dialect and place, as both respondents state that they are from Yorkshire and that they use certain of the features included in the survey. The latter comment also suggests that speakers other than the respondent ('my friends') also use these features; this is similar to the comment noted by Remlinger above. This comment also highlights the use of 'dialect' in performative contexts with the reference to 'storytelling'. This suggests that this respondent does not use certain features in their

everyday speech, but particular elements of “Yorkshire” dialect hold some salience when speech is being performed. As Johnstone et al note, when features can be used to create contexts for particular styles of speech, we can describe them as enregistered (2006:82); this process is indicated in the above comment as this respondent creates the context of “Yorkshire” via the use of ‘the dialect...when storytelling’.

However, there was a common theme to the vast majority of the comments left by the respondents: many of them, both Yorkshire and non-Yorkshire speakers felt that there was no one “Yorkshire” dialect. For example, respondent 11024726, a male speaker from Nottingham in the 50-59 age group commented: ‘Yorkshire is a big place and there is no such thing as Yorkshire dialect which applies to the whole county’. A similar comment can be seen from respondent 10952190, a female speaker from Hull in the 50-59 age group, who states: ‘I don't think there's such a thing as a “Yorkshire” dialect... I think, equally, that north and west Yorkshire have different words and dialect’. Indeed, many respondents felt that due to the large geographical size of Yorkshire, the term “Yorkshire dialect” was insufficient to adequately describe the linguistic variation therein. A selection of these comments is shown in table 8.3 below.

Table 8.3 shows that there is a strong perception by both respondents from Yorkshire and those not from Yorkshire that there are distinct dialect areas within the region. However, it is not clear in every case whether respondents are discussing differing pronunciations or differences in dialect. For instance, respondent 10958862 discusses the pronunciation of ‘right’ and ‘night’ as *reet* and *neet*, whereas respondent 10955234 mentions dialect lexis in his use of ‘bairns gannin’ to school’ and respondent 11396839 states ‘Here in South Yorkshire they use different dialect & words’, which also suggests a difference in lexis across the county.

Respondent ID	Gender	Age Group	Location	Comments
10958862	Female	40-49	Kendal, Cumbria	As Yorkshire is such a large geographical area I am unsure as to what is meant by a "Yorkshire" dialect. Coming from Kendal which is relatively close to the Yorkshire Dales, there are several words in your list which overlap - e.g. reet for right and neet for night etc. I thought these were Cumbrian words rather than Yorkshire words.
10955234	Male	50-59	Nottingham	what is a Yorkshire dialect? Whitby would be very different from Sheffield...The differences between accents from the North and West Ridings would have been even more marked. Did people in Sheffield ever talk about their bairns gannin' to school?
10952274	Male	18-29	Sheffield, South Yorkshire	People from West/North Yorkshire speak very differently to those from South Yorkshire. It might be worth splitting them up.
10955677	Male	30-39	Rotherham, South Yorkshire	Some of the words included here a split throughout the yorkshire dialect. Examples include words which would be strongly recognised in North yorkshire, but not South Yorkshire or East yorkshire. If you visit Sheffield you will find there is a huge split between east/south east vs west/north west... Likewise, if you compare Barnsley to sheffield there is again a massive difference and Leeds to Huddersfield, or Hull (to anywhere!)... The Yorkshire language is widely varied accross the region and cannot be summed up similar to the oxford dictionary.
11396839	Female	50-59	Keighley, Yorkshire	There is no one simple "Yorkshire dialect" 5 miles from where I lived in Keighley the village called Silsden they spoke differently. Here in South Yorkshire they use different dialect & words. People from other parts of Yorkshire think I come from Lancashire because Keighley is on the border with Lancs however we don't think we have a Lancs accent!
11034133	Male	60 and over	Leeds	There is no one Yorkshire dialect. The dialect around Whitby for example derives a lot from Scandinavian origins. The dialect around the mining pits is completely different. The cities are different to the countryside.

*Table 8.3 Respondents' comments from online survey*

So it seems, then, that despite Beal's statement in her discussion of the enregisterment and commodification of "Sheffieldish" that there is an 'embedding of "Sheffield" identity in a broader "Yorkshire" one' (2009a:153), respondents to the online survey felt that this 'embedding' does not go so far as to create a single, homogenous "Yorkshire" variety. It appears that "Yorkshire dialect" is not comprehensive enough a term to describe the perceived variation in the region.

### *Commodification of "Yorkshire" Dialect*

As Johnstone states, language features can become commodified when they become 'socially meaningful at the third-order level' (2009:163). Therefore, commodified features can be seen as evidence for their enregisterment (Beal 2009a:148).

Despite the apparent perception that there is no single "Yorkshire" dialect, there is a limited amount of commodification to be observed with certain "Yorkshire" features which appear to be common to the region as a whole. For example, the website [www.moorlandpottery.co.uk](http://www.moorlandpottery.co.uk) as discussed above features a section called 'Yorkie Ware', where one can buy coffee mugs, coasters, teapots, and also a small selection of bags and aprons. The majority of these products feature examples of Yorkshire dialect, shown in figures 8.7-8.9 below.

Figures 8.7-8.9 display the use of definite article reduction ('t' best place in t' world'), 'owt' and 'nowt', which are several of the most frequent dialect features listed in the corpus. These three features were also frequently listed as 'level 1' in the multiple choice section of the survey; they were consistently listed by all three groups of respondents as representative features of Yorkshire in the 'provide Yorkshire features' section of the survey.



Figure 8.7 'Yorkshire T' Best Place in t'World' logo (<http://www.moorlandpottery.co.uk/t-best-place-in-t-world-p-233.html?zenid=0dbb1c893824c43e6fac08451622739c>)



Figure 8.8 'My Grandad can fix owt' logo (<http://www.moorlandpottery.co.uk/grandad-can-fix-out-p-235.html?zenid=0dbb1c893824c43e6fac08451622739c>)



Figure 8.9 'Yorkshire born & bred' logo (<http://www.moorlandpottery.co.uk/yorkshire-born-and-bred-p-230.html?zenid=0dbb1c893824c43e6fac08451622739c>)

The logo in figure 8.9 also displays a parallel with the Geordie “Borth Sortificat” *birth certificate* discussed by Beal, who states that ‘these artifacts are selling “authenticity”’ (2009:147). The “authenticity” displayed by the logo in figure 8.9 is alluded to by the statement that the owner was ‘born and bred’ in Yorkshire and has not had any of that ‘breeding’ removed over time (‘wi’ nowt taken out’ – ‘with nothing taken out’). The latter half of this logo seems to refer to a 1980s television commercial for Allinson’s bread, which declared their bread to be made with 100% wholemeal flour: ‘bread wi’ nowt taken out’ (<http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=raJRe7J5m6g>). The use of phrases like this in advertising is, according to Wales, the exploitation of ‘positive stereotypes’ (2006:28) of Northerners; these stereotypes can include qualities such as ‘resilient Northerners, hard-working and humorous in the face of adversity, blunt speaking and straight-forward, friendly to strangers...they are what they seem’ (ibid.). However, Wales goes on to discuss the above slogan, incorrectly stating that it appeared in an advertisement for Hovis bread; she is possibly here referring to a 1994 advert for Hovis which features a voice-over in a Yorkshire accent telling the story of a young boy in a flat cap on the screen (<http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=BvhpD9XsrsE>). This advert features many similar elements to a famous Hovis advert from 1973 where a young boy pushes a bike up a cobbled

street; although in the earlier advert the voice-over is in a West-Country accent (<http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=6Mq59ykPnAE>). The association of cobbled streets with the North of England may also be due to images of them in the 1969-1975 title credits of the soap opera *Coronation Street* (<http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=1FqvFiBmZmQ>); the iconography employed in these credits is noted by Wales as evoking a connection to Northern England (2006:160). More recently, internet service provider Plusnet employed a combination of these images in their 2010 advertising campaign for ‘good honest broadband from Yorkshire’, including: a cobbled street on a hill with boys riding bikes in the background; a man wearing a flat cap; and the ‘main character’ in the advert speaks with a Yorkshire accent, as opposed to a voice-over. The advert also references Yorkshire pudding, Sheffield band Heaven 17, and finishes by stating that Plusnet have call centres ‘down t’ road’ (<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=PqxH9iXUDf0>). As a result, it is likely that the phrase ‘wi’ nowt taken out’ on “Yorkshire” commodities also indexes the more general ‘Northern’ qualities described by Wales above, as well as simply “authentic Yorkshire”. This illustrates that notions of a “Yorkshire” identity are also embedded in a broader “Northern” one, similar to Beal’s discussion of “Sheffield” and “Yorkshire” (2009a:153), and Wales’ discussion of ‘different ‘types’ of Northerners’ such as ‘Yorkshire *tykes*, Scousers and Geordies’ (2006:30-1). This can also be observed in texts such as Collins’ *Northern Monkey Survival Guide* discussed in Chapter 6, which discusses perceptions of ‘the North’.

In addition, we can also observe examples of Yorkshire dialect on clothing such as t-shirts. For instance, the website [www.zazzle.co.uk](http://www.zazzle.co.uk) features a t-shirt displaying what is described in some dialect dictionaries as the ‘Yorkshireman’s motto’ (Kellett 2002:212): *See all, ’ear all, say nowt. Eat all, sup all, pay nowt...An’ if th’ivver does owt for nowt, allus do it for thissen* ([http://www.zazzle.co.uk/yorkshire\\_t\\_shirt-235214493451001093](http://www.zazzle.co.uk/yorkshire_t_shirt-235214493451001093)). The motto printed on this shirt also contains several Yorkshire features which were both frequent in the corpus and consistently listed by survey respondents, including /h/-dropping (‘ear ‘hear’); *nowt* ‘nothing’; *owt* ‘anything’; *allus* ‘always’; and *sen* ‘self’. These dialect features, however, are the only element of the shirt which identifies it as “Yorkshire”. However, we can also see examples of Yorkshire t-shirts similar to several discussed by Johnstone in her study of “Pittsburghese” shirts; she states that these shirts ‘link dialect and place by juxtaposing local words on images of the city, sometimes directly, as when local words are enclosed in speech balloons emanating from downtown windows’ (2009:170). This can also be seen with Yorkshire shirts; for instance, the website [www.cafepress.co.uk](http://www.cafepress.co.uk) features a shirt with the

phrase ‘Tha can allus tell a Yorkshireman’ on the front below an image of the white rose of Yorkshire, and ‘but tha can’t tell him much!’ on the back ([http://www.cafepress.co.uk/mf/4126811/tha-can-allus-tell-a-tshirt-\\_tshirt](http://www.cafepress.co.uk/mf/4126811/tha-can-allus-tell-a-tshirt-_tshirt)). The slogan on this shirt is also similar to one noted by Beal on a “Geordie” coffee mug, which bears the slogan: ‘How to tell a genuine original Geordie. Divvint He canna be telt’ (2009:147). The intended joke here being the dual meaning of the word ‘tell’ in both the Yorkshire shirt example and in Beal’s; in the first instance, ‘tell’ is used in the sense of ‘discover’, whereas in the second instance, ‘tell’ means ‘inform’ or ‘instruct’, and ‘alludes to the stereotypical intransigence of the “Geordie”’ (ibid.), which also appears to extend to the stereotypical ‘Yorkshireman’.

An additional method of linking language and place is to include the name of the region in question on the commodities. This can be seen in figures 8.7 and 8.9 above, where the dialect features in the logos appear with “Yorkshire”. This tendency was also noted by Johnstone with regards to Pittsburgh (2009:166).

Figure 8.10 shows a variation on this theme as the linguistic feature on the shirt is a representation of “Yorkshire” pronunciation.



Figure 8.10 ‘Yorkshire It’s Turtlely Amazing’ t-shirt ([http://www.balconyshirts.co.uk/Mens-T-Shirts/British-Towns-and-Cities-T-Shirts/p2607\\_sc1388.aspx](http://www.balconyshirts.co.uk/Mens-T-Shirts/British-Towns-and-Cities-T-Shirts/p2607_sc1388.aspx))

Here, we can see the explicit link between pronunciation and Yorkshire. The pronunciation in question relates to *turtlely* ‘totally’, which appears to be an allusion to ‘Hull English, in which GOAT is characteristically [ɜ:] (as in RP *bird*)’ and is a stereotypically ‘Hull’

pronunciation (Watt and Smith 2005:109). This feature can also be seen on a guide to the area produced for students studying at the University of Hull. On the back cover of this guide there is a page entitled ‘How to Speak ‘Hullish’’, which contains a short list of dialect features, most of which are lexical items. The phrase ‘I need to make a phone call’, however, is ‘translated’ as ‘A need t’ mekka fern curl’, suggesting a fronted GOAT pronunciation. Watt and Smith go on to suggest that GOAT-fronting is also found in West Yorkshire English, and that this can be linked to pronunciations found in Hull (*ibid.*). In addition, Watt and Tillotson record this feature in the speech of younger speakers of Bradford English (2001); Khattab also states that GOAT-fronting has been ‘informally observed in Leeds and York, which indicates a change in progress’ (2007:398), and that this fronted GOAT pronunciation is a relatively new feature of Yorkshire dialects. The reference to it on the t-shirt in Figure 8.10 also suggests that it is in the process of being enregistered; the presence of “Yorkshire” on the t-shirt as opposed to a more localised area further indicates that this pronunciation is becoming associated with the Yorkshire dialect. However, there are no instances of representations of this feature in the corpus data, nor was it listed by respondents to the survey. This suggests that the majority of speakers do not currently associate fronted GOAT with Yorkshire, but some are beginning to, as indicated by the existence of the t-shirt; this pronunciation may therefore be in the process of shifting from first to second-order indexicality. In addition, the above sources suggest that this pronunciation is spreading throughout Yorkshire; it may indeed become enregistered as “Yorkshire” dialect in the future.

#### *Enregistered Repertoire of “Yorkshire” Dialect*

Based on the results in the previous chapter and the above discussion, it appears that certain features of Yorkshire dialect transcend the perception of variation in the region and are viewed as representative of the county as a whole. Table 8.4 below lists these features based on their quantitative frequency in the modern corpus; their inclusion in ‘commentary’ material; their consistency in being provided by respondents to the online survey; and their consistent listing at the same ‘level’ by respondents in the multiple choice section of the survey.

Table 8.4 shows that even though many respondents to the online survey perceive there to be no ‘one’, ‘simple’ Yorkshire dialect, they had little difficulty in listing the features above as representative of “Yorkshire”. In addition, the features which were strongly associated with



Yorkshire by respondents (i.e. those which were listed as either ‘level 1’ or ‘level 2’) tended to: appear in 50% or more of the corpus texts; feature direct commentary in 40% or more of the qualitative texts; and generally fall between a percentage proportion range of 40:60-90:10 DL:LD in the quantitative corpus. Therefore, the features enregistered as “Yorkshire” are those listed in table 8.4 below.

The strong association of the features listed in table 8.4 with Yorkshire by respondents of the online survey suggest their enregisterment. The correlation between this association and these features’ frequency and consistency in the textual material suggests that features that match the criteria listed above are enregistered. Therefore, we can infer which features may have been enregistered to audiences in historical contexts by studying textual data based on the correlation observed in the modern data. The features which meet the above criteria in the historical corpus data may have been similarly strongly associated with Yorkshire by nineteenth-century audiences and enregistered.

<b>Feature</b>	<b>Definition</b>	<b>Percentage of corpus texts with examples</b>	<b>Corpus proportion (DL:LD)</b>	<b>‘Level’</b>	<b>Percentage of texts featuring direct commentary</b>	<b>Examples</b>
DAR	N/A	90	85:15	1	40	<i>Watch out <u>for</u>’t boggarts <u>in</u>’t snug <u>o</u>’t <u>Red</u> Lion</i>
<i>Nowt</i>	Nothing	90	60:40	1	100	<i>Nowt o’ t’ sooart</i>
<i>Owt</i>	Anything	70	40:60	1	85	<i>Doin’ owt this evening?</i>
<i>Summat</i>	Something	60	60:40	1	85	<i>Tha nesh or summat?</i>
<i>h-dropping</i>	N/A	70	80:20	1 / 2	60	<i>Nah lad, put t’ wood in t’ <u>oil</u></i>
<i>Reight</i>	Really/right	50	70:30	1 / 2	70	<i>Ah’m reight glad</i>
<i>Sen</i>	Self	60	90:10	1 / 2	60	<i>Missen, thissen</i>
<i>Tha/thee</i>	You/your	90	65:35	2	70	<i>Can’t tha fit us in somewheare?</i>

Table 8.4 Enregistered Repertoire of Modern “Yorkshire” dialect

*Summat* here is something of an anomaly, as it was provided in the survey by Yorkshire respondents and international respondents, but not non-Yorkshire respondents. However, due to the fact that it meets the remaining criteria, I have included it as an enregistered feature of modern “Yorkshire” dialect. A similar case occurs with *gan/gang* and *owt* in the nineteenth-century data discussed in section 8.6 below.

In the next section, I consider the application of the above discussion to the study of enregisterment in the historical context of the nineteenth century.

### **8.6 Enregistering Nineteenth-Century “Yorkshire”**

As it is impossible to elicit metapragmatic judgements from nineteenth-century speakers in the same manner as with current speakers, we must turn to textual evidence when considering enregisterment in historical contexts. In doing this, we can see certain analogous forms of discourse and make inferences based on data from speakers in the present.

Metapragmatic discourse in the nineteenth century can be found in the qualitative data studied in this project. For instance, we can observe nineteenth-century perceptions of Yorkshire from both native Yorkshire speakers and non-Yorkshire speakers. These perceptions can be characterised as a discussion of the Yorkshire ‘character’, discussed below. Discussions of this type form a direct link between a stereotyped Yorkshire speaker and their dialect; these discussions also share a parallel with the types of slogans on the commodities listed above in figures 8.7-8.10.

#### *The Yorkshire ‘Character’*

‘The Yorkshire Character’ refers to apparent traits of both Yorkshire speakers and the Yorkshire dialect as described by commentators in the nineteenth century. It appears as the title of a chapter by Morris, himself a Yorkshire speaker, who is discussing speakers from outside of Yorkshire. He states: ‘Nearly all Southerners agree that our manners are not good. We are supposed to be rough and rude’ (1892:165). This is not explained as a case of poor manners in the sense of ‘politeness’, but of ‘plain speaking’. In spite of this apparent tendency, however, Morris presents testimony from correspondents from outside of Yorkshire, one of whom states that ‘Yorkshiremen are very hospitable’ (1892:173). The tendency towards ‘plain speaking’ is also noted by Robinson, who states that ‘Nothing so disgusts a downright genuine Yorkshireman as to hear a comrade, or one of the same class as himself, talking fine’ (1862:xxiv). Robinson goes on to describe what I believe he means by

‘talking fine’ when he makes reference to ‘the faultless style of the Queen herself’ (p.xxxi). We can also observe here a link between speech and ‘authenticity’, as Robinson’s reference to a ‘a downright genuine Yorkshireman’ suggests that such an individual would display his ‘authenticity’ as “Yorkshire” by making use of regional accent and dialect, as opposed to ‘talking fine’. This is similar to the notion discussed by Beal of a ‘genuine Geordie’ above.

The Yorkshire ‘character’ is also commented upon by speakers who are not native to the region, from which we can discuss notions of third-order indexicality with regards to nineteenth-century Yorkshire dialect. For instance, Easter mentions certain vowel sounds particular to Yorkshire, for instance the pronunciation of ‘I’ as ‘ah’ or ‘aw’ (1883:ix); these are seen from the point of view of what Morris would term a ‘foreigner’, as Easter is not native to Yorkshire. However, Easter states that he is ‘highly acclimatised’, as he states in the preface to this text that he had spent at least twenty-five years in Yorkshire at the time of writing his text. He goes on to discuss the character of ‘Yorkshiremen’, and describes the views that ‘Yorkshiremen’ are perceived to have of other regions. As discussed in Chapter 3, he states that: Yorkshireman ‘look down’ on speakers from outside of the region, calling them ‘unenlightened barbarians’; Yorkshire is apparently viewed as the ‘centre of the universe’; and that no-one from outside Yorkshire can speak “Yorkshire” dialect, which is described as being ‘the most perfect and classical English’ in the eyes of Yorkshire speakers (ibid. p.x). This discussion goes on to describe two separate instances of Yorkshiremen conversing with ‘south countrymen’, where the Yorkshireman is identified as such by his speech alone. The sentiments alluded to by Easter above can be found in some modern attitudes in Yorkshire – particularly with T-shirts bearing the phrase ‘If it’s not from Yorkshire, it’s shite’, which can be purchased from website [www.cafepress.com](http://www.cafepress.com) ([http://www.cafepress.com/+if\\_its\\_not\\_from\\_yorkshire\\_it\\_light\\_tshirt,175875941](http://www.cafepress.com/+if_its_not_from_yorkshire_it_light_tshirt,175875941)). Easter goes on to highlight an awareness of the difference in perceptions of Yorkshire speech, both on the part of Yorkshire speakers and of non-Yorkshire speakers; the latter are described as perceiving Yorkshire dialect as ‘drawling’, ‘rough’, and ‘remarkable’.

The notion of the Yorkshire ‘character’ was also discussed in nineteenth-century popular magazines such as the *Temple Bar Magazine*. According to Blake, the *Temple Bar* magazine ‘attempted to court the same metropolitan middle-class family readership that Thackeray had enjoyed [in the *Cornhill Magazine*] with his inclusion of apolitical and non-controversial articles, serialized novels, and poetry’ (2010:185). Thackeray’s *Cornhill Magazine* had been very successful, and although the *Temple Bar* magazine was similar in nature to *Cornhill*,

Blake describes *Temple Bar* as being somewhat radical as it was designed only to appeal to what its first editor, George Augustus Sala deemed to be a ‘respectable’ audience, because, as it contained ‘articles of a conservative and London-centric nature, 30,000 copies of the first edition were sold’ (ibid. p.185). The popularity of magazines like these in the nineteenth century had an effect on nineteenth century readers, especially those magazines that were illustrated. As Bailey states, ‘Nineteenth-century consumers...came to expect that books and magazines would combine pictures with text in a single package. Spectacularly illustrated magazines competed for readers’ (1996:49). In the *Temple Bar Magazine*, we can observe an article about ‘Yorkshire Life and Character’. Of the Yorkshire people described in this article, the writer states that: ‘There are no cooler people than the Yorkshire, who, if judged by the standard ordinary society furnishes, are most of them “characters”’ (1868:489). This sentiment is echoed by Morris, who states that it has been said that: ‘every other Yorkshireman you meet is a character. There is truth in this remark. A healthy independence, originality, and sense of humour meet one at every turn’ (1892:vi).

In addition, we can also observe examples of instances where the Yorkshire ‘character’ is attributed physical characteristics when a writer discusses speakers from certain parts of Yorkshire. For instance, Grainge presents the physical characteristics of the typical ‘Nidderdale dalesman’, described as ‘a tall, athletic personage, with considerable length of limb, plenty of bone and muscle...a physical conformation altogether that would not have disgraced an old Viking, or Scandinavian sea-king’ (1863:216-7). This is similar to the findings of Remlinger et al who state that there is an association with both Wisconsin and the Michigan Upper Peninsula with ‘the image of a man wearing a Stormy Kromer and wool plaid hunting jacket’ (2009:177). This image is also linked to the dialect of these areas, as it includes the local linguistic feature ‘ya-hey!’ (ibid.).

The Yorkshire ‘character’ was also commented on by travel writers in the nineteenth century. An example of this is White, who is not a native to the region, describing himself as ‘fresh from the south’ who discusses the ‘strange rustic dialect’ of Yorkshire (1858:1), and begins his fourth chapter with a discussion of ‘Northern Manners’. However, with the exception of what he terms ‘rudeness’ on the part of ‘Yorkshire-folk’, many of the people White encounters in this text are genial and hospitable, as also highlighted by Morris above. This notion persists in modern perceptions of northern English speakers, as Collins lists the idea that ‘Northerners are friendlier’ (2009:5) as one of the key differences between Northerners and Southerners.

To summarise, these discussions of the Yorkshire ‘character’ in the nineteenth century are evidence for the awareness of the differences between Yorkshire and other regions. The explicit link between the Yorkshire ‘character’ and language also suggests that there was awareness of the ‘otherness’ of the Yorkshire dialect. This can be categorised as metapragmatic discourse on the subject of Yorkshire and can be taken as evidence of second and third-order indexical awareness of its dialect features.

### *Commodification of Nineteenth-Century Yorkshire dialect*

Following Johnstone’s definition of commodification which states that ‘A linguistic variety or a set of varieties is commodified when it is available for purchase and people will pay for it’ (2009:161), we can see evidence for the commodification of dialect in the nineteenth century in the form of dialect literature. One contemporary view of the uses of dialect literature is given by Robinson, who states: ‘A man will read books in his own dialect when he feels so disposed, but it is by way of his own amusement’ (1862:xxv), highlighting the ‘amusement’ value placed upon dialect literature in the nineteenth century. Bailey also discusses the ‘linguistic curiosity’ generated by regional speech at this time, and comments on how different approaches were taken to the consideration of dialects, noting how texts like these began to appear towards the end of the eighteenth century, and their production continued into the nineteenth. He states that some writers produced largely comic, but original works written entirely in the vernacular, whereas others gave ‘unsystematic observations’ of dialects they thought to be ‘exotic’ (1996:269-70).

I will here consider the different types of Yorkshire dialect literature available for purchase in the nineteenth century. I have grouped these texts into three categories based on their content: ‘descriptive’, ‘celebratory’, and ‘collections’.

### *‘Descriptive’ Dialect Literature*

The label ‘descriptive’ here applies more to the overall content of the text, rather than its linguistic tone. This category includes texts which present ‘specimens’ of the Yorkshire dialect as illustrative examples of one aspect of the dialect region. There is only a fine distinction between this type of text and the ‘collections’ type discussed below; however, the difference between the two lies in the way in which the material is collected and presented. For instance, the ‘descriptive’ texts tend to be localised to one particular area in Yorkshire, whereas the texts I have categorised as ‘collections’ tend to refer to the whole of the county.

An example of a text which I label ‘descriptive’ is Howson’s *An Illustrated Guide to the Curiosities of Craven* (1850). This text, stated by the author as being a guide book for tourists to the region, also includes detailed descriptions of the areas of Skipton, Bolton Abbey, Malham, Settle, Horton, and Ingleborough. It also includes a list of fossils to be found in the region, and details of the local flora. Amongst these chapters is one titled ‘The Craven Dialect’. The chapter begins with an introduction to the dialect itself; Howson states that visitors to the region ‘will meet with oral specimens in the peculiar intonation which no orthography can convey’ (1850:107), and goes on to claim ‘Anglo-Saxon’ origin of the majority of the dialect lexis, giving a short and randomly-organised list of Craven dialect words, which includes *Gang* for ‘to go’, *Leet* for ‘light’; *Out* for ‘anything’; and *Schoo* for ‘she’ (ibid. pp.110-15). Howson then presents the only examples of dialect literature proper in his text: two poems which he states will serve as ‘specimens’ of the Craven dialect.

A further example of this type of text is Robinson’s *The Dialect of Leeds and its Neighbourhood* (1862), which contains dialogues written in the Leeds dialect, dialect prose, and an extensive glossary. Again, the text begins with an introduction that refers directly to the dialect, although Robinson objects to the notion that the dialects of Yorkshire are somehow homogenous; he goes on to discuss the distinction between rural and urban dialects, and the differences in dialect between different regions of the county (ibid. pp.ii-iii). Robinson also, like Howson, links the Leeds dialect to ‘Anglo-Saxon’, due to the geographical location of the region.

The final such text I will discuss here is Bywater’s *The Sheffield Dialect* (1839). Unlike the above texts, Bywater states that this text has another intention in addition to it being an example of the Sheffield dialect. Although this text does contain dialogues written in dialect in a similar manner to Robinson above, their content and purpose are outlined in the introductory material. One such collection of dialogues is the ‘Temperance Chronicles’, designed, as Bywater states, to keep up ‘a close fire on that wretched crime which is such a stain upon our country, viz., drunkenness’ (1839:iv). It appears, then, that writers like Bywater were attempting to use the rising public interest in reading and writing regional dialects in order to further their own particular agendas. However, he concludes his introduction with a brief glossary which includes Sheffield pronunciation features which are common in many works of dialect literature, including: *Bahn* for ‘bound’, suggesting the use of the monophthong /ɑ:/ as opposed to the RP /aʊ/; *Coit* for ‘coat’, suggesting the use of the

diphthong /ɔɪ/ as opposed to /ou/; and *Freeten'd* for ‘frightened’, which also highlights the suggested use of a monophthong— in this case /i:/. Bywater also presents the lexical items: *Mun* for ‘must’; *Nobbut* for ‘only’; *Shoo* for ‘she’ (ibid. pp.vii-ix). Finally, he provides a brief section designed to help the reader understand the orthography used in the dialectal representations in the text. In this section, he also dedicates specific attention to the definite article (discussed in Chapter 5), which suggests that the reduced article is pronounced as /t/; although Bywater doesn’t give an example involving a preposition other than ‘at’, which already has /t/ in the word-final position. However, he gives no consideration for any other realisation of a reduced definite article, although later evidence from the nineteenth century suggests that there may have been a glottal realisation of this feature. Easter, for instance, discusses what he describes as the ‘ghost of a *t*’ (1883:134), discussed in Chapter 5; this description could refer to a glottal pronunciation of a reduced definite article, which is also similar to Ellis’ later discussion of ‘*t* suspended’ (1890:70).

#### *‘Celebratory’ Dialect Literature*

‘Celebratory’ dialect literature features types of text which are more of a ‘celebration’ of the dialect used therein. The characteristics of this type of dialect literature usually include the title of the work being presented in dialect, as in the case of the following examples:

- Heaton, William (1866). *Nancy O' Johnny's Visit to Th'Thump. To Which is added Nancy's Wedding. A Yorkshire Tale.*
- Preston, Benjamin (1864). *Poems and Songs in the Dialect of Bradford-Dale Be a Yorkshur Likeness Takker*
- Rogers, Charles (1845). *Tom Treddlehoyle's Thowts, Joakes an Smiles, for Midsummer Day; settin foarth Hiz Jont ta Lunnan ta see T'League Bazaar; an amang uther things, a Prospecktas of a Cloaze Line Cumpany*
- Anon. (1870). *A Shevilder's welcum ta owd friend Christmas, in verse; printed in the Sheffield dialect.*
- A Friend to't Shevelders (pseud. 1850) *Conversations i't Groinging Wheel, at dinner hahwer, on many matters at sum fooaks waint loike.*
- Silvorsmith, A. (pseud.) (1840) *A Bolus for a chap i't Park, what is 'nt habel to buy watter; wee ahr filosofikal hoppinyons uppa't parsons, Kristianity, etc.*
- Cauvert, Oliver (1871). *Slaadburn Fair! bein t' adventurs o' Jacky an Nelly Smith, o' Girston, whan they gang'd ta Slaadburn Faar an back agaan.*

The above list also highlights a further characteristic of the ‘celebratory’ dialect literature: the tendency for these texts to be anonymous, or written by a Yorkshire ‘character’, such as ‘Tom Treddlehoyle’, or ‘A Friend to’t Shevelders’. These texts rarely include a glossary and in some cases, they do not include any introductory material either; Heaton, for instance, has no introduction – his text begins with his story, which is presented in rhyming verse, and the entire text is written in dialect. The texts listed above also tend to feature no Standard English at all; the dialect presented within them is used throughout. This suggests that the intended audience here is already familiar with the dialect presented, and would not struggle to comprehend the non-standard orthographic representations. These texts also aim to be more entertaining than informative; Rodgers, for instance, features illustrations depicting elements that are referenced in the text.

Just as with the ‘descriptive’ dialect literature above, some writers in the ‘celebratory’ category also used this medium to advance their own ideological agendas. An example of this is Silvorsmith, whose text is a response to the publications of Abel Bywater. Evidence for this can even be seen in the title of this work: *A Bolus for a chap i’t Park, what is ’nt habel to buy watter*, where ‘habel to buy watter’ appears to be a reference to Abel Bywater’s name; Bywater is referred to as ‘The Shevild Chap’ (which was one of his pseudonyms) and as ‘Habel’ in this text. Further evidence for this work being a response to Bywater’s writing comes from within the text itself. It is set out as a dialogue between three characters: ‘Mr. Philosopher’, ‘Priest-Ridden’, and ‘Sneerer’, who are discussing Bywater’s anti-socialist standpoint in his publications. The character of Priest-Ridden initially praises Bywater for criticising socialist principles in his texts, whereas Sneerer presents a different view, criticising Bywater for putting forward religious arguments (an example of this could be said to be Bywater’s *Temperance Chronicles*), and charging people for a subscription to his publications so that he can espouse said arguments, claiming that preaching is a trade intended only to make money, and this is what Bywater is ultimately guilty of. This kind of public rebuttal was common at the time; writers who did not agree with another’s point of view would publish their own text publicly condemning what the former had written. For example, in the late eighteenth century, Noah Webster published several essays on proposed spelling reforms for American English. Some, like the loss of the letter <u> in words like *color*, were readily adopted by the American public; others, such as the spelling of the word ‘soup’ as *soop* were not accepted, and prompted responses in rival journals. One magazine, the *Gazette of the United States* even went so far as to print letters from fictional readers,



written in deliberately non-standard orthography so as to ridicule the reforms proposed by Webster (Unger 1998:248-9). The above discussion of Bywater appears to be part of an established trend and tendency of the time.

As these types of text are all written entirely in dialect, there is a great degree of variation in the non-standard orthographical representations used by individual writers, even with individual features. For example, we can see evidence of both <t> and <th> forms of definite article reduction, both with and without apostrophes, by one writer. Some writers are not even consistent within their own texts; this tendency has also been noted by Wales, who, in discussing Northern poets, states: 'Not all poets were consistent from poem to poem...and no two poets from the same town necessarily indicated the same features' (2006:130-1). This is certainly the case with this type of dialect literature.

#### *'Collections' of Dialect Literature*

The final sub-category of dialect literature I will discuss here is comprised of compilations of dialect writings which, in many cases, were not written by the compiler. An example of such a text is Turner's *Yorkshire Anthology* (1901), which is an extensive two-volume collection of Yorkshire dialect writing over a period (according to the title page) of a thousand years. Like the 'celebratory' texts above, this text does not feature a glossary of Yorkshire terms (although this is not unilaterally the case with this kind of text), and the overall tone of these texts is very similar to the 'celebratory' category; they can also feature illustrations and generally seem to be intended for entertainment purposes on the part of the readership. The difference here, though, is that the 'collections' texts tend not to be original creations on the part of the writer, compiler, or editor. Indeed, Bywater's *Sheffield Dialect* could also be categorised as a 'collection' text; however, Bywater's is a collection of dialect literature written by Bywater himself.

A further example of this type of text is Ingledew's *The Ballads and Songs of Yorkshire* (1860), which states on the title page that the dialect literature presented in the text was 'Transcribed from private manuscripts, rare broadsides, and scarce publications', rather than the dialogue style of many of the texts discussed above. In the case of Ingledew, not all of the works in his collection are written in Yorkshire dialect, but they are claimed to originate in the region. Forshaw's *Holroyd's collection of Yorkshire ballads* (1892), however, is a collection of texts which were compiled by noted Bradford historian Abraham Holroyd. Holroyd is described by Vicinus as 'an enthusiastic local historian; he wrote a number of

books' (1974:161), and his journal, the *Bradfordian*, gave many local writers a chance to have their work published

(<http://www.bradfordhistorical.org.uk/resources/books/hundredyears/hundredyears.html>).

According to the prefatory material in Forshaw's text, it is the posthumous publication of Holroyd's research into the Yorkshire dialect, which, like the previous two cases discussed above, are a collection of Yorkshire dialect literature from 'all available sources' (1892:ii). In addition, the dialect works in Forshaw's text are sub-categorised according to the following headings: Place Ballads, Robin Hood Ballads, Patriotic Ballads, Tragic Ballads, Humorous Ballads, Love Ballads, and Miscellaneous Ballads.

As discussed in Chapter 5, however, there are several Yorkshire features which occur frequently in all three types of dialect literature listed above. Using the types of text listed above we can, therefore, identify an enregistered repertoire of "Yorkshire" features which would be salient across the county.

#### *Enregistered Repertoire of Nineteenth-Century "Yorkshire" dialect*

Based on the patterns observed in sections 8.1, 8.2 and 8.5, and on the data in table 8.4, the enregistered repertoire of nineteenth-century Yorkshire dialect should feature tokens in 50% or more of the corpus texts; feature direct commentary in 40% or more of the qualitative texts, and fall between a percentage proportion range of 40:60-90:10 DL:LD. The features which meet the above criteria are listed in table 8.5.

Based on the correlation between the data from the modern corpus and from the online survey, we can infer that the features in table 8.5 were enregistered to a nineteenth-century audience. We can assume that this repertoire is reasonably accurate, although additional features may have been enregistered in the nineteenth century. These features are those like *mardy* and *nesh* discussed above which were consistently discussed in the commentary material but were not found in the corpus data at all. Consistency of both quantitative frequency and qualitative discussion is necessary to discover enregistered features based on textual evidence alone.

*Gan/gang* and *owt* are somewhat anomalous here as they do not completely fit the above criteria. However, both features include 50% of the commentary texts featuring direct commentary and fall well within the percentage proportion range specified above; they also do not fall much outside of the criterion stating that 50% or more corpus texts must display

tokens. I therefore believe that these two features may also have been strongly associated with Yorkshire for nineteenth-century speakers; the case here may be analogous to that with *summat* discussed in section 8.5 above.

Feature	Definition	Percentage of corpus texts with examples	Corpus proportion (DL:LD)	Percentage of texts featuring direct commentary	Examples
DAR	N/A	83	70:30	65	<i>t' barber teld me sooa</i>
Sen	Self	72	60:40	40	<i>az weel az mesen</i>
Nowt	Nothing	70	55:45	70	<i>Thear nowt bur a kletch o hired jobbers</i>
Mun	Must	64	40:60	60	<i>we mun nah be off ta wark</i>
Owd/oud	Old	57	85:15	40	<i>it wor owd Nick</i>
Gan/gang	Go	43	60:40	50	<i>I'se ganging theear myself</i>
Owt	Anything	40	80:20	50	<i>Hestha browt owt to 't market</i>

Table 8.5 Enregistered repertoire of Nineteenth-Century "Yorkshire" dialect

## 8.7 Conclusions

In this chapter I have shown that the overlap between the data sets can point to the features regarded as most salient in representing the Yorkshire dialect. These features can also have different 'levels' of 'activeness'; salient features fall into two main categories – 'level 1' and 'level 2'. Those features at 'level 1' are reported to be 'active' in that they are said to be used by current speakers. Those at 'level 2' are still strongly associated with Yorkshire, but are not stated to be used as frequently as the 'level 1' features. If we assume that the features at both levels 1 and 2 are enregistered as "Yorkshire" to current speakers, the difference between 'level 1' and 'level 2' features could indicate that we can more finely distinguish enregistered features between those which are currently used by speakers and those which are not. If the pattern found here represents a trend with enregistered varieties, then those features which are not used may be undergoing a process of 'deregistration' and on their way to becoming Labov's 'fossilised' stereotypes.

I have also considered the notion of ‘deregisterment’ here and shown that this process can not only apply to whole varieties as was the case discussed by Williams (2012), but individual features can also be ‘deregistered’. This can be observed diachronically through the use of corpus data; in the case of *gan* ‘go’, we can see the feature’s gradual dissociation with Yorkshire over the course of the nineteenth century. However, although *gan* is no longer enregistered as “Yorkshire” it is still salient in “Geordie”, and modern speakers associate this word with the North-East and not Yorkshire.

However, the phenomenon of ‘deregisterment’ can not only result in a feature’s enregisterment in another variety. I have highlighted here that features can be ‘deregistered’ to the point where their salience is lost and their meanings no longer understood. This is also similar to Labov’s (1972) notion of the extremity of a stereotype where linguistic features fall out of use altogether. Therefore, completely deregistered features are defunct; they were once salient and enregistered as being representative of a particular variety, but are now neither used nor understood at all. Indeed, I have also shown in this chapter that enregisterment processes are cyclical in nature; where one feature is ‘deregistered’, another becomes enregistered. For example, *mun* is ‘deregistered’ as “Yorkshire” and a ‘fossil form’; whereas *turtley*, suggesting a fronted GOAT pronunciation, seems to be in the process of becoming associated with “Yorkshire” dialect and also enregistered.

I have also shown here that we can discuss the enregisterment of “Yorkshire” despite the perception that there is no single Yorkshire dialect. There are several features which transcend this perception of intra-regional variation in Yorkshire; based on the data discussed here, it appears that the modern repertoire of enregistered “Yorkshire” features predominantly includes lexical items such as *owt*, *nowt*, *summat*, &c. The features listed in table 8.4 above were frequently listed by respondents to the online survey as well as being quantitatively frequent in the modern corpus. Therefore, we can label these features ‘pan-Yorkshire’ as they appear to be associated with the region regardless of the various intra-regional differences perceived by respondents to the online survey.

In addition, there is a similar pattern to be observed in the nineteenth-century data, as the enregistered repertoire again consists predominantly of lexical items. In addition, we can observe similar commentary about the intra-regional variety and lack of homogeneity of Yorkshire dialects in the nineteenth century as was highlighted in the online survey. For instance, Robinson states:

It seems to have become a common notion in the book-world, that dialectic distinctions throughout the county are nil, and to the speech from one end of the county to another, the general term “Yorkshire” is given...[but] There is, in the first place, a marked distinction between the strictly rural and the town populations; their common speech has each its own separate sphere, not so much in words as in pronunciation, and which, *mixed*, is to the eyes of either one or the other, sheer nonsense (1862:ii-iii)

The commentary seen in Robinson here is very similar to some of the comments given in the online survey. Interestingly, Robinson also notes that it is more the pronunciation which varies as opposed to lexis, suggesting that the notion of ‘pan-Yorkshire’ features was apparent in the nineteenth century.

However, although there are also numerous dialect texts which are specific to one area of the region (Bywater 1839, Banks 1865, Wright 1892, to list a small selection), there is remarkable consistency in the features which appear in them. The metapragmatic discourse surrounding the Yorkshire ‘character’ in the nineteenth century also creates a perception of traits which span the entire county.

This suggests that we can indeed discuss the enregisterment of “Yorkshire” in both the nineteenth century and the twenty-first, although it is not as simple a matter as discussing a variety of a smaller region, say, “Pittsburghese”. The size of Yorkshire as a county means that there may be other varieties enregistered within the larger “Yorkshire” area, as Beal (2009a) suggests with “Sheffieldish”. However, further research is required into the possibility of ‘sub-varieties’ enregistered within larger ones.

To summarise, the data discussed in this chapter suggests that the methodology used to identify enregistered repertoires based solely on textual evidence from historical periods is indeed viable, and that our understanding of the processes of enregisterment can be expanded to include such notions as enregisterment ‘levels’, and a more nuanced definition of ‘deregisterment’.

## 9. Conclusion

In his discussion of the potential for evidence of the enregisterment of Northern English in Early Modern English literary texts, Ruano-García concludes that quantitative analysis of a corpus of such data does indeed ‘show enregisterment of the northern dialect’ (2012:381). The data presented and analysed in this thesis, with the inclusion of historical qualitative data compared with analogous modern results conclusively highlights the fact that historical texts can display evidence for enregisterment in historical contexts. In this chapter, I present my conclusions based on the data presented in this thesis, beginning with the key issues I have addressed; I then go on to summarise the proposed framework for the historical study of enregisterment; I also discuss the limitations of the data and the methodologies employed in this thesis. Finally, I discuss the key contributions made by this thesis, and identify potential areas for future study.

### 9.1 Issues Addressed

In this thesis, I have addressed the following issues: (i) I have conducted an historical sociolinguistic investigation into the enregisterment of the Yorkshire dialect in the nineteenth century; (ii) I have specifically focussed on how the conditions for the enregisterment of dialect features existed in the nineteenth century and how enregisterment processes can be observed via the study of historical textual data; (iii) in considering data from the modern corpus and the online survey, I have shown that salient dialect features can be highlighted in patterns in the textual data; and (iv) I propose a framework for the historical study of enregisterment based on the results of this thesis.

With regards to how the Yorkshire dialect was enregistered in the nineteenth century, I have illustrated that social and geographical mobility in this period led to increased awareness of Yorkshire, its dialect, and its speakers. This awareness can be seen in the production of dialect commentary, and both dialect literature and literary dialect; the latter forming part of a larger nineteenth-century trend of dialect representation (as it appeared in newspapers, books, magazines, etc.) as noted by both Bailey and Görlach, discussed in Chapter 3. These factors led to the nineteenth-century Yorkshire dialect becoming enregistered in several different ways: firstly, that it is distinctly ‘different’ to other varieties of English and that this is perceived in a generally positive way by many local writers. Indeed, despite industrial dialects being seen as ‘barbaric’ in the nineteenth century as discussed in Chapter 3, we can see evidence that this view was not universal. Piper (1824), for instance, states that London

speakers would ‘admire’ certain traits of the Sheffield dialect; Easter (1883) also highlights the apparent view of Yorkshire speakers that they speak the most ‘perfect, classical English’ and that all other speakers are ‘unenlightened barbarians’, as discussed above. This therefore illustrates that “Yorkshire” dialects indexed positive social values for some speakers, particularly those native to the region, highlighting Wales’ statement that for some, northern dialects became emblems of local identity (2006:201). In addition, nineteenth-century discussions of the Yorkshire ‘character’ draw attention to the links between Yorkshire speakers and certain nonlinguistic characteristics; this was discussed by non-natives to Yorkshire (as illustrated in the discussions in the London-based *Temple Bar* magazine (1868) and the travel writing of White (1858)) as well as by local writers. Common features of this ‘character’ include ‘plain speaking’, ‘authenticity’, ‘independence’, ‘sense of humour’, ‘geniality’ and ‘hospitable’. In some cases, this ‘character’ also included depictions of physical characteristics, such as those linked with popular nineteenth-century imagery of Vikings, as described by Grainge (1863) discussed above. Moreover, it is also apparent that Yorkshire speakers were themselves aware of “outsiders” perceptions of them, as noted by Morris (1892) for instance, in his discussion of “southerners” perception of people from Yorkshire. Morris’ anecdote about the ‘bewilderment’ of a London shopkeeper when confronted with “Yorkshire” dialect discussed above underlines the fact that the Yorkshireman in the story deliberately speaks in dialect to a southerner to take delight in the confusion this would cause. This is also discussed by Easter (1883), who explicitly states that Yorkshire speakers are aware of the differences in their vowel sounds, further illustrating local awareness of the ‘difference’ of “Yorkshire” dialects. The above features are ideologically linked with an exemplar “Yorkshire” speaker in many cases; we can also assume from the analysis in the previous chapter that such exemplar speakers would be expected to employ many, if not all, of the repertoire of enregistered nineteenth-century “Yorkshire” features listed in Table 8.5.

Secondly, despite the tendencies discussed above, “Yorkshire” dialects were also viewed as ‘different’ in a generally more negative way; this is particularly evident in the work of ‘outsiders’ to Yorkshire. In the nineteenth-century commentary material, we can see comments like those of Fisk, for instance, who describes the ‘grotesque’, ‘odd’, and ‘amusing’ nature of the Yorkshire dialect (1838:669), as discussed in Chapter 5; in the literary dialect we can observe similar commentary, as the Yorkshire dialect is described by writers like Croker (1832), Kenney (1828), and Forrester (1851) as an ‘extraordinary’,

‘unsophisticated’, ‘disastrous’ ‘patois’. This kind of discussion highlights the view of dialects in areas like Yorkshire presented by Leith and Graddol (2002) as discussed in Chapter 3.

Thirdly, that there was a perception that no single “Yorkshire” dialect existed, despite frequent nineteenth-century references to it and discussion of it. Both Nicholson (1889) and Robinson (1862) explicitly state that there are sub-varieties within Yorkshire and that the term “Yorkshire” dialect is not an accurate enough label to describe them all, as discussed in Chapter 5. This is also highlighted in the numerous texts purporting to represent these sub-varieties (listed in Table 5.2); indeed, texts which specify a location within Yorkshire are more numerous than those which simply purport to represent the “Yorkshire” dialect.

With regards to the enregisterment of the modern Yorkshire dialect, I have shown that some of the features enregistered as “Yorkshire” have changed over time when compared with the nineteenth-century data. Whilst there are certain features which have remained relatively stable since the nineteenth century (specifically *DAR*, *sen*, *nowt*, and *owt*), some, such as *gan* and *mun* have become deregistered as “Yorkshire”, as discussed in Chapter 8. Other features, such as h-dropping, have also become associated with “Yorkshire” dialect; this is likely due to the increase in this feature’s occurrence throughout regional varieties of English. In addition, the metapragmatic discourse regarding “Yorkshire” dialects has also changed since the nineteenth century; discussion of the Yorkshire dialect as ‘grotesque’ or ‘disastrous’ is not evident in the modern data. Indeed, there is a more prevalent sense of lament that Yorkshire dialect is ‘not spoken any more’; for instance, the title of Battye’s text includes ‘a dying tradition’. He goes on to state that ‘the influence of mobile phones, e-mail, and the internet are accelerating the decline of local usage’ (2007:3) and that his text is ‘an affectionate tribute to a past way of speech of which much has already gone and more will follow’ (ibid. p.4). Johnson expresses similar sentiments, as he states that Yorkshire, ‘like all dialects...has declined due to standard education, Hollywood movies, the advent of T.V., and the increasing mobility of people’ (2006:1); Markham talks of ‘homogenisation’ and the influence of American English bringing ‘what’s left of our native tongue to the edge of extinction’ (2010:5); and Kellett states that what he describes as the ‘broad Yorkshire’ represented in his text is ‘alas, rarely heard today’ (2007:ix). Although this attitude is not new, as we can see a discourse regarding the ‘death of dialects’ in the nineteenth century (see Beal 2010), it is much more obvious in the modern texts.



The shift away from discussions of the ‘grotesque’ nature of Yorkshire dialects is perhaps explained by the decline of the industrialisation of the north of England more generally. Industrialisation is stated by Wales (2006) to have contributed to the view of the north of England as ‘alien’ and ‘barbaric’ particularly in the nineteenth century; its decrease over the course of the second half of the twentieth century occurs alongside the increase in the ‘cultural capital’ of regional accents, especially northern accents, since the 1960s (*ibid.* p.163). Furthermore, the de-industrialisation of areas like Sheffield since the 1980s discussed by Beal has resulted in a shift away from ‘an industrial economy to one based on ‘eds and meds’’ (i.e. universities and hospitals), leading to the prominence of a very different industry to that of the nineteenth century (2009a:151). Other areas in Yorkshire have shifted more towards the tourism industry in the twentieth century; as Wales states ‘factories, mills and coal-mines are turned into museums and galleries’ (2006:208). The rejuvenation of these formerly industrial areas has led to loss of the perception of their dialects as ‘barbaric’; a sense of local identity is being ‘actively promoted’ through the creation of these ‘cultural regions to promote tourism’, and this identity has inextricable links to local dialect (*ibid.*).

Moreover, the examples of commodified modern “Yorkshire” features discussed in Chapter 8 highlight a ‘celebratory’ attitude towards both Yorkshire and its dialect, particularly the mug declaring Yorkshire ‘t’ best place in t’ world’, and the t-shirt proclaiming Yorkshire to be ‘turtlely amazing’. There is also a discourse of ‘authenticity’ represented by several of these commodities; for instance those which describe the owner as ‘Yorkshire...wi’ nowt taken out’, as highlighted in Figure 8.9. Overall, the modern “Yorkshire” dialect is presented in a generally positive manner, indexing values such as ‘authenticity’, and exploiting positive stereotypes of northern speakers as described by Wales (2006), discussed above.

Finally, there continues to be a perception that there is no one “Yorkshire” dialect. Modern speakers commented on the differences between areas within Yorkshire in the online survey, highlighting the perception of sub-varieties embedded in the “Yorkshire” dialect; this perception was illustrated despite the consistency with which respondents listed “Yorkshire” features in the first part of the survey. The main perceptual ‘splits’ in Yorkshire were between South Yorkshire and the rest of the county (particularly the north and west), as highlighted in Table 8.3 above.

In the following section, I discuss a framework for the study of enregisterment in historical contexts based on the data and analysis presented in this thesis.

## 9.2 A Framework for the study of Enregisterment in Historical Contexts

I propose this framework based on the results, analysis, and discussion presented in Chapters 5-8. This framework applies to a corpus of historical texts featuring dialect representations. This corpus must include texts used for quantitative analysis in the form of dialect literature and literary dialect, as described in Chapter 4; it must also include qualitative metadata in the form of dialect ‘commentary’. If we apply this framework to such textual data, then we may consider historical dialect features to be enregistered if they meet the following criteria:

- (i) They are quantitatively numerous in dialect representations in texts aimed at both a local and non-local audience, which are produced largely by local and non-local writers
- (ii) They are consistently used across a corpus of texts featuring these dialect representations
- (iii) They are consistently discussed in historical metapragmatic discourse

The above three criteria may be met in significant proportions in a corpus of historical textual data. Table 9.1 highlights these proportions based on the results from this study.

Quantitative Corpus		Qualitative Corpus	
Minimum proportion of DL:LD	Maximum proportion of DL:LD	Percentage of corpus texts featuring tokens	Percentage of corpus texts featuring direct commentary
40:60	90:10	≥ 50%	≥ 40%

*Table 9.1 Data proportions required for identification and discussion of historically enregistered dialect features*

Based on the analogous data in the modern corpus and the results of the online survey, we can state that this framework can highlight historically enregistered dialect features. Indeed, the methodologies employed in the construction of this framework also suggest that both textual representations of dialect features and historical metacommentary can allow discussion of enregisterment in historical contexts. Therefore, these textual sources are sufficient to allow discussion of historical enregisterment.

However, it should also be noted that, as was the case with features like *nesh*, *mardy*, and *breadcake* discussed in Chapter 7, some enregistered features may not be highlighted by considering a combination of all three criteria listed above. For instance, *nesh* and *mardy*

were frequent in the modern qualitative material, but not in the quantitative data; this could be due to the lexical meanings of these words, which would require specific contexts to encourage their use in dialect writing, and would explain why they do not occur frequently (or at all) in samples of written dialect. These features were also frequently listed by respondents in the online survey suggesting that they are indeed associated with “Yorkshire” dialect. Therefore, all three of the criteria listed in table 9.1 do not have to be met for features to be considered as enregistered; features which meet any of the above criteria should be considered and the more of these criteria that are met, the more sure we can be that those features were enregistered.

In the next section I will discuss several of the limitations on the data and the methodologies employed in this thesis.

### 9.3 Limitations

With regards to the quantitative corpus, the distinction between what is defined as ‘dialect literature’ and ‘literary dialect’ is somewhat arbitrary. The suggestion that dialect literature is unilaterally produced by local writers for local audiences; and that literary dialect is produced by non-local writers for more international audiences is not always the case. For instance, Halliwell’s *An Historical Sketch of the Provincial Dialects of England* (1847) is a collection of illustrative examples of dialect literature from around the country, extracted from his *Dictionary of Archaic and Provincial Words* (1847). According the University of Cambridge Alumni Database (ACAD), which contains ‘biographical details of everyone who has been identified as being academically associated with the University of Cambridge, covering the period from 1200 onwards’ (<http://venn.lib.cam.ac.uk/Documents/acad/intro.html>), Halliwell was born and educated in London, before attending Cambridge University. His text is therefore not an example of one produced by a local author for a local audience. In addition, the Brontës were from ‘the parsonage of Haworth, a village on the Yorkshire moors’ (Alexander 2000:273), yet the publication of their novels was widespread, having been extremely successful when they were first published in London, and then later in America (Barker 1994:557).

In addition, it could also be the case that the sampling methodology simply did not capture certain features, leading to them being underrepresented in the corpus; this can be seen in the nineteenth-century data, where the word *nobbut* ‘only’ is frequently discussed in the

qualitative data, but relatively infrequent in the quantitative data. For instance, the sample of dialect literature from Preston (1864) does not include *nobbut*, although the word does appear later in the text (p.28); the 1,000-word sample included in the corpus was not extensive enough to capture this word in this text.

The historical corpus texts studied here also display a distributional bias towards the historical West Riding (see figure 6.2 above) due to the larger amount of dialect literature published there, most notably in the areas of Craven and Sheffield, as shown in figure 4.1 above. A similar bias exists for the qualitative data, where the East Riding of Yorkshire is again underrepresented, as shown in figure 4.2. Due to the fact that there is less dialect material representing the East Riding in the historical corpus, its overall representativeness is therefore not as equal as it could be. As with the modern data discussed in section 7.4.5 above, though, this disparity could be due to uneven population distribution across the county in the nineteenth century; the industrial centres in the West Riding had much larger populations than areas in the East Riding, as discussed in Chapter 3.

A distributional bias is also present in the locations given by respondents of the online survey. This also limits the representativeness of the survey data, as there is a distinct bias towards respondents being from South Yorkshire, particularly Sheffield and Rotherham. Of the 120 respondents from the UK analysed here, 34 of them stated that they were from South Yorkshire, as highlighted in Table 7.8 above. This bias is potentially due to the fact that the University of Sheffield e-mail system was the primary distribution channel for the survey; the result of this is that the survey data may be skewed towards South Yorkshire. Furthermore, respondents who were not from Yorkshire may currently reside or be based in Sheffield due to the survey's distribution via the University of Sheffield; these respondents' experience of "Yorkshire" dialect may therefore be heavily influenced by their time in Sheffield, which would further increase the skew in the data towards South Yorkshire.

There were also Yorkshire dialect features that were listed in the survey's 'Provide Yorkshire Features' section that did not appear in the modern corpus data. *Nesh*, meaning 'cold, prone to feeling cold', does not occur in the modern quantitative corpus, although it is discussed in some of the commentary material. Respondents to the survey also consistently listed the Northern BATH and STRUT vowels /a/ and /ʊ/ as being representative "Yorkshire" features; for instance, respondent ID 11314565, a female in the 30-39 age group from Bradford in West Yorkshire listed 'Baff, graff, laff (NOT barth, garth and larth) - bath, graph, laugh',

suggesting a short BATH vowel, and ‘Bluddy (bloody)’, which suggests a pronunciation of /ʊ/ as opposed to the Southern /ʌ/. Similar features were listed by respondents who were not from Yorkshire, as with respondent 11077157, a female in the 50-59 age group from Watford in Hertfordshire, who provided ‘bath where the a is as in cat’, and ‘oop = up’; international respondents also listed these pronunciations, as in the case of respondent 10946635, a female in the 30-39 age group from Anshan, Liaoning, China, who listed ‘“bus’ or ‘grass’ = short vowel pronunciation’. These pronunciations did not occur in the modern corpus, despite the tendency for some dialect writers to attempt to represent them using non-standard orthography, particularly in the case of the use of <oo> to represent /ʊ/. For instance, Beal states:

[T]he semi-phonetic spelling used by Walker [1791], “*troonk, soonk*”...continues to be used as a representation of the Northern <u> today, despite it being totally counter-intuitive for Northerners, for whom <oo> represents [u:] as in *fool, moon, book*. Of course, the main point of such semi-phonetic spelling, here, as in popular dialect writing, is to demonstrate a ‘deviant’ pronunciation by using spellings which likewise deviate from the norm (2004b:336)

Use of <oo> in this manner did not occur in the modern quantitative corpus; nor were there any attempts to represent the Northern BATH vowel. The lexical item *mardy* meaning ‘easily upset’, however, was listed by both non-Yorkshire and international respondents to the online survey, but not Yorkshire respondents; this word was also not found in the modern quantitative corpus, despite it being discussed in the modern qualitative material. This suggests the possibility that *mardy* may not be viewed as a word that is geographically restricted to Yorkshire speakers, potentially due to the fact that, as Beal states, *mardy* is ‘fairly widespread in dialects of the North Midlands’ (2009b:234); its association with Yorkshire appears to be more apparent in the perceptions of respondents from outside of the county. Additionally, terms of endearment such as ‘love’ (particularly when said from one man to another) and ‘duck’ were also listed consistently by survey respondents. These features were similarly absent from the quantitative corpus data, despite being discussed in the qualitative material and being present on “Yorkshire” commodities such as t-shirts, as discussed in Chapter 8 above. Overall, the fact that these features were not present in the quantitative corpus data means that similar features in the historical data may be overlooked as enregistered features. Therefore, the lack of actual living speakers of nineteenth-century

Yorkshire dialect means that this framework for studying historical enregisterment is somewhat limited in that it cannot highlight the enregistered repertoire of a variety in a historical context with 100% accuracy.

In the next section, I will summarise the key contributions made by this thesis to the fields of historical dialectology and historical sociolinguistics, and to the study of indexicality and enregisterment.

#### **9.4 Summary of Key Contributions**

The key contributions made by this thesis are summarised as follows:

- (i) I have shown that Yorkshire dialect was enregistered in different ways to different people in the nineteenth century. This highlights that the view of certain dialects as ‘barbaric’ (discussed above) was not as straightforward as it may seem; Yorkshire dialects were indexically linked with many positive social values for some nineteenth-century speakers, as well as negative ones for others. I have therefore contributed to our understanding of the history of the English language, particularly regarding the views of regional varieties of English in the Later Modern period. Wales states that historians of English ‘are largely silent on the period 1750 to the present, assuming the hegemony of Standard English’ (2006:128); this thesis serves to give voice to some of the perceptions of “Yorkshire” dialect in this period.
- (ii) I have highlighted that, although there is disagreement about the existence of one, homogenous “Yorkshire” dialect, evident in both the nineteenth century and in the comments from respondents to the online survey, there are definite “Yorkshire” repertoires which can be observed in both the historical and the modern data, as discussed in Chapter 8. Despite the fact that there is an apparent perception that pronunciation varies across Yorkshire, there are several features (predominantly lexical items) which seem to be ‘universal’ in their use across the county.
- (iii) I have highlighted that the phenomenon of enregisterment can be observed in historical contexts using textual data via the framework described in section 9.2 above.
- (iv) I have shown that processes of enregisterment operate along a continuum, and that features may become ‘deregistered’ as representative of a particular variety. In

these cases, the feature may be enregistered as representative of another variety (such as in the case of *gan* with “Geordie”); however, the feature may fall out of use altogether and no longer be representative of any variety. In the latter instance, the feature has become a ‘fossil’ form, as described by Labov in his definition of the ultimate fate of a linguistic stereotype. I suggest that both Labov’s and Johnstone et al’s definitions of ‘stereotype’ and ‘third-order indexical’ become more finely delineated into ‘stereotype’ and ‘fossil form’ in the former case, and ‘third order indexical’ and ‘deregistered’ in the latter. This better resolves the relationship between Johnstone et al’s (2006) definition of orders of indexicality and Labov’s (1972) definition of a linguistic stereotype.

- (v) I have also considered the possibility that the notion of ‘deregisterment’ suggested by Williams (2012) can apply not only to entire languages or varieties, but to individual features as with the cases of *gan* and *mun* discussed in Chapter 8 above. This also suggests that we can observe the ‘deregisterment’ process through diachronic quantitative frequency analysis of dialect features, following Aaron (2009).
- (vi) I have shown through the use of the survey mentioned above that informants can group features into different ‘levels’ of enregisterment, where some are perceived to be more ‘active’ than others in terms of their actual usage, as discussed in Chapter 8.

In the next section, I will identify and discuss areas for future study based on the findings presented in this thesis.

### **9.5 Areas for Future Study**

There are several areas for future analysis suggested by this thesis. For instance, statements like Beal’s that dialect features of “Geordie” were enregistered early enough to be used in nineteenth-century music halls (2009a:145) can be investigate further via the use of this framework and further evidence for these features’ enregisterment can be highlighted. Wales also discusses ‘high levels of awareness’ on the part of speakers with regards to their language features in historical periods, and that this reflects their ‘living *salience* to the local speech community’ (2006:132); the framework proposed here will allow the investigation of such salience in historical contexts both in terms of the local speech community and a wider audience.

In addition, the findings of this thesis suggest that it is not necessarily the case that linguistic stereotypes display the quantitative frequency patterns discussed by Aaron. Further study into the emergence of the features of the Yorkshire dialect as elements of an enregistered repertoire as discussed in this thesis may highlight a different pattern to the one Aaron notes. Study of the “Yorkshire” features identified here over a longer period of time may not indicate Aaron’s pattern of declining quantitative frequency of features almost to extinction followed by a sharp rise (2009:476). Some features may simply experience a decline in frequency to extinction altogether as they become ‘deregistered’ as salient of a particular variety and become ‘fossil forms’, as indicated by *mun*, discussed in Chapter 8. However, this thesis suggests that features like *mun* were enregistered in the nineteenth century; the results displayed here could therefore be indicative of Aaron’s sharp rise in frequency. Further study into the historical emergence of the enregistered features of “Yorkshire” dialects is required to better explain some of the quantitative frequency patterns discussed here.

Further investigation into the notion of ‘deregisterment’ is also required; particularly with regard to the question of whether or not this phenomenon can be observed more clearly. For instance, can the point of the ‘deregisterment’ of *gan* as “Yorkshire” be more accurately defined? Further study of dialect material across the twentieth century may also highlight ‘deregisterment’ processes for features like *gan* and *mun*. Indeed, diachronic study of qualitative material over a longer time scale, following Johnstone et al (2006:78) may indicate the shifting indexicalities of these features, potentially from enregistered to deregistered as a ‘fossil form’, as in the case of *mun*; or a feature becoming deregistered as representative of one variety whilst continuing to be enregistered as another, as with *gan*.

Finally, this thesis has highlighted that there are perceptions of specific varieties within Yorkshire; this has also been discussed by Beal with regards to “Sheffieldish” and its ‘embedding’ in a larger “Yorkshire” identity (2009a:153). Perceptual dialectology studies have indicated that there is a perception of a “Yorkshire” dialect area; Montgomery (2007), for instance, demonstrates that informants from three separate locations, Carlisle, Crewe, and Hull, perceive a relatively consistent dialect area where “Yorkshire” dialect is spoken. This perception is also discussed by Wales, who states that there are ‘mental perceptions’ of varieties of Northern Englishes, some of which have ‘specific labels’, such as ‘Yorkshire English’, despite the fact that the historical county of Yorkshire no longer officially exists



(2006:16). However, as shown in table 8.3 above, there is also the perception, particularly amongst Yorkshire speakers, that the “Yorkshire” dialect is not homogenous, indicating that there may be further ‘sub-varieties’ embedded within the notion of “Yorkshire”, such as the case with “Sheffieldish” described by Beal. Further study into this phenomenon is required; the combination of enregisterment-focussed and perceptual dialectological approaches are suggested here so as to further explore and better understand these apparent ‘sub-regions’ embedded within “Yorkshire” dialect. For example, the results of the online survey presented in this thesis suggest that respondents perceived certain features to be representative of “Yorkshire”, despite the fact that many respondents commented that there was no ‘single’ “Yorkshire” dialect. Therefore, if certain features are perceived to be representative of the whole county, which features are both perceived as, and potentially index or are enregistered as “Sheffieldish”, for instance? A perceptual dialectology approach following Montgomery (2007) could tell us where these particular ‘sub-regions’ are perceived to be; whilst the combination with a focus on enregisterment could highlight what features are perceived to be used in these regions. Historical analysis like that conducted in this thesis could also be used to investigate why these features are perceived to represent these regions, and whether or not these perceptions have changed over time.

## **9.6 Concluding Remarks**

Agha notes that there are a variety of reflexive behaviours involved in the study of register phenomena. He states that these can include: ‘use of register names’; ‘accounts of usage/users’; ‘descriptions of ‘appropriate’ use’; ‘patterns of ratified vs. unrated use’; ‘traditions of lexicography’; ‘canonical texts’; ‘popular print genres’; and ‘literary representations’ (2007:151). He goes on to state that these must be evaluated in relation to one another so that we can fully understand the reflexive behaviours involved (ibid. p.152). The behaviours listed above are all present with regards to the Yorkshire dialect in the nineteenth century, and the fact that there is evidence for them in this historical context shows that we can discuss enregisterment in societies long gone. Agha also states that interviews and questionnaires can be used to investigate register phenomena (ibid. p.151); this represents a trend in current studies of enregistered varieties. However, in this thesis I have shown that the consideration of the survey results in relation to textual forms of data like those listed above have highlighted the fact that even without evidence for some of these reflexive behaviours, we can still come to conclusions about certain features’ enregisterment. This is

due to the correlations and patterns observable in the modern data, which have therefore informed similar patterns in the historical data. In this way, we can use data from the present to inform the past, and thus not only study the enregisterment of contemporary varieties, but also of varieties in historical contexts.

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