Phonetic Variation in the Douglas and Onchan Area of the Isle of Man

Thesis submitted in accordance with the requirements of the University of Liverpool for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy by Rachel Jane Pressley.

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ABSTRACT

In 1996 the University of Liverpool began a study of variation in English on the Isle of Man. One part of this study, known as 'Recording Mann', involved the university team working in collaboration with primary and secondary schools on the Island. That programme recorded approximately 700 informants from all parts of the Island. The present thesis uses data produced by 'Recording Mann' for the areas of Douglas and Onchan and presents a study of a series of phonetic variables made for an examination of current linguistic developments occurring in this area at a time when the Island's population is rapidly changing.

The traditional Manx English dialect has shown northern, and especially north western English features with some influence from Manx Gaelic, the older indigenous language of the Island (Barry 1984:168). Gill (1934:3-4) said that Manx English was beginning to show Liverpool influence as early as the 1930's, and Barry commented that

> The Liverpool influence in the Douglas/Onchan area and amongst the younger generation is now very noticeable and seems to be spreading throughout the island. Manx Gaelic died first, traditional regional Manx English dialect seems to be following quite quickly. (1984:168)

He also stated

> It seems likely that north-west Midland, (especially Liverpool) phonology and RP phonology will vie with one another for dominance in the pronunciation of English in Man during the next fifty years, so long as Liverpool remains the main port of access. (1984:177)

This thesis will examine the degree to which Barry's prediction can be said to have come true.

The thesis concludes that while there remains a significant Scouse influence it is associated mainly with males and with young speakers; older speakers (and Barry's fieldwork was conducted during the late 1950's and early 1960's) have apparently dropped the more obvious Scouse features of their accents since Barry made his observation. Nor are some major RP features such as /ʌ/ e.g. *butter* and /ɑ:/ e.g. *after* becoming widespread among young speakers. The accent seems to be developing towards a standardised northern type.

Table of Phonetic Symbols

The phonetic symbols used for this thesis are those of the International Phonetic Association. The examples are taken from RP unless otherwise stated.

p	pop
b	bag
t	table
d	door
k	kettle
ɡ	got
f	foot
v	van
s	sat
z	zebra
ʃ	ship
ʒ	measure
θ	thick
ð	that
tʃ	chips
dʒ	judge
m	mat
n	not
ŋ	sing
l	look (light 'l')
ɫ	ill (dark 'l')
r	rain
ɾ	rubbish (Scots)
h	hard
j	you
w	wet
ʍ	which (aspirated)
x	loch (Scots)
ʔ	glottal stop, bu'er for butter
iː	bead
uː	boot
ɜː	girl
ɔː	caught
eː	bait (northern England)
ɑː	yard
ɪ	bit
ʊ	put
e	yes
ə	the
ɒ	hot
æ	hat

a	hat (northern England)
ʌ	butter
o	low (northern England)
ɪə	here
ɛə	there
ʊə	sewer
eɪ	day
aɪ	my
əɪ	night (Scots)
ɒɪ	boy
əʊ	open
ɑʊ	house
uə	poor

Chapter 1 – Introductory: Contextualising this Study

1.1 Introduction

The Isle of Man has a rich history, including settlement by the Celts, invasion by the Vikings, and sovereignty by the Scottish and English Crowns. In 1405 Henry IV 'gave' the Island to Sir John Stanley, a member of one of the great English families based in Lancashire (Stowell and Ó Breasláin 1996:3). In 1765, however, the British Crown bought back the Lordship in an attempt to control the vast smuggling industry which had developed (see section 3.2). After a period of neglect in terms of investment into the Island, fiscal control was gradually returned to Tynwald, the Manx Parliament.[1]

Today the Isle of Man is self-governing except for matters of foreign affairs and defence, for which it pays an annual fee to the British Government. The Island is not part of the United Kingdom, but is a Crown Dependency. The Queen retains her title as Lord of Man and is represented by a Governor; previously the executive head of the Government.

The 1996 Interim Census recorded a population over 71,000, of whom only 49.9% are actually Manx born. The major towns in the Isle of Man are Douglas (population 23,487), the adjoining 'village' of Onchan (8,656), Ramsey (6,874) in the north, Peel (3,819) in the west, and in the south, Castletown (2,958), Port Erin (3,218) and Port

[1] Tynwald dates back to Viking times and is the oldest continuous government in the world having celebrated its millennium in 1979.

St Mary (1,874) (http://wwvv.gov.im.geography.html). Of these, Port Erin, Port St Mary and Onchan have grown important in more recent times.

The purpose of this chapter is to provide for the reader a context for the rest of this thesis. In it I will discuss the motivations and aims of both the wider project and of my thesis, looking briefly at the methodologies employed by both. These will be discussed in greater detail in Chapter 5. This background information will be preceded by an introduction to the Isle of Man, looking specifically at the social and economic make up of the Island, and the linguistic impact brought about by changes in these spheres. As will be seen, socio-economic changes have had a clear impact upon the Island's demography and linguistic behaviour, and as a result, have influenced the choice of methodology employed for the wider investigation of which this thesis is a part.

1.2 The Economic and Social Situation

Situated in the middle of the Irish Sea, the Isle of Man has historical links with its neighbours, and England in particular. Since the English crown purchased the Island in 1765 these ties have become increasingly stronger. Until the eighteenth century the Manx population was largely supported by agriculture and fishing, but a lack of natural resources meant that trade was vital if the Island was to develop. West Cumberland and South Lancashire could supply the necessary coal and manufactured goods, along with some luxury items, and Chester and Liverpool were in convenient locations to provide them. The role of Chester lessened as the Dee silted up, but

Liverpool became increasingly important. During the same period Liverpool was developing as a major port, having benefited from discovery of the New World.

These links were further strengthened by the advent of tourism during the nineteenth century. The popularity of the Island as a tourist resort, and Douglas as the main landing place, grew especially rapidly from the 1880s peaking shortly before the First World War. Indeed, its popularity was such that as late as 1937 as many as 68,372 passengers embarked and disembarked at Douglas on the 7th August alone (Kinvig 1975:151). The reasons for the success of the industry are clear:

> geographical situation and its connections with Liverpool and the vast potential market of an increasingly industrialised North of England guaranteed the successful development of Douglas as one of the new fangled holiday resorts. (Kniveton et al 1996:5)

Although Liverpool was not the only port to provide transport to the Island for the holidaymakers, it was the principal one. The opening of the Liverpool-Manchester railway which provided a more direct route between the Island and Lancashire, heightened this role.

The social and economic effects of these links during the nineteenth century were enormous, and the Manx economy underwent a dramatic transformation, not just in the tourism sector, but in all areas. The huge growth of tourism had a knock on effect on other aspects of Manx industry through the demands it made for infrastructure and consumables, particularly agricultural produce. More relevant to this study, however, is the linguistic impact of these links. The historic language of the Isle of Man is Manx Gaelic, a language closely related to Scottish Gaelic (Hindley 1984:15). During this period, however, it declined, and English became the

dominant language. This process and the reasons behind it are discussed in some detail in Chapter 3. Crucial to this was the links between the Island and the rest of Britain, and northern England in particular. Socio-economic factors, combined with education and religion, meant that the rise of English was somewhat inevitable. Population changes brought about by immigrants from Lancashire establishing Boarding Houses on the Island added to this.

> The rise of English in Man, especially in the nineteenth century, and the predominance of Lancashire influence owes much to the growth of the tourist trade and sea links with Fleetwood and Liverpool. (Barry 1984:167)

The depression following the Napoleonic wars and the emigration that occurred as a result also encouraged the use of English.

The last native Manx speaker, Ned Maddrell, died in 1974 at the age of 97; despite a resurgence of interest during the second half of the twentieth century and the many revivalists who have since learnt the language, it is now considered by many to be dead. In its place a dialect which was influenced by Manx Gaelic and northern English emerged. This became known as Manx English, or sometimes Anglo-Manx. One of the aims of this thesis is to determine the extent to which traditional Manx English forms are still used. Certainly, as early as 1934 the dialect was thought to be "steadily waning" (Gill 1934:4) and by 1984 Barry considered it to be following Manx Gaelic toward language death "quite quickly" (1984:168).

Before the last native speakers of Manx Gaelic died, however, a small group of enthusiasts recorded them and learned the language from them. These individuals then taught it to others. There were perhaps twenty people in 1955 who had learnt

Manx Gaelic in later life and attained fair fluency, and a hundred were claimed in 1969 (Hindley 1984: 24). Hindley states that the 1971 Census recorded 284 Manx speakers but he disregarded this "except as an indication of interest and study" (1984:24). This in itself is important, however, given that the language was at the point of extinction earlier in the century. He refers to comments made by Gill (1932:4) that the last few score of old native speakers were forgetting their Manx because they had no one to share it with. By 1984 Hindley felt the situation had not changed significantly.

> The present position in similar. No-one understands it as readily as English, which is the language of the entire population except for a few foreign immigrants. (1984:24)

In the last decade the teaching of Manx Gaelic was introduced into the Island's schools on an optional basis. The response to this was far greater then had been expected. Approximately 40% of primary school pupils aged seven and over expressed an interest. Such numbers could not be catered for but during the first year of lessons, about 1,400 children were taught Manx (Stowell: *Manx Language*). Furthermore, there are now several families who are bringing up their children bilingually. There are Manx speaking nursery schools and there are plans to introduce mainstream lessons through the medium of Manx. However, personal observation based upon years of involvement with Manx cultural activities, leads me to believe that the situation described by Hindley in 1984 could be equally applied to the present. The current attitude toward Manx Gaelic is generally fairly mixed. While there has undoubtedly been a resurgence of interest in recent years it is considered by many of the population to be a "hobby" rather than a serious revival. This is illustrated by a comment made by one of the informants analysed for this

study, Informant 12. When asked whether she thought Manx should be taught in school she replied with little enthusiasm:

Inf 12 Not particularly to my child, no. Because out of the Isle of Man it isn't any good. An' I'm more concerned on curriculum lessons that will take you through to GCSE an' A level moreso than learning a language that, as I say, you'd only use in pastime.
Inf 28 Is there any point in learning Manx nowadays?
Inf 12 Again, that option is one which every person should have the opportunity to make up their own mind. Personally, I, I don't think so.

Some of the other informants examined in this thesis were more enthusiastic. Informant 7, for example, described the revival as "very good" and Informant 13 said that she believed there was a point in learning Manx nowadays. However, even these informants added less positive comments. Informant 13 claimed that Manx was a "dying art", and although she expressed some interest in learning the language, she would only do so if there were people to talk to and share it with. Informant 7 also held reservations about the revival, suggesting "maybe it's too late".

As stated above, the decline of Manx was largely brought about by economic conditions (see Chapter 3). It is highly likely that more recent changes in the Manx socio-economic situation have also brought about linguistic changes. The period immediately before and after the Second World War was characterised by recession. The 1950s were a time of declining population with many young people emigrating in an attempt to escape the limited educational and career prospects available on the Island. Between 1951 and 1961 the population fell from 54,024 to 47,166, and alongside the declining population was a fall in government revenue (Youde 1994:10). Youde states that in response to this the Manx Government set into motion changes that were primarily aimed at attracting new residents and companies. This fall in population and subsequent rise in the number of incomers is almost

certain to have led to a percentage decrease in the number of Manx English speakers, and the influence of the incomers on the speech community would have been greater as a result.

Of particular importance over the last three decades has been the development of the Isle of Man as an international finance centre and tax haven. The importance of this in the minds of many Manx people is illustrated by comments made by Informants 5. His answer to the question "Why did people have to leave the Island?" implies that, to him at least, the finance sector has solved the issues which had brought about emigration.

Inf 5 Well, I suppose the eras, the simple reason was...there was not the work for people. It was not a thriving community, er, we had no finance sector, er, it was mainly holiday season...So outside of that period there was little work, so that's why they had to leave the Island.

The high percentage of Manx residents born outside of the Isle of Man is largely due to high immigration for employment purposes, though many wealthy people have also moved to the Island to retire and to enjoy the low rates of taxation.[2]

> Unprecedented expansion of the finance sector in recent years has created many more jobs than could possibly be supplied by the existing market. School and college leavers coming into the market are also quickly absorbed by the growing industrial sector. The resulting need for professional and skilled people from outside the Island is therefore likely to continue for the foreseeable future. (Treasury Document 2000:32)[3]

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[2] The standard rate is currently 10% and the higher rate 18%. The standard rate applies to the first £10 000 of taxable income for a single person, and the first £20 000 of taxable income for a married couple. After reaching this limit the higher rate applies. The single persons allowance currently stands at £8,000. Each married man and woman also receives this allowance which is fully transferable to either spouse, allowing a combined allowance of £16,000 (http://www gov.im).

[3] In the year 2000 the Isle of Man Government Treasury produced a document entitled 'The Isle of Man – the international business centre for financial and professional services: Introduction'. This document will be referred to throughout as the Treasury Document.

According to the 1996 Census, 17.7% of the working population was employed in this industry. There is no doubt that the development of the finance sector has had a huge impact on other areas of the economy. The large number of new residents attracted created a demand for construction in the form of houses, in addition to the offices required by the companies. The business generated through the finance industry also had a direct effect upon the professional services sector which includes advocates (who act as solicitors and barristers) and accountants (Youde 1994:12). Furthermore, the retail, leisure and entertainment industries benefited from having a larger and more affluent population. Whereas in the nineteenth century the vast majority of immigrants were from Lancashire, today there are many more from the south of England and from Ireland. It is anticipated that the linguistic behaviour of the speech community will reflect this. Whereas this thesis focuses specifically on the language use of residents born on the Isle of Man, the report to be written by Andrew Hamer as part of this project (see below) will look at the behaviour and trends of larger groups.

The response of the Manx people to the recent changes is generally mixed. The interviews analysed for this thesis again illustrate the various attitudes that can be found. The following are responses to the question "What do you think about people moving to the Island?":

Inf 7 Not very pleased

Inf 13 I think these days there's too many people moving to the Island.

Others, however, can be seen to be more in favour of immigration and the changes it has brought about.

Inf 12 I think it's wonderful. I think with people moving to the Island we're becoming more prosperous. Em. I think it's a good thing, I don't see a problem with it.

Inf 11 I don't mind. I think it's a good think that young people are coming to live here.

Inf 5 I have certainly nothing against it as long as we don't have too many. I think it's good for the Island to have people moving in because, in doing this, it means that those people come and spend the money they earn...which then makes it better for other people on the Island, because there's better shops, better facilities and, er, better amenities all round. And of course people who come here just to retire are usually people who have got some good savings...Oh yes, I think it's good that people should come over to the Island.

While the current economic boom provides obvious benefits which the population as a whole are able to enjoy, there was some protest by a small group of nationalists during the early 1990s who claimed that Manx identity was being destroyed. Personal observation leads me to believe, however, that the majority of people are most concerned about the impact of a larger population upon the Island in terms of issues such as the number of cars on the roads and the number of new houses being built etc. Whereas Informant 5, for example, can be seen to favour the idea of immigration, he also says that there may be a time when restrictions on the numbers of new residents are necessary. Informant 11 was also clear in her support of people moving to the Isle of Man, but she also felt that a limit ought to be imposed.

Inf 11 I think, em, when the numbers get too high in relation to, when you think of the cars and how busy it can become, that they should have certain restrictions on people coming in.

Another central aspect of this thesis is the influence of the Scouse accent on speech in the Isle of Man. This was first commented upon by Gill.

> Its vocal inflexions are already responding to influences from England; in Douglas especially a South-West Lancashire intonation, itself not wholly Anglo-Saxon, has for many years been gradually subduing the native Celtic tendency to run up the scale. (1934:4)

Barry (1984:168) was of the opinion that it was widespread among the young, particularly in the Douglas/Onchan area, and that it seemed to be spreading. It is my intention to see to what extent he was correct. Gill stated that Lancashire, including Liverpool, was like a second home to the Manx:

> the Island's close contact and ever-increasing traffic with the North-Western counties have kept it abreast of changes in the corresponding English counties. Lancashire is the second home of the Manxman by virtue of centuries of intercommunication and marriage." (1934:3)

The main reason for the impact of Liverpool speech on the Isle of Man is found in the historical links shared by the two. As already mentioned it was the primary port for both tourism and trade. As an industry tourism has changed considerably since the mid-twentieth century.

> Mass tourism which was prevalent in past decades has certainly become a thing of the past...The Island's tourist market has moved away from the traditional main family holiday market and is now focused on short break and specialist "niche" sectors including special interest and special event traffic. (Treasury Document 2000: 22)

Whereas at the beginning of the last century tourism was crucial to the Manx economy, it is no longer the primary sector. It does retain some of its former importance, however, with over 3,000 jobs existing in tourism itself or other related areas (Treasury Document 2000: 22).

Tourism may not be as important today as it was previously, but this shows that it is still relevant to the Island's community. In addition the local residents need to travel off the Island on a regular basis and Liverpool has retained its role as the main port for those travelling to and from the Island. It is also the location of the nearest airport to the Island and the cost of flights there are considerably cheaper than to other parts of the UK. As a result, this is a popular choice of route for many people travelling from the Isle of Man to the UK or abroad.

It is unlikely that there was an increase in the influence of Liverpool speech through cultural or popular means, such as The Beatles, because there is no evidence to suggest that Scouse has had a greater impact upon the language of that generation than any other. Rather, as we shall see, Scouse appears to have more influence upon younger speakers. The historic links between the Isle of Man and Liverpool are easily explained, and still exist today. Without doubt, such links had a linguistic impact during the nineteenth century. It is my intention to determine the extent to which they can be seen to have had an impact upon the language community found on the Isle of Man today.

1.3 The Wider Project

In response to the popular belief that the Manx English dialect is undergoing rapid decline, and as part of a wider attempt to define 'Manxness', an investigation into the variations of English on the Isle of Man was established in 1996. This project was conducted by a team of six people from the University of Liverpool, administered through the Centre for Manx Studies on behalf of the funding body, the Manx Heritage Foundation.

One priority put forward by those responsible for the formation of the project was the recording of as many Manx English speakers as possible before the occurrence of 'dialect death'. In a research proposal written some months before the investigation began, Andrew Hamer, who led the team, commented that alongside the Scouse speech patterns recorded in Man during the 1930s, the period saw a:

> rapid decline in the use of lexical items and idioms particular to the Anglo-Manx dialect, the use of which is now apparently restricted to a small number of elderly people, although without fieldwork it remains

> unclear to what extent the associated accent is also declining. A study of this variety is urgently needed, so that words and expressions can be recorded before they disappear, and so that the accent features of pronunciation and intonation can be described. (Hamer 1996:1)

One member of the team, Roy Kennaugh, is currently examining the extent to which Manx English can still be found among people living in the West of the Island in an area called Cronk y Voddy. The primary aim of his work is to examine the speech of a rural community. This area was selected because in social terms it remains relatively unchanged compared with the rest of the Isle of Man, and a strong sense of local identity exists there. Kennaugh developed a list of approximately one hundred Manx English lexical items, largely gathered through talking to people in the Parish of Michael. Thirty informants were chosen non-randomly and divided into three age groups, teenagers and young adults, those in their mid-thirties to fifties, and those aged seventy and over. Each of the informants was given a speaker score based upon categories such as sex, age, level of identity and involvement in the community. Kennaugh interviewed each of these on a one to one basis or with their partner in as informal a way as possible. He was already known to many of them as he lives nearby and since beginning this study he has become increasingly involved in community activities. As such, it can be said that he adopted the role of participant observer in the interviews.

The interviews were largely based around the list of Manx English lexical items. Although examining some accent features e.g. the absence of /g/ in [ɪŋ], the dentalisation of /t/ and the realisation of /a/ as [æ:] rather than [ɑ:] or [a] (see chapter 4 for a discussion of these variables in Manx English), Kennaugh focuses on the level of knowledge of these lexical items demonstrated by the informants. Each

individual has been given a lexical score to show the number of positive responses given. Generally speaking, it appears that there is a shared pattern between the two scores; informants who were given a high speaker score were also those who demonstrated the greatest awareness of the lexical items examined a significant proportion of the time (Roy Kennaugh, personal communication).

Separate from the wider project under discussion, but complementary to it is the work conducted by Martina Preuss (1999). The aim behind Preuss' M.Phil thesis was to determine the extent to which Barry was accurate when he claimed that Manx English was following Manx Gaelic toward language death. Using a questionnaire similar in format to that of the *Survey of English Dialects (SED)* (1952) (see section 2.1) and based upon items recorded by Moore, Morrison and Goodwin's *Vocabulary of the Anglo-Manx Dialect* (1924) (see section 3.4.2), Preuss examined:

> Remaining lexical and syntactical borrowings from Manx Gaelic in Present Day Manx English...from a formal-linguistic and sociolinguistic viewpoint. (1999:1)

Preuss examined all four levels of the language – phonological, lexical, syntactical and morphological – of rural informants aged between forty-five and ninety-five. She claims to have provided evidence of some continued use of Manx English.

> The formal linguistic results show that quite a number of Manx words and phrases, as well as some Manx influenced constructions still constitute an important part of Manx English. Traditional Manx English appears to be still quite alive, at least more alive that one would expect from a dialect the near death of which was foretold thirty years ago. (1999:120)

Whereas the value of recording the last dialect speakers is recognised by those involved in the current investigation, however, this activity is only one part of a much wider study. The main aim of this project is to determine exactly what the contemporary situation is at the beginning of the new millennium. This part of the study is known as 'Recording Mann'. Hamer stated that:

> a major concern of the project will be to present an account of recent and current linguistic change within the community. In order to achieve this, research will make use of both apparent and real time. Different age groups will be recorded (so that language change can be studied in apparent time), and the language of previous generations will be studied (to show change over real time). (1996:2) (See section 5.4.2 for a discussion of the concepts of real and apparent time.)

For a project such as this a considerably wider selection of informants was necessary. As mentioned above, the 1996 Interim Census recorded a population of over 70,000 people, with less than half being Manxborn. Within this diversity, almost 100% of the population are white, and the population is entirely English speaking.

Central to the methodology of 'Recording Mann' was the decision, made from the outset, to invite the local schools to participate by assisting in the recording of the interviews.

> The recordings will be carried out by family members of school age, as part of their academic studies. It is planned that the students will act as participant observers. (Hamer 1996:4)

This was partly in an attempt to avoid 'observers paradox' (see section 2.2.3), and to ensure that as many informants as possible were recorded, but it had the added advantage of making the generation of a representative sample of the population easier. Representative sampling is an important sociolinguistic concept and central to many studies in the field, two of the earliest being Labov (1966) and Trudgill (1974). Others such as Milroy (1980) advocate the use of social networks to

determine patterns in language behaviour. The advantages and disadvantages of both of these approaches are discussed in Chapter 2. For the Recording Mann project it was felt that to use a strict representative selection of the Island's population would skew the results toward the immigrants (50.1%), and the finance and administrative sectors in particular. A large sample was needed if the current situation was to be examined realistically but from the outset time pressure was going to be a difficulty. An alternative to using a long period of time was to use a large number of fieldworkers; this was made possible by the use of school children. It was anticipated that the initial sample would be created in an ad hoc fashion through the school interviews, supplemented by recordings made by the team members and volunteers. Individual informants could then be selected on the basis of sex, age, economic class, place of birth etc. to generate a representative sample.

As well as the advantages mentioned above, it was anticipated that involvement with the project would create an interesting educational experience for the school children, providing them with the opportunity to learn about interviewing techniques, technical skills and Island history. It was also hoped that it would help to develop an interest, among children and adults, in their own language and culture. There was, then, a sense of it being a community project.

Prior to the investigation, meetings were held between representatives of the Centre for Manx Studies, the University of Liverpool and head teachers from all of the Island's schools. The response from these meetings was far more positive than had been expected. There was some concern about the ethical implications of using minors in a project of this nature (see section 5.3.3 for how such issues were tackled)

but many head teachers expressed an interest, as long as incorporation into the National Curriculum was possible. As three members of the team were local teachers it was initially anticipated that school involvement would focus on those where they were based. Following the success of the meetings, however, it was decided not to limit the number of schools able to participate. In total seventeen of the Island's thirty-six schools took part (including the junior section of the local private school), and the collaboration led to approximately 400 interviews taking place. If the pupil-interviewers are also counted as informants, recordings of almost 800 people were made. Of these, 600 are available for analysis and the informants have agreed in principle to take part in further interviews. Given that almost half of the population of the Isle of Man live in Douglas and Onchan, it is interesting to note that eight of the participating schools were from this area. This programme is discussed in detail in Chapter 5. One drawback of using the school pupils as interviewers, however, is the small number of informants in their late teens and twenties. The vast majority of interviews were conducted between children of primary school age and their parents and grandparents.

The work conducted by one member of the team, Aalin Clague, is based on recordings made of children from two schools in the west of the Island. As a teacher in a combined infant and primary school Clague was able to take advantage of a pre-existing community. She used an ethnomethodological approach to examine language in context rather than conducting individual interviews. The core of the data was taken from Year 1 and 2 pupils in her class. This was supplemented with recordings made in lessons she held with Year 6 children, and some data was

collected from a nearby secondary school. In addition to this recordings were made at the homes of families already known to her.

Clague examined the stylistic competence of the children, looking at a series of phonetic variables in differing levels of formality. This was achieved by recording their use of language in various groups and environments. Her position as class teacher enabled her to organise recordings of several activities such as playing in the play area, more structured lessons and reading etc. All of the parents were aware of the study and although the children knew they were being recorded, and even listened to some of the earlier tapes, it appears that the younger ones did not generally alter their speech patterns as a result. The pupils at the secondary school did appear to be more effected by the presence of the tape recorder, however.

The pupil informants selected for Clague's study were from families of various regional backgrounds, and she also examined regional variants to see which of these were present and whether the children had a levelling effect upon each other. Interestingly, only half of them had at least one Manx parent, a figure which correlates with the population figures given in the 1996 Census (Aalin Clague, personal communication). Her preliminary results are discussed in chapters 6 and 7 where relevant.

The two remaining members of the team examined topics somewhat separate from the rest of the project. Breesha Maddrell (2001) studied the concepts of language and identity from a historical perspective looking specifically at Moore, Morrison and Goodwin's *A Vocabulary of the Anglo-Manx Dialect* (1924) (see section 3.4.2)

and the personal correspondence of Sophia Morrison. She treats the terms Manx English and Anglo-Manx as distinct from each other, saying that whereas Manx English is a dialect in a real sense, Anglo-Manx is a codified form of Manx English brought about by nostalgia, censorship and manipulation of the dialect by the authors of this dictionary. Furthermore, she argues that Anglo-Manx is an unsatisfactory code because it is not natural, and as such is unchanging and subject to what she terms "cultural baggage".

Maddrell argues that a definition of the terms used was necessary before the 'Recording Mann' project could move, and that in order to study the present, historical issues had to be put into context. Moore, Morrison and Goodwin (1924) was chosen because many people, including, for example, Preuss (1999) have treated it as a dictionary of a real language. Maddrell states that this is not the case.

> The danger today is that, because lexical items are contained in the Vocabulary, they are considered to belong exclusively to the domain of MxE (Manx English). As Anglo-Manx is viewed here not as the equivalent to, but rather as the outcome of the codification of MxE, this is not without its dangers. It is an unchanging variety embodying a set of Manx traditional values and cannot therefore be considered a modern alternative to MxG (Manx Gaelic), a 'new way' as Brown had anticipated it could be. The *Vocabulary* enables Anglo-Manx to become a codified MxE. This does not deny the validity of its sources, but rather stems from the ways in which they have been collated and presented...As it is presented within the confines of the work, Anglo-Manx is an ideological construct. (2002:29) (my brackets)

Maddrell's work is a chronological continuation of a paper given by Andrew Hamer entitled *The Beginnings of Manx English* (Bazin, Davey and Hamer eds., in press). In it he stated that there is evidence to suggest that even during the early nineteenth century the use of traditional Manx English was for ideological purposes. He argues that by this period the dialect was already showing signs of artificiality, and that

those individuals who used the dialect were viewed in a sentimentalised way. This paper and Maddrell's study of the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries will be important sources for Hamer's discussion of the beginnings of Manx English in the report to be written as part of this project (see below).

The work conducted by the fifth student, Rosemary Cooil is distinct from the other studies taking place as part of this project. It doesn't fit easily into the fields of either sociolinguistics or dialectology, but focuses upon the spoken word through an examination of oracy. She looks specifically at the responsibility of the teacher, and asks what the local schools are doing to encourage and support the development of speech, including the demands of the National Curriculum. She also touches upon the teaching of Manx Gaelic in school, raising issues such as language and identity. Cooil's work is an attitudinal study. Questions are asked regarding the right of a teacher to attempt to alter the speaking patterns of a child who doesn't use Standard English, but she points out that they are required to do so by the National Curriculum. Interviews were conducted with teachers from local primary and secondary schools, as well as with employers. She seeks to discover the attitude toward language use by bodies such as the government and business and to find out if a strong local accent will jeopardise candidates' chances of finding employment. While recognising that everyone has a right to learn Standard English, she asks: since accent is found to be unimportant to employers, why do educational authorities place so much emphasis upon it? (Rosemary Cooil, personal communication).

The final outcome of this wider project will be a report written by Andrew Hamer drawing upon the research of the students as well as his own work, with the aim of:

> describing against their historical background the varieties of English used by IOM residents. (Hamer 1996:6)

The report will consist of sections examining the beginnings of Manx English, accent and dialect features of late nineteenth century Manx English, the literary dialect of Anglo-Manx, modern rural Manx English, the 'Recording Mann' project and the future. In addition to the tapes made by the schools the recordings he will examine will include those made by Cooil, Clague and Kennaugh for their studies, the Manx Folk Life Survey, and Broderick's Manx Place Name Survey (see section 3.5). The *SED* data will also be referred to in detail. Literary sources will include the five theses produced for this project, early Manx Newspapers, and previous studies conducted in the Isle of Man. It is intended that this report, which will be the linchpin of the project, will be published in book form (Hamer, personal communication).

1.4 The Aims of the Present Study

The present thesis is just one part of the wider project. In addition to commenting on the decline of traditional Manx English and the spread of Liverpool influence, Barry also stated:

> It seems likely that north-west Midland (especially Liverpool) phonology and RP phonology will vie with one another for dominance in the pronunciation of English in Man during the next fifty years, so long as Liverpool remains the main port of access. (1984:177)

It is my intention to examine the degree to which Barry's prediction can be said to have come true. Using data produced by 'Recording Mann' for the areas of Douglas

and Onchan, this thesis studies a series of phonetic variables and attempts to identify the major accent developments currently occurring in the Douglas/Onchan area, at a time when the Island's population is rapidly changing.

Douglas is the Isle of Man's capital. Together with the adjoining village of Onchan, the town is home to nearly 50% of the population, and correspondingly almost half of the Island's schools are situated here. Douglas is the heart of the financial and administrative sector, as well as being the major retail and entertainment centre, and it is where Tynwald, the Manx Government, meets. Over the last three centuries the town has grown in importance, developing from a small fishing village to an international finance centre, becoming on the way a trading town and a tourist resort. The harbour in Douglas, which is the largest and most sheltered on the Island, has long been important because of its links with Liverpool and other UK ports, and the trade (including the once lucrative smuggling trade) and tourism it brought to the town. The tourist industry, especially when at its peak at the end of the nineteenth century, was also responsible for a certain amount of immigration, as many people from Lancashire moved to the Island to establish boarding houses.

Douglas and Onchan are officially separate entities with their own local government bodies, but over time the two have merged geographically. Onchan is close enough for the village residents to be able to benefit fully from the amenities in Douglas, and it could probably be considered as part of the larger town's suburbs. In addition, there are no secondary schools in Onchan, all pupils of this age attending those in Douglas. For the purposes of this thesis the two will be treated as one, unless otherwise stated.

Douglas has been selected for this study partly because of its status as the primary Manx town, but also because, given its connection with areas outside the Isle of Man, it is likely to be the area with the most diverse linguistic influences. Equally important, however, is the fact that Gill (1934) and Barry (1984) both refer to the growth in the influence of Scouse in this area. In terms of the wider project of which this thesis is a part, for at least one team member not to have examined Douglas would have been to the detriment of the study. To have ignored or only touched upon this area would have been to fail to at least attempt to answer the many questions raised by such claims.

The investigations into variations of English spoken on the Isle of Man encompasses many aspects of linguistic study; sociolinguistics, dialectology, ethnomethodology, attitudinal study, and the examination of literary sources are all part of the wider project. This thesis is a sociolinguistic study, in that one of the aims behind it is to determine the effect that membership of the various subgroups examined has upon language use. Although it is based in one geographical area, it is not just a description of what is linguistic behaviour in Douglas; it attempts through the examination of age, sex, class and school and family ties to answer some questions about why the informants behave in the manner that they do. Each element of the project is complementary to the others and will be brought together by the final report to be written by Hamer. The works conducted by the other team members provide many interesting points of comparison with the data presented in this thesis. Kennaugh and Clague are both examining the language used in the west of the Island. Kennaugh is attempting to determine the extent to which Manx English is still spoken in a rural area using dialectological methods, while Clague is examining

accent variation primarily among school children. The geographical locations used for these studies are close to each other, and combined they will provide valuable information about the linguistic behaviour of all age groups in this part of the Isle of Man. My research is based in the east, and in the most urbanised part of the Island. Kennaugh is examining the Manx English dialect; I will show the extent to which many of the associated accent features are used in Douglas. There is a certain amount of overlap in the work of Clague and myself in the choice of phonetic variables examined. This will provide interesting comparisons between rural and urban, and east and west. These elements will all be brought together by Hamer in order to see if the Island as a whole is moving toward the adoption of a northern regional standard. In addition, this examination of accent is complementary to Cooil's study of oracy and the role of the teacher. One of her primary aims is to discover the extent to which accent matters; I present a picture of what that accent is, in the Douglas area at least.

This thesis is an important contribution to the study of language use in the Isle of Man. As will be seen in Chapter 3, the majority of linguistic study previously conducted on the Island relates to Manx Gaelic. The work investigating the use of English has, to date, focused specifically on the traditional Manx English dialect. Furthermore, these studies have either been in the realm of dialectology, or have used literary sources as the basis of their investigation (see section 3.4). This, as far as is known, is the first sociolinguistic examination conducted in the Isle of Man.

The following chapter is a discussion of dialectology and sociolinguistics, looking at the various aims and methodologies employed. In dialectology emphasis is placed upon 'pure' dialect form, and the preservation of traditional forms of speech peculiar

to an area. Urban sociolinguistics, on the other hand, focuses upon the relationship between language and society through the examination of social context. In this chapter I will attempt to provide for the reader a context for this thesis in the field of sociolinguistics.

Chapter 3 is a continuation of the discussion begun in section 1.2. The decline of Manx Gaelic and the rise of English, specifically Manx English, will be expanded upon. Previous linguistic study in the Isle of Man has not been extensive. I will present for the reader a summary of the most important works examining the use of English on the Island. Where relevant the findings of these studies will be discussed in Chapter 4. This chapter will look at each of the phonetic variables selected for this survey in turn. The variables were selected because each has Manx English, Scouse and standard variants. The studies conducted by Knowles (1974), De Lyon (1981) and Newbrook (1986) will be referred to in the discussion of the Merseyside vernacular. Other works on accent, not specific to a single geographical area, will also be referred to. These include Wells (1982), Hughes and Trudgill (1979) and Trudgill (1999).

As mentioned, the 'Recording Mann' project was able to obtain recordings of a large number of informants through the assistance of the local schools. This will be discussed in Chapter 5. Reference will be made to other studies involving children, specifically Reid (1978), Romaine (1978) and Cheshire (1982). Unlike investigations such as these, the role of the school children involved in 'Recording Mann' is not just that of informant, but also that of fieldworker. Some of the ethical issues, methodological advantages and practical problems that have been faced as a

result of this will be discussed. Thirty-two informants were selected from these recordings for detailed examination in this thesis. They consist of sixteen children (eight boys and eight girls) and an equal number of adults of various ages, equally divided by sex. These informants and the methodology employed for this thesis will also be discussed in this chapter. This will include a discussion of the various subgroups into which they are divided for analysis.

In Chapter 6, the results of each of the variables discussed in Chapter 4 will be presented. Each variable will be discussed individually showing the variation of language use between the individual informants and various subgroups. Issues such as sex and age differentiation will be referred to briefly. Reference will also be made to the results of other studies conducted in the UK where relevant. The issues raised in this chapter will be expanded upon in Chapter 7. This analysis of the results will focus upon patterns of sex, age and class differentiation, as well as behavioural patterns shared by family members and school groups. Chapter 8 will consist of a discussion of the extent to which Manx English, Scouse and shared accent features are used, and by which groups.

Chapter 2 – A Critique of Dialectology and Sociolinguistics

2.1 Dialectology

According to Romaine (1994:134-5) the historical investigation of dialects began during the nineteenth century, with the primary focus or concern being the spread of linguistic forms in terms of geographical space. Trudgill agrees that the regional distribution of such forms was an important aspect of traditional dialectology, but states that the desire to observe and record 'pure' language was equally significant. He describes dialectology as:

> The academic study of dialects, often associated especially with the phonological, morphological and lexical study of rural traditional dialects, which were the original concern of this discipline, and the spatial or geographical distribution of traditional dialect forms. (Trudgill 1992:25)

Dialectological investigations of this type began in 1876 with the postal survey conducted in Germany by Georg Wenker (Chambers and Trudgill 1980: 18-20). Head teachers from 50,000 German schools were asked to provide the local dialect equivalent of lists of complex sentences. 45,000 responses were received, thus providing an enormous database. What is not clear, however, is whether the educated schoolmasters completed the responses themselves, or if the assistance of local dialect speakers was enlisted. The employment of trained fieldworkers conducting interviews and recording the data by means of phonetic notation largely replaced postal questionnaires, beginning with the linguistic survey of France, which began in 1896 under the directorship of Jules Gilliéron. Edmund Edmont was the fieldworker employed and over a four-year period he conducted 700 interviews in

639 locations. This was an enormous achievement, given that he travelled between the various localities by bicycle.

The geographical account provided by dialectologists is usually in the form of a map or atlas "showing the broad areal limits of the chosen linguistic feature(s)" (Milroy 1980:3). However, in the case of the *Survey of English Dialects* (*SED*) (Orton 1962), the best known and most comprehensive dialect survey in England, financial constraints determined that informant responses were published in the form of comprehensive lists instead. A decision described by Chambers and Trudgill as:

> entirely felicitous for researchers who are interested in the data in order to frame and test hypotheses on linguistic variation, rather than to discover, say, the whereabouts of a particular lexical item. (1980:22)

2.1.1 The Informants

Crucial to the recording of 'pure' language forms before the occurrence of 'dialect death' was the methodology employed and the selection of informants. According to Trudgill:

> there was a feeling that hidden somewhere in the speech of older uneducated people were the 'real' or 'pure' dialects which were steadily being corrupted by the standard variety, but which dialectologists could discover and describe if they were clever enough. (1995:25)

In the introduction to the *SED*, Orton clearly shows that informants were selected conscientiously and that rigid guidelines were incorporated to ensure comparability throughout the country.

> Great care was taken in choosing the informants. Very rarely were they below the age of sixty. They were mostly men: in this country men speak vernacular more frequently, more consistently, and more genuinely than women...dialect-speakers whose residence in the locality had been interrupted by significant absences were constantly

> regarded with suspicion. Informants with any speech handicaps were always avoided. (Orton 1962:15-6)

Clearly factors such as age, sex, place of birth and social and geographical immobility were considered to be of importance. Milroy (1995:14) describes this belief in 'genuine' or 'pure' dialect forms and the idea that a conservative, socially marginal speaker usually represented it as a "pervasive assumption." She argues that traditional dialectologists were not attempting to examine contemporary language patterns, per se, rather they were searching for a way of answering questions about the past. Schneider (1987:396) supports this notion, stating that the *SED* was explicitly seeking to "establish regional reflexes of historical processes or stages in the development of a language" (1987:396). It was believed that individuals such as those described by Orton would have experienced less pressure to standardise their speech, and it was in order to locate informants of this type that dialectologists sought rural rather than urban areas. Romaine (1994:137) comments that linguistic innovations often spread from one urban centre to another, bypassing areas in between; for example, in the USA, post-vocalic /r/ became established in the cities first, and only reached rural areas later. In this respect, the focus placed upon rural localities can be considered valid.

However, Milroy points out that this is not true when the aim is to provide more than an historical account:

> the problem is that rather different sampling procedures are needed if the survey purports to make a more general statement about patterns of language variation. While nineteenth century research is overwhelmingly historical in orientation, twentieth century dialectologists working within the traditional paradigm frequently seem to have shifted their theoretical goal in the direction of an attempt to describe the contemporary language. (1997:80)

She refers to the work of McIntosh (1952) in Scotland, comparing it to the *SED*. Whereas Orton made it clear that his objective was to record the use of traditional dialects and used factors such as sex and age to this end only, McIntosh concentrated on what he described as 'resistant speakers' "only in the first instance" (1952: 36, quoted by Milroy 1997:80). Milroy is implicitly critical of the *SED* for failing to take advantage of advances in technology to allow the study of spontaneous speech and states that the work was an only slightly modified model of the traditional paradigm.

Young people were generally rejected as informants because of an assumption that they are more likely to be influenced by the standard through education. Although unscientific, the reasoning behind this assumption is easily recognised and, to a certain extent, based upon truth. The language forms that dialectologists were searching for were not just non-standard, but traditional. Elderly informants were expected to be more aware of these varieties. In instances where linguistic change has occurred this argument is acceptable. What is questionable, however, is the rejection of young people on the basis that they would automatically be more standardised than older informants would.

Recent studies have shown that this is not necessarily true, to the extent that researchers now expect to find the most extreme form of an urban vernacular among adolescent speakers, and many, including Labov (1968) and Cheshire (1982) have focused upon that group. Furthermore, Labov's study in Martha's Vineyard (1972a) showed that change led by young people is not necessarily in the direction of the standard.

> Thus, a number of assumptions made by earlier dialectologists are shown to be false; the heaviest users of the vernacular are not necessarily old people, nor are conservative dialects necessarily giving way to the spread of Standard English. (Milroy 1980:7)

Informants in their middle years have been shown to be more likely to use standard forms, and thus use less of the traditional dialect forms searched for by dialectologists, than either the elderly or the young.

> Nowadays traditional-dialect seems to be heard most often from children under the age of ten and from elderly people. Social pressure to use General English forms rather than those of traditional-dialects starts in the primary school, if not before. On the basis of his research in Scotland, Speitel suggests that by the age of ten most children with a traditional-dialect background abandon it for ever in favour of General English; a second group likewise abandon it, but return to it upon retirement; and a third group retain and use both traditional-dialect and General English throughout their life. Only the latter two groups are linguistically resistant; only they can pass traditional-dialect on to further generations. (Wells 1982: 6-7)

Children up to the age of eleven will be part of the sample analysed in this thesis. Their use of standard and non-standard phonetic variables will be examined and compared with that of adult informants. See Chapter 5 for a discussion of the data collection and subsequent chapters for an analysis of the results.

Most dialect surveys also favoured male informants, but there is some disagreement as to whether men or women were better able to provide the 'pure' language aimed at.

> Dialectologists favoured older members of the community as informants (for obvious, if not scientific reasons), but they disagreed about merits of female as opposed to male informants. (Coates 1986:41)

One school of thought advocated that because of women's 'innate conservatism' they were more likely to use the dialect in its most 'genuine' form. Supporters of this belief argue that women were more conservative because they were more isolated

and less socially mobile than men were; they rarely left their village and had little contact with strangers, but stayed at home, mixing only with each other. Men, on the other hand, were more likely to have been 'corrupted' by the standard through military service and contact with people from outside the immediate locality. The other point of view is that men are more conservative than women, as is put forward by Orton (above), and that as they are less innovative they are the preferred sex for examination. No explanation is offered as to why women are considered less conservative than men, though Coates suggests that there is an underlying assumption that standard forms will have a greater influence on the language use of women because of their supposed sensitivity to linguistic norms (Coates 1986:41-3). Romaine (1994:41) supports this idea, referring to the introduction of more standard forms by women (this idea will be discussed in Chapter 7).

Interestingly, even those dialectologists who believed women to be more conservative than men used few female informants, rejecting them on non-linguistic grounds such as being too shy or unable to participate because of a lack of free time. The amount of time necessary is illustrated by the size of the questionnaire used by the *SED*. Consisting of about 1200 items, all of which were framed in a formal way, completion of an interview required twenty to twenty four hours. As a result many interviews were either incomplete, or began with one informant, but finished with another (Chambers and Trudgill 1980:27). In his introduction to the *SED* Orton states that:

> In the initial stages of their task, the fieldworkers tended to use too many informants, sometimes even as many as five. But with experience, they usually found that they needed no more than two or three. Rarely, and chiefly owing to the informants lack of requisite time, could they restrict themselves to only one. (1962:16)

Coates (1986:45) refers to the explanation given by Sever Pop, Director of the dialect survey of Romania, for using few female informants as being "typical".

> The investigator comes up against problems in persuading women to give up two or three days to the project, since household chores prevent them from doing so, and they feel embarrassed at sitting down at the table with a 'city gentleman'. (Pop 1950:725)

Furthermore, the majority of fieldworkers in dialect surveys were men and were therefore more likely to make contact with male prospective informants because of the likely meeting places such as in the pub, at the barber's etc. Out of eleven *SED* fieldworkers, two were women, and in the areas where they worked there is a significant increase in the number of women informants (Coates1986:49). The survey conducted in the Isle of Man overcame the problem of meeting prospective informants by enlisting school children to act as fieldworkers, conducting interviews with their family and/or friends. This will be discussed further in Chapter 5.

2.1.2 The Questionnaire

The questionnaires were carefully devised to allow comparability and to ensure the desired responses were obtained. As previously mentioned, Wenker's survey was made up of lists of sentences. These were complex, each containing several possible occurrences of regional variants, for example, 'In winter the dry leaves fly around through the air' (Chambers and Trudgill 1980:18). In France, Gilliéron continuously revised his questionnaire but it always included a core of about 1500 items (Chambers and Trudgill 1980:20). McIntosh's *Survey of Scottish Dialects*, one of the more recent dialect geography projects, having only got underway in 1952, made use of the postal questionnaire to schools in the first instance, but this is supplemented by investigations conducted by trained fieldworkers. There were also

strict guidelines as to who was to complete the postal survey (Chambers and Trudgill 1980: 23).

The questionnaire used by the *SED* was made up largely of 'naming questions' and 'completing questions' (see Chambers and Trudgill 1980 for examples). It was organised by semantic fields, focusing upon, for example, farming techniques, flora and fauna, the weather, social activities and kinship. The design was structured in this way in an attempt to encourage the informant to concentrate on the topic under discussion rather than the form his answers took. The lexical items and grammatical categories sought were determined prior to the division of the topics in this way (Chambers and Trudgill 1980:27). In the case of the *SED*, nine sections or 'books' were devised, each of which took at least two hours to complete (Orton 1962:15). Several fieldworkers were involved in this study, and in order to ensure the data were comparable, rigid allocation to these 'books' was required.

The questionnaire devised for *The Linguistic Atlas of the United States and Canada*, though not as time consuming as the *SED*, took ten to twelve hours to complete, with 700 items. Chambers and Trudgill (1980:26-7) say that although the fieldworkers in this survey were not given set questions, only particular responses they were to elicit, it is likely that they used the same types of questions as the *SED* did.

> From the very beginning, interviews of informants by fieldworkers engaged in a survey have been conducted within the guidelines established by a questionnaire. The interviews can thus be conducted by different fieldworkers and under wildly varying circumstances, and still elicit a common core of linguistic data. The immediate advantage of the questionnaire is thus to ensure that the results of all the interviews conducted in the survey will be comparable. (Chambers and Trudgill 1980:27)

Although the questionnaire used in the Isle of Man for 'Recording Mann' was designed to elicit as much free speech as possible, its use throughout the Island has allowed comparability, particularly for certain lexical items. An example of this is the frequent occurrence of the traditional Manx English shibboleth *school* (see Chapter 5 for more details).

Chambers and Trudgill claim that one of the main criticisms levelled against traditional dialect surveys is that only one, rather formal speech style is obtained; the question and answer format largely employed does not allow casual speech. The design of the questionnaires was probably more from necessity than choice, however. Before tape recorders were invented and made widely available, the level of difficulty involved in eliciting and recording individual items was considerably more demanding than it is today.

> The fieldworker, faced with the task of making a phonetically accurate transcription of a core of items that could later be compared with the same items from other speakers, could hardly be expected to pick such items out of the stream of discourse elicited by an open question. (Chambers and Trudgill 1980:28)

The questionnaire also helps explain the predominance of men as informants. For example, the inclusion of agricultural terms meant that men would be more useful informants, whereas women would be more likely to know domestic terms. Coates (1986:47) says that as the prime focus of interest was men's work, women's work and therefore their vocabulary, was normally regarded as peripheral. She argues that whereas this may be acceptable for lexical items, dialectologists were also interested in phonology and grammar, and in this respect the neglect of women's language is indefensible. Whether or not it is truly defensible in terms of lexicon alone is also

questionable; many factors of rural life were explored, and it is extremely doubtful that any single informant could have been an expert in each of these areas.

> Experience has shown that a conventional portmanteau questionnaire cannot be filled in completely with the help of only one person; the housewife lets one down on agricultural terms, the farmer on kitchen terms, and often some local expert has to be hunted out specially to deal with such items as flowers or birds. (McIntosh 1952:89) (quoted by Coates 1986:46)

2.1.3 The Post War Era

Generally the methods of dialectology:

> are not designed to deal with the fact that the same speaker may use several different pronunciations, or that different speakers in the same area may use a very wide range of different pronunciations. (Milroy 1980:3)

This is not to say that dialectologists were unaware of the effect of social factors upon language use. The introduction to the *SED*, for example, shows that informants were not selected by chance, rather, as Milroy (1980:3-4) points out, age, sex and situational context were pinpointed. However, it was not the intention of dialectologists to analyse the relationship between language and social factors however.

> If we are to understand the field methods of traditional dialectology, it is important to remember that they were devised not in order to survey patterns of contemporary language use as an end in itself, but to offer a means of answering questions about the earlier history of the language. (Milroy 1997: 79)

Rural communities were sought because it was believed that isolation would protect the dialect from 'corruption' by the standard. Linked with this was the desire for the informant to have lived in the area all their lives. Furthermore, it was thought that urbanisation led to heterogeneity. It is now accepted that no speech community can

be considered homogenous. No matter how small or isolated, even individual speakers vary their language according to context and environment.

> All language is subject to stylistic and social differentiation, because all human communities are functionally differentiated and heterogeneous to varying degrees. All language varieties are also subject to change. There is, therefore, an element of differentiation even in the most isolated conservative dialect. (Trudgill 1995:26)

Trudgill says that there was a gradual realisation among dialectologists that they were obtaining an "imperfect and inaccurate picture" of linguistic behaviour by focusing on such a narrow section of the population. After World War II linguists also became aware that by ignoring urban areas in dialect studies they were actually neglecting and remaining ignorant about the language use of the majority of the population. However, this led to a further problem. The methods of traditional, rural dialectology couldn't be applied to large urban areas because of the sheer number and variety of inhabitants. The linguists were forced to work out how to describe urban speech fully and accurately, which led to the development of urban dialectology, and subsequently sociolinguistics (Trudgill 1995:26-7). According to Milroy (1997:84) examples of such studies include Viereck (1966), Gregg (1964), and Weissman (1970). She says that the best of these early urban studies are useful in that they "provide valuable sources of data on the phonologies of... urban dialects" (1997:85). She also points out two drawbacks; the lack of representativeness, and the preoccupation with 'genuine' speakers, particularly in terms of their neglect of younger speakers.

There is a distinction between dialectology and sociolinguistics, but this does not automatically mean that they are opposed to each other. Indeed, Romaine (1994:134-5) claims that the dialect surveys have contributed to both the theory and

methodology employed by the study of language change, and credits them with providing a foundation for historical sociolinguistics. Milroy supports this notion, adding that they have shared aims.

> Most sociolinguistic work has been heavily dependant on linguistic information supplied by the large-scale studies of the dialectologists, and in fact much of the work carried out on the general principles explained by Labov (1972a) may be seen as an explicit modification of dialectological methods. Conversely, much recent work in the dialectological tradition has been modified in the direction of modern sociolinguistics. (Milroy 1980:2-3)

Coates agrees, but also points out that although there is a common interest, the emphasis lies in different directions.

> Sociolinguists, like dialectologists, are interested in variation in language and in the phonology, grammar and lexicon of non-standard varieties. But where dialectologists focused on the spatial dimension, studying regional variation, sociolinguists have shifted attention to the social dimension and study variation due to factors such as age, sex, social class, education and ethnic group. (Coates 1986:51)

It is this that can be used to summarise the contrast between dialectology and sociolinguistics. Whereas dialectologists were not concerned with the relationship between social and linguistic behaviour, it is the main interest of sociolinguists:

> for this more recent approach attempts to give as far as possible an accurate picture of contemporary language variation and use, taking account of the social identities of individual speakers. (Milroy 1980:5)

2.2 The Labovian Paradigm

Of the post-war, mainly American, urban studies which recognised and attempted to cope with the heterogeneous nature of speakers and their language use, Trudgill (1974:3), among others, credits Labov's 1966 large scale survey of New York City with being the most important. Unlike earlier dialectologists who had treated a

single informant as representative of an area, Labov conducted tape-recorded interviews with 340 informants (Trudgill 1995:27). Obviously the amount of data generated was considerably larger than had previously been analysed for a single geographical area. In order to handle such a large database it was necessary to develop new methodological and theoretical ideas. Of particular importance was the concept of the sociolinguistic variable.

> A sociolinguistic variable is a linguistic element (phonological usually, in practice) which co-varies not only with other linguistic elements, but also with a number of extra-linguistic independent variables such as social class, age, sex, ethnic group or contextual style. (Milroy 1980:10)

Milroy (1980:10) states that this notion is crucial to the development of sociolinguistics and revolutionised the study of language because it allowed quantification, either through the presence or absence of a variable, be it linguistic or extra-linguistic, or through the use of an index score. This concept is central to the methodology of this thesis.

Many of the major advances in sociolinguistic investigation brought about as a direct result of Labov's New York study have since been adapted; refinements have been made to the methodology, but some of the underlying assumptions have remained intact. Of particular influence, according to Macaulay (1987:456), is the emphasis placed upon random sampling, the interest in linguistic change and a preoccupation with stylistic variation.

2.2.1 Random Sampling

In his survey of the use of non-prevocalic /r/ by department store employees Labov used several stores to represent the different social classes, while in the Lower East Side (LES) he took advantage of a random sample already devised by the Mobilization For Youth (MFY) project (Labov 1966). The MFY social survey was a much larger investigation than that undertaken by Labov and he re-interviewed only a relatively small percentage of the original sample. The advantages of using a sample already devised were numerous. Labov was freed from the time-consuming activity of generating the sample, though it was still necessary for him to ensure that his selection of informants did not show bias in favour of any one section of the LES population, and that his sample did not include non-native English speakers. Furthermore, the MFY interviews already conducted provided information on the social attitudes and aspirations of the informants, which enabled Labov to focus entirely on linguistic matters under the title of the 'American Language Survey'.

It would be both impossible and impractical to interview the entire population of a city like New York, or even a section of it like the Lower East Side. The use of a random sample allows each individual an equal opportunity of selection, however, and it is because of this that the concept is of such importance.

> A random sample of individuals, constructed by enumerating the population and giving every individual an equal opportunity of entering the sample, is the only reliable way of finding out what are the behaviours, opinions, and practices characteristic of a large urban community or nation. (Labov 2001:224)

It is important to realise though that that random sampling is not a haphazard or casual process. Rather:

> it is an organized procedure for choosing the informants in such a way as to eliminate selection bias. (Wolfram and Fasold 1997:89)

Wolfram and Fasold point out that there is a danger, however, of under or over-representing a group within the sample by using strict random sampling. They put forward as an alternative the generating of a sample using predetermined social categories, selecting informants randomly until each group or cell is adequately represented.

Labov generated a sample with each ethnic group and social class proportionately represented, thereby ensuring that the informants selected for interview would, as a whole, represent the demographic make-up of the area under investigation. Trudgill (1995:27) points out that this representativeness meant that the linguistic description would be an accurate account of all the varieties of English spoken in that area. It is important, therefore, that the sample is not selected simply because it is easily available. An urban population is typically heterogeneous and socially and geographically mobile, and as a result person-to-person contact is an inadequate method of selection.

> Informants selected solely because they are available and willing to be interviewed are simply a part of the population of the city, not a representative sample, and no valid statements concerning the language of the city as a whole can be based on evidence obtained from informants in this way. (Trudgill 1974:20-21)

To emphasise this point further, Trudgill quotes Moser (1958:51):

> It is entirely wrong to make an arbitrary selection of cases, to rely on volunteers or people who happen to be at hand, and then to claim that they are a proper sample of some particular population.

Whereas Labov was able to take advantage of a pre-selected sample, Trudgill (1974), who was perhaps responsible for the introduction of Labovian methodology to Britain, had to generate his own. For his survey in Norwich he used a "quasi-random

sample" based on the local register of electors. Although with this method not every person has the same chance of selection (in this case because not everyone is necessarily on the register, and no one under the age of 21 was listed in 1974) Trudgill (1974:21) justifies its adoption by again quoting Moser. The methodology employed is:

> generally justified by the argument that the list [in this case the register of electors] can be regarded as arranged more or less at random, or that the feature by which it is arranged [streets and house numbers] is not related to the subject of the survey. (Moser 1958:77) [Trudgill's brackets]

Like Labov, Trudgill did not use the whole city in the generation of his sample, but whereas Labov had chosen to focus upon one specific area, the LES, Trudgill selected four wards which between them had social characteristics which were, on average, the same as the city as a whole. Moreover, they were selected to represent the different types of areas from the points of view of social, geographical and housing characteristics. In addition a fifth ward, outside the city boundary, was selected to represent the suburban population. Twenty-five people were randomly selected from each ward and letters sent out until a sample of fifty was generated[4] (1974:21-4). The study being conducted on the Isle of Man consists of a different type of sample in that it is larger in percentage terms (almost 1% of the population has been recorded) but consists of smaller interviews. For the purpose of this thesis only a small number of these informants will be examined, thus providing a 'snapshot' of contemporary language use in Douglas.

[4] In order to compensate for no one under the age of 21 being given the opportunity of selection children from local grammar schools were also interviewed.

2.2.2 Extra-linguistic variables

Labov placed great emphasis upon extra-linguistic factors such as age, sex, ethnic group and social class. Prior to 1966 it had been believed that linguistic variation in New York was random or 'free'. Labov demonstrated that this was not the case.

> Viewed against the background of the speech community as a whole, the variation was not random but determined by extra-linguistic factors in a quite predictable way. (Trudgill 1995:28)

In other words, although the speech of an individual may have appeared to be random, Labov was able to demonstrate that if he was examined in the context of the speech community, as opposed to by himself, that individual would be likely to use a variant *n*% of the time on average, depending upon on his sex, class and age, and the situation he was in.

Two particularly important points arise from this, the notion of situational context, and the need to accurately assign the individual to a group. Obviously sex, age and ethnic group are pre-determined factors, but it is the responsibility of the researcher to ensure that social class is assigned consistently. Trudgill states that social classes are not organised or sharply demarcated groups, but aggregates of people with similar economic characteristics and that they have an impact upon the language use of their members.

> Social barriers are as effective as geographical barriers in halting or slowing down the diffusion of fashions, ideas, values and speech forms which have originated in a particular social group, from one section of the community to another. Hence different groups have different customs. These social barriers arise, in the first place, through differential access to socially desirable types of objects and activities, such as housing and education, because of differences in wealth and income. (Trudgill 1974:32)

Some dialectologists had attempted to incorporate social factors into their investigations. *The Linguistic Atlas of the United States and Canada*, for example, had divided their informants into three groups according to their level of education (Trudgill 1995:26). Labov took this a step further, incorporating a social class index into linguistic study for the first time. He based his index upon that used by the MFY project, focusing specifically on occupation, income and education, working on the premise that a multiple item index is more reliable than a single indicator of social class (see Labov 1966 Chapter 7).

> A multiple-item index, by increasing the number of indicators of social class involved, is a much more refined and reliable means of measuring social class...It is also possible with a multiple-item indices for individual indicators to be examined separately for correlations with linguistic behaviour, in order to gauge the relative importance of each one for linguistic variation. (Trudgill 1974:36)

In his Norwich study, Trudgill used six indicators. He argued that while Labov had found three to be sufficient in New York, the social stratification was greater there than in Norwich. A more sophisticated index was therefore necessary to bring out Norwich's "less obvious but equally important differences". In the case of the Isle of Man an alternative system of selection is necessary; if the model advocated by Trudgill was simply adopted, any statistical sample would be skewed in favour of immigrants and the finance sector in particular.

Like Labov, Trudgill included occupation, education and income, but in addition to these housing, locality and father's occupation were also used (1974:36). In her investigation of Edinburgh school children, Romaine (1978) selected her informants non-randomly on the basis of their father's occupation. Also in Edinburgh, Reid (1978) took schools from the top and bottom catchment areas, as well as a fee paying

school, and from consideration, with one quarter of the sample representing the Catholic population of the city.

More recently Kerswill and Williams used "the Labovian qualitative tradition" in their study of social conditions and language change in Milton Keynes (2000:81). They examined a socially homogeneous group of forty eight children aged four, eight and twelve, who were either born in Milton Keynes or moved there before the age of two. Alongside these recordings were interviews held with the principal care giver (usually the mother) of each child. By using a sample which included a range of age groups they attempted to "investigate sociolinguistic maturation and to measure the extent of focusing" (2000:81).

A language (or variety) can be relatively more diffuse or more focused. Trudgill (1992:34) states that focused communities tend to have a high level of agreement about "norms of usage". According to Hudson (1996:13) focusing is found:

> where there is a high degree of contact among speakers and agreement on linguistic norms, and is typical of very closely knit small communities...or of societies where there is a highly standardised written language.

Kerswill and Williams did not select families which spanned the social spectrum of Milton Keynes, looking instead at members of a community largely employed in manual occupations and living in rented accommodation. The sample was generated by approaching schools and parents and asking for volunteers in two of the areas first established in the new town. Selection of the sample was made in such a way as to represent patterns of migration. More recently there has been a greater number of migrants from the surrounding counties of Buckinghamshire, Bedfordshire and

Northamptonshire, while from the creation of the town in the late 1960s and until 1988 new residents were almost entirely from the South East and about half of them were from London. To reflect this 50% of the oldest children were from families originally from London, while the parents of just 18.7% of the youngest children were from there (2000:78-9).

Although the amount of emphasis placed upon occupation varied, it was used by each of these investigations to assign informants to a particular group. This indicates that occupation is considered to be the most important single indicator of social class, an assumption supported by sociologists. Trudgill (1974:36) quotes Barber (1957:184-5):

> occupational position is the best single indicator of social stratificational position in contemporary American society...this is probably true in any industrial society.

2.2.3 Stylistic Context

Labov also placed great emphasis upon stylistic context, in particular the formality of a situation, and the effect it has upon linguistic behaviour.

> 'Formality' is not, in fact, something which it is easy to define with any degree of precision, largely because it subsumes very many factors including familiarity, kinship, relationship, politeness, seriousness, and so on, but most people have a good idea of the relative formality and informality of particular linguistic variants in their own language. (Trudgill 1995:91)

Labov believed that linguists were never unaware of this, but that stylistic variation had been ignored, not because it was thought unimportant, but because the techniques required for handling it adequately had not been developed. The New York survey was carefully designed to incorporate stylistic variation (1966:90). To record speech behaviour accurately large numbers of speakers must be observed, and

in order to ensure that it is representative, random sampling is necessary Yet to make sure that the data for many speakers are comparable, structured, formal interviews are necessary (or at least were considered necessary at that time). The problem facing those who wish to observe natural behaviour, including linguistic behaviour, is that people will not behave naturally when being observed, especially by a stranger. Labov termed this 'the observer's paradox':

> the formal interview itself defines a speech context in which only one speaking style normally occurs, what we may call careful speech. The bulk of the informant's speech production at other times may be quite different. He may use careful speech in many other contexts, but on most occasions he will be paying much less attention to his own speech, and enjoy a more relaxed style which we may call casual speech. (Labov 1966:91)

In other words, Labov is arguing that if an accurate description of linguistic behaviour is to be made, a random sample of the population must be interviewed in what is inevitably a formal situation, but this will affect their language use. For the current investigation the effect of observer's paradox was limited by the use of school children as participant observers (see Chapter 5).

In an attempt to overcome this Labov introduced several different styles into the interview situation. Sociolinguists generally place most emphasis upon casual speech, or the vernacular:

> A view of casual speech is essential in assessing whether a certain linguistic feature is variable or categorical; in eliciting the most advanced forms of change in progress; and in getting the most accurate information on the distribution of word classes, which is always clearest in the vernacular. (Labov 2001:104)

Milroy (1980:12) agrees:

> for the purpose of studying the social meanings speakers assign to language, it is important to obtain maximum access to the vernacular.

However, Labov warns against ignoring more careful speech, stating that this style is important to the interview as patterns of social stratification are somewhat clearer and more regular in careful speech. He points out that careful speech is important if the full picture is to be seen as it is through this style that overt sociolinguistic forms are most readily observed.

In his 1966 study, Labov gained assess to careful speech obtained through the interview in general, with increasing degrees of formality produced through the introduction of a reading passage, word lists and minimal pairs. A less formal style was obtained by taking advantage of 'breaks' in the interview situation, such as, interruptions, the entry of a third person into the room, the offer of refreshments by the informants etc. Other instances of casual speech were obtained through speech not in direct response to questions (e.g. extended narratives), discussions of childhood rhymes and customs and asking the informant if they had ever been in a situation where they were in 'danger of death'. The introduction of such techniques allowed the interview greater control over the amount of attention given by the informant to the way he speaks. Casual speech is most likely to be obtained when the informant is concentrating on other things such as making a drink or making a story interesting. The 'danger of death' question, for example, elicited many instances of casual speech because the informant was under pressure to express adequately the dangerous nature of the situation.

> By using, as a controlling factor, the amount of attention paid to speech at any time during the interview, he found that it was possible to produce the equivalent of distinct contextual styles of pronunciation. (Trudgill 1995:92)

This example has been followed by many. Trudgill (1974) obtained increasing degrees of formality throughout the interview by using a reading passage and word lists. Like Labov he took advantage of interruptions etc. to record less careful speech, but because Norwich is a somewhat less dangerous a city than New York, he did not ask his informants about any life threatening situations. Instead he asked if a particularly amusing incident had ever occurred. This had the same effect of shifting the informants' attention away from the way he spoke and the interview situation itself by placing pressure upon them to make the narrative entertaining (1974:51-2).

Reid (1978:15) also incorporated stylistic variation using four different contexts; a reading passage specially designed to concentrate on a number of linguistic variables, a fairly formal one to one interview, with two class mates talking about topics of mutual interest and with minimal involvement on the part of the investigator, and playing with friends in the school grounds wearing a radio-microphone. The very nature of the interviews conducted for the current study avoided the need for such a device as the interview consisted of a series of questions about the informants childhood and other experiences.

Similarly, in their examination of Milton Keynes, Kerswill and Williams recorded their child informants in school, on their own and with a friend, and carrying out several activities including reading lists, quizzes and spot the difference games. Each of them was recorded in the classroom, playing in the playground and during the interview itself. The principal care givers were interviewed for approximately one hour in their own homes in an attempt to obtain fairly informal speech. Six

elderly residents from the nearby village of Skewkley were also recorded in order to obtain samples of the local dialect (2000:82).

2.2.4 Linguistic Change

Labov placed great attention upon those variables that showed stylistic variation in order to help explain linguistic change. There is no doubt that Labov considered linguistic change to be of great importance. Indeed, Macaulay (1987:456) describes it as his primary aim.

> Labov has argued that the contrast in the use of a variable between monitored and unmonitored speech is one of the best indicators of a linguistic change in progress. He has investigated these differences by examining speech in different contexts, from the informal to the formal. (Macaulay 1987:457)

Milroy says that he has this in common with dialectologists, but that the emphasis was placed in a different direction. Whereas dialectology tried to record regional variations before they were lost, and attempted to show change in geographical terms, Labov focused upon change as it occurred in society and attempted to show why such changes took place.

> But Labov's work is all strongly slanted to the direct observation of linguistic change in the community, to working out its (social) mechanisms and isolating those social groups who are most directly responsible for introducing and spreading linguistic innovations. (Milroy 1980:7)

Prior to Labov's New York study it had been believed that sound change could not be directly observed. Labov (1966:10) quotes Bloomfield:

> The process of linguistic change has never been directly observed; we shall see that such observation with our present facilities, is inconceivable. (1933:347)

Labov agrees that language change cannot be observed in the way that cells can be seen to divide, for example, but argues that by examining different stages, change can be seen.

> Like other forms of social change, linguistic change is a change in the pattern of behaviour, and it must be observed by inference from the sampling of discrete stages. (Labov 1966:10)

To illustrate his belief in the ability to observe sound change Labov referred to Gauchat's (1905) study of Charmey, a village in French-speaking Switzerland. Gauchat found systematic differences in the treatment of six phonological variables by three successive generations. When in 1929 Hermann restudied Charmey, empirical evidence was provided to support Gauchat's claim of language change in progress for four of the six variables (Labov 1966:16).

Another well known study showing sound change in progress is that conducted by Labov in Martha's Vineyard (1972a). Using the methodology he later refined in New York, Labov was able to demonstrate that increasing centralisation of the vowels (ay) /aɪ/ and (aw) /au/ was taking place. These centralised variants are actually the older, traditional forms and one would have therefore anticipated their use to be restricted to the older generation, or at least for this section of the population to use these variants most consistently. On the contrary Labov found their use to be increasing among the young islanders. The sound change was shown to be the direct result of the islanders' subjective attitudes. Native islanders, and in particular young male fisherman from the town of Chilmark were shown to have reintroduced these forms in direct reaction to the growing tourist trade. It was the young, and in particular those who wished to remain on the island, who were shown to use the centralised variants most frequently, with those who intended to settle on

the mainland tending to use more standardised forms. Furthermore, stylistic context was shown to have little or no impact upon the degree of centralisation, which demonstrates that the change was a subconscious one. Milroy points out that by using many informants in Martha's Vineyard, Labov was able to note the regularity and direction of linguistic change and draw conclusions about the social motivation. Furthermore, the background information he gathered about the island and the islanders meant that his findings could be interpreted convincingly (Milroy 1980:8).

Unusual patterns of style differentiation can be indicative of linguistic change in progress. The usual pattern is demonstrated in fig. 2.1 (taken form Coates 1986:59).

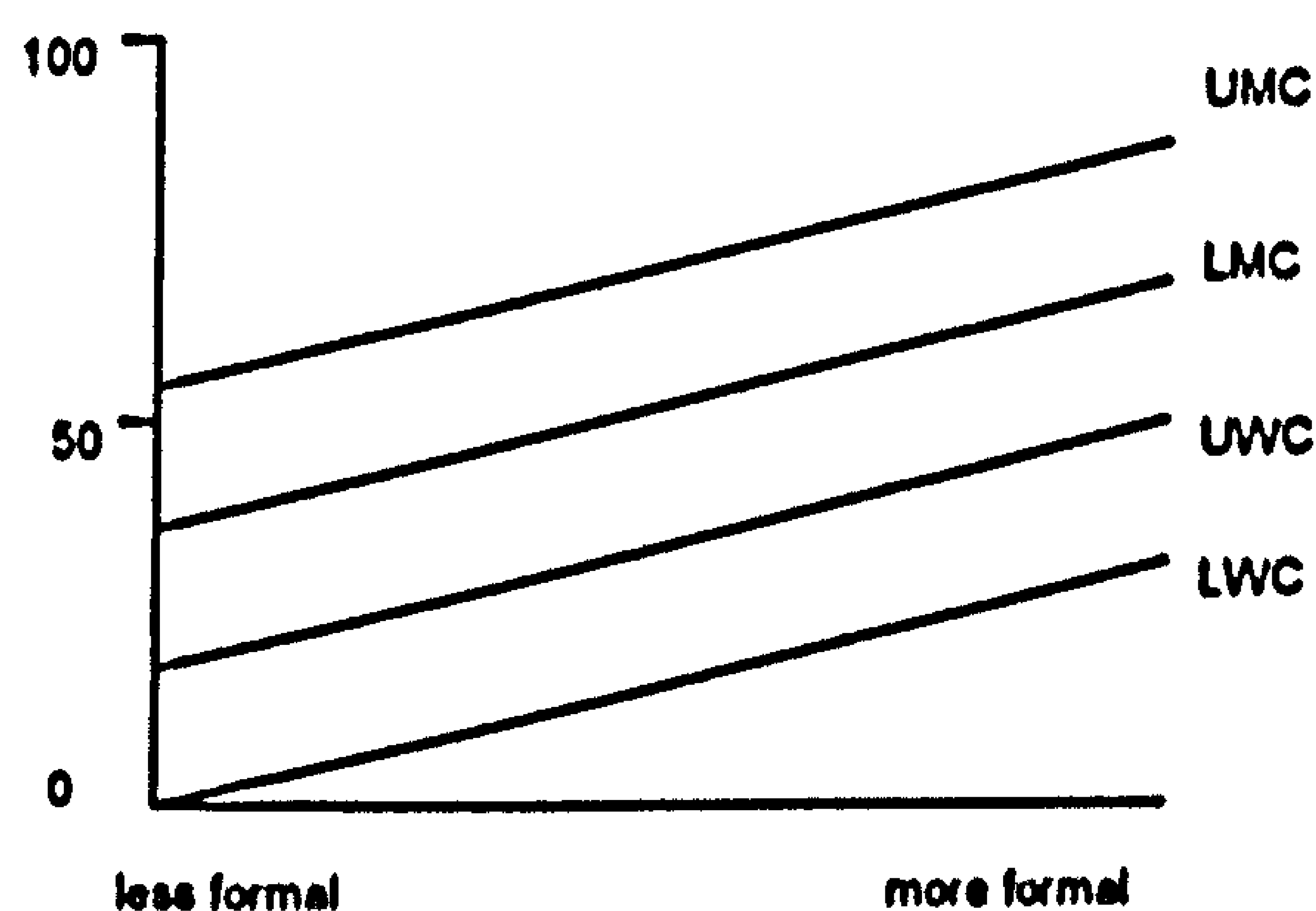


fig. 2.1 The usual pattern of social stratification

The diagram given in fig 2.1 is obviously a simplified form, but it demonstrates the general pattern which social stratification takes. In this instance the use of standardised variants score higher than non-standard forms. As can be seen each group uses more standard forms as the formality of the situation increases, but there is also a clear difference in the use of standard forms between the different social groups, with the UMC using the standard most frequently and the LWC least frequently (see Coates 1986 for a more detailed explanation). In New York, post-

vocalic /r/, that is, the pronunciation of (r) in words like *start, farm* etc., had only become significant after World War II. In his investigation of this variable Labov was able to demonstrate that sound change was in progress through the unusual pattern of stylistic variation it formed. Rather than adhere to the usual pattern demonstrated in fig. 2.1, post-vocalic /r/ shows an unusual 'crossover' pattern, with the LMC using the variant less frequently than the UMC in casual speech, but more frequently in the formal styles. Labov describes this occurrence as 'hypercorrection'. Chambers and Trudgill say that it can be explained:

> by supposing that in those situations where LMC speakers are devoting considerable amounts of attention to their speech, they, as it were, overdo things, and surpass even higher class speakers. (1980:96)

The reason for hypercorrection seems to be the insecurity of the LMC because of their borderline position between the middle and working classes. In an attempt to signal their status as members of the middle class prestige features, such as post-vocalic /r/ are frequently used, particularly when close attention is being paid to speech. The classic situation is that found for this extra-linguistic variable, but class is not the only factor which can result in hypercorrection. Newbrook describes it as:

> a situation where some sectors of a community, defined in terms of age, sex, class etc., produce variation patterns which do not correspond with the overall patterns established for the community, or which do not correspond with those typically produced by equivalent groups in other studies undertaken in comparable areas. This is often taken to be evidence of change being introduced largely through the groups in question. (Newbrook 1986:38-9)

In the case of post-vocalic /r/ in New York, evaluation tests further support the suggestion that language change was taking place. There was a definite increase in the prestige it was given by speakers under forty, compared with older speakers.

Correspondingly, there was an even sharper rise in the use of /r/ by even younger speakers (Trudgill 1995:10-11).

In Norwich, Trudgill (1974) demonstrates sound change for the vowel (e) as in *well, tell, better* etc. Unusually, the LWC scores more closely approached those of the middle class than either the MWC or the UWC. In fact the usual pattern of stratification was completely reversed for the working class. To explain this, Trudgill suggests that the LWC is a relatively 'underprivileged' group, isolated from innovating tendencies. He says that if this is the case, since the LWC is differentiated from the other working class sub-groups in an unusual way, we can hypothesise that high scores for this variable, which represent a large degree of centralisation, represent an innovation in Norwich.[5] In other words, he is suggesting that (e) is undergoing linguistic change, and that this change is being led by the upper members of the working class. An examination of the pattern of age-differentiation confirms this hypothesis. There is evidence of marked age-differentiation with younger informants, especially males aged between 10-19, having higher scores for (e) than older people. That is, centralisation of (e) is more prevalent among younger speakers and is becoming increasingly so. Like Labov, he concluded that unusual patterns of class differentiation could reflect change in progress (1974:104-5).

A further example of change in progress was recorded by Romaine (1978) in her study of non-prevocalic (or post-vocalic) /r/ among Edinburgh schoolchildren. Previous studies had shown that Scots speakers generally pronounced /r/. In her

[5] Please note that in fig 2.1 high scores represent standard usage, but Trudgill used high scores to represent a large amount of non-standard usage.

examination of this Romaine identified three variants; an alveolar tap, [ɹ], a frictionless continuant, [ɾ], and an absence of /r/, ø. By examining sex, age and style within the Labovian framework Romaine discovered that sound change was occurring, and that gender was the primary factor. The boys examined consistently used [ɾ]more than the girls, and were also more likely to use ø, whereas the girls consistently preferred the frictionless continuant [ɹ], and tended to avoid r-less pronunciation.

2.2.5 Descriptive Analysis

In the preface to his New York study Labov expressed the hope that sociolinguistics would not result in "a long series of purely descriptive studies" (1966:v). Trudgill says that this was perhaps overly severe as 'purely descriptive studies' of rural dialects were long regarded as legitimate and worthwhile. Although they may not have contributed directly to solving problems of linguistic theory, they added to knowledge about language and provided data which has since been used to help solve linguistic problems (Trudgill 1974:3). Macaulay says that Labov's fears were never realised - in fact, he comments that it is "somewhat paradoxical" that much of the speech recorded in surveys remains unanalysed. In order to ensure that the present thesis is not too analytical, it consists of an investigation of some of the available material but a good deal remains unanalysed. Labov concentrated on a few variables and ignored the rest of the data recorded, an example which has been followed by many (Macaulay 1987:456).

> Sociolinguistic studies have been principally focused on theoretical issues based on the analysis of a small number of key variables and little concerned with description of the wider linguistic context in which these variables occur...it is surprising how little sociolinguistic DESCRIPTION has resulted from the empirical work of the past

twenty years. As a result, sociolinguistic surveys have provided little information on most aspects of the language used by those whose language was sampled. (Macaulay 1987:457)

2.3 Social Networks

An alternative approach to the Labovian paradigm is provided by the concept of social networks. Central to the methodology in the present thesis is the use of school and family networks. Work in this field examines the level of integration of a speaker in a community and the reflection this has upon his language. Trudgill defined a social network as:

> An anthropological concept referring to the multiple web of relationships an individual contracts in a society with other people who he or she is bound to directly or indirectly...by ties of friendship, kinship, or other social relationships. (1992:67)

The level of density and multiplexity determines the strength of a network. A dense network is one in which "the people whom the speaker knows and interacts with also know each other" (Romaine 1994:82). The degree to which a network is multiplex is determined by the way in which members know each other. For example, an individual will have a multiplex relationship with his cousin if they are also colleagues and neighbours.

> Thus, it is possible for ego to relate to relatively few people in many capacities and have relatively *multiplex* network ties, or to relate to a great many people in a single capacity and have relatively *uniplex* ties. (Milroy 1980:51)

In other words, the number and types of links between members of a network can be used to determine how close-knit (closed) or open it is.

> Multiplexity and density are conditions which often co-occur, and both increase the effectiveness of the network as a norm-enforcement mechanism. Relationships in tribal societies, villages and traditional working class communities are typically multiplex and dense, whereas those in geographically and socially mobile industrial societies tend to uniplexity and spareness. (Milroy 1980:52)

Social networks have long been recognised as powerful factors in determining social behaviour. Milroy and Margrain (1980) refer in some detail to Elizabeth Bott's (1957) study of twenty London families. Bott set out to show how social class and neighbourhood brought about variation in the allocation of household chores between married couples. Through the application of social network theory it was shown that the level of separation in responsibilities was linked to their personal network structure. In families with close-knit networks, jobs were more rigidly allocated than in those families with more open networks. In other words, the strength of their networks determined whether or not the chores were treated as the responsibility of either husband or wife.

Bott argued that this was due to the contraction of dense, multiplex networks prior to marriage and the imposition of 'rules' upon its members. Milroy (1995:106) supports this idea. She argues that if an individual is part of a close knit community they are more likely to be vulnerable to pressure exerted by everyday social contacts. Group membership, then, has a degree of control over the social behaviour of the individual. Among those couples who were not part of dense, multiplex networks, and who were not under this pressure, there was evidence of greater interdependence within the couple, and tasks and responsibilities were shared. Milroy and Margrain say:

> it is possible to argue in a similar manner that the more dense and multiplex an individual's network, the greater is its capacity to impose on him or her its own norms of *linguistic* behaviour. (1980:48)

This notion is generally agreed upon. Romaine (1994:83) argues that individuals with high network scores generally use more non-standard speech than those with open networks; thus, those individuals who have "close association" with the local

community are more likely to use local, non-standard speech. On the other hand, she points out that speakers with more diffuse norms are likely to be part of networks with more geographically and socially mobile members. Coates also agrees:

> Relatively dense networks, it is claimed, function as norm enforcement mechanisms. In the case of language, this means that a closely-knit group will have the capacity to enforce *linguistic* norms. (1986:80)

Generally speaking, networks in rural areas tend to be dense and multiplex. In this sense it could perhaps be argued that dialectologists took networks for granted because of the implicit assumption that the close-knit networks in the villages they studied slowed the process of standardisation. In urban areas the networks are more likely to be uniplex and spare; the exceptions to this are established working class areas, or "urban villages" (Milroy and Margrain 1980:48).

> It seems that the networks typically found in socially mobile, highly industrialised societies are of low density and uniplex...In rural village communities and in traditional working-class communities, on the other hand, the networks typically found are of high density and multiplex. (Coates 1986:80)

While Romaine agrees with this, pointing out that social class and network are linked, with the middle class generally belonging to more open networks than the working class, she also draws our attention to the 'old boy network' as evidence of close-knit communities among the upper class (Romaine 1994:83).

Labov argues (2001:224) that the greatest drawback of using a random sample is that it does not allow the social process creating the patterns of behaviour to be seen directly. The use of social networks and neighbourhood studies is one way of overcoming this.

> The site study gives up the aim of representing the larger community for the sake of gaining a deeper understanding of how the speakers relate to each other. Through recordings of individuals, pairs and groups, notes taken through passive observation, and long term participant observation at the site, the investigator can compare the behaviours of parents and children, friends and enemies, leaders and followers. (Labov 2001:224)

According to Coates (1986:79), although the concept of social networks has been current in the social sciences for some years, it was not incorporated in sociolinguistics until Blom and Gumperz (1972) and not well known until used in the Belfast study by James and Lesley Milroy (Milroy and Milroy 1978, Milroy 1980). The remainder of this section will look at some of the sociolinguistic studies that have applied the social network concept, or examined the related concept of peer groups.

2.4 Studies Using the Social Network Concept

2.4.1 Blom and Gumperz (1972)

This study was conducted in Hemnesberget, a small commercial and industrial town in northern Norway. Blom and Gumperz (1972:410) described the town as "an island of tradition in a sea of change" with most of the residents spending the bulk of their work and leisure time in the immediate vicinity, a situation perhaps reminiscent of Martha's Vineyard and the Isle of Man. Hemnesberget is reported to be a traditionally rural community with the young leaving for educational purposes, but often returning. This is not unlike the situation found in the Isle of Man until fairly recently. The Isle of Man has had, and may still have, a distinctive vernacular greatly influenced by the standard, partly because of the geographical mobility of the young. The greatest difference between the Island and Hemnesberget is that the Isle of Man is now home to many immigrants relocating for employment purposes.

Most of the residents are native speakers of Ranamål, a dialect that enjoys great prestige in the locality.

> A person's native speech is regarded as an integral part of his family background, a sign of his local identity. By identifying himself as a dialect speaker both at home and abroad, a member symbolizes pride in his community and in the distinctness of its contribution to society at large. (Blom and Gumperz 1972:411)

All Ranamål speakers also speak the standard, Bokmål, the language of education, official transactions, religion and the media.[6] The two languages co-exist but are treated as completely separate with each used in the appropriate context.

> In their everyday interaction, they (the residents) select among the two as the situation demands. Members view this alternation as a shift between two distinct entities that are never mixed. A person speaks either one or the other. (Blom and Gumperz 1972:411) (my brackets)

Blom and Gumperz determined that although considered as entirely distinct by the speech community, the two varieties under consideration did not differ in the way that Bokmål and English do, for example. They say that Bokmål and Ranamål are "almost isomorphic in syntax and phonetics and vary chiefly in morphophonemics" and point out that "most speakers control the entire range of variables" required for both (1972:416). As a result of this they suggest that.

> the maintenance of distinct alternates for common inflectional morphemes and function, is conditioned by social factors. (1972: 416-7)

This can be explained in part by the acquisition of the two varieties. While the dialect is learnt at home, with family and friends, the standard is introduced at school and church, at a time when national Norwegian values are also introduced. Ranamål, therefore, "has acquired the flavour of these locally based relationships", while

[6] Norway has two legally recognised standard languages, Bokmål and Nynorsk. Only Bokmål is current in northern Norway.

Bokmål has "become associated with such pan-Norwegian activity systems" (Blom and Gumperz 1972:417). However, this alone is an inadequate explanation for the maintenance of such distinctness, given that all the adults have equal access to both sets of variants. Blom and Gumperz suggest that the two varieties remain separate because of the "cultural identities they communicate and the social values implied therein" (1972:417). For some Manx people the traditional Manx English dialect has taken on an almost iconic status as a national variety. It is psychologically more important than, for example, the Lancashire vernacular, and in this respect the situation is not dissimilar to that reported in Hemnesberget. Although all Manx people do not share this attitude, it is still an important issue.

Hemnesberget is considered by its residents to be a close-knit community and the dialect is an important marker of common culture to them. Despite a strong sense of local identity, however, the relationships of an individual were actually shown to be generally small and stable. For most people they are made up of immediate family and in-laws, neighbours and colleagues.

> The community can thus be described as segmented into small nuclei of personal interaction. (1972:419)

Set apart from this 'local team' is the elite who show a clear preference for the standard, associating the dialect with a lack of education and sophistication. Social factors, in particular occupation, can be seen to be relevant to this divide between local and middle class values.

The hypothesis put forward by Blom and Gumperz on the basis of unstructured ethnographic observation is that network members will use the dialect to speak to each other and that this will not change regardless of the topic, be it local, national or

official issues (1972:426). They also suggest that whenever local and non-local relationships are relevant to the same situation, changes in topic may lead to code switching (1972:428). To test this Blom and Gumperz recorded self-recruited groups at informal social events. That the groups were self-recruited is important because the relationship between group members, and the obligations thus placed upon them, already existed.

> It insures that groups are defined by locally recognized relationships and enables the investigator to predict the norms relevant to their introduction. Furthermore, the fact that participants have pre-existing obligations toward each other means that, given the situation, they are likely to respond to such obligations in spite of the presence of strangers. (1972:426-7)

The groups were two groups of 'locals', and a group of university students home for the vacation. The role of the fieldworker was to make sure that many topics were discussed, working on the premise that the "greater the range of topics covered, the greater the likelihood of language shift" (1972:427). They were also careful to remain in the background as much as possible, allowing the groups to interact normally. The tape recorder ran continuously, and after some time was ignored by the group. Only those passages that were recognisable as internal discussions were analysed.

Both groups of locals showed evidence of a number of lexical borrowings but over several hours of conversation there was no clear instance of phonological or grammatical switching. The students, however, despite claims to be pure dialect speakers, also shared a status associated with pan-Norwegian values and the standard i.e. their level of education. Blom and Gumperz assumed that this would lead to code switching depending on the values the topic under discussion related to. Once again the hypothesis was confirmed, though such switching was shown to be below

the level of consciousness. A fourth group made up of members of the town's elite showed a tendency toward the standard, using Ranamål only in a humorous anecdotal fashion. Thus, the town is shown to be divided into groups for whom the dialect has different social meaning.

Milroy says that although Blom and Gumperz do not actually set out to analyse the relationship between network and language in any systematic way, it is clear that the heaviest dialect users are members of dense and multiplex networks (Milroy 1980:20-1). She adds that the notion is amenable to further analysis.

> Ultimately, it can be used to account for variability in *individual* linguistic behaviour in communities, which is something a large-scale analysis like Labov's in New York City does not set out to do. (Milroy 1980:21)

Studies of this kind are not necessarily opposed to work in the Labovian style, however.

> Labov too concludes that language use is closely connected with the local values system; where his approach differs is that he does not examine situational variable as closely nor primarily demonstrate in such detail the manner in which language choice is linked to a local values system. Just as Labov views the vernacular as socially functional in that it is an important marker of group identity, so Blom and Gumperz view the maintenance of *both* dialect *and* standard codes as functional because they express necessary social meanings. They are maintained by a social system which sharply distinguishes between local and non local values. (Milroy 1980:33)

Responses to questions regarding Manx identity demonstrate that this sense of a "local values system" also exists among some of the informants analysed for this thesis. When asked if immigration to the Island should be restricted, for example, Informant 3 responded by commenting:

> Yeah. They should, er, cut down on the immigration coming to the Island 'cause it's too many, too many English people over.

He continues by saying that there would be a Manx way of life "if the English didn't come over an' dictate." Informant 5 on the other hand states:

> There is a Manx way of life. I don't think it is as Manx as it used to be because it is said that only half the population in the Isle of Man is now Manx and half are not, so I would say the Manx way of life must only be half of what it used to be.

As will be seen in Chapter 6, both of these informants frequently used the Manx English forms of the variables examined. It is possible that there is a link between this point of view and the use of traditional Manx English variants. This is not examined in this thesis as the number of informants who expressed opinions on this matter were insufficient for the provision of conclusive data. It would be an interesting topic for further investigation, however.

2.4.2 Labov et al. (Labov, Cohen, Robins and Lewis, 1968)

In this investigation Labov employed a completely different technique from that used in his previous study of New York City; adolescent informants, several fieldworkers and more than one method of data collection were incorporated in an attempt to obtain reliable information about Black English Vernacular (BEV) in Harlem. Labov (1972b) advocates that vernacular speech is more likely to be found among adolescents; this is at least partly due to the control imposed by the peer group network structure. Furthermore, among adults the range of available superimposed styles may obscure the vernacular, but Labov argues that these have not fully developed among adolescents. The informants used were members of several peer groups, most notably those known as the Jets, Thunderbirds and Cobras.

Cheshire (1982:8) refers to comments made by Labov (1965) regarding the increasing influence of peer groups between the ages of five and twelve, at which

point it becomes a major influence upon language behaviour. She points out that his subjective evaluation tests in New York City show that there is no real awareness of the social significance of different varieties of language until the age of fourteen. As a result of this Labov concludes that style shifting is likely to occur less frequently among adolescents, and there is a greater chance of obtaining recordings of vernacular speech by using informants of this age.

This is not an undisputed fact: in Britain evidence exists of style shifting among children as young as ten (Romaine 1978; Reid 1978). In Glasgow, however, Macaulay (1977) was unable to find evidence of regular patterns of style shifting until the age of fifteen.

> As far as varieties of British English are concerned, then, it seems that there are considerable differences in the ages at which style-shifting is acquired, so it does not necessarily follow that using adolescents as subjects will lead to recordings of pure vernacular speech. (Cheshire 1982:9)

The range of styles available for analysis for this study was further widened by the introduction of different interviewers. Labov and Cohen were white professional linguists, whereas Robins and Lewis were black and were themselves members of the vernacular culture, the informants would therefore be comparatively relaxed in their presence. Using 'insiders' and 'outsiders' by means of the engagement of young black fieldworkers to follow the groups' activities and make observations and recordings as participant observers thus obtained different styles of language.

The third technique used to gain access to the vernacular was to record situations as unlike a traditional interview as possible. As discussed above, an interview leads to more formal speech styles by its very nature. In an attempt to override this a club house was hired for a year and groups were recorded in a 'party like' atmosphere, as

well as on minibus trips etc. They were observed taking part in activities often found in the 'vernacular culture', and a "rich repertoire of speech events typical of many Afro-American communities"; recordings were made, for example, of ritual insults, rapping, playing the dozens etc. (Romaine 1984:30). Milroy (1980:78) observes that because they were recorded in relatively uninhibited group sessions, the variability went "well beyond the unidimensional shifts analysed previously in New York City". Furthermore:

> Although of course the effect of observation was present...the resulting constraints were not as strong in their capacity to inhibit the emergence of the vernacular as those generated by the presence of the group were to encourage it. (Milroy 1980:27-8)

Interviews with individuals, as well as a random sample of adults from two apartment blocks, were used to supplement the data. Labov and his colleagues were able to obtain clear instances of BEV, and also obtained evidence of stylistic variation within the speech community.

> By using this combination of methods, Labov was able to obtain a clear view of general speech community norms, as well as focusing as directly as possible on Black English Vernacular. His data were rich enough to allow him to analyse 'internal' grammar; as well as examining general sociolinguistic patterns, he was able to study specifically linguistic constraints on such processes as final stop deletion, copula deletion and double negation. (Milroy 1980:29)

Labov was also able to provide evidence that linguistic behaviour is influenced by the strength of an individual's network ties through the examination of members' integration into the community. Looking at the peer group known as the Jets, Labov identified four levels of group membership; centre, secondary, peripheral and lames. The level of integration was shown to relate to the incidence of copula deletion (e.g. *He a bad man* for *He is a bad man*).

> Labov's work was among the first to demonstrate the importance of peer-group membership in influencing norms of speech. Those who were most firmly integrated into local street gangs were also those

> most firmly entrenched in vernacular culture. Outsiders or marginals were, by contrast, 'linguistic lames', i.e. they did not know the rules for behaviour in the vernacular culture and were more receptive to influence from outside. (Romaine 1984:30)

2.4.3 Penelope Eckert (1999)

More recently, Eckert conducted a study of the links between linguistic and social behaviour in Belton High, a school in Detroit. This work was described by Labov as "one of the most important sociolinguistic studies of the 1990s" (2001:151). She found the school to be divided between groups known as the 'jocks', 'burnouts' and 'inbetweens'. The jocks were 'good' pupils, involved in extra-curricular activities held at the school and generally expressing an interest in going to college. The burnouts on the other hand, took their name from their involvement with the drugs culture. They rejected school and the authority it stood for, considering it to be irrelevant to the work they would find in the local job market.

> In a very real sense, then, the jocks are an institutionally orientated community of practice, while the burnouts are a more locally and personally orientated one. (1999:50)

The two groups were separated not only by their attitude toward school and school activities, but also by their dress, music, the different courses they took, their attitude toward tobacco, and the areas they spent their free time in school. Although the majority of the pupils were actually members of neither group but somewhere between the two, the fact they frequently described themselves in terms of the characteristics they shared with the jocks or burnouts demonstrated that these groups held symbolic importance (1999:59).

Eckert spent a period of a year as an observer in the school but deliberately stayed outside the classroom and the power struggles found there between staff and pupils.

Ethnographic observation was used to gather information on the ideology and lifestyle which formed the basis for the social organisation of the school. This information was then used for the selection of the sample interviewed for linguistic purposes. In total, sixty-nine speakers from Belton High were analysed, roughly divided by sex and group membership. To provide a context for these data smaller samples were also examined from three other schools in the Detroit suburbs.

Eckert focused on negative concord and an impressionistic phonetic transcription of six vocalic variables; (ach), (o), (oh), (ʌ), (e) and (ay). Each speaker was represented by a single sociolinguistic interview and the first fifty tokens were counted for each variable (1999:85-7).

Eckert discovered that with the exception of negative concord, group membership was more relevant to the linguistic behaviour of her informants than the social class they were assigned to.

> Perhaps the most important finding of this study is the small extent to which the speech of Belton High students reflects their parents' socioeconomic characteristics. (1999:108)

However, she does point out that the selection of the sample was not random, but based upon "place in social networks and particularly in relation to social categories". She suggests that this could be partly responsible for the lack of correlation between the linguistic behaviour and socio-economic class of the informants. She found that alongside the other forms of behaviour and attitude that separated the jocks and the burnouts, the vocalic variables were "part of a more general stylistic opposition" (1999:60).

> The depths of the social differences that constitute the opposition between jocks and burnouts is witnessed by the fact that, along with

> gender, the major determiners of the use of sociolinguistic variables in Belton High are jock or burnout affiliation, and engagement in the practices that constitute those categories. (1999: 111-2)

Whereas the other studies discussed in this section examine the strength of an individual's network ties, Eckert focuses upon group membership in a wider sense. Ideology and lifestyle are seen to be at least as important to Belton High students as involvement with a group of individuals. However, her conclusion is the same; peer group pressure is seen to lead to behavioural conformity, including linguistic behaviour.

2.4.4 James and Lesley Milroy

The work conducted by the Milroys in Belfast is of particular importance as it brought the social network concept to the attention of many sociolinguists, and has offered alternative explanations for many aspects of the subject such as the tendency among women to use standard forms more consistently than men, and the maintenance of non-standard and therefore non-prestigious linguistic norms. The field work was conducted by Lesley Milroy in 1975-6 in three working class communities; Ballymacarrett, a Protestant area in East Belfast, a second Protestant area, the Hammer, in the west of the city, and Clonard, a Catholic community also in the west. They were "geographically differentiated working class communities in comparable inner-city areas" (Milroy and Milroy 1978:19). Each of the communities was rigidly either Catholic or Protestant, separated from its neighbours by sectarian lines. Milroy and Margrain (1980:45) compare them to the LWC in Trudgill's Norwich study (1974), describing them as "rough" and suffering from "social

malaise". The reader is also referred to Pahl (1975:167) and his definition of "pauperisation" with regard to the inhabitants of these areas.

> Pahl refers to the structural changes which result in a tendency for the lower working class to become relatively poorer as society becomes more skilled and the services of the unskilled or semi-skilled worker are consequently less in demand. (Milroy and Margrain 1980:45)

The three areas under examination were all areas of high unemployment and other social problems. For a number of years prior to the investigation the local authorities had encouraged residents to leave the areas, with the result that the majority of the socially mobile had already relocated to more desirable, suburban council estates. Both Clonard and the Hammer had traditionally relied upon the declined linen industry, which meant that male unemployment was high, and that those who had work found it necessary to travel outside the immediate area. Only Ballymacarrett had retained its traditional source of local employment, the shipyard (Milroy and Milroy 1978:21-3). This will be seen to have an interesting impact upon network strength, because the Belfast communities, like core working-class areas in other large cities, are described as being characterised by:

> dense overlapping kin and friendship networks which tend not to cross the territorial boundaries of 'our' areas as intersubjectively perceived by the residents. These dense close-knit networks are maintained by a number of mechanisms such as extended visiting, corner hanging, and (most important of all) a homogeneous traditional form of employment located within the area. (Milroy and Milroy 1978:23)

Milroy and Milroy say that employment of this type is of particular importance because it tends to reinforce dense, multiplex network ties that enhance male solidarity and the segregation of sex roles. As a result the communities were clearly isolated from the mainstream of upwardly mobile Belfast, with values separate from,

and sometimes in opposition to, the media and educational systems (Milroy and Margrain 1980:46).

According to Milroy and Margrain it is possible to demonstrate clear age and sex differentiation in the language of Belfast speakers. However, differences between speakers of the same age, sex and social background were also evident. Although such behaviour could be explained by the use of a complex class index, it was decided that a much simpler approach, based on the structure of an individual's relationships, would be used instead (Milroy and Margrain 1980:46-7).

Milroy advocates that:

> people interact meaningfully as individuals, in addition to forming parts of structures, functional institutions such as class, castes or occupational groups. (1980:46)

We have already seen through the examination of peer groups conducted by Labov et al, that such relationships can differ in their level of integration. Milroy (1980) supports this, describing networks as being made up of first order zones, second order zones etc., and argues that "transactions" such as greetings, jokes, favours etc. pass along a network's links. Each member must make available some "token of exchange" and such a system incurs an obligation to return that transaction.

> A social network acts as a mechanism both for exchanging goods and services, and for imposing obligations and conferring corresponding rights upon its members. (Milroy 1980:47)

Part of the second-order zone are 'friends of a friend', and it was by introducing herself as such, and thereby taking advantage of this status, that Milroy was able to

become a group member, albeit a peripheral one. This allowed her to engage in long term participant observation.

> Friends of friends perform an important social function by extending the range of goods and services which members of the first order zone are able to provide. Therefore, if a stranger is identified as a friend of a friend, he may easily be drawn into the networks' mesh of exchange, and obligation relationships. His chances of observing and participation in prolonged interaction will then be considerably increased. (Milroy 1980:53)

By using the name of a friend, a guarantee of good faith is also given. Milroy does warn against using the fieldworker's network alone, however:

> any acceptable method must be capable of application outside the researcher's own first order network zone. (1980:53)

She points out that the purpose of refining sociolinguistic field techniques is to broaden the range of language available for study, not to narrow it.

Any officials such as priests, teachers or community leaders were avoided. This was important because even a semi-official approach can result in obtaining access to only relatively standardised speakers (Milroy 1980:53; see Labov 1972c). Interviews were conducted with network members until a core quota of eight young people, aged 18-25, and eight middle aged people, aged 42-55, was met in each area. The quota was also equally divided by sex. Data was also collected on numerous network members outside of the core quota (Milroy and Milroy 1978:22).

As has already been stated:

> density and multiplexity are excellent indicators of the pressure a person is under to adopt the norms and values - including linguistic norms and values - of the 'local team'. (Milroy and Margrain 1980:49)

Given this, each individual was given a network strength score to determine the degree of density and multiplexity. Five indicators determined this, a point being awarded for each of the conditions fulfilled.

> 1. Membership of a high density, territorially based cluster.
> 2. Having substantial ties of kinship in the neighbourhood. (More than one household, in addition to her or his own nuclear family.)
> 3. Working at the same place as at least two others from the same area.
> 4. The same place of work as at least two others of the same sex from the same area.
> 5. Voluntary association with work mates in leisure hours. This applies in practice only when conditions three and four are satisfied. (Milroy and Margrain 1980:51)

The first of the conditions is related to density, the others refer to multiplexity. There have been criticisms levelled against this index system on the grounds that it is weighted towards men, a problem, which will be discussed in Chapter 7. What is of interest to us here, is that in the Hammer and Clonard areas, where male unemployment is high, the women informants often obtained network strength scores as high, or higher than the men. In Ballymacarrett on the other hand, where the traditional employment patterns prevailed, men typically scored higher.

> The value of the social network as a concept, and the Network Strength Score as an analytical tool, lies in their ability to demonstrate a correlation between the integration of an individual in the community, and the way that individual speaks. Individuals who participate in the close-knit networks are also those who most consistently use the vernacular forms in speech. It would be a common-sense assumption that the speech of members of a close-knit group would tend to be more homogeneous than that of a loosely knit group; the Network Strength Scale allied with linguistic analysis allows the assumption to be examined more closely. (Coates 1986:82)

In her examination of sex differences in language Coates (1986) examines the way in which the Milroys treated two of the Belfast variables. She looks in some detail at the deletion of (th) intervocalically in words like *mother* and the degree of retraction

and back raising of (a) in words like *hat*, *back*, *man* etc. It is worth re-examining these as they clearly illustrate the effect a social network has upon the linguistic behaviour of its members. For (th) a simple binary system was used, whereas (a) was more complex and required a five-point scale. For both variables a high score indicated a high level of non-standard usage. In all three communities (th) revealed the pattern typical of a sociolinguistic marker. Sex differentiation was clearly evident, especially in the more traditional area, Ballymacarrett, and the two age groups demonstrated a similar pattern, though the polarisation of the sexes was greater among the young. On an individual level, there is no overlap between men and women; in other words, even those men who use the non-standard form least used it more frequently than the women who used it most often (Coates 1986:83). This variable does not appear to be undergoing linguistic change and as a result is a useful point of comparison for the other variables. Milroy and Milroy (1978:25) point out that although all speakers shifted towards that standard in more formal styles, none of the informants made reference to the deletion of (th) when discussing the Belfast vernacular. From this they suggest that (th) does not seem to be a conscious symbol of vernacular loyalty.

The second variable discussed by Coates, (a), is not treated the same by each of the communities. In Ballymacarrett the pattern is the same as that shown for (th) with clear sex differentiation of the expected type, while in the Hammer the sexes show little variation. In the Clonard area, however, the young women use more backed variants of (a) than the young men do, while the older women have significantly lower scores than their male counterparts (Coates 1986:84). Milroy and Milroy

(1978:27) describe this distribution as "apparently chaotic". By examining the strength of the various networks, however, this can be explained.

Ballymacarrett enjoys the traditional social structure of working class areas and as a result the male network scores are high, that is, the male population in this area are generally members of dense, multiplex networks. In Clonard the reverse is true. Male unemployment is high while many women have steady work. This is also true of the Hammer, but in Clonard the young women work together, live together and spend their leisure time in each other's company. As a result the young Clonard women have high Network Strength Scores; in fact they score higher than any other group. The young women in Clonard have, in effect, taken on the traditional male role, in terms of network strength, and this is reflected in their language use.

> The contrast is between a traditional working-class community (Ballymacarrett) and a working-class community undergoing social change because of severe male unemployment (Clonard). The tight-knit network to which the young Clonard women belong clearly exerts pressure on its members, who are linguistically homogeneous. Because of their social circumstances, the young Clonard women are linguistically more like the young Ballymacarrett men than like the other women in the three communities. Social networks in this case help to explain not only linguistic differences between the sexes, but also the seemingly divergent behaviour of the younger Clonard women. (Coates 1986:85)

2.5 Conclusions

Three major groups of issues emerge from this discussion; the switch towards highlighting social factors, away from the concerns of traditional dialectology, the importance of gaining access to the vernacular and the use of pre-existing social networks versus random selection. In section 2.1.3 it was stated that dialectology and sociolinguistics are not necessarily opposed to each other but that there is a clear

distinction between the two. Whereas the primary aim of dialectologists is to record 'pure' language forms and their distribution in spatial terms, sociolinguists seek to observe variation and change in language and to explain why it occurs through the examination of social factors. This shift in emphasis was necessary if wider sections of the population were to be studied. The demographic and social mobility of urban areas meant that it was essential for a larger number of informants to be analysed.

> Traditionally, 'dialectologists' were able to study different areas of accent and dialect use fairly easily, drawing lines on the map (isoglosses) to separate one form and speech community from another. This is much more difficult in an urban setting, where migration and industrialisation tend to mix up family origins. The sociolinguistic method...has enabled the study of urban dialectology in these situations. (Stockwell 2002:6)

As stated above, social factors were not unimportant to dialectologists. Indeed, the selection of informants was determined by rigid guidelines on the basis of sex, age, mobility (or the lack of it) and place of birth and residence. These are also the important considerations for this and most other sociolinguistic studies. Sociolinguists seek to determine the degree of variation membership to groups such as these bring about. For dialectological purposes, however, the 'ideal' informant was an elderly man who had lived in a specific rural area all of his life. Central to the switch from dialectology to sociolinguistics was the realisation that no language is homogeneous and that they are constantly changing. The aim of dialectologists was to record 'pure' language forms(hence the choice of informants); such forms do not in fact exist. That is not to say that there is no value in such a study, however. The description of older varieties of language provided have been invaluable in the examination of language change, as will be discussed in section 5.4.2.

The most obvious and probably the greatest advantage gained by the switch of focus from dialectology to sociolinguistics is that a clearer, wider and more accurate picture of the way language is used is provided. This apples equally to an individual or to a group. The examination of stylistic variation and situational context are important because language does not just vary within a community, but for each individual. The change of emphasis from the rigid selection of informants to the generating of a sample made up of groups determined on the basis of sex, age, class etc. allows a community to be represented more accurately. Combined, these developments have brought about a greater understanding about how a language varies and why.

As will have been seen, an important recurring point in this chapter is the desire of sociolinguists to gain access to a speaker's most natural use of language, or the vernacular. Milroy (1980:23) stresses the necessity of accessing this style in order to be able to accurately describe other, more easily obtained, formal styles by quoting Labov.

> Its [the vernacular's] highly regular character is an empirical observation. The vernacular includes inherent variation, but the rules governing that variation appear to be more regular than those operating in the more formal 'supersuposed' styles that are acquired later in life. Each speaker has a vernacular form in at least one language...In some cases systematic data can be obtained from more formal styles, but we do not know this until they have been calibrated against the vernacular. (Labov 1978:5) [Milroy's brackets]

While formal speech is important (see section 2.2.3) Milroy also states that accessing formal styles alone is inadequate because "sporadic correction" can lead to incomplete data and, therefore, incomplete description.

She points to two factors that make it difficult to gain access to the vernacular within the context of an interview. Firstly, in western society such a speech event is well known and clearly defined. Informants are aware that formal speech is the norm for interviews, especially when a tape recorder is used. No doubt television and radio interviews with politicians and other public figures support this notion. Informants may consciously or subconsciously use more formal styles of speech believing that this is what is expected and desired.

> The perception of the interview as a speech event subject to clear rules persists...however carefully the interviewer modifies the formality of his approach. (Milroy 1980:24-5)

Second, the interview usually occurs on a one to one basis between strangers. There is therefore no pressure upon the informant to speak in the manner that he would when among friends and family.

> One consequence of the informant's isolation is that pre-existing norms of behaviour do not necessarily apply. The presence of a primary group impels the speakers, to varying degrees (depending partly on its capacity to impose normative consensus), to speak as he normally would in their presence. (Milroy 1980:25)

Labov (1966), Trudgill (1974) and others, took advantage of interruptions by a third party in order to obtain access to casual speech, but the occurrence of such interruptions were by chance and beyond the control of the interviewer. Others, such as Reid (1978), incorporated group discussions, as well as individual interviews, into their methodology in an attempt to combat this. Further techniques such as topic control have also been developed by, for example, Labov (1966), Trudgill (1974), and Blom and Gumperz (1972). However, Milroy (1980:26) argues that even with "the special constraints of that speech event...temporarily overridden", the interview situation, as developed by Labov, is inadequate:

> direct interviewing, however informal the approach of the field worker is an uncertain means of gaining access to the vernacular. (Milroy 1980:30)

The methodology used for the 'Recording Mann' project means that the majority of interviews are not taking place between strangers, but between children and members of their families. This has the advantage of allowing access to the vernacular.

According to Milroy (1995:108-9) the social network approach has three main advantages over the large scale survey based upon random selection; it allows more detailed study of relatively small self-contained groups, it enables speakers to be analysed at an individual level as well as, or rather than, on a group level, and it can be applied in situations where class is not applicable, for example, minority ethnic groups, rural and non-industrialised populations.

> A speaker's place in a group structure can be seen to be connected with his language at a very much less abstracted level than is his place in a social class hierarchy which, as we have seen, is also connected with his language. (Milroy 1980:30)

Milroy also points out two disadvantages, however; the ill-defined nature of the measurement and quantification of network structure, and the existence of loose-knit networks. Crucial to the concept of social networks behaving as norm enforcers is the individual's level of integration into the community, but this is dependant upon social and cultural attitudes, and will therefore vary between communities. Furthermore, as has already been stated, in Britain it is rural and traditional working class communities that typically have high levels of density and multiplexity, whereas socially and geographically mobile speakers belong to uniplex and spare networks. The majority of today's society is mobile in this way, however, and therefore belongs to this type of network (Milroy 1995:106-7).

Group studies, then, allow a gain in depth but fall short in terms of the representativeness that is achieved through random sampling. The Labovian paradigm, on the other hand, is less equipped to deal with observer's paradox.

> No claim can be made that the speech samples collected in this way [using social networks] are representative of the speech of a whole community. Information on some points of interest may be unobtainable - for example it is unlikely that evidence of linguistic change can be adduced unless some kind of sampling from different age groups (and possible areas or social classes) is carried out; we cannot, therefore, view the survey incorporating individual interviews of large numbers of informants as an obsolete method. Most important of all, it is a necessary means of obtaining a general view of linguistic norms in the wider speech community. (Milroy 1980:38) [my brackets]

The 'Recording Mann' project encompasses elements of both the social network concept and of the Labovian paradigm. Using the local schools to generate the majority of the data has provided an avenue for the exploration of family groups. Although most of the children conducted just one interview, others recorded more than one family member. The analysis of these informants would allow patterns of behaviour within family units to be observed. In addition to this, recordings of family groups were made by the team members, particularly Kennaugh and Clague.

Another possible area of study is the examination of the schools as networks. In this thesis school affiliation is analysed and patterns of language use are evident. This is particularly true for School A, which is located in a predominately working class and relatively self-contained area (see section 5.4.4).

A distinct advantage of using social networks as a basis for analysing language use if that access is more easily gained to the vernacular. The methodology employed by

this project has enabled this to take place. By recording so many informants, the depth of analysis typical of large-scale surveys is also possible. As stated in Chapter 1, although the selection of informants was random, there are a sufficient number to generate a representative sample. Furthermore, by including interviews conducted not only by the school children, but also by the team members, stylistic variation and situational context can also be examined. Clague, for example, has produced recordings of her informants taking part in several different activities. Cooil, on the other hand, conducted interviews with strangers about a fairly formal topic and with the interest in language clearly stated. These are likely to provide a clear contrast with the relatively informal interviews conducted through the schools. Thus, the wider project currently taking place on the Isle of Man goes some way to providing answers to the issues raised by both the social network approach and the use of wider community studies.

This thesis is based upon the Labovian paradigm but with some modifications. While emphasis is placed upon extra-linguistic variables and gaining access to the vernacular, judgement sampling was used, rather than a random selection of informants. Less emphasis is placed upon class than is typical of many studies conducted within this framework. This is largely because of the small number of informants assigned to a socio-economic group. Issues such as this will be discussed in Chapter 5. Labov placed great emphasis upon linguistic change and it is this which is central to this thesis. A primary aim of this study is to determine the extent to which language change is currently taking place in the Isle of Man, particularly with reference to the spread of Scouse and the decline of traditional Manx English. This chapter consisted of a description of some of the methodologies employed in the

study of language use; this discussion provides the basis for outlining the research presented in the following chapters.

Chapter 3 - The Rise of English in Man

3.1 Introduction

In Chapter 1 it was stated that, historically, Manx Gaelic was the language of the Isle of Man. According to Hindley (1984:15) its early history is largely unknown, but there was a Goidelic form of Gaelic spoken on the Island by about 500AD. Thomson (1984:306) suggests that it was brought over by Irish settlers, effectively supplanting the previous language of the Manx people.

> It was introduced into the Isle of Man, then probably Brythonic-speaking, by the fourth-century Irish expansion into Britain, and it seems that it took root there successfully, as in Scotland, and became the majority language of the island. (Thomson 1984:306)

It remained the language of the majority until the eighteenth century:

> by 1266 [Manx] had survived about four centuries of Scandinavian rule. Ensuing Anglo-Scottish contention for the island ended in England's favour about 1334, and thereafter until 1765 it was the sovereign possession of a succession of English and anglicised Scottish nobles. Through all this the mass of the population continued to speak their own language. (Hindley 1984:15)

However, education, religion and socio-economic factors encouraged the use of English, which gradually supplanted Manx Gaelic.

3.2 The Decline of Manx and Rise of English

Little is known about the use of English on the Isle of Man prior to the seventeenth century, at which time English writers began to remark on it. Chaloner (1656) commented that "few speak the English tongue", but that English enjoyed prestige is also clear. The earliest known comment was made by Speed in his *Theatre of the Empire of Great Britaine* (1611).

> The wealthier sort...do imitate the people of Lancashire...the commoner sort of people, both in their language and manners come nighest unto the Irish. (Stowell and Ó Breasláin 1996:6)

This shows, then, that as early as the seventeenth century, the influence of northern English is evident. This is not to be taken as an indication of an ignorance of Manx Gaelic among the wealthy, however. Indeed, Edmund Gibson (1695) implies the opposite in his edition of Camden's *Britannia.*

> Their gentry are very courteous and affable, and are more willing to discourse with one in English than in their own language. (Stowell and Ó Breasláin 1996:6)

The Anglican Clergy, who were also responsible for much of the education on the Island, greatly assisted the spread of English in Man. Although many of the clergy supported the use of Manx Gaelic, it was alongside, never instead of, English. Under Bishop Phillips, for example, the translation into Manx Gaelic of *The Book of Common Prayer* was begun in 1605 (though it was not actually published until 1893-4); and Bishop Wilson was responsible for the publication of the first Manx Gaelic book, as well as beginning the translation of the Bible during the first half of the eighteenth century. His enlightened attitude is illustrated by his desire that the clergy use Manx, "for English is not understood by two-thirds of the island" (Stowell and Ó Breasláin 1996:8).

Wilson's successor, Hildesley, who was also sympathetic toward the language, encouraged the use of Manx in churches and schools, and continued his predecessor's attempts to translate the Bible and other religious texts (Stowell and Ó Breasláin 1996:9). It must be noted, however, that the translation of these texts into Manx Gaelic was of limited value. Few could read or write Manx, as education was

largely conducted through the medium of English (Stowell 1996:203). Even those who were sympathetic towards Manx were certainly not anti-English, however.

Wilson, who did much to ensure that his congregation was able to worship in a language they understood, still promoted the use of English. When a grammar school was established in Ramsey in 1743, he insisted that the children were to be taught English (Stowell 1996:207). Furthermore:

> At a convocation of the clergy at Bishopscourt in 1703, presided over by Bishop Wilson, it was decreed that all parents, under penalty of a fine, must send their children to school, until they could 'read English distinctly'. (statutes) (Gill 1934:3fn)

There were also Bishops who were openly opposed to the use of Manx Gaelic, however. Issac Barrow, who was Governor as well as Bishop during the 1660s, was determined to establish an English school in every parish and "seems to have taken the common view of English colonisers and belittled Manx language and culture" (Stowell 1996: 206). In 1825 Bishop Murray informed the Standing Committee of the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge that tracts in Manx were not wanted. He wrote that:

> there is no longer any necessity for impressions of the Bible and Book of Common Prayer in the Manks Tongue; but that in the English tongue they are much wanted. (Stowell and Ó Breasláin 1996:15)

He claimed that an Act of Parliament had forbidden the teaching of Manx; an untruth, but as a result Manx was no longer taught in schools. (Stowell and Ó Breasláin 1996:15).

The Anglican clergy were not the only public figures who demonstrated this attitude: many Methodists shared it. Indeed, John Wesley was vehemently opposed to the

Manx language, and was resolute in his discouragement of its use as is illustrated by his remarks to another preacher in 1789.

> I exceedingly disapprove of your publishing anything in the Manx language. On the contrary, we should do everything in our power to abolish it from the earth, and persuade every member of our Society to learn and talk English. (Stowell and Ó Breasláin 1996:11)

Hindley sums up the attitude of the church in general.

> Although the distinction is a fine one, both churches and schools in the eighteenth century were not so much anti-Manx as pro-English...The Anglican clergy, educated in England, shared the prejudices of their social class which alone could afford education; but, significantly, the policies of the Methodists towards Manx were virtually identical. The attitudes of clergymen and school-masters reflected the political status of the language, its lack of use outside the island and the general absence of printed books in Manx. (Hindley 1984:17)

Although the spread of English in Man was assisted by the attitude of the church, what had most influence was the Revestment Act of 1765, aimed at putting a stop to the lucrative smuggling trade. Previously, although the use of English had been promoted, the majority of the population had little actual need of the language. This had been further reinforced by the restrictive trading policies of the English government and the isolation that they brought about. According to Hindley limited trade meant that outside of the main towns English was unnecessary, and in the towns it established itself without displacing Manx. Moreover, there was little incentive for strangers to settle on the Island, which meant that:

> the major everyday contacts of the townsfolk were with the native Manx speakers whose trade and goodwill could not be ignored. (Hindley 1984:17)

The arrival and rapid development of the smuggling trade altered this; along with economic growth came an increasing need to know English.

> This greatly stimulated the Manx ports, especially Douglas, and brought immigration of English and Scottish merchants eager to operate outside their national laws. New capital, new ideas and more profit in knowing English came with them. (Hindley 1984:18)

The 1765 Revestment Act had a profound negative impact upon the Manx economy and many Manx people emigrated. For this their native language was useless.

> The suppression of 'the trade' led directly to poverty and emigration and hence the advance of the English language in Man. This tendency was enhanced by the immigration of people on fixed incomes from north-west England in the period from about 1790 to about 1814. The great depression in the Manx economy after 1765 was followed by a further depression in the period 1825 to 1837, leading to more emigration of Manx people, mainly to America. (Stowell and Ó Breasláin 1996:13-4)

Hindley argues that:

> direct subjection to the Crown and its officers further enhanced the value and status of English. Both the rising expectations of the smuggling years and the loss of confidence which followed made Manxmen broaden their horizons. For this purpose the language of at best 28,000 people was ill adapted. (Hindley 1984:18)

The increased level of communication which developed during the second half of the eighteenth century was also an important factor in the spread of English; roads were built which allowed greater contact between the rural and urban areas and regular sailings between the Isle of Man and the north of England were established. This in turn allowed the huge tourist industry to develop, and provided an additional incentive to learn English.

Manx had survived despite what was sometimes heavy opposition. Eventually, however, socio-economic factors such as trade and tourism meant that it declined, and eventually gave way to English.

> The rise of English in Man, especially in the nineteenth century, and the predominance of Lancashire influence owes much to the growth of the tourist trade and sea links with Fleetwood and Liverpool. (Barry 1984:167)

Manx Gaelic was replaced by English as the dominant language through the nineteenth century, as is shown by Gill's comments on the frequency with which it was used in public situations. In his introduction to Kelly's *Manx Grammar* (1859), Gill said that the language was "fast hastening to decay" and that it was rarely heard in conversation except among the peasantry (Hindley 1984:18-20). He declared it to be "a doomed language - an iceberg floating into southern latitudes" (Stowell and Ó Breasláin 1996:15-6). On a more positive, somewhat contradictory note, however, he continues:

> Let it not, however, be thought that its end is immediate. Among the peasantry it still retains a strong hold. (Ibid.)

Broderick agrees that it was during this period that English became the primary language on the Island:

> The language shift from Manx Gaelic to English essentially took place during the 19th century due to increased settlement on the island, though English had been spoken in the towns and centres of administration since the advent of the English suzerainty in Man in the early 14th century. (Broderick 1997:123)

Further evidence that English had become widespread is provided by a letter received by the linguist A. J. Ellis from Rev. W. Drury, vicar of Kirk Braddan, a parish on the outskirts of Douglas, in March 1879. In it he commented not only on the decline of Manx, but on the standard of English that could be found among the Manx people.

> The Manx peasantry are remarkable for their good English. Indeed it has often been observed by Englishmen resident on the island, that their accent is much more correct than that of the English peasantry

> generally. The Manx language is fast getting out of use, but still in many parts it is very generally spoken. It will not be what we call extinct, for two or three generations yet. (Ellis 1889:360)

Despite this forecast, and that of Gill (above), Hindley believes it fair to say that only the elderly continued to speak Manx by 1875. A survey conducted that year by Jenner, *The Manx Language: It's Grammar, Literature and Present State*, showed that Manx was spoken most frequently in remote rural areas, but that no distinct Manx speaking districts existed. The Anglican clergy, who were, as Hindley points out, not always aware of Manx being used, provided the data for this survey. Nevertheless, he considers the survey to be an excellent general assessment that clearly demonstrated the predominance of English, with only one quarter of the population using Manx habitually (Hindley 1984:20). Other reports from the end of the nineteenth century support this view.

> Loch records memories of extensive use of Manx by country folk in Douglas public houses in the eighteen-eighties and its currency among shipwrights at Castletown a decade later. But the great Celtic scholar Rhys, who visited the island in 1890 and later, found very few habitual Manx speakers. The fishermen of Bradda and Rushen talked Manx among themselves and the language seemed even more alive at Cregneish; yet even there only one young family still spoke more Manx than English. (Hindley 1984: 24)

By 1901 the census returns recorded just 9% of the population as Manx speakers. These would have been crofter-fishermen and small farmers, though Manx did survive longer in Peel, a small fishing community on the west, than in the other towns. By the early 1900s families had stopped teaching children Manx and quickly ceased speaking it among themselves. This obviously hastened its decline; lack of use meant that aspects of the language were gradually forgotten (Hindley 1984:22-4).

The Manx were generally indifferent, and sometimes pleased, at the decline of their language, an attitude illustrated by the frequently used phrase "it will never earn you

a penny" (Stowell and Ó Breasláin 1996:16). A letter to the *Manks Advertiser* in 1822, signed by 'a Native', illustrates what Stowell (1996:209) describes as "the near psychotic attitude adopted by some" towards Manx Gaelic.

> What better is the gibberish called Manx than an uncouth mouthful of course [sic] savage expressions...Abolish the Manx; I would say then, as fast as ye can, ye learned of the country. Judges, Lawyers, Clergy, crush it. Allow no one, not even one of your servants or neighbours to speak one word of Manx; and thus, by degrees, annihilate it. (quoted by Stowell 1996:209)

Hindley supports the notion that it was not so much indifference as choice.

> The old association of Manx with illiteracy and low social status became fatal because of the socio-economic revolution which struck Man in the nineteenth century, following on the political and economic vicissitudes of the previous hundred years. (Hindley 1984: 26)

Manx and English may have existed alongside each other, to a certain extent, during the height of the smuggling industry, but tourism changed this, and immigration, often brought about by people seeking employment in this field, made the change permanent. Hindley (1984:28) quotes Gell:

> The Manx saw no advantage in being bilingual; two languages were a luxury to poor people who found it difficult enough with their meagre education to read, write and speak one, and that had to be English. (Gell 1954:4)

During the early twentieth century several philologists visited the Island, and the last native speakers of Manx. The absolute dominance of English at this time is made clear by the small number of Manx speakers they located.

> In 1929, Marstrander could find only forty people with some Manx. He was unduly pessimistic in 1934 when he thought there was only one true native speaker left. In fact, in 1946 Charles W. Loch visited the island and was able to produce a list of some twenty native speakers. This number had fallen to ten by 1950 and to seven by 1955, as Professor Kenneth Jackson established. (Stowell and Ó Breasláin 1996:22)

Manx did not actually reach the point where it suffered complete language death, rather:

> it was saved from total extinction by artificial respiration through the efforts of patriots. (Kewley-Draskau 1996:250)

However, there is no doubt that English had assumed primacy many years before.

> Immigrants had no need to learn Manx after the earliest years of the century for where strangers were present the Manx felt it proper to speak English. Everything pointed to its superior value and convenience: tourism, residential settlement, trade, Manx emigration, popular education and the lack of any secular Manx literature. By the end of the century English influences and English <u>people</u> were so omnipresent that knowledge of English was indispensable. Knowledge of Manx was not. (Hindley 1984: 29)

3.3 Manx English

The variety of English that replaced Manx Gaelic has come to be known as Manx English (MxE), or sometimes Anglo-Manx[7]. It is defined by Kewley-Draskau as:

> that variety of English which has been spoken in the Isle of Man since the incipient demise of Manx Gaelic, and the superimposition of English as the inhabitants' first language. (1996:225)

This variety of English is unique, in that the two main influences upon it are Manx Gaelic and northern English.

> Manx English shows varying degrees of phonological, syntactic and lexical influences from Manx Gaelic. (Broderick 1997:123)

Kewley-Draskau argues that it is not simply a variety of English.

> The regular recurrence of non-standard features suggests that it is justifiable to identify Anglo-Manx...as a distinct, codified linguistic variety characterised by the high proportion of deviant syntactic structures which appear to originate from the syntactic patterns of Gaelic, as well as a considerable number of distinctive lexical items, embedded in an English co-text. (1996:225-6)

[7] Reference was made to Maddrell's argument that the terms Manx English and Anglo-Manx should be treated separately in Chapter 1. In this chapter the two are used interchangeably because that is how they are used in the sources under discussion.

Gill agrees with this idea, and argues that it increases its 'charm', though he believes that it lessens its value as an object of linguistic study:

> English as it is spoken by most of the Manx people differs widely from any other English. From a purely linguistic point of view it has not the value of an unmixed English dialect, since it is not the modern representative of an early subdivision of the language...Nevertheless it has the compensatory charm of piquantly mingling two distinct languages, the exhilarating freshness of the idiom, vocabulary and intonation of the Manx being imposed to some extent upon the English gradually acquired during the 18th and 19th centuries. (1934:3)

Despite its uniqueness, Manx English does not have the characteristics of a distinct language. Kewley-Draskau points out that whereas Scots, for example, has a distinct lexicon, separate from English, and can therefore justify a claim for full language status, Manx English is the result of "two identified and well-documented languages in contact, and in conflict" (Kewley-Draskau 1996:228). She argues that Manx Gaelic must, therefore, be studied if Manx English is to be fully understood.

> The character of Anglo-Manx as a composite variety is evidenced by the proliferation in Anglo-Manx of types of deviance from the syntactic norms of 'standard' English which can only be satisfactorily accounted for by relating them to the Manx Gaelic structures which underpin them. (1996:228)

Because of this, though perhaps also from a somewhat ideological desire to record Manx Gaelic before it became extinct, relatively few studies of Manx English have been conducted. Despite a Manx Gaelic influence upon the phonology, morphology, syntax and lexicon of Manx English (Preuss 1999: 36), according to Kewley-Draskau (1996:228-9), those studies which have been conducted have tended to focus specifically upon phonology or lexical-semantic aspects such as intonation, neglecting other characteristics.

3.4 Studies in Manx English:

3.4.1 Ellis (1889)

Although early writers such as Speed, Chaloner and Camden (see above) made reference to the English spoken in Man, the earliest known comments by a linguist were by A. J. Ellis (1889). He classified Manx English with the speech of northern Lancashire, especially that of the Fylde, near Blackpool. This classification was made on the basis of the use of *I am* as oppose to the northern *I is*, and the absence of northern English [u:] in words like *house, mouse* etc. The Isle of Man was subdivided from the Fylde by the use of *the* rather than the 'suspended *t*', i.e. [t] or [θ], used in Lancashire (Ellis 1889:360-1; Barry 1984:168). Ellis possibly exaggerated the similarities between Manx English and the speech of Lancashire because the fieldwork for his survey was actually conducted in Manchester, with Manx informants living there.

Ellis commented that Manx English contained more Standard English forms than the dialects of neighbouring north England and declared:

> it is an English spoken by foreigners, and, as is the case with Welsh-English, is not entirely book-learned, but more or less tinctured with the neighbouring dialect. (Ellis 1889:361)

Barry (1984:168) and Broderick (1997:123) suggest that the influence of Manx Gaelic is perhaps understated, and Broderick describes Manx English phonology as:

> a much standardised form of NWE, influenced by MxG, with possibly slight contribution from Scots. (1997:125)

3.4.2 Moore, Morrison and Goodwin (1924)

A Vocabulary of the Anglo-Manx Dialect, by Moore, Morrison and Goodwin, is considered by Broderick (1997:124) to be the first substantial work on the dialect. It is a dictionary of lexical items, using oral tradition as well as literary sources. Through the study of the works of T. E. Brown and Josephine Kermode (known as Cushag) in particular, over 750 items from Manx Gaelic were revealed as well as many English items used in a manner that was peculiar to the Isle of Man. In a letter to Morrison, Moore clearly states the areas he wished to examine in the dictionary.

> My classification is...(1) words of English origin found in both the I.O.M. and elsewhere; (2) do. whose use seems to be peculiar to the I.O.M.; (3) do. whose spelling appears to be peculiar to the I.O.M.; (4) Manx (Gaelic) words. (1924:iv)

His intention was that the book should "discuss fully and as chattily as possible about phrases, idioms, and words used in the I.O.M." (1924:iv) with quotations or examples from conversations to illustrate each item. Phonetic transcriptions, by Goodwin, were also included.

The *Vocabulary* was discussed in Chapter 1 with reference to the work conducted by Breesha Maddrell as part of the current investigation taking place in the Isle of Man. As stated she questions its validity as a source for the study of Manx English, arguing that it is a codified and unnatural form of the dialect (see section 1.3, for more details see Maddrell 2001; 2002).

3.4.3 Gill (1934)

Gill's *Manx Dialect Words and Phrases* provides a critique of, and a supplement to, *A Vocabulary of the Anglo-Manx Dialect.* Gill succeeded in supplying a further 250 Manx Gaelic items (Gill 1934:v; Broderick 1997:124). Unlike Moore, Morrison and Goodwin (1924), Gill did not include English words merely "sounded in a special way", focusing only upon English words "used in a special sense" and words "brought over from the Manx language without changes in their form" (Gill 1934:9).

The main source used for this work was the "obscure writings of the late George Quarrie" (Gill 1934:6). Gill was quite specific about his reasons for using Quarrie's poetry: they were considered a valuable record of dialect speakers talking among themselves, as opposed to with their superiors. Quarrie had lived in the northern Parish of Bride before emigrating to America during the mid nineteenth century, a time:

> when a respectable proportion of the people spoke Manx as well as English and were more apt to slip Manx words into their English than their descendants are. (Gill 1934:6)

Furthermore, Gill claims, only a Manx English speaker could have written in the vernacular in the way Quarrie did.

> He was in fact one of them in his young days, and their speech was his. (1934:6)

Gill implies that Manx English had dialectal variants. He comments that certain sections of Quarrie's writings would not have been understood by some people even in the south of the Island, and mentions that many lexical items recorded were no longer used by 1934.

> "Many of them have now gone quite out of use, and their exact meanings have been difficult to ascertain. It is fortunate for the present purpose that, although Quarrie's published verse is not

> without typographical eccentricities, its Manx and dialect words are so free from errors that they must have been plainly written or carefully corrected in proof. (Gill 1934:6)

In addition, Gill provides evidence of bidialectism, with Manx English existing alongside a more standard variety of English.

> In the country districts the dialect is still rich in sound, vocabulary and idiom, but it is reserved, at its raciest, for use among compatriots; for the stranger's benefit a politely modified form of speech is produced, the joint result of the efforts of school-masters and the example of holiday-makers and the more of less permanent settlers. To these must soon be added the blighting effect of "the wireless". (Gill 1934:4-5)

Gill also refers to the growing influence of Liverpool, or south west Lancashire, upon the language use of residents of Douglas.

> Manx English not only reflects a sun that has set for ever, but is itself steadily waning, and must in the course of no long time become almost as extinct as the Manx language. Its vocal inflexions are already responding to influences from England; in Douglas especially, a South-West Lancashire intonation, itself not wholly Anglo-Saxon, has for many years been gradually subduing the native Celtic tendency to run up the scale. (Gill 1934:4)

3.4.4 *Survey of English Dialects* (1962-3)

The Isle of Man was included in the *SED*, though only two areas - Andreas, in the north, and Ronague, in the south - were included in the published work. Dalby, in the west, and Cregneash (home to many of the last native Manx Gaelic speakers), also in the south, were included in the interviews, but not in the publication. In accordance with the aims of the survey (see chapter 2) these were all rural areas, and although some women were interviewed, the majority of the population were neglected through the desire to record 'pure' dialect speakers. Nevertheless, the *SED* clearly demonstrated the mixed nature of Manx English suggested by Gill. Barry

says that 125 questions asked showed significant patterns of distribution, and the main influences were revealed to be the north and north west midlands of England.

- 31 showed correspondences with the dialects of the north of England generally:
- 30 showed correspondences with the dialects of the north-west of England:
- 4 showed correspondences with the dialects of the north north-west of England:
- 13 showed correspondences with the dialects of the West Midlands of England:
- 11 showed correspondences with the dialects of Lancashire only:
- 9 showed correspondences with the dialects of the north north-east of England:
- 19 proved to be standard forms occurring in Man:
- 8 revealed forms apparently peculiar to Man. (1984:176-7)

3.4.5 Barry (1984)

Michael Barry was the fieldworker responsible for the *SED* data collection on the Isle of Man in 1958. Further data was collected in 1966, and it was these two sources which formed the basis of his 1984 article. Essentially phonological and lexical in content, this work is, to date, the most substantial examination of Manx English, and will be referred to in some detail throughout this thesis.

Barry was of the opinion that Manx English was unlikely to survive long.

> Manx Gaelic died first, traditional regional Manx English seems to be following quite quickly. (1984:168)

Broderick agrees:

> MxE is now on the retreat...It remains to be seen what will happen in the future. But from recordings made by the MPNS any vitality MxE may have had as a dialect of English in its own right is seeing the twilight of its life. (1997:134)

Barry thought it likely that the predominant variety would become either RP or the Merseyside vernacular, Scouse.

> It seems likely that north-west Midland, (especially Liverpool) phonology and RP phonology will vie with one another for dominance in the pronunciation of English in Man during the next fifty years, so long as Liverpool remains the main port of access. (1984:177)

The next chapter will include a detailed examination of many of the phonetic variables recorded by Barry, Broderick and Preuss (1999).

3.4.6 Kewley-Draskau (1996)

Broderick (1997:125) credits this work with being the only substantial article on Manx English since Barry, though since its publication Broderick himself has also written an overview of the dialect, as has Preuss (see below). Kewley-Draskau explores the links between non-standard elements in Manx English and possible origins in Manx Gaelic, specifically Late Spoken Manx. Although the data analysed comes from literary sources, specifically the works of T. E. Brown, Josephine Kermode (Cushag), and Kathleen Faragher, the focus of the study is linguistic, with particular emphasis upon syntax, tense and aspect.

3.5 Additional Manx English Data Available for Analysis

3.5.1 Broderick: Manx Place Name Survey (1989-92)

The MPNS comprises of 130 hours of recordings from about 180 native Manx informants. The material collected is largely made up of information regarding place names, but it also includes a "substantial body" of Manx English speech "on related folklore and folklife material" (Broderick 1997:124). To date it has only been analysed for its place name content, the Manx English speech remaining still unexamined. Broderick claims that it is ideal for such an investigation: as there was no linguistic interest, per se, the informants' attention was not drawn to their language use.

> As the main aim here was place-name research, its MxE sample could be regarded as unbiased. (Broderick 1997:124)

3.5.2 Manx Folklife Survey

The survey, conducted in the 1950s, consists of a number of hours of Manx Gaelic speech and more of Manx English from "native Manx Gaelic and native monoglot Manx English speakers" (Broderick 1997:124). The recordings, which are housed in the Manx Museum, have not yet been analysed for the purpose of linguistic study, as far as is known. Transcriptions of the interviews do exist, however, and according to Preuss (1999:3) contain useful information about lexicon and syntax, as well as a number of sociolinguistic comments about the decline of Manx Gaelic.

3.6 Conclusion

There is a feeling among many Manx residents, as well as some academics, that the decline of the Manx English dialect has occurred as a direct result of immigration. Broderick, as stated above, argues that the dominance of the finance sector, and the demographic changes brought about as a direct result, is largely responsible. Preuss, though not as specific in her proportioning of 'blame', strongly agrees.

> In summary one can say that the erosion of the dialect is attributed mainly to the great influx on 'come-overs' 'taking over' the Isle of Man. Surrounded by foreigners, the Manx people feel that they cannot use their dialect, on the one hand because they would simply not be understood. And by not speaking the dialect, they forgot lots of words and phrases which they used to use. (1999:124)

According to Preuss, however, the main reason for such a decline can be found in the past.

> The most important reason for the decline of traditional Manx English, however, is the inferiority complex of the Manx people created by centuries of English/British overlordship. (Preuss 1999:124)

Certainly, there is some evidence of speech being standardised in the presence of strangers (see above), but this is not a habit peculiar to the Manx people. Indeed, it is the cause of the sociolinguists greatest problem, observer's paradox. Perhaps, then, the emphasis Preuss places upon this is questionable.

Nevertheless, why traditional Manx English is heard less frequently, if at all, is not under debate here. It is not the purpose of this thesis to determine to what extent Manx English does or does not exist, nor is it intended to be an overview of what the situation was historically, or even more recently. Rather, it is intended to be an examination of the contemporary situation on the Isle of Man at the beginning of the new millennium through the analysis of phonetic variables. Many Manx residents express the belief that the speech of those living in Douglas is strongly influenced by the Merseyside vernacular (Scouse), a notion supported by Barry.

> The Liverpool influence in the Douglas/Onchan area and amongst the younger generation is now very noticeable and seems to be spreading throughout the Island. (1984:168)

Manx English phonetic variants, specifically those examined by Barry, and the work of Knowles (1974), De Lyon (1981) and others on Scouse, will be examined along with other accents of English. Through the analysis of this, and speech recorded during interviews in Douglas and Onchan, the level of the influence of Scouse and other English varieties upon the linguistic behaviour of Manx residents will be determined. Adult and children informants will be examined in order to also determine the extent to which extra-linguistic factors such as sex and age are relevant to the language choices made.

Chapter 4 - The Variables

4.1 Selection of the Variables

As noted in Chapter 3, English on the Isle of Man is subject to influences from Gaelic (traditional Manx English), RP and Scouse. The thesis will attempt in subsequent chapters to establish how these different varieties are interacting in the speech of the Douglas/Onchan area. The purpose of this chapter is to introduce to the reader the phonetic variables which will be examined in order to determine the level of influence of these and other English accents upon the language use in the areas of the Island under investigation. The variables were selected from a list presented by Andrew Hamer in his paper 'Scouseness in Manx English' (1998).

The variables selected for analysis were chosen because most of them have traditional Manx English and Scouse variants as well as RP or Standard Northern English forms. Through the examination of these we will be able to determine the degree to which traditional Manx English has been replaced, and by what.

4.2 Scouse

Scouse is defined by Knowles (1973:14) as:

> the variety of English spoken in the city of Liverpool, and in the surrounding areas of Merseyside.

The mass immigration from Ireland during the nineteenth century and the resulting Anglo-Irish influence upon language use was of great importance in the development of Scouse. Also crucial was the role of Liverpool as a major port. The focus of the city was largely placed away from the surrounding areas, particularly those not

developed in terms of manufacturing and consumer goods. Of greater importance than these geographical links were the commercial ties with London, Dublin and the rest of the English speaking world (Knowles 1973:15-6, 22-3; Newbrook 1986:14-5). Newbrook claims that:

> Although Liverpool speech is basically a northern English variety of English, it has as a result of all this, many features not found widely in the north of England. (1986:15)

Prior to Knowles (1973), little work had been conducted on the Liverpool vernacular. Knowles discusses the history of the vernacular, and examines aspects such as rhythm, stress and intonation. His information on phonological variation will be referred to throughout this chapter, as will De Lyon's (1981) and Newbrook's (1986) works on Merseyside accents.

4.3 RP/Standard (Northern) English

Newbrook (1986:17) questions the relevance of RP as a point of comparison with local varieties in the north of England.

> In the 'central north' of England (Cheshire, Lancashire, Merseyside, Yorkshire etc.), RP/Standard English may be perceived as more remote and alien than in East Anglia or the West Country, but they are not foreign or extraneous in a strong sense in the way they are in Scotland or Ireland. There is, it seems, no local variety with established institutional status, or 'overt' prestige, and such prestige as non-RP/Standard English varieties have seems to derive largely from their being modified somewhat towards RP/Standard English.

He continues:

> General Northern English English is at present a rather vaguely-defined entity differing only minimally from RP at the phonemic level, and is in something of a sociolinguistic limbo, being seen by many only as an intermediate variety between RP/Standard English and 'broader' local varieties. (1986:18)

As discussed in Chapter 3 traditional Manx English is basically a Northern English variety with Gaelic influences. It may therefore be considered that RP/Standard English is "remote and alien" to the Manx population, particularly since they live on an island. Barry predicted (1984:177) that RP and Scouse would "vie...for dominance", however, which implies a need to examine RP along with other northern standardised forms. Holmes (1992:144) stated that RP is spoken by less than 5% of the British population. Nevertheless, it is possible that the large numbers of immigrants to the Isle of Man from all parts of the United Kingdom over recent years has raised the importance of standardised forms here in comparison to other northern areas. It is anticipated that the local standard or prestige form will not actually be RP but a northern variety. However, in order to answer the questions raised by Barry's prediction fully, RP variants will also be considered. General works on accent will be examined including Wells (1982), Hughes and Trudgill (1979) and Trudgill (1999). Reference will also be made to the findings of the *SED* (1962-3) where relevant.

4.4 The Variables

The variables under examination consist of /ɪŋ/, seven consonants, /t, ʔ, k, θ, ð, r, h, /, and five vowels, /eɪ, ʌ, u:, ɑ:(1), ɑ:(2)/.

4.4.1 /ɪŋ/

This variable is the final syllable in words such as *running, walking* etc. It is a well documented variable throughout the English speaking world (see for example, Fischer 1958, Labov 1966, Trudgill 1974, Reid 1978). The two widespread variants are the standard /ɪŋ/ e.g. /rʌnɪŋ/ and the non-standard, though widespread /ɪn/, e.g.

/rʌnɪn/. Reid (1978:159) describes this as representing "the variation between velar and alveolar nasals in -ing suffixes." Wells (1982:262) comments that it is neither an "exclusively British nor recent innovation."

> At the present day it seems that almost every English-speaking community exhibits a social or stylistic alternation between the two possibilities, the form with the velar nasal being 'high' and that with the alveolar 'low'. But there is evidently geographical variation in respect of the point in social or stylistic stratification at which the changeover occurs...It is safe, though, to make the generalisation that where there is an English-speaking working class at least some speakers have [-n]. (1982:262-3)

Scouse:

Knowles (1973:39) reports that the ending of the present participle is generally /ɪn/ or /ən/ rather than /ɪŋ/ or /ɪŋg/ (a widespread northern feature reported to be evident in Lancashire by the *SED*), though the latter two are also found. Newbrook (1986:64) claims that /n/ is usual, often with a preceding /ə/ rather than /ɪ/. He states that [ŋg] may occur occasionally. In the West Wirral area a high incidence of /ɪŋ/ was found, which he suggests may have been due to the middle class nature of the area.

Manx English

No comments are made regarding [ɪŋ] as a variable in its own right. However, when referring to unstressed vowels in traditional Manx English, Barry (1984:173) comments that the singular feature worthy of attention is the use of [ən]or [n̩] for "present participle, verbal noun and verbal adjective forms with *-ing*." Preuss (1999.60) supports this stating that "In MxE the verb ending /ɪŋ/ is commonly reduced to [ən] or [n̩], e.g. *sitting* [sɪʔn̩], *catching* [katʃn̩], *pouring* [pɔːrən]."

However, as the variable Barry is discussing is unstressed vowels, not the variable /ɪŋ/, no mention is made of other variants. It is clear that [ən]or [n̩] are evident, but whether or not other variants also exist is unclear. Given that neither the standard or non-standard widespread forms found throughout the English speaking world are mentioned it is likely that forms other than [ən]and [n̩] do occur in Manx English, but have not been mentioned. Moore, Morrison and Goodwin, however, do record the realisation of /ɪŋ/ as [ən], e.g. *goin* (*going*) [gōən], and *hearin* (*hearing* meaning 'a scolding') [hɪərən](1924:72, 79).

The Consonants

4.4.2 /t/

According to the *SED* aspirated /t/, particularly in final position, was typical of many areas in Lancashire. Hughes and Trudgill (1979:41) also record heavy aspiration of /t/ as a feature of London speech, though here it mainly occurs in the initial position. They state that /t/ can also be affricated in London speech e.g. *tea* [tsɪː].

Scouse

Knowles comments that "most Merseysiders use stops with incomplete closures at least sometimes, " adding that "incomplete closure is possibly a working-class feature which has spread to middle class speech" (1973:324-5). This is a particularly interesting statement and the sample from the Douglas/Onchan area will be examined to see if this feature has spread between socio-economic groups in the Isle of Man. (The variable /k/ will also be examined in this way.) Furthermore, Knowles (1973:327) states that as well as occurring more frequently among the working class, more women than men use it. Hughes and Trudgill (1979:61) refer to heavily

aspirated or even affricated /t/ as a feature of Scouse, and state that in the final position it can appear as fricative [s]. Newbrook (1986:64) agrees that strongly affricated /t/ occurs in all positions e.g. [tˢu:], but states that it can appear as a short fricative not only in the final position but intervocalically e.g. [wɔ̝:ˢə̥]. Regarding the middle class he comments:

> Middle-class Liverpool speech, while it does not usually contain many affricate realisations of these phonemes, does contain a high proportion of realisations with a markedly greater amount of aspiration than is usual in RP. - this is probably an intermediate form. (1986:65)

A further feature of /t/ in Scouse is its realisation as /r/ between vowels. Knowles (1973:133-4) states that:

> There is a small class of words including <u>get</u>, <u>got</u>, <u>bit</u>, <u>what</u>, <u>that</u>, <u>it</u>, <u>not</u> in which the final /t/ is pronounced before another consonant, but can be elided in absolute final position, and is replaced by an r-glide before a vowel. There is a further set of words, including <u>let</u>, <u>but</u>, <u>put</u>, <u>lot</u>, in which /t/ can be replaced by a r-glide before a vowel, but cannot be elided finally.

He refers to comments by Joseph Wright (1905:63) regarding the occurrence of /r/ where /t/ would typically be expected, e.g. <u>ler it bi</u> 'let it be', in Lancashire and Yorkshire, as well as other parts of England. Wright (1905:2) also made reference to /d/ occurring in place of /t/ e.g. <u>ged</u> 'get'. Knowles states that although this is found occasionally in Scouse, an r-link is more common. Hughes and Trudgill (1979:62) also comment that between vowels /t/ may be realised as [r]. They state that this occurrence only takes place when the first vowel is short, and in certain lexical items e.g. *matter, what, but, get*. Reference is also made to this feature appearing in other parts of the north of England.

Manx English

According to Barry (1984:73-4) dentalized /t/ is found in final position e.g. *street, weight, root.* /t/ is also heavily aspirated and dentalized in the initial combinations tr- and str- e.g. *trough, straw.* In medial position Barry recorded aspirated and dental /t/ for *coulter, master* and *better*, though in the case of *Easter* /t/ is realised as [θ]. Barry also comments that where /t/ occurs in final position in clusters, it may be lost e.g. *harvest, against.* Reference is also made by the *SED* to dentalized /t/ when followed by an /r/ in the north of the Island, and aspirated /t/ in the south of the Island.

In Moore, Morrison and Goodwin (1924) many instances of /t/ realised as [r] are evident in traditional Manx English. For example, they list 'urro' [ùrə] (*out of*) and quote the phrase 'the cat gorrin the butty' (larder) (1924:25, 196).

4.4.3 glottal stops

The use of glottal stops (typically where one would expect to find /t/) is widespread throughout British English. Trudgill commented that:

> It is a well known fact that, in many varieties of English, /t/ is realised as a glottal stop in items like *better* and *bet*, particularly but by no means exclusively in urban areas. (1974:80)

In Norwich, Trudgill examined the glottalization of /t/ intervocalically and in the final position e.g. *better, bet*, but not if preceded by /n-/ or /l-/ e.g. *melted, went*, or where it occurred in "stressed syllable initial position" e.g. *tea, return.* (1974:80). Trudgill found that among the middle and working class informants studied using various speech styles, the number of glottal stops used increased as the situation became less formal for all classes. He also found that the lower working class used

glottalization most frequently in all situations except for the formal style, when the middle working class had a slightly higher index score. The middle middle class consistently used glottal stops least frequently. Trudgill also found that glottalization occurred more often in the final position than medially.

> We can therefore claim that glottalisation...of /t/ is inversely proportional to social class and social context, and is more frequent word finally than word initially. (Trudgill 1974:96)

Wells (1982:261) says that the use of glottal stops in place of /t/, but also sometimes for /k/ and /p/ is a well-known characteristic of Cockney and can be found:

> in the local accents of London, Glasgow, Edinburgh and many rural accents of the south of England and East Anglia.

This is not to imply that this is a southern feature, however. Indeed, it is a well documented and sharply stigmatised feature of most parts of England.

> It is most common in the speech of younger urban working-class speakers, and is found in most regions. (Hughes and Trudgill 1979:34)

Glottal stops occur more frequently in some phonological contexts than others. Hughes and Trudgill (1979:34) state that it occurs with decreasing frequency in the following phonetic environments: (i) finally before a consonant (e.g. *that man*); (ii) before a syllabic nasal (e.g. *button*); (iii) finally before a vowel (e.g. *that apple*); (iv) before a syllabic /l/ (e.g. *bottle*); (v) before a vowel (e.g. *better*).

However, Wells also states that in instances such as *quite good, quite likely and nights* the use of glottal stops "must be considered to fall within current mainstream RP" (1982:261). In other words, the use of glottal stops may or may not be stigmatised depending upon the phonetic environment. According to Hughes and Trudgill (1979:34) many RP speakers use glottal stops finally before a consonant.

Scouse

Knowles states:

> There is no evidence in Scouse for forms with glottal stops, such as [ɡɵʔ, wɒʔ] for get or what, and this is why we associate the elision of /t/ with the syllable link ɾ. Glottal reinforcement of /t/ occurs before /w, j/ as in [wɒt͡ʔjɵ, wɒt͡ʔwɪ] 'what you, what we', occasionally before /l/ as in [bu:t͡ʔl] 'Bootle', and rarely and idiosyncratically between vowels as in [bʊt͡ʔɵ] 'butter'. (1973:235)

Wells (1982:371) also claims that glottal stops are noticeably rare in Merseyside. Newbrook (1986:65), however, suggests that while glottal stops are, according to traditional accounts, rare in Liverpool, their use is on the increase. This is particularly true in word final position and is associated stereotypically with the commonly used Liverpool phrase *you what?* [jə wɒʔ]. De Lyon (1981:65) recorded more glottal stops among her younger informants which supports the idea that the use of this feature may be on the increase.

Hughes and Trudgill (1979:61) state that the infrequency of glottal stops in Scouse is related to the affrication and aspiration of /t/ (see above).

Manx English

Glottalization in Manx English will be discussed in Chapter 6. So far the only known reference to this feature in traditional Manx English refers to the realisation of /t/ as [ʔ] when followed by [n̩]. (Barry 1984:174)

4.4.4 /k/

For this variable we are looking to see if affricated [kh] or fricative [x] occurs. These are Scouse variants, referred to by Knowles (1973:325), Wells (1982:371) and

Newbrook (1986:64), which are realised in much the same respect as affricated [ts]or fricative [s] occur for /t/. Examples would include *back* [bakʰ~bax], *like* [laɪkʰ~laɪx]etc.

For traditional Manx English, Barry (1984:174) refers to the realisation of /k/ as [kh] only in *kitchen*. Nor is the fricative form [x] mentioned in any detail; this variant is only recorded as occurring in loan words from Manx Gaelic, e.g. *muckagh* (pigsty) and *brashlagh* (the weed 'charlock'). Broderick (1997:131) further comments that in place names final *-gh* /x/ e.g. *mullagh* (summit) has generally been replaced by [k]. Preuss (1999: page 60) also found that [k] had replaced [x] in loan words such as Manx Gaelic *boght* (poor) [bɔ:k] and *chiollagh* (hearth) [tʃɒlək].

The *SED* also refers to aspirated /k/, particularly in final position, in parts of Lancashire, and Hughes and Trudgill (1979:41) state that initial /k/ can be aspirated in the speech of London and Liverpool.

4.4.5 /θ,ð/

The English spelling *th* represents two sounds, [θ] e.g. *thin, everything, bath*, and [ð] e.g. *them, brother, smooth*. There are several non-standard forms these variables can take. Referring to his work in New York, Labov commented:

> These two variables...are well known throughout most of the United States as the stereotype *dese*, *dem* and *dose*. The prestige form...is the fricative, and the stop with its [t]-like or [d]-like effect is everywhere considered to have less prestige. (Labov 1972a:78)

According to Wells (1982:180) /ð/ "has a rather sharply restricted phonological distribution", while it occurs readily in the medial position, and also occurs finally, it is only found initially in words which belong to "syntactically minor word-classes" e.g. *the, thus, then* etc.

Scouse

Knowles (1973:324) says that the RP-type fricatives occur in Scouse " but Scouse /θ,ð/ are more characteristically developments of the Anglo-Irish stops [T,D]" (i.e. [t̪,d̪]). In his 1973 survey he found that the dentalized variant occurred almost entirely among the working class, and although men perhaps used them a little more frequently than women did, no clear pattern of distribution emerged:

> the frequency of the Irish forms being idiosyncratic for each person, and there being no significant variation according to environment. (1973:324)

Knowles also commented that the dentalized form was found more frequently for /ð/ than /θ/:

> the most noticeable 'Irish' form in free speech is for initial /ð/ in words like the, that, they etc. (1973:324)

Hughes and Trudgill (1979:62) add that initial /ð/ may be realised as [d] e.g. *there* [dɛ:] in Liverpool speech.

Manx English

Barry (1984:174) states that in the initial position e.g. *thing, thin* etc. and when followed by an /r/ e.g. *threshing, three* etc. /θ/ is often realised as a "heavily aspirated dental stop [t̪ʰ/d̪ʰ]." He comments that homophonic clashes often occur as a result,

giving the examples *thin/tin* and *three/tree* to illustrate his point. He further points out that /θ/ did not exist in Manx Gaelic. Ellis, like Barry mentions "the occasional use of (,t) for (th) especially before (r)." (1889: 360)

Neither Barry nor Ellis make any comment regarding the voiced fricative /ð/, but Preuss (1999:59) states that the Manx English form is also sometimes realised as an aspirated dental plosive [dʰ] e.g. *there* [dʰɛə]. Hamer (forthcoming), however, makes reference to the Manx English form as a dental /d/, [d̪].

For the purpose of this thesis I will be looking at the prestige fricatives /θ, ð/, Scouse and Manx English type dentals /t̪, d̪/, and in this instance the influence of Cockney speech in the form of labiodentals /f, v/. Wells (1982:328) states that the replacement of /θ/ and /ð/ by /f/ and /v/ is a well known characteristic of Cockney. He refers to this as 'TH Fronting'.

> "This makes *thin* a homophone of *fin*, [fɪn], and *brother* ['brʌvə] rhyme with *lover*...TH Fronting happens readily to the voiceless fricative in all environments, but to the voiced one only when non-initial. Thus we get [frɪi] *three*, ['ɑ:fə] *Arthur*, [bɑ:f] *bath*, ['fɑ:və] *father*, [smuuv] *smooth*; but for *this* usually not * [vɪs], only [dɪs] or various other possibilities."

4.4.6 /r/ tapped after consonants

Scouse

Wells (1982:372) states that in Merseyside /r/ may be an approximant [ɹ]or a tap [ɾ] particularly after /θ/ e.g. *three*, and intervocalically e.g. *ferry*. He comments

that middle class speakers, despite the fact that it is an RP possibility, generally avoid the tap. Instances were also recorded after /g/ and following -*s* + consonant e.g. *sprout, scratch.* Knowles (1973:329) comments that the younger men and older women who realised /r/ as [ɾ] tended to do so infrequently.

Manx English

The *SED* reported that /r/ is often realised as [ɹ] in traditional Manx English, but that initially and after /t/ or /d/ it can be [r], particularly in the south of the Island. Barry (1984:174-5) commented that /r/ "is often a short roll or flap", examples of this following a consonant include *prong, front-door, street* and *threshing.*

In Lancashire, according to the *SED*, /r/ is often realised by a tap [ɾ] or flap [ɹ] particularly after dentalized [t̪, d̪].

4.4.7 /h/

Throughout England and Wales standard accents have [h] initially in words like *hit, hotel, hut* etc. This is frequently contrasted with non-standard [ø], commonly referred to a 'dropped h'. According to Wells (1982:253), 'h dropping' occurs:

> in the working-class accents of most of England...That is to say, the [h] of standard accents is absent: words such as *hit, hammer, happy, hedge,* begin with a vowel (or sometimes [ʔ]).

Wells goes as far as to say that:

> h Dropping does appear to be the single most powerful shibboleth in England (1982:254)

He points out that sociolinguistic evidence (e.g. Hudson and Holloway 1977, Trudgill 1974) shows that a relationship exists between social factors and 'h dropping'.

> In most parts of England, and particularly in urban areas, (h) indices are likely to be in direct and straightforward relation to the education and social class of the speaker. (1982:254)

However, the situation can be somewhat more complex than it initially appears because, according to Wells (1982:254), in standard accents pronouns *he, him, her, his* (and sometimes *who*) with the auxiliaries *has have* and *had,* often occur without [h] if they are neither stressed nor in post pausal position. In other words, when *tell him* ['tolɪm] occurs in RP, this is not the same as 'h dropping'.

The *SED* refers to the absence of /h/ in most parts of Lancashire.

Scouse

De Lyon (1981:106), Hughes and Trudgill (1979:62) and Newbrook (1986:64) agree that /h/ is often absent, but that it can also occur in Scouse.

Manx English

The *SED* recorded the presence of /h/ in traditional Manx English. Barry (1984:174) agrees that this variable is usually preserved in traditional Manx English and adds that it was preserved in Manx Gaelic in the initial position. However, he does suggest that on occasions it can be lost in "the unstressed second element of compounds" e.g. *dung-hill, court-house.*

4.4.8 /eɪ/

/eɪ/ is the stressed vowel found in words such as *face, day* etc. According to Trudgill (1999:6) this variable was originally a monophthong [eː] in all varieties of English, but over the last two hundred years or so it has begun to be realised as a diphthong, [eɪ] or [æɪ]. This change began in the south of England, particularly in the London region and has spread throughout much of the southern and Midland areas. Generally the areas furthest from London, including much of the north, have retained the monophthong. For example, he claims that the typical pronunciation of *gate* in Lancashire would be [geːt]. Wells (1982:142) states that the usual northern variant is realised as [eː]. He also comments that some RP speakers use this variant, chiefly because of 'smoothing'.

Scouse

Newbrook (1986:61) implies that the situation is somewhat complex and states that the reports available are "confusingly varied."

> It is agreed, however, that it is a single phoneme. Knowles (1974:274) regards the nucleus as centralised, and transcribes [ɛ̈ɪ]. Hughes and Trudgill (1979:62) say that /eɪ/ is a 'narrow diphthong', which is certainly true for at least some speakers, but this does not seem to fit Knowles' transcription very well. It seems to me that in (most) Scouse there are two fairly distinct variant-types - around [ˈɛ̈ˈɪ] and around [ɘ̆ɪ] respectively, with the former (perhaps originally a hypercorrect form)...typical of female speakers.

Manx English

Barry (1984:171) claims that the chief realisation of this variable is [eɪ], though some glides do occur, creating some degree of overlap with /eɪə/ e.g. *paving stones,*

daisies. Many words for which RP speakers would use /aɪ/ are also realised in traditional Manx English as [əɪ] e.g. *fight, knife, bike, right,* and *nice*, particularly in the north of the Island. /əɪ/ is also the preferred vowel in Manx English for words spelt *ea* e.g. *beat, speak, real.* This is more typical in the south of the Island. Barry also comments that:

> it is noticeable that some English words with vowels in the RP /eɪ/ category have /iː/ in Manx English.

Thus *beat* and *bait* can be homophones in Manx English. Both Preuss (1999) and Hamer (forthcoming) refer to the monophthong [eː] e.g. *lane* [leːn] as being a Manx English form.

4.4.9 /ʌ, ʊ/

The relationship between these two phonemes is termed by Wells as the STRUT-FOOT split. According to Wells, RP and most English accents:

> have /ʊ/ and /ʌ/ as contrastive phonemes, as can be demonstrated by minimal pairs such as *could-cud, put-putt, look-luck, stood-stud.*" (1982:196)

However, there are accents which have never undergone this 'split'.

> Thus in all broad accents of the north of England there is just a single phoneme /ʊ/ corresponding to the two phonemes, /ʊ/ and /ʌ/, of RP and south-of-England accents. In this kind of accent *put* is a homophone of *putt* and *could* of *cud.* (1982:198)

(However, this does not necessarily mean that *book* is a homophone of *buck*, see below.) According to Hughes and Trudgill (1979:28) however, many northern speakers have a vowel between /ʌ/ and /ʊ/ typically realised around [ə] in words such as *but*, and sometimes *put*, and that this is particularly true of younger middle class speakers in areas of the southern Midlands.

Alongside /a:/ e.g. *bath* (see section 4.4.11) Wells credits this variable as being one of the two most important characteristics setting northern local accents apart from southern ones (1982:251) (see Chambers and Trudgill 1980:Chapter 8).

Scouse

> Scouse agrees with the rest of the linguistic North in having the same vowel in such words as put and but. As in other Northern cities, the middle class tend to make some sort of difference. (1973:284)

Manx English

[ʊ] is the most common realisation e.g. *books, put, pull.* Words with /ʌ/ in RP may have /ɒ/, /ɷ/ or /ʊ/ in Manx English. Words relegated to /ʊ/ in Manx English include *muck, up, butter, brush* and *gloves.* Barry suggests that this may be because of the influence of north English dialect speech (1984:169-170).

4.4.10 [u:]

In RP, words spelt with *oo* e.g. *good, book* etc. are pronounced /ʊ/. This is not necessarily true for the north of England, however, as [u:] is often used instead, especially in certain lexical items.

> The use of /u/ instead of /ʊ/ before /k/ is heard in the North Midlands from Merseyside to beyond Leeds. (Knowles 1973:290)

Scouse

Knowles (1973:69) says that whereas in the north midlands a long back vowel [bu:k] is used, Scouse has a short central vowel [buk]. Knowles found that all of his working class informants, and 10 of the 24 middle class informants used /u/ in

place of /u/. Among the middle class no clear pattern was seen for sex or age, but when subdivided by sex and age a pattern emerged - old men and young women preferred the standard, and young men and old women preferred the traditional local vowel. (1973:291)

De Lyon (1981:110), Hughes and Trudgill (1979:61) and Newbrook (1986:63) all make reference to the Scouse realisation of [u:]. In the West Wirral, Newbrook actually found that change was taking place in the direction of the standard, with younger informants generally using RP /u/ more frequently that the older informants.

> In this case, uniquely, the younger informants produced more RP forms. The direction of change is here clearly towards RP, with the non-standard form undergoing a rapid eclipse. /u:k/ is now almost a stereotypical feature of a very 'broad' Scouse and of low-prestige Northern English accents in general, and can have little covert prestige for the young. (1986:156)

For the older informants Newbrook found the effect of social class great, and middle aged informants represented an intermediate position. He found sex to be unimportant (1986:157).

Manx English

Barry (1984:171) comments that:

> a few words which have the vowel phoneme /u/ in RP have /u:/ in Manx English, e.g. *mushrooms, good, book.*

Preuss states that in Manx English the /u/ sounds are mostly realised in the raised variant [u] and gives the examples *good* [gud], *school* [skul] (1999:60). *School* is an interesting item which will be looked at in some detail in the subsequent chapters.

Whereas Preuss states that it is realised [u]. Hamer (forthcoming) refers to it as a Manx English shibboleth, with a centralised second element [uə] or similar. Furthermore, Barry (1984:171) and Broderick (1997:127) state that the word *pool* has the off-glide [u:ə], though Broderick adds that a triphthongised form [ᵊuə], [ʹuə] can be heard in the name *Liverpool.*

It is interesting to note that Wells (1982:133) mentions that words with *-ook* spelling are often pronounced with [u:] in north England and that for Scouse, only words ending in /k/ are mentioned regarding the use of [u:] instead of RP /ʊ/. With regards to traditional Manx English, however, it is also mentioned in other environments e.g. *good.* Hughes and Trudgill (1979:28) state that "all English English accents" have shortened [u:] to /ʊ/ for lexical items such as *good, hood.* As will be shown in Chapter 6 this is not necessarily true in the Isle of Man.

4.4.11 /ɑ/

/ɑ:/ is the RP pronunciation of the vowel in words such as *aunt, pass, half* and *part.* For this thesis it will be treated as two variables, /ɑ:/(1) and /ɑ:/ (2).

For ɑ:(1) the RP rule lengthens Middle English [a] before voiceless fricatives e.g. *after, ask, bath* and *grass*, and before a nasal and stop e.g. *aunt, sample.* This does not apply for all words, however, exceptions including *gastric, camp, lamp* and *pant.* The RP form of /ɑ:/(2) is the lengthening of Middle English [a] when followed by [r] or [l] as in *hard, part, half* or *calf.*

Whereas RP speakers, and those in the south of England tend to use [ɑː] for both /ɑː/(1) and /ɑː/(2), in the north a shorter /a/ (RP /æ/) is generally used for ɑː(1). That is, whereas southern speakers would generally say *laugh* [lɑːf], in the north it would be pronounced [laf] (Wells 1982:353). Hughes and Trudgill (1979:28-9) divided /ɑː/ and /æ/ in to five lexical sets: (i) *pat, bad, cap,* (ii) *path, laugh, grass,* (iii) *dance, grant, demand,* (iv) *part, bar, cart,* (v) *half, palm, banana, can't.* According to them, RP and most southern speakers use [æ] for (i) and [ɑ] for the remaining four sets, while northern speakers realise (i), (ii) and (iii) as [æ] and only use [ɑː] for numbers (iv) and (v). /ɑː/(1) can be seen to be compatible with Hughes and Trudgill's first three sets, and ɑː(2) roughly corresponds with their fourth and final set. Certain lexical items will not be included, however. This will be discussed in Chapter 6.

Wells comments that the retention of the short vowel [a] extends further up the social scale than the un-split /u/ does.

> There are many educated northerners who would not be caught dead doing something so vulgar as to pronounce STRUT words with [ʊ], but who would feel it to be a denial of their identity as northerners to say BATH words with anything other than short [a]. (1982:354)

According to Wells (1982:355-6), certain lexical items are of particular interest. For example, in the north the long vowel /ɑ/ is almost always used for the word *half*, the short vowel being "virtually confined" to Northumberland and Tyne and Wear. On the other hand, he also claims (1982:354) that other lexical items are more susceptible to the long vowel because of their association with school and "school

standards of correctness". Whereas *plaster* and *disaster* are generally pronounced with a short /a/ in the north, *master* is frequently realised as /'ma:stə/.

Scouse

Knowles states:

> in words like *last, grass, aunt, mask*, Scouse agrees with the linguistic north in having /a/ as opposed to the standard /ɑ/. (1973:286)

De Lyon (1981:43, 86), Hughes and Trudgill (1979:61) and Newbrook (1986:63) support this. Knowles also states (1973:287-8) that middle class speakers tend to have vowels shifted in the direction of /ɑ/ without actually reaching it. Inconsistencies were common, partly due, he suggests, to the uncertainty by middle class informants about "which words the rule should apply to", and partly because of lexical differences among individuals. Newbrook says (1986:63) that hypercorrections of all sorts were common, with most speakers reluctant to replace /æ/ with /ɑ/. As in the rest of the north, /æ/ is generally realised around [a] (Knowles 1973:287).

Manx English

Barry (1984) provides evidence that in traditional Manx English for both ɑ:(1) and ɑ:(2) the variant [æ:] was commonly used. He refers to two main variants, firstly [æ:] e.g. *shaft, ask, half, calf, hard* (with closer variants, off-glides and shortened forms). Such realisations, he says, "most often occur before *s, f* and *th*". The second variant is [ɑ̜:] e.g. *barn, harvest, partridge* and [ɑ:] as in *yarn* (=*thread*), *far* and *father*, about which he comments

"These realisations almost all occur before historical *r* (now usually lost), with or without a consonant." (1984:170)

It is worth noticing that Barry refers to this as the variable (æ) rather than (ɑ).

Chapter 5 - The Informants and Methodology

5.1 Introduction

A major problem facing all sociolinguistic study is that of 'Observer's Paradox' and the desire to be able to record informants speaking naturally, as they would when not being monitored. Macaulay (1977) referred to this problem in his study of Glasgow speech:

> the informants conscious of the formal interview situation with an unfamiliar interviewer and all too conscious of the presence of the tape-recorder, were using their 'best' English. (Macaulay 1977:4)

The issue of 'Observer's Paradox' and some of the methods employed in order to combat it were raised in Chapter 2. As stated in Chapter 1, the technique used in the Isle of Man, partly in an attempt to overcome this problem, but also to record as many informants as possible, was to approach the local schools for their assistance. The pupils conducted interviews with family members and friends, and from these, thirty-two informants were selected for detailed examination in this thesis.

In this chapter I will look at the use of school pupils as part of the wider investigation into linguistic behaviour on the Isle of Man. The ethical issues, practical problems and methodological advantages of using children as participant observers will be examined. In the next section I will give a summary of other investigations involving children, particularly those conducted by Macaulay (1977), Reid (1978), Romaine (1975, 1978) and Cheshire (1982) in order to provide a contrast with the methodology employed in this survey. This will be followed by a discussion of the informants selected for this thesis.

5.2 Previous Sociolinguistic Studies Using Children

Romaine (1975, 1978) investigated the language use of children in Edinburgh through the examination of twenty-four primary school pupils. The children were all working class, selected non-randomly on the basis of their father's occupation. Romaine analysed the effect of age, sex, style and phonetic environment upon the linguistic behaviour of four boys and four girls aged six, eight and ten. Each informant was recorded on a one to one basis with the interviewer. The ten year olds were also observed in a more formal style, reading a passage specially designed to contain a high concentration of the variables under investigation. Although judgement sampling was the basis for selection, Milroy (1995:27) comments that random sampling, which would provide an equal opportunity of selection for anyone within the frame regardless of class, would have been of little or no value given that Romaine had such a narrow focus.

In a similar study, also conducted in Edinburgh, Reid (1978) looked at the speech patterns of sixteen eleven year old boys. Using a methodology based upon the Labovian paradigm Reid chose two schools from contrasting areas and from each of these, six boys were selected to represent a wide social spectrum on the basis of their father's occupation. Four boys from a fee paying school were later added to the sample. The informants were therefore selected and grouped on the basis of two different but related factors; school affiliation and father's occupation (1978:158-9). Whereas sex and age related variation were central to Romaine's investigation, Reid's sample was single sexed and of the same age. Focus was placed instead upon

the level of style shifting among pre-adolescents, brought about by social class and situational context. The informants were recorded in a fairly formal one to one interview, discussing a topic of mutual interest with two class mates and with minimal involvement by the interviewer, reading aloud, and playing with friends in the school yard (1978:159).

In Glasgow, Macaulay (1977) examined the linguistic features shared by speakers in groups determined by common characteristics such as sex, age and class. As part of a wider cross section of the Glasgow community Macaulay interviewed and examined thirty two ten and fifteen year olds, again selected on the basis of school affiliation and divided equally by sex. As with the works conducted by Romaine and Reid, the occupation of the father was used to determine social class, but in this case, although judgement sampling was used, the actual selection of the informants was made by the schools, a fact that has led to criticism by Romaine (1980:170). Milroy (1995:27), however, defends Macaulay, stating that although subjective opinion was used, it closely corresponded with the rank order of schools as given in the Census. She points out that Macaulay's sampling methods may have omitted many interesting facts about Glaswegian speech, but it has not been proved that random sampling would have revealed these to a greater extent. Macaulay was unable to obtain many examples of casual speech on tape and the majority of his analysis was of careful, rather formal speech (Macaulay 1977:21). Despite this, however, an extensive range of pronunciation was found and proved to be connected with sex, age and class. He claimed (1977:4) that the individual's social position was reflected in their speech patterns with surprising accuracy and that his findings were consistent with Labov's in New York (1966) and Trudgill's in Norwich (1971).

Cheshire (1982) used long term participation to investigate non-standard morphological and syntactical features in the speech of young people in Reading. Three distinct, pre-existing groups of working class adolescents who congregated at two adventure playgrounds were examined. Two of the groups were made up of boys, and one of girls; the sexes did not mix. Without the interest in language being disclosed Cheshire visited each playground two or three times a week for about nine months and established a friendly relationship with the various groups. Verbal skills were seen to be an important aspect of their culture so obtaining data was not difficult. Although the microphone was always in evidence Cheshire expresses the belief that it was largely forgotten. Their normal verbal interactions appeared to continue as usual which suggests that the speech style was relaxed and that the recording equipment was ignored. For example, verbal activities such as swearing, taboo subjects and laughter etc. (as well as physical fighting) were very much in evidence. Cheshire acknowledges that this could have been a result of showing off in front of the microphone, but points out that very little reference was made to the equipment (1982:18-9). By dividing the boys into three sub-groups, core members, secondary members and non-members, and the girls into the groups 'good' or 'bad', Cheshire was able to demonstrate that the level of integration into the group was related to the regularity with which non-standard forms were used. This supports the theory of social network effecting language use as discussed in Chapter 2.

5.3 The School Pupil as Participant Observer

As discussed in Chapter 3 the traditional Manx English dialect and other varieties of English spoken in Man are not new topics of examination, but previous work has not

been extensive. The wider investigation currently taking place has attempted to encompass both the traditional dialectology style used by the *SED* and the methods used in more recent urban studies such as those adopted by Labov (1966) and Trudgill (1974) in New York and Norwich respectively, and the Milroys in Belfast (Milroy and Milroy 1978, Milroy 1980). The investigation has taken advantage of both styles to meet the parallel aims of recording dialect speakers and achieving a contemporary representation of the language used by the Island's population. The team members have explored their own social networks, and interviewed people recommended to them because they have what is considered to be a "Manx accent", but clearly, these two avenues alone would not offer a representative sample, and would show a bias toward Manx English speakers. Milroy (1995:18) refers to representativeness in sampling as the description of the language used by the inhabitants of an area without bias toward any subgroup in the population. A team of six people, with only two full time members, three of the students being local teachers and the sixth member based in Liverpool, is too small to collect and analyse enough data to be representative of the speech patterns of the Island's population.

It was in order to combat the difficulties of generating enough data for a representative sample, and in an attempt to avoid observer's paradox, that the local schools were invited to participate. The work presently being conducted on the Isle of Man, of which this thesis is part, differs from the studies discussed above in that the role of the school pupil is not solely that of informant, but also that of fieldworker, and that a considerably greater number were involved.

5.3.1 Practical Problems

Following what was generally a positive response from the Island's head teachers, detailed information about the survey was distributed to all the local schools. Interest in participation varied greatly from school to school, and some declined the offer to take part because of localised difficulties, concern about ethics, or the time and pressure the project would add to an already busy schedule. Many schools, although keen to take part, found it difficult to allocate an appropriate time in the school year, with the result that the initial round of data collection took considerably longer than had been initially anticipated. The period of time necessary for the first round of interviews to be completed was also affected by limited resources such as recording equipment etc.

In an attempt to reduce the workload placed upon the participating teachers, the project team did as much of the administration and organisation as possible. A detailed information pack was produced with the dual intention of providing the schools with enough knowledge about the project generally and their role in particular, thus limiting the time and effort required on the part of the class teacher. Included in the information packs were instructions on how to conduct the interview and use the equipment, a sample letter to be sent out to parents and suggested questions. The letter to parents was important in terms of the ethical implications of using children as participant observers and will be discussed in more detail later.

The Manx Museum has close links with the project and will eventually receive all the tapes as part of their archive where the informant gives permission. The topics chosen for the questions were suggested by the Museum to correspond with The

Manx Folklife Survey and other data already available to them. Using local social history as a focus, the questionnaires were designed in a similar style to that used by Macaulay (1977), and to a lesser extent Trudgill (1974), but were adapted somewhat to allow easier incorporation into the National Curriculum (see Appendix 6). The questions provided were entirely optional but most schools chose to take advantage of the material already prepared as the topics were fairly wide ranging, and were provided in two formats for older and younger children. They included childhood and school, life on the Isle of Man, work and social activities, and the war. There was also a section on ideology or identity which provides some knowledge about the importance attached by the individuals involved to the 'local values system' (see section 2.4.1). The design of the questionnaire also proved to be important in terms of eliciting certain lexical items. The pronunciation of the word *school*, for example, was particularly interesting. This will be discussed in Chapter 6.

Some of the interviews conducted are not suitable for linguistic analysis, either because of poor recording quality, the length of the interview, or if permission was withheld. Yet despite this, many of the aims behind school involvement were realised. The schools were invited to participate, not just because of the benefits to academic study, but to provide an opportunity for the children to learn something of the history of the Isle of Man, a topic presently not in the curriculum. The recording situation also offered new skills in, for example, technology and interviewing techniques. In addition, their involvement encouraged a greater awareness of the project within the wider community than perhaps would have otherwise been generated.

With some of the pupils involved being as young as five years old, age and ability were relevant factors with regards to the quality of data collected, especially as any instruction was fairly basic. Furthermore, as interviews were conducted via the schools, many children appeared to associate them with homework, despite the voluntary nature of the exercise. The resulting lack of enthusiasm may be partly responsible for the short length of many of the interviews. In these cases the recordings are of little value in terms of sociolinguistic research, especially when the initial nervousness of being recorded and the resulting effect upon language use is taken into consideration. Alternatively, it must be noted that with so many interviewers there is a real danger of obtaining too much data for analysis if all the interviews are of a long duration, or if each pupil conducted more than one interview as many of them did.

The role of the interviewer is to take charge of the discussion, guiding the informant to give enough information and ensuring that it is relevant to the topic under investigation. Even with training this is not an easy task, and experience and communication skills are important in developing this technique. The success of each interview was dependent upon three things: the child's enthusiasm, common sense, and their choice of informant. Although the questions provided were carefully worded to avoid one word answers as much as possible, the ability of each pupil to conduct a successful and useful interview varied greatly. Most of the children read the questions word for word, but others did expand upon them. The following examples illustrate these points well. The first example is part of an interview conducted by Informant 22 and his father, Informant 2.

Inf 22 Did you attend a local church?
Inf 2 No.

Inf22 Was there a Sunday school?
Inf2 Yes.
Inf22 What were the Sunday school classes like?
Inf2 Don't know, 'cause I never used to go.
Inf22 Did a lot of children go there?
Inf2 No, most of us used to go and play football on a Sunday.
Inf22 What do you remember about the services?
Inf2 I don't know 'cause I wasn't there.

Regardless of the fact that the pupil has been told his father did not attend Sunday school, he gives no thought to the following questions and continues to read from the prepared sheet. Furthermore, his father, instead of suggesting that they go on to the next section, allows the boy to continue with irrelevant questions. The next example provides a strong contrast to this interview. In this instance a girl (informant 25) was asked to use the same questions as those used above.

Inf25 Do y, did you attend to your local church?
Inf13 Yes, it was St Mary's.
Inf25 Did you go to Sunday school?
Inf13 No I didn't go to Sunday school 'cause we used to go to Sunday mass.
Inf25 Did you like Sunday mass?
Inf13 Yeah, it was alright.
Inf25 What were the Sunday school classes like?
Inf13 I don't know 'cause I never used to go to Sunday school.
Inf25 Would you have liked to?
Inf13 No, I don't think so.
Inf25 Don't you, would you, did you like going to church?
Inf13 I liked going to church, yeah. We used to go to, like church outings, they used to have a lot of outings. When I was little.
Inf25 What would you normally wear? Would you have like a special suit to go to the Sunday school?
Inf13 Yes we used to have our like, what was called Sunday best, an as soon as we come home from church we used to have to go and get changed into our old clothes, 'cause we wouldn't be allowed to play out in our Sunday best.
Inf25 Did you have a little dress?
Inf13 I think I did, yes. Don't ask me what it was like.
Inf25 Did you like it?
Inf13 I suppose it was alright.
Inf25 D-did a lot of children go?
Inf13 Yes, there was a lot of children.
Inf25 What do you remember about any of the services you had at church?
Inf13 The one I can remember the best was the May Processions, I used to love the May Processions.
Inf25 Could you explain what that was?

Inf 13 It was when all the little girls used to dress up in, em, long white dresses and they were like a little bride with the white veils and they used to do a parade right round the church, then out of the church and down, round the block, round Athol Street and then back into the church. And they'd be singing songs and things. It was really nice.
Inf 25 Did you enjoy it?
Inf 13 I did, yes.

It is interesting to note that not only are these interviewers the same age, they actually came from the same class at school (School A - see below). Whereas the boy (Informant 22) read the questions word for word, the girl (Informant 25) attempted to make the questioning less formal by paraphrasing and added her own rather interesting questions, as well as prompting her mother to answer more fully. This is actually the third interview conducted by the girl so she had become fairly confident with the material provided, whereas her classmate only interviewed one informant and was less sure of his role as interviewer. Even when this is taken into consideration, however, the two examples provide a stark contrast of the standards reached by the children, and underline the importance of being aware of the different speeds with which children develop communication skills.

These examples also illustrate early gender difference in discourse interaction skills. Stockwell (2002:16-17) comments that recent studies in this area suggest that men and women view the purpose of conversation differently, and that this causes differing linguistic behaviour.

> in mixed groups, men tend to dominate the time and turn-taking; women tend to support and reply; men explain things to women; women ask more questions, use more 'backchannel noise'...and invite participation. (Stockwell 2002:16-17)

Romaine (1994:116-25) suggests that these discourse patterns begin when the speakers are children, with girls in particular being taught to behave, and talk, like 'a lady'. This learned behaviour continues into adulthood.

> Women value details in conversation because they represent a sign of involvement with others, but men are not socialised to be concerned with taking care of others, and don't use talk in this way. (Romaine 1994:24)

Although both of these recordings are single sex interviews, the one conducted between the females (Informants 13 and 25) is a clear example of women's conversational behaviour. Whereas Informant 22 simply asks the questions demanded of him by his role as interviewer, Informant 25 asks additional questions and by doing so invites greater participation.

5.3.2 Methodological Advantages

Under the general label of methodology, there are two major areas of consideration in any sociolinguistic study: the setting a system into motion, and other more technical matters such as the design of the questionnaire. The reasons behind the decision to use school children and other theoretical considerations in our methodology have already been looked at earlier in this chapter, so for the rest of this section I will focus upon the practicalities. This element of the methodology included factors such as the decision to use cheaper, simple recorders for the interviews being carried out by school children, but more expensive, higher quality equipment for any subsequent interviews. Although there was a heavy initial time and energy expenditure in establishing the school involvement, it provided an avenue to obtain recordings of almost 800 people including the school pupils. It also established contacts with informants and their families which would have taken a small team a considerably longer time to achieve unaided. In this way the

methodology does have enormous advantages, the greatest being the sheer number and variety of informants who would not otherwise have been interviewed.

Had all the Island's schools taken part, their geographical locations would have ensured that the whole Island would have been covered. This, however, was not the case. Although some areas, the north in particular, provided less informants than others, but a satisfactory number of schools have been involved to cover most of the Island. In total, seventeen of the thirty-six Manx schools took part. Given that nearly 50% of the population of the Isle of Man live in the Douglas and Onchan area; it is interesting to note that eight of the participating schools were from this area. In addition, the junior section of the local private school took part. Whereas the studies conducted by Macaulay (1977) and Reid (1978) involved thirty two and sixteen children respectively, and thirty two informants are analysed for this thesis, the use of the Manx schools allowed access to all areas, thus providing a valuable corpus of data for the wider project.

There is a reluctance among many people to be interviewed for a study such as this, either because they are nervous of being recorded, or do not believe anyone will be interested in what they have to say. However, as the interviews took place through the schools, and the teachers felt they would help the children with their class work, family members and friends seemed generally more willing to be interviewed than they perhaps would have been if approached by a stranger. This method of data collection not only gave us access to social networks, but as they were interviewed by someone already known to them, a recording of a relaxed speech style was

usually obtained. Despite the somewhat disjointed sequencing of some of the interviews, the recordings were actually as relaxed as expected and hoped for.

5.3.3 Ethical Implications

The ethical implications of using children, whether as informants or as interviewers, was the area which caused the project most concern, and theoretical considerations sometimes had to take second place to ethical demands. For example, since the pupil was playing the role of participant observer, it was initially suggested that, in order to avoid 'observer's paradox' neither the informant nor the pupil should be told of any linguistic interest until after the interview. It was suggested that after the round of interviews was completed a letter explaining the linguistic interest and requesting permission to analyse the tapes should be sent to the individuals. Previous studies have used techniques similar to this. Milroy (1995:88-9) refers to the candid recordings Crystal and Davy (1969) made of their friends and families prior to obtaining permission. Douglas-Cowie (1978), on the other hand, obtained permission to record members of her social network, but did not tell them when the recordings would take place until after they had been made. Milroy points out, however, that sociolinguists working within Labov's general framework tend not to use surreptitious recordings. Whereas Labov set out to "provide a model for handling communities not known to the investigator", Crystal and Davy were specifically examining the language use of "a few speakers well known to them," which may lessen the ethical implications (Milroy 1995:88-9). This idea was eventually dismissed, however, because it was considered unethical, and the investigation could have lost public support. All the participating schools fully

understood the linguistic interest before taking part, and any correspondence between the project team and the informants clearly stated an interest in language use.

When establishing school involvement the team members were aware that although many informants would be willing to be interviewed to help the pupils and their schools, they would not automatically agree to their tape being used by the project or any other organisation. In order to combat this potential problem a form was produced which had the dual role of providing biographical details and allowing the informant to state the purposes for which their tape could be used. This form was designed to work in conjunction with a database through a reference number. It was carefully worded to allow the informant to state whether or not their tape could be made public through the Manx Museum and in what circumstances. For example, every informant was given the opportunity to refuse permission for the tape to be used for educational purposes, broadcasting purposes, as a public record, or as part of a lecture or an exhibition. They were also asked if they would prefer it if their tape is not used for research other than this project for any period of time. In addition, permission was requested for the tapes to be analysed for this survey.

The use of children as fieldworkers has legal implications because they are minors. Although very few children were interviewed, thus providing information that could be regarded as confidential, they are still on tape and their language use can and has been analysed. To overcome this serious ethical problem schools were requested to send out a letter to parents explaining why the interviews were being conducted, and asking for permission to use the tapes of the whole family, assuming that the informant also agreed. The biographical form mentioned above was adapted to

include parental permission because of this, priority being given to the wishes of the child's parent or guardian above those of the informant. This meant that even if the informant was willing for the recording to be used by the project and the Museum, the tape could not be used without parental permission.

The master tape for each interview has been kept to be used for transcription and analysis. All of the interviews conducted by the children have also been copied and donated to their school to be used by the class. The teachers were strongly encouraged to pass on detailed information about the larger project, and it was decided to not produce a separate form requesting permission for the schools to use the tape, as too much paper work can be off putting to the informant. Those who objected did so by not taking part. It would be completely impossible to police the way the tapes were used once they had been given to the schools, but head teachers were asked to sign a form acknowledging receipt of the tapes, stating that they would ensure the guidelines devised by the project co-ordinators would be followed to the best of their ability and that the school would not use the recordings in any other way. The guidelines suggested that the tapes should not be taken off the school premises, they should not be made publicly available or be open for public access e.g. in a library, and that the tapes should be stored together and should not be copied again.

Obviously these guidelines are not legally binding in any way, and cannot be enforced. There is the potential for problems to arise in the future, but the responsibility to protect the informants' right to confidentiality has been taken over

by the head teacher and everything possible was done to raise the seriousness of this issue.

5.3.4 The Consequences of this Methodology

The project touches upon the realm of traditional dialectology but with a more modern sociolinguistic focus. It deliberately selects those aspects most suited to the aims of recording as many so-called dialect speakers as possible at the same time as gathering a collection of contemporary speech patterns. Chambers and Trudgill (1980:54) recognise the relevance of dialectology in its traditional form.

> Traditionally dialectology consisted of the study of geographically varying linguistic forms in predominantly rural areas. Work of this type... has been of considerable value, and in many cases has recorded important and interesting data that would otherwise have been lost.

More recently, however, dialectology has moved away from the rural areas to include more urban based studies as was discussed in Chapter 2.

The language use of people who are perceived by the community to be Manx English speakers is being examined only as a part of the wider picture. People of all ages and backgrounds are being interviewed but the project is focused through the young. Other sociolinguistic studies have used children, but this study is one of the first, if not the first, to use children as both informants and interviewers. Out of the 400 or so people who have been interviewed, over three quarters of them have agreed to the project analysing their tapes and taking part in further interviews. This means that, by including the school pupils, a rather large sample is available, with a total of just under 600 people (almost 1% of the resident population) already on tape and available for linguistic analysis.

Inevitably, there are also disadvantages in using children as participant observers, largely because they are not expert fieldworkers. This was mentioned briefly above with regard to their individual interviewing/conversational skills. Other problems included the length of some interviews and their quality. The recording quality of one interview in particular made it unsuitable for linguistic analysis because it was conducted over the phone.

A further, and potentially more serious, problem is that by playing the role of interviewer and informant, the children are reading. Although there are some conversational asides and impromptu questions, the vast majority of the data analysed for the children is in a formal style. In other words, the 'observer's paradox' may have been avoided for the adults, but using the school pupils as participant observers also had the effect of formalising their language. It is therefore likely that the children were using more standard forms than they would when speaking naturally. This brings the reliability of the data into question. It is for this reason that the nature of the wider project is so valuable. Although the school recordings are the basis for the analysis in this thesis, the work conducted by Clague consists of recordings of children in various activities and styles, thus providing a point of comparison for this study.

Studies such as those discussed in section 5.2 examined the urban language of children and teenagers. The current project on the Isle of Man encompasses urban and rural speech, enabling comparisons to be made between different areas through the different schools. The recordings analysed for this thesis are all selected from the series of tapes made via the schools. Thirty-two informants were chosen to be

examined in detail from the recordings made in the Douglas and Onchan area. In the remaining sections of this chapter I will look at the make up of this sample in terms of sex, age and class. The relationship of the interviewers and their informants will also be discussed, as will the schools they are affiliated to.

5.4 The Informants

Romaine (1975:42) argues that a large sample is not necessarily needed to describe the language use of an area and suggests that an intensive study of fewer informants is an alternative approach. Labov also comments on the feasibility of using a relatively small sample, even in a city as diverse as New York. Referring to the 'television survey' which was conducted alongside the 'American Language Survey' (1966), he states that the linguistic behaviour of both sets of informants was found to be the same.

> If the previous studies of New York City had followed a systematic method of selecting informants, the 25 or 30 cases described would have been sufficient to show the outlines of a systematic structure of stylistic and social variation. We may conclude that the structure of social and stylistic variation of language can be studied through samples considerably smaller than those required for the study of other forms of social behaviour. (1966:638)

Milroy (1995:21) supports this, referring to the arguments put forward by Sankoff (1980b) that linguists do not require samples as large as those needed in other areas of research because linguistic behaviour is more homogeneous than many other types of behaviour, such as dietary and television programme preferences. It is on this basis that the informants selected for this pilot study were chosen.

The thirty-two informants examined consist of eight men, women, boys and girls (see Appendix 1). There is a reasonable amount of information available about the

sixteen adult informants. At the time of the interview they were all resident in Douglas or Onchan, they are all Manx, and with the exception of two were all born in Douglas. Each of the adults was requested to supply some biographical details, so their sex, date and place of birth, place of residence and usually their form of employment is available, as well as other family information. Additional information such as their level of education and whether they lived off the Island for any period of time was often obtained during the course of the interview. The adult informants cover a wide range of ages. The youngest and oldest men were aged thirty-two and eighty-eight respectively at the time of the interview. The youngest woman is significantly younger than the other adults. She was only seventeen at the time of the interview, but despite her young age, she was grouped with the women. The second youngest was thirty-five years old and the oldest was sixty-nine. One of the largest problems faced by the project as a whole is the limited number of informants in their late teens and twenties. The technique of using children as interviewers was successful in that large amounts of data were obtained, but as the majority of them interviewed either parents or grandparents, the number of young adults available for analysis is disproportionately small.

Much less information is available about the children. The schools they attended at the time of the interview is known, and given that all the schools selected for this paper are in Douglas or Onchan it is assumed that this was their place of residence. In addition to this all of the schools that were selected were primary schools so we can suppose that they were aged between seven and eleven with one possible exception (Informant 20) who attended a combined infant and junior school and used the questionnaire designed for younger informants (see Appendix 6). Apart from the

schools they attended, however, no definite information is known about the children other than their relationship to the interviewee and their sex. Whereas there was often additional information obtained about the adults during the interview itself, the children offered no information about themselves as they were acting in the role of interviewer. The exception to this is Informant 25. This girl mentioned that she was eleven, and as only one class from her school took part in the project this provides a clue to the ages of some of the other children.

In order to maintain the balance between gathering enough data and keeping it manageable it was decided to restrict the number of tapes to sixteen. By choosing recordings in which both the adult and child are suitable for analysis the number of individuals to be examined was limited. The selection of unrelated informants, i.e. an adult from one tape and a child from another, would have involved the analysis of two tapes. In other words a minimum of four people as opposed to two would have to be studied in order to look for linguistic patterns within family groups. In order to satisfy this criterion, as well as meeting the necessary gender and age patterns, judgement sampling was necessary.

5.4.1 Sex

The study of sex differentiation and linguistic behaviour is not a new field of examination, though until the 1960s it was largely confined to rural areas. Trudgill (1972:179) says that examples of such studies include Haas (1944), Fischer (1958) and Sapir (1929). Since then, however, numerous examinations have also been conducted in urban communities, initially in America. According to Trudgill, examples of these include Shuy, Wolfram and Riley (1967), Fasold (1968), Labov

(1966) and Levine and Crockett (1966). More recently similar studies have also been conducted in the UK. One of the first sociolinguistic studies to look specifically at sex differentiation in British English was Trudgill (1972), and the many subsequent works include the Milroys' study of Belfast (see Milroy 1980) and Cheshire's work among adolescents in Reading (1982).

Studies such as those listed above generally agree that women are more likely to use prestige or 'correct' forms, or use them more of the time, than men. However, the existence of sex differentiation has been questioned. In his chapter outlining the possible explanations for such differences, Trudgill (1983) is critical of Spender's questioning of the phenomenon on the grounds of insufficient evidence (Spender 1980). Trudgill says that it is:

> in fact, utterly convincing and overwhelming. It is the single most consistent finding to emerge from sociolinguistic studies over the past twenty years...there can be absolutely no doubt that it does exist. (Trudgill 1983:162)

Furthermore, he points out that the most striking feature about the early studies was that they all agreed that women:

> allowing for other variables such as age, education, and social class, consistently produce linguistic forms which more closely approach those of the standard language or have higher prestige than those produced by men, or, alternatively that they produce forms of this type more frequently. (Trudgill 1972:180)

Cameron and Coates (1989:13) support this. They point out that variation associated with the gender of the speaker is well documented, referring to the differing communities of New York, Belfast and Mombassa as examples. They say that women generally deviate less from the prestige standard than men in most (but not all) cultures and that this is typically the case for all social classes in modern urban

society. Trudgill (1983:162) does emphasise, however, that such differences can not be applied to every individual, they are in general and are not sex exclusive. In recent years several papers have been written in an attempt to explain why such sex differences exist, several suggestions have been put forward, but as will be shown in Chapter 7, none of them are entirely satisfactory.

In order to determine the influence of sex upon the sample selected for this thesis, the thirty-two informants are divided into two equal groups of males and females. Given the very wide range of ages within the sample, the informants will also be divided into four subgroups, (men, women, boys and girls) each consisting of eight individuals. In order to be clear which groups are being discussed, the terms 'men' and 'women' will only be used for the two adult subgroups. When the children are also included the groups will be referred to as 'male' and 'female'.

5.4.2 Age

Chambers and Trudgill (1980:88) state that the most satisfactory approach to the study of change in progress is to investigate a particular community and return after a period of years to investigate it again. This is a study of linguistic change in real time such as was conducted in Charmey (Gauchat 1905; Hermann 1929). Although previous studies into Manx English (e.g. Barry 1984) will be referred to, this method is somewhat limited for the present study because whilst I am examining the urban areas of Douglas and Onchan, previous investigations have been based on the speech of rural dialect speakers.

The alternative approach in the examination of language change is to examine change in apparent time, that is, to compare the speech of informants of different ages from a community. There is, however, a certain danger with this method, namely that of confusing linguistic change and age grading. Labov states:

> The first and most straight forward approach to studying linguistic change in progress is to trace change in apparent time... If we discover a monotonic relationship between age and the linguistic variable, or a significant correlation between the two, then the issue is to decide whether we are dealing with age-grading...a regular change of linguistic behaviour with age that repeats in each generation. (Labov 1994:45-6)

Newbrook defines age grading as "age-related variability not connected with change in progress"; in other words it is the result of individuals adopting certain features as they age.

> It is not always at all easy to judge from synchronic evidence alone which of these two processes is involved in a given instance, but diachronic information and close examination of patterning (especially of statistical hypercorrection) can sometimes differentiate them, e.g. if young groups seem to be innovating, and the forms they use are not previously reported, change is more likely. (Newbrook 1986:39)

However, this is not always straightforward.

> It is rare to find a community sample that allows us to compare the speech of the youngest speakers with a full range of speakers of comparable social background. (Labov 1994:47)

This is one advantage of the 'Recording Mann' project. By using the school pupil as participant observer the full spectrum of ages is covered. Furthermore, because the interviews are generally conducted with family members, we are able to state that they are from the same social background.

Chambers and Trudgill (1980:89) advise that earlier dialectological records should be referred to, when available, in order to determine whether change is in progress or the differences noted are those which occur with each generation.

The "typical" pattern of age differentiation for a variable not undergoing change is for the middle aged informants to generally use most standard forms, while younger and older informants use more non-standard variants. Chambers and Trudgill (1980:92) suggest that this pattern is usually found because younger speakers are influenced by peer pressure in the direction of non-standard forms. Romaine (1984:104-5) supports this. Referring to her investigation into the language use of Edinburgh school children she reports that for some of the variables examined a pattern was found, with younger speakers, and especially young males, using most stigmatised forms. She states that:

> Generally speaking, it appears to be the case that during the adolescent years the use of social stigmatized forms is at its maximum.

Labov also agrees with this notion.

> Many well-established sociolinguistic variables exhibit such age-grading, where adolescents and young adults use stigmatized variants more freely than middle-aged speakers, especially when they are being observed. (1994:73)

Middle aged informants are also subject to social pressures but of a different nature.

> As speakers get older and begin working, they move into wider and less cohesive social networks...and are more influenced by mainstream societal values and, perhaps, by the need to impress, succeed and make social and economic progress. They are also, consequently, more influenced linguistically by the standard language. (Chambers and Trudgill 1980:92)

Older, retired people, on the other hand, are not as subject to social pressures, having already achieved their level of success, and as a result do not need to conform to standard behaviour to the same degree.

If linguistic change is in progress, a different pattern of age related variation is evident. In Chapter 2 we briefly examined Trudgill's results for the vowel (e) in *well, tell* etc. The centralised variant was seen to be more prevalent among younger speakers and becoming increasingly more so. In other words, informants under 30, and particularly males aged between 10 and 19 had significantly higher scores for this variable.

Table 5.1 Age differentiation of (e) in CS (taken from Trudgill 1974:105)

Age Group	Index Score
10-19	173
20-29	100
30-39	67
40-49	88
50-59	46
60-69	58
70+	81

This pattern of age differentiation, together with the unusual patterns of variation between the classes, led Trudgill to conclude that linguistic change was occurring. Chambers and Trudgill (1980:94) use a second variable from Norwich to illustrate the decline of a linguistic form. In this instance they refer to the distribution of the localised variants for (ir) e.g. *bird, further.* Younger informants were seen to use these forms very little, while they were realised more frequently by older informants.

The most obvious division in terms of age for the current investigation is that of children versus adults, and the results will be analysed to compare these groups. In order to determine what patterns of variation also exist between the adults, however, and to be better able to see if language change is taking place, the adults have also been divided into three age groups. The largest of the groups is Group 1, which consists of the sixteen children. Group 2 is made up of adults under forty at the time of the interview, members of Group 3 were aged between forty and fifty five, and the oldest adults, those over fifty six, are in Group 4. The age range within each of the adult groups is wider than that used by many studies. For example, Trudgill (1974) used decades to divide his informants. However, with a small corpus such as that used in this investigation, any further division would reduce the group sizes to such an extent as to actually limit their effectiveness. In other words, the groups would be too small to determine if any patterns of age differentiation exist.

As can be seen in Appendix 2 the adult groups each contain five or six informants. Groups 2 and 3 contain two men and three women, while Group 4 consists for four men and two women. Thus Group 4 is somewhat biased toward the men. In order to ensure that this distribution does not obscure any patterns of variation in the data, the groups will also be divided by sex where necessary.

No teenage informants are available for analysis; this is mainly because none of the secondary schools in Douglas took part in the study. This is not necessarily a problem, however. Wells (1982:22) argues that an individual will change their accent little after the age of eleven, the age of the oldest children involved in this study.

> The crucial period for acquiring one's native language finishes well before puberty, and although in later life we may modify our accent as a result of moving away (geographically or socially) from our original milieu we are unlikely to efface all traces of the accent we had acquired by the age of, say, eleven.

5.4.3 Social Class

Milroy (1995:29) states that the nature and definition of class is controversial and argues that linguists do not worry much about the meaning of social class as a variable, but use it as a means of imposing order on data. She quotes Thompson (1963), suggesting that social class is an abstract idea rather than a clear category.

> When we speak of *a* class we are thinking of a very loosely defined body of people who share the same congeries of interests, social experiences, traditions and value systems, who have a *disposition to behave* as a class, to define themselves in their actions and in their consciousness in relation to other groups of people in class ways. But class itself is not a thing, it is a happening. (Thompson 1963:939)

Milroy continues by commenting that linguists have tried to quantify this through the use of a 'social class index score', often consisting of two or more indicators such as occupation, housing, income or educational level. This was discussed in some detail in Chapter 2. The means employed by various investigators to calculate an index score of this nature has differed greatly.

> Labov followed a common sociological procedure in using a mathematical formula based on occupation, education, and income as the way to define a person's socio-economic class. Other investigators have sometimes used other ways of calculating it, some simpler, some more elaborate. (Wells 1982:17)

Whereas Trudgill (1974) used occupation, education and income as well as housing, location and father's occupation, and Macaulay (1977) used the Registrar General's classification of occupation, Wells (1973) employed a simple binary scale based on the division of manual and non-manual labour.

Although heavy emphasis is placed upon the effect of social class upon language use by those studies based within the Labovian paradigm, not all sociolinguists consider this to be the most significant extra-linguistic variable. James and Lesley Milroy place great importance on the differences in language brought about by sex. In their study of Belfast they:

> dispensed with social class as a variable and concentrated first on variation according to age and sex differences. It demonstrated that, within the same social class or stratum, gender difference was always present and almost always moved in the same direction. (Milroy and Milroy 1997:56)

They go as far as to suggest that:

> gender difference may be prior to class difference in driving linguistic variation and change. (1997:56)

To support this they refer to work done by Horvarth (1985) using data from Labov's New York City survey (1966), but with the emphasis taken away from class and focused instead on sex. Milroy and Milroy summarise her work by saying:

> although there is certainly an effect of class, sex of speaker accounts for the distribution more satisfactorily than class. (1997:56)

Appendix 3 shows the occupation (where known) of the adult informants. Little information is available regarding the socio-economic status of the adult informants, and, unless they were interviewing a parent, none was given about the child, except perhaps the school they attend (see below). For the adults, place of residence and occupation is usually, but not always, provided. Occasional reference was made to the level of education received, but no information regarding type of housing or income is provided. It was decided that, given the lack of available information, occupation would be used to determine the social class, and a simple binary division

of working class and middle class was employed. Unfortunately the two oldest men and two oldest women did not give an occupation. Although some information was gathered from the interviews regarding their occupation early in life it was decided, for obvious reasons, not to use an occupation from fifty or sixty years ago as an indication of their current socio-economic class. Informant 12 gave her occupation as housewife, but on the basis of her family history and her area of residence it was decided to include her in the middle class. Informant 11 also gave her occupation as housewife, but as her address is not in either a distinctly middle or working class area it was decided not to categorise her.

As can be seen from Appendix 3 there are seven working class informants, four middle class informants and a further five who are not assigned to either group. Furthermore, there is only one middle class man. This is somewhat surprising given the high numbers of people employed in finance and other white-collar industries. The class distribution of the informants in this thesis is therefore mismatched with the Island's population. Given that members of the working class generally use fewer standard forms than the middle class do, there is a danger that the results of this data analysis will show evidence of more non-standard forms than would be found in a representative sample. The division of informants by class is far from ideal, but as the informants were selected using judgement sampling to fit the requirements of sex, age etc., it was somewhat unavoidable. As a result, care is shown throughout the analysis to not place too much emphasis upon class.

5.4.4 School Affiliation

Of the eight participating schools in Douglas and Onchan, six are represented in the sample chosen for this study. However, three of those schools are only represented by one pupil, and therefore one adult. These interviews will be analysed in terms of family groups but not school affiliation. The remaining informants are categorised as belonging to Schools A, B or C (see Appendix 4). School affiliations A and B each consist of ten informants, five children and five adults, and School C is made up of six informants. Each of the schools are located in Douglas rather than Onchan. School A is in what is traditionally regarded as a working class area. It is in the middle of a council estate on the outskirts of Douglas neighbouring what is widely considered to be the 'roughest' area of the town. All of the adult informants are included in the working class, with the exception of Informant 15, whose class is unknown. Schools B and C are in areas which are not distinctly working or middle class. School B has three middle class informants and two who are not categorised. School C has one informant belonging to the middle class, one from the working class and one whose class is unknown. It is expected that there will be a certain amount of overlap in the analysis of the variables in terms of social class and school affiliation.

5.4.5 Family Groups

The relationship between the interviewer and interviewee was provided for most of the informants, either through the biographical form mentioned above, or through a comment from the child e.g. "I'm going to interview my Auntie" or "Thank you very much Granddad". The relationship between the individuals is shown in Appendix 5. The majority of the interviews were conducted with family members, either parents

or grandparents or on one occasion with an aunt. Other interviews were conducted with a Cub Scout leader and a neighbour. The relationship between Informants 23 and 1 is unknown, and the interview conducted by Informant 19 was with a local official. In a follow up discussion it came to light that there is no relationship between these two informants and that they have not met since the interview was conducted. The interviews with the cub scout leader and the local official will not be included in the analysis of family groups, nor will the interview for which the informants' relationship is unknown. The interviews are labelled by the number given to the adult informant.

Chapter 6 – The Analysis of the Data

6.1 Introduction

In this chapter I will present the results of the data analysis for the informants discussed in Chapter 5 variable by variable. The variation of language use between the individual informants and various subgroups will be examined, referring briefly to issues such as sex and age differentiation, school affiliation and patterns shared by members of the same family. I will expand upon these issues in the following chapter.

6.2 The variable /ɪŋ/

As stated in Chapter 4, the social and stylistic variation of this variable is well documented. Wells argued that although the point of social or stylistic variation differs between areas, at least some speakers use [ɪŋ] whenever there is an English-speaking working class.

Fischer's (1958) study of New England school children linked the realisation of this variable as [ɪn] to social factors including sex, formality, orientation towards school and social status (Romaine 1984:9). In Fischer's study the boys were seen to use the non-standard form significantly more than the girls did. Coates (1986:127) suggests that this is learned behaviour:

> it seems likely that the children have learned in their speech community [ɪŋ] is a marker of female speech and [ɪn] is a marker of male speech.

Furthermore, according to Eckert (1997:162), 'model' boys were less likely to use the non-standard form than the 'typical' boys; in other words a distinction was found between the realisation of this variable by what she calls a "teacher's pet" and a "troublemaker". She argues that this status actually had a greater effect than socio-economic class.

In Norwich, Trudgill (1974) found that this variable was subject to "a considerable amount" of social class and contextual variation, with the working class using the non-standard form most frequently, and an increase in the use of the standard as the formality of the situation increased. He also found that sex was relevant, with men generally using fewer standard forms than women. In short, non-standard /ɪŋ/ was found to be typical of men as well as the working class in Norwich.

The more frequent use of non-standard forms by men than women is a common and well-documented occurrence. This phenomenon will be referred to throughout this chapter as the usual pattern of sex differentiation. In the next chapter the suggested reasons for this pattern of behaviour will be discussed in greater detail. At a simplistic level this pattern shows that:

> From the point of view of linguistic theory...as far as linguistic change 'from below' is concerned, we can expect men to be more in the vanguard. Changes 'from above', on the other hand, are more likely to be led by women. (Trudgill 1974:95)

By 'change from below' Trudgill is referring to linguistic change that occurs below the level of conscious awareness. 'Change from above' is a change of which the speaker is aware, most commonly in the direction of the prestige form.

Reid (1978) and Romaine (1984) also found evidence of social and stylistic variation for this variable among Edinburgh school children, but Romaine (1984:105) states that there was no evidence of age related variation between the six, eight and ten year olds she examined. Moreover, /ɪŋ/ was the only variable examined by Romaine which did not show sex differentiation (1984:113).

Patterns in sex, age and class differentiation will be looked for in Douglas for this variable. The variants to be examined are standard [ɪŋ], widespread non-standard [ɪn], northern [ɪŋg], and Scouse/traditional Manx English [ən]. Words such as *pudding, stocking* etc. will not be included because although the spelling of the word ends with *-ing* they are not derivatives of a verb (for *pudding* see section 6.2.2). Compounds of *thing* e.g. *something, anything* etc. will be treated separately.

table 6.1 usage of /ɪŋ/

ɪŋ	ɪn	ɪŋg	ən
70	20	2	8

As is shown in table 6.1 the informants under examination use the standard form [ɪŋ] 70% of the time. Only three informants do not use this variant at all, and each of these uses the variable only on one or two occasions. A further thirteen informants have a percentage score of 100 for the standard [ɪŋ]. The second most frequently used variable is the widespread non-standard form [ɪn] and the

Scouse/Manx English type [ən] is used just 8%. The variant with the smallest percentage score is the northern form [ɪŋg].

Previous studies, such as those discussed above, have found sex to be an important extra-linguistic factor in the realisation of this variable. As mentioned, the general pattern of sex differentiation is for women to use more standard forms than men. However, as can be seen from table 6.2, this is not the case in the material analysed. Rather, the females use fewer standard forms than males.

Table 6.2 % usage of /ɪŋ/ by sex

group	ɪŋ	ɪn	ɪŋg	ən
male	76	14	2	8
female	66	25	2	7

Furthermore, when the sample is divided into sub groups the same pattern emerges

Table 6.3 % usage of /ɪŋ/ by group

group	ɪŋ	ɪn	ɪŋg	ən
men	71	18		11
women	64	28	1	7
boys	88	5	7	
girls	70	17	5	8

Here it can be seen that women, the group expected to score highest, actually use the standard form least often, while the boys have the highest score. In order to explain this it is necessary to examine the individual scores for the women.

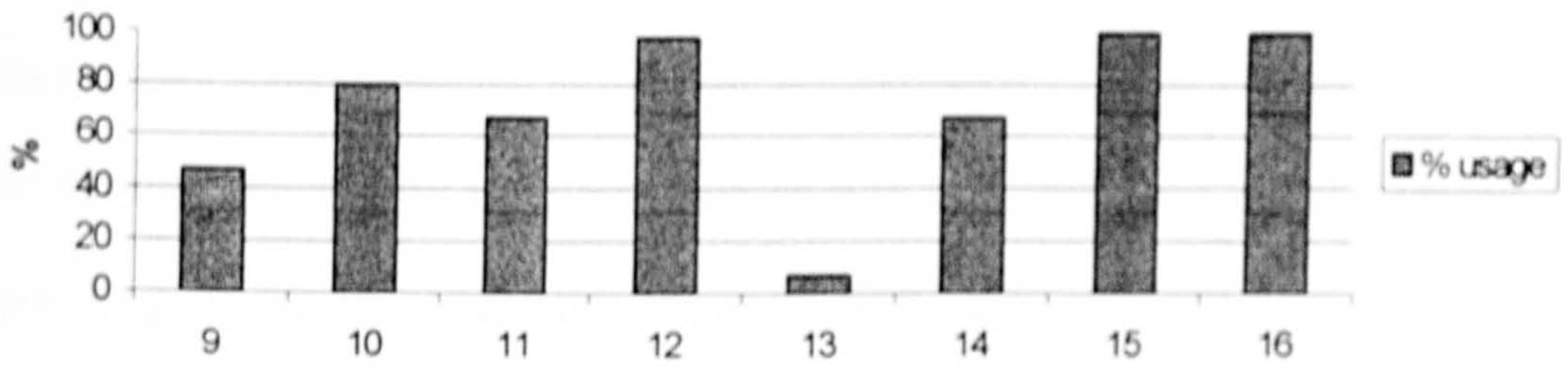


fig 6.1 % usage of [ɪŋ] by women

As can be seen in fig 6.1 Informant 13 uses the standard form significantly less often than the other women. This is particularly important because her interview is the longest of those analysed; as a result the number of possible occurrences of this, and most of the other variables, is somewhat higher than many of the other informants and has a great impact upon the group score. By excluding Informant 13 from the analysis a different pattern emerges (fig 6.2).

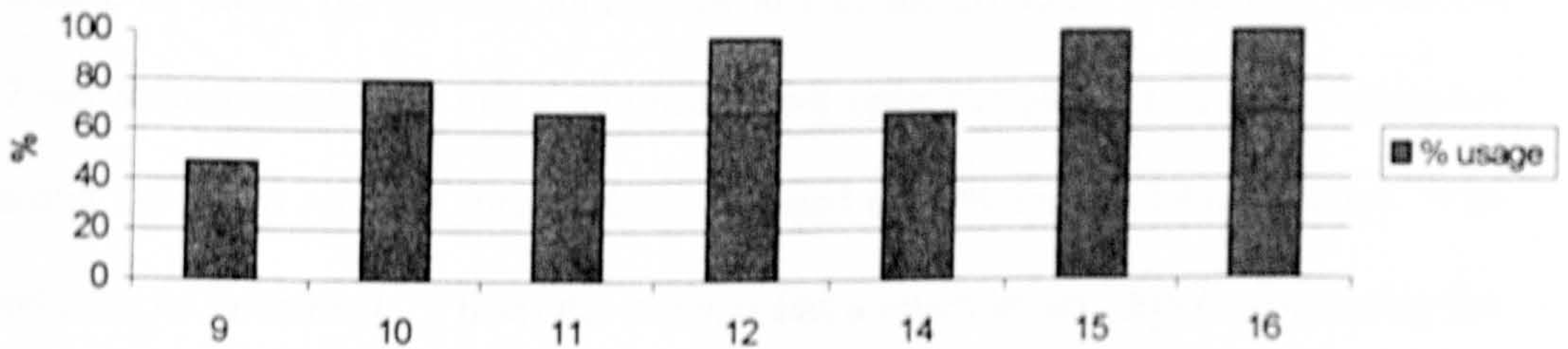


fig 6.2 % usage of [ɪŋ] by women excluding Informant 13

Without this informant the women have a percentage score of 87 (as opposed to 64%) for the realisation of /ɪŋ/ as [ɪŋ]; the exclusion of Informant 13 thus decreases the women's non-standard score to less than that of the men. The women and boys are now the two groups who use the most standard forms. However, if a single informant skewed the result to that extent for the women, the other groups must also be checked.

An examination of the girls' individual scores reveals a similar situation (fig 6.3). Most striking is that Informant 31 does not use the standard form at all. However, as this girl uses this variable just once, realising it as [ɪn], she has a minimal impact upon the group results. Informants 25 and 27 are the only other girls not to use the standard 100% of the time.

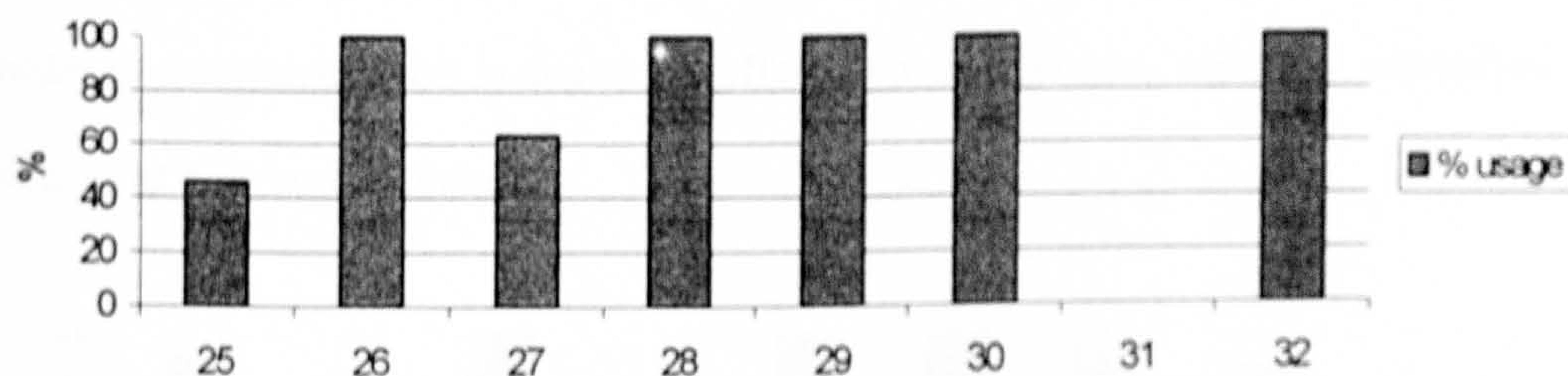


fig 6.3 % usage of [ɪŋ] by girls

Informant 25 is particularly important to the group score because she uses the variable 26 times, the greatest amount by any of the children. Although Informant 27 has 8 occurrences she has a minimal effect upon the group score, her exclusion raising the group score to just 74% (as opposed to 70% for the whole group). The exclusion of Informant 25 from the analysis has a much larger impact, increasing the group score to 87%, a lower non-standard score than that of the males and subject to the usual pattern of sex differentiation.

table 6.4 % usage of [ɪŋ] by sex, excluding informants 13 and 25

group	% usage
male	76
female	87

That is not to say that these informants are unimportant to the analysis, however. Rather it highlights the effect an individual can have upon a small sample. The

linguistic behaviour of these two informants is contrary to that expected for their sex, but because of the length of the interview they were able to skew the group results. That informants 27 and 31, who had significantly less possible occurrences, did not have the same effect illustrates the need for caution when dealing with percentages.

Also interesting in the group results is the high percentage score for the boys (88%). In order to determine if this is due to the effect of one informant, the boys' individual results must also be examined.

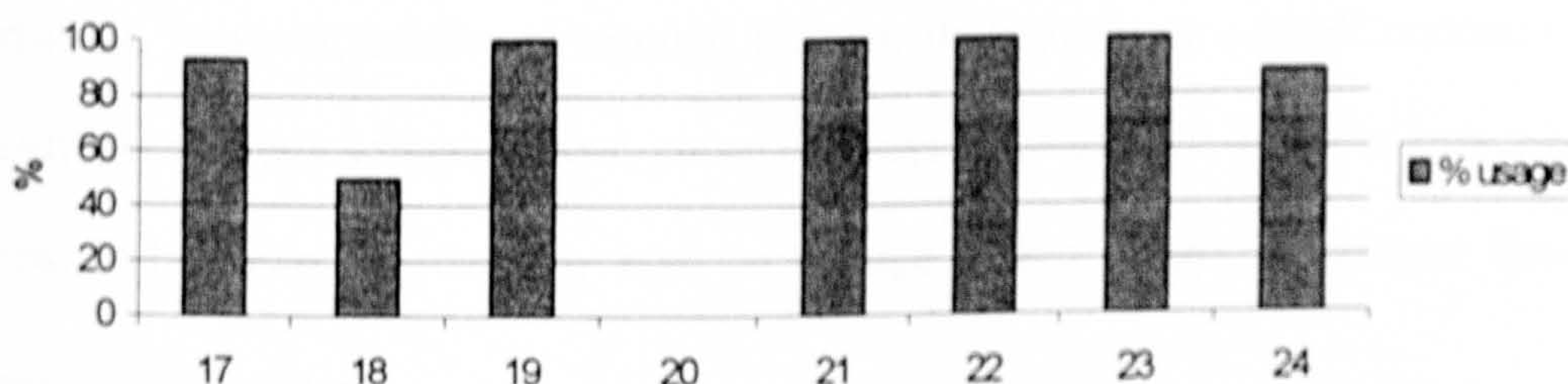


fig 6.4 % usage of [ɪŋ] by boys

Here the only anomalies are caused by Informant 20 who uses the non-standard 100% and Informant 18 who uses it 50%, though both these informants actually use the variable just twice. Their removal from the analysis would actually increase the standard score for the group. Apart from these two informants all the boys score 88% or higher. Therefore, the high score for the boys is not easily explained in the way that the low scores for the women and girls are. It is possible that this is due to the nature of the interview and the role of pupil-interviewer, that is, the formality created by reading the question rather than speaking naturally. Why this should prove to be true of the boys and not the girls (or for the girls to a lesser extent) is unclear. Only after the other variables have been examined, and if this pattern is

seen to continue, can any conclusions regarding the boys' apparently standardised speech be made.

As was seen in table 6.3, [ɪn] was the most frequently used non-standard form by all the groups except the boys, who used the northern form [ɪŋg] a greater percentage of the time. Given their apparent tendency to use the standard variant, it is possible that this is due to overemphasis resulting in hypercorrection. The boys are also the only group not to use the Scouse/Manx English variant [ən]. With the boys in particular, however, caution is required because there are only a small number of occurrences of this variable. As a group the boys only use this variable forty two times, and despite the relatively high percentage scores, [ɪŋg] occurs just three times and [ɪn] twice.

We have already seen that Informants 13 and 25 have a large impact upon the female score, distorting them in favour of the non-standard forms. By again removing them from the group scores a different pattern of variation is evident.

table 6.5 % usage of /ɪŋ/ by sex excluding Informants 13 and 25

group	ɪŋ	ɪn	ɪŋg	ən
male	76	14	2	8
female	87	9	4	

The female group continues to use [ɪn] as the second most frequent variant, but the Scouse/Manx English form [ən] is not used at all. Although unclear in percentage terms, therefore, [ən] is actually used by one woman and one girl but four men, and

the older men in particular. It could, then, be regarded as a Scouse or traditional Manx English form on its way out. It can also be seen that [ɪŋg] is used 4% of the time by the females, but an examination of the individual scores shows that this is the result of two informants (Informants 11 and 27) and that this percentage score is caused by just five occurrences.

table 6.6 % usage of /ɪŋ/ by group excluding Informants 13 and 25

group	ɪŋ	ɪn	ɪŋg	ən
men	71	18		11
women	87	11	2	
boys	88	5	7	
girls	88	3	9	

Whereas it initially appeared that the order of frequency in which the variants were realised was [ɪŋ], [ɪn], [ən]and [ɪŋg]by the sample as a whole (see table 6.2) and by each subgroup except the boys, the removal of informants 13 and 25 has a significant effect upon this. Whereas the female group previously had a comparatively high percentage score for [ən], it becomes apparent that these informants were the only females to use this variant. Without them, only the men continue to demonstrate the pattern originally thought to be typical of the sample. Furthermore, although the remainder of the women continue to realise /ɪŋ/ as [ɪn] more frequently than any other non-standard form, this occurs just 11% of the time. The girls on the other hand use [ɪn] just 3% when Informant 25 is not included, and use [ɪŋg] 9% (though this is actually only used by Informant 17).

Informants 13 and 25 are of particular interest because they are mother and daughter. Individually and as a pair they have a massive effect upon the results of the rest of the sample. Informant 13 is Manx born but lived in Liverpool for part of her adult life and has a Liverpudlian husband. It is likely that her use of [ən] is because of Scouse rather than Manx English influence. It is probable that her daughter also uses this variant for the same reason. As can be seen from table 6.7 they score very differently as a pair to the whole group. These two informants will be discussed again for other variables.

table 6.7 % usage of /ɪŋ/ by sample and Informants 13 and 25

group	ɪŋ	ɪn	ɪŋg	ən
whole sample	70	21	2	7
13 and 25	22	56		22

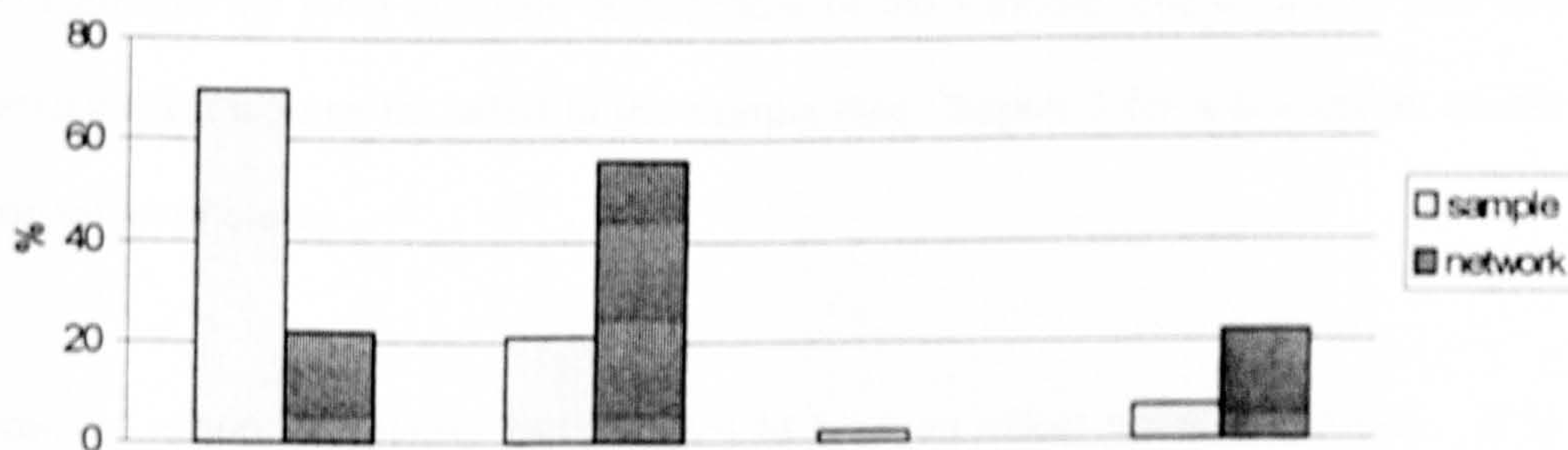


fig 6.5 % usage of /ɪŋ/ by the whole sample and Informants 13 and 25

One factor that emerged from the other studies mentioned above is the effect of social class upon this variable. As can be seen from table 6.8 this is also true for the sample currently under investigation.

<u>table 6.8 % usage of /ɪŋ/ by class</u>

group	ɪŋ	ɪn	ɪŋg	ən
w/c	31	49		20
m/c	88	11		1

As mentioned in Chapter 5 not all of the sample are included in the analysis by class. For those who are categorised in this way, however, it is clear that the working class use more non-standard variants than the middle class. Indeed, it appears that class may be more relevant in the choice of variants than gender, though the small number of informants categorised in this way means that no conclusive statements can be made. The results of the sample when divided by class go some way toward explaining the effect of Informant 13 upon the women; she has the longest interview, and therefore the most possible occurrences of the variable, and is one of just two working class women included in the sample (see Chapter 5 for a discussion on the assignment of class).

Similarly, school affiliation can be seen to have an effect upon the results. It is interesting to note that the school with the lowest percentage score for the use of the standard form is from School A. Much of Douglas is socio-economically mixed, but this school is in a predominantly working class and relatively self-contained community. It is likely that closer networks would be found here than in much of the

town, which would probably lead to the reinforcement of vernacular norms (see Chapter 2). This would be an interesting area for further investigation involving larger numbers of informants.

table 6.9 % usage of /ɪɒ/ by school affiliation

school	ɪɒ	ɪn	ɪɒʊ	ən
A	49	37.5	1	12.5
B	88	9	1	2
C	55	28	10	7

Age is generally not reported to be an important factor in the variation of /ɪɒ/; however, there is some evidence of age differentiation amongst this sample.

table 6.10 % usage of /ɪɒ/ by age

school	ɪɒ	ɪn	ɪɒʊ	ən
1	77	12	6	5
2	51	43	6	
3	54	35		11
4	84	7		9

Without Informants 13 and 25 the pattern is even more noticeable (see table 6.11).

Standard forms are used most frequently by the older informants and by the children. This is unusual because it is the reverse of the typical pattern shown for a variable not undergoing change as discussed in Chapter 5. However, the informants analysed for this thesis do show some age-related variation in their choice of non-standard

forms. The Scouse/Manx English variant [ən] is favoured by the two older groups, and by the oldest in particular, while the youngest adults and the children (with the exception of Informant 25) do not use this variant, but are the only groups to use the northern form [ɪŋg].

table 6.11 % usage of /ɪŋ/ by age excluding Informants 13 and 25

school	ɪŋ	ɪn	ɪŋg	ən
1	88	4	8	
2	51	43	6	
3	84	13		3
4	84	7		9

In this sample, then, there is evidence of class stratification in the use of standard versus non-standard forms, while age appears to have some influence over the individual's choice of non-standard forms. In particular, the variant [ən] appears to be in decline, this is interesting because it has been shown to be increasing in other accents. Ellis (1981:291) refers to comments made by Wells (1970) regarding the gradual replacement of [ɪ] by [ə] in unstressed syllables in RP. Although Informants 13 and 25 complicate the issue of sex differentiation, there is evidence of gender determined behaviour. The girls follow the patterns of the women closely, while the boys differ greatly from the men. This pattern can also be seen for glottal stops.

6.2.1 Compounds of *thing*

Knowles (1973:39) points out that an alternative form, /ɪŋk/, sometimes occurs in Scouse for compounds of *thing* e.g. *everything* /ɛvrɪθɪŋk/. Newbrook (1986:64) supports this, adding that /n/ is also heard, and that /ŋg/ is probably heard occasionally. Knowles refers to comments by Picton (1864) on the occurrence of /ɪŋk/ for *begging* and *pudding* in South Lancashire, but states that in Scouse /ɪŋk/ is restricted to compounds of *thing* (1973:39). Barry (1984:173) states that in words such as *something, anything* etc. [ən] occurs in traditional Manx English.

table 6.12 % usage of /ɪŋ/ for compounds of *thing*

ɪŋ	ɪn	ɪŋk	ən
77	7	12	4

In the current investigation the final syllable of compounds of *thing* was realised as [ɪŋ] most frequently. No instances of [ɪŋg] were found, but [ɪŋk] did occur, as did the widespread form [ɪn] and the Manx English type [ən]. The Scouse and London-type variant was used by no men and just one woman, while it was used by four children, three of whom were girls.

table 6.13 % usage of /ɪŋ/ for compounds of *thing* by group

group	ɪŋ	ɪn	ɪŋk	ən
men	91	9		
women	59	23	4	14
boys	95		5	
girls	74		26	

Table 6.13 shows that as with the previous variable, the pattern of sex differentiation is not that which would be expected (see table 6.3). The female groups again use considerably more non-standard forms than males, and as is shown in table 6.14, this is once more due to the effect of Informant 13.

table 6.14 % usage of /ɪŋ/ for compounds of *thing* by group excluding Informants 13 and 25

group	ɪŋ	ɪn	ɪŋk	ən
men	91	9		
women	84	8	8	
boys	95		5	
girls	72		28	

By comparing table 6.13 and 6.14 it is evident that even when Informant 13 is not included in the analysis, the women use fewer standard forms than men do. In other words, the expected pattern of sex differentiation appears to be reversed. Despite the relatively high percentage scores, however, only one non-standard form is used by the men, and two by the women, one realised as the widespread non-standard variant [ɪn], and the other as Scouse type [ɪŋk]. Informant 13 raised the group non-standard scores considerably; she is the only woman to use the Manx English unstressed vowel for this variable, on three occasions, and she also used the widespread non-standard form four times. Whereas the women as a group used the standard form 84%, she has an individual standard score of just 22%. This suggests that on the Island, for this informant at least, /ɪŋ/ in compounds of *thing* works to some extent like the *-ing* suffix after verbs. This does not happen in Merseyside (Hamer, personal communication).

Neither do the non-standard forms occur frequently among the children; the only non-standard forms used are the realisations of [ɪŋk] by one boy and three girls, as mentioned above. Whereas Informant 13 lowered the group score, however, Informant 25 does not have this effect upon the girls. Although her individual score for [ɪŋk] is 23%, when she is removed from the analysis the girls are seen to use even fewer standard forms.

As stated, all groups use the standard most often, but there is a clear division between the children and the adults. With the exception of Informant 13 the non-standard form most frequently used by the adults is [ɪn], whereas the children only use either the standard form or [ɪŋk].

This variable shows an unexpected pattern of sex differentiation with more women and girls using the non-standard forms a greater percentage of the time than the male groups, and with the girls in particular showing a tendency to use the Scouse form [ɪŋk].

6.3 The Consonants

6.3.1 /t/

a. Dental /t/

The realisation of /t/ as [t̪] is a Manx English variant recorded by Barry (1984:73-4) and the *SED*. The only four informants in current investigation to use this variant are the four oldest men. Furthermore, even among them the occurrence of dentalized /t/ is rare with a group score of just 2%. Informant 5 uses it just once, a negligible

percentage score given that there are 345 possible occurrences in this interview. Informants 6, 7 and 8 use the variant 4%, 3% and 7% respectively. It is used medially in *thirty* and *water*, in the combinations *-tr* e.g. *trained*, *treatment* and *-str* e.g. *street*, and in word final position e.g. *out*, *right*. Despite the small number of occurrences, however, it appears that this variable is subject to sex and age related differentiation, given that only the oldest men use it.

b. Affricated /t/

The use of aspirated /t/ was recorded in Lancashire by the *SED*, and in London speech by Hughes and Trudgill (1979:41). Affricated /t/ is recorded as a feature of Scouse by Knowles (1973:324-7), Newbrook (1986:64) and Hughes and Trudgill (1979:61). Knowles states that this feature is typical of the working class and of women.

The data from Douglas shows affricated /t/ to occur most frequently amongst the children, with two boys and two girls realising /t/ as [ts]. However, as no child uses this variant on more than two occasions, little impact is made upon the group scores. Both the boys and the girls use this variant just 1% of the time. Affricated /t/ is also used by one woman but no men. Informant 13 uses this variant four times, but as her individual score is also just 1%, this has a negligible effect upon the group score. Nevertheless, it is interesting to note that this informant again shows a tendency to use Scouse-type forms.

[ts] occurs most frequently in final position e.g. *what*, *out*, *cut* but there is also one instance of the affricated variant occurring in initial position when preceded by an elided /t/ in *went to* [wentsə]. The fricative [s] did not occur at all.

Knowles (1973:324-5) suggested that this was a working class feature which had spread to middle class speech in Liverpool. In Douglas, however, no clear pattern of variation is evident on the basis of school affiliation or family group, and as only one adult informant uses the variant, no statements can be made regarding class. It appears, then, that the Scouse-type realisation of this variant has little impact upon the language use of the informants, though the children show a greater tendency towards it than the adults do. There is no evidence to suggest that it is a variant typical of women as in Liverpool.

c. /t/ changing to /r/ between vowels

In the preliminary results for her study of children in the west of the Island, Aalin Clague found some evidence of this variant, particularly among the boys. It tended to occur during activities in the play area, however, often when an American 'cartoon' voice was being imitated.

In the sample of thirty-two analysed for this thesis, only two informants use this variant, one man (Informant 3) and one woman (again, Informant13). Informant 3 realises /t/ as [r] only once for the phrase *out of*, and Informant 13 uses it three times for *let it*, *got it*, and *what it's*. The group results are negligible, but considering the small number of occurrences the individual scores are relatively high with Informant 3 scoring 8% and Informant 13 11%. Again, no pattern of variation is

evident. Given that this feature is evident in both traditional Manx English and Scouse, it had been expected that mutual reinforcement would have led to this variant occurring more frequently. This process does not appear to have taken place, however.

6.3.2 Glottal Stops

As was discussed in Chapter 4, the use of glottal stops is a widespread feature, typical of urban areas and young working class speakers in particular. It is also a variable subject to a great deal of social and stylistic variation. Romaine (1994:71) states that the realisation of glottal stops in medial position is a particularly stigmatised feature. This is supported by reports by, for example, Trudgill (1974) and Reid (1978), that glottal stops occur word finally more frequently than medially. In Glasgow, Macaulay found that:

> the use of glottal stops is the most highly stigmatised feature...and a common subject for overt comments and jokes. (Macaulay 1976:179)

In their discussion of the possible explanations for sex differentiation, Cameron and Coates (1989) refer to Macaulay's Glasgow study with regard to glottalization. They say "very clear social stratification" was found, the biggest difference in group scores being between men and women in the lower middle class, with women using 40% fewer instances of glottal stops (Cameron and Coates 1989:16). Romaine (1984:113) also found evidence of sex differentiation among Edinburgh school children, with the boys using more glottal stops than the girls. Romaine (1984:106) comments that Macaulay also found that the realisation of glottal stops decreased with age. The three groups examined were 10 and 15 year olds, and adults. The youngest group were found to use glottal stops most often and the adults least often. Referring to the results of the Glasgow survey Romaine states that:

> the use of glottal stops appears to be more of a sex marker for younger than older speakers. (1984:114)

However, the realisation of glottal stops has not been found to be a feature of male speech everywhere. Milroy and Milroy (1997:56-7) refer to studies conducted under the direction of L. Milroy in Newcastle upon Tyne (see L. Milroy 1992 for summary). One such study conducted by Rigg (1987) examined the glottalization of /p,t,k/ in medial and word final positions. The most striking finding was that sex was highly significant, whereas class has little effect. However, Rigg found that it was the women, rather than the men, who used glottal stops most frequently. Milroy and Milroy (1997:58-9) also refer to studies by Hartley (1992, in Milroy, Milroy and Hartley 1994), Mees (1987) and Kingsmore (1994) who associate women with the use of glottal stops, while men are seen to favour glottal reinforcement. Milroy and Milroy comment that it is "hardly feasible to explain these findings in terms of prestige". Instead they suggest that it is due to the increasing use of glottal stops by RP speakers and what they call "supra-local diffusion" (see chapter 4). In other words, males are seen to favour the traditional localised pattern of glottal reinforcement, while women are following a growing national trend.

As stated in Chapter 4 the realisation of /t/ as [ʔ] is not a typical feature of either Scouse or traditional Manx English. However, an awareness of this stigmatised feature was found among the local children examined by Aalin Clague, indeed there was evidence of them correcting each other. As expected, she found that the use of glottal stops decreased as formality increased, with the greatest amount of standardisation evident for the reading style. Table 6.15 shows that glottalization is a readily occurring feature of Douglas speech, especially in word final position.

table 6.15 % use of glottal stops

	medial		final	
group	gs	t	gs	t
male	11	89	48	52
female	6	94	60	40
whole sample	8	92	55	45

An examination of the subgroups shows that the boys use least glottal stops in both positions analysed, with this feature occurring most often among the men in medial position, but among the women and the girls in final position. Unlike the scores for the men and boys, the women and girls' scores are almost identical in both medial and final position.

table 6.16 % use of glottal stops by group

	medial		final	
group	gs	t	gs	t
men	15	85	50.5	49.5
women	6	94	61	39
boys	1	99	43	57
girls	6	94	59	41

It appears that two developments are taking place simultaneously. In medial position the men are demonstrating covert prestige for the stigmatised form. This fits with the usual pattern of sex differentiation. However, the boys do not conform to this pattern. Fig 6.6 shows the use of glottal stops by the male groups when divided by age.

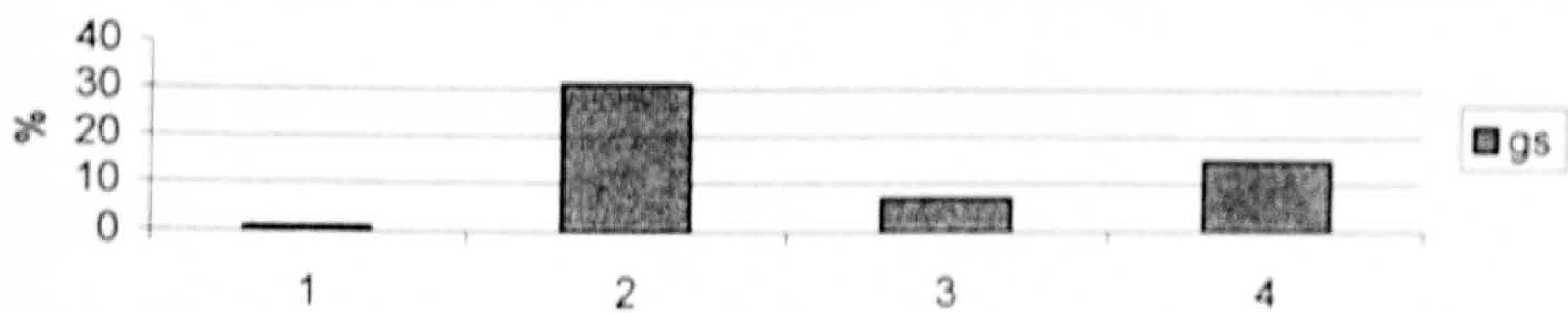


Fig 6.6 % usage of glottal stops by age (males only)

As can be seen, the male informants in Group 3 use fewer glottal stops than Groups 2 and 4. This is the typical pattern of a variable not undergoing linguistic change (see section 5.4.2). However, the boys do not fit into this behavioural pattern. The low score of the boys cannot be explained by an examination of the individual scores either. Of the eight boys, five use /t/ at all times and only one uses glottal stops more than 5%.

In final position glottal stops are generally used a greater proportion of the time as noted above (table 6.15). In this position females use glottal stops 60% of the time, whereas males use them 48% - still considerably higher than in medial position, but significantly less than the women; a reversal of the usual pattern. This pattern can also be seen for the subgroups (see table 6.16).

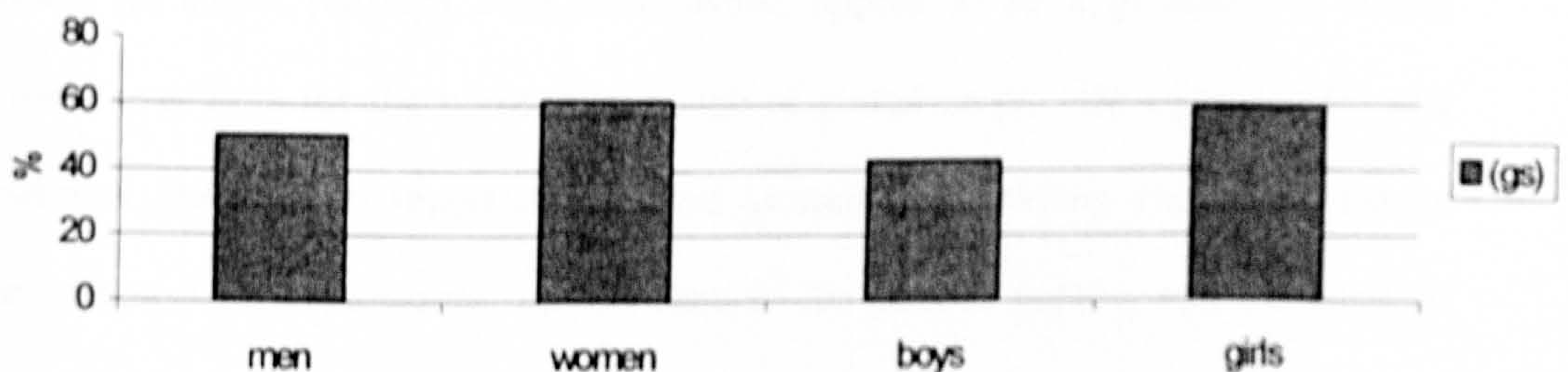


fig 6.7 % usage of final position glottal stop by group

In final position glottal stops are realised more frequently by the female groups; however, the motivation of the women and girls is not the same as that of the men.

Whereas the men appear to be demonstrating covert prestige for a stigmatised form, it is likely that the women are following the national trend as discussed by the Milroys (1997).

An examination of the female groups shows that age is also relevant.

table 6.17 % usage of word final glottal stops by age (females only)

	gs	t
1	59	41
2	69	31
3	62	38
4	43	57

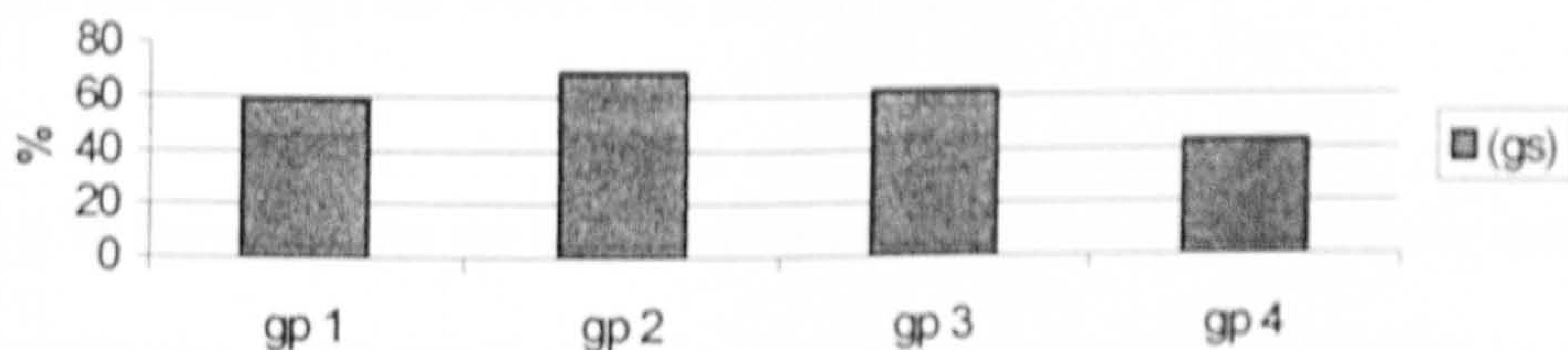


fig 6.8 % usage of word final glottal stops by age (females only)

Among the adults (Groups 2-4) there would appear to be a gradual but steady increase over time for the percentage usage of glottal stops. De Lyon (1981) and Newbrook (1986) both reported increased glottalization among younger speakers (see section 4.4.3). However, the children in the present survey, and the boys in particular, do not conform to this pattern, though the girls do use more glottal stops than the oldest women do. The preliminary findings of Clague support this. She found that the girls used glottal stops more often than the boys, though the boys she examined used this feature more frequently than the boys in this sample did. In her

study the lowest percentage of glottalization was found in mixed sex groups. For the sample under investigation in this thesis it is quite possible that, as the children are reading the questions, they are using a somewhat more formalised style, with consequently less glottalization than would be the case in informal speech. This will be discussed further in Chapter 7.

Glottal stops have been shown to be a feature of working class speech. This initially appears to be the case in Douglas, however, an examination of the individual scores shows this to be inaccurate. Informant 13 has already been seen to have a large impact upon the group scores for other variables. As this informant has considerably more possible occurrences of this variable than any other individual it was decided to compare the working class scores with and without her.

Table 6.18 shows that for the informants analysed in this study class is not relevant for glottalization in the way that sex is. This follows the pattern of studies by Rigg (1987) etc. mentioned by Milroy and Milroy (1997).

table 6.18 % use of glottal stops by class

	medial		final	
group	gs	t	gs	t
m/c	10	90	51	49
w/c	15	85	66	34
w/c (excl. Inf. 13)	11	89	51	49

It appears, therefore, that the realisation of /t/ as [ʔ] is subject to influence from two directions simultaneously. As stated, the men appear to be demonstrating covert

prestige for this stigmatised but widespread feature, both in medial and final position, while women seem to be following the national trend of glottalization found in RP and other prestige accents. This is particularly true in word final position. Therefore, these mutually reinforcing values have made the glottal stop a feature of Douglas speech, occurring most frequently in word final position, and among all groups, though to differing degrees, with the boys using this feature least often.

6.3.3 Affricated /k/

Standard /k/ occurs most frequently at 95% for the sample as a whole, with the Scouse variant, affricated [kh], occurring just 5%. Affricated [kh] occurs in final position most often, though it is also evident medially and initially. The fricative form occurs just twice for Informant 24, and on both occasions in final position, for the words *look* [lu:x] and *make* [meɪx]. The percentage score for this is negligible and will not be included in the group scores unless clearly stated.

The expected pattern of sex differentiation is evident for this variable with males using the non-standard form a greater proportion of the time than females, though the percentage is relatively small for both groups.

table 6.19 % usage of affricated /k/ by sex

group	k	kh
male	93	7
female	97	3

When divided by subgroup this pattern remains clear, but age differentiation is also evident.

table 6.20 % usage of affricated /k/ by group

group	k	kh	x
men	98	2	
women	99	1	
boys	3	16	1
girls	94	6	

[kh] is realised by men more often than by women, and by boys more than girls, but both the boys and the girls use it more than either of the adult groups. This is demonstrated in fig 6.9.

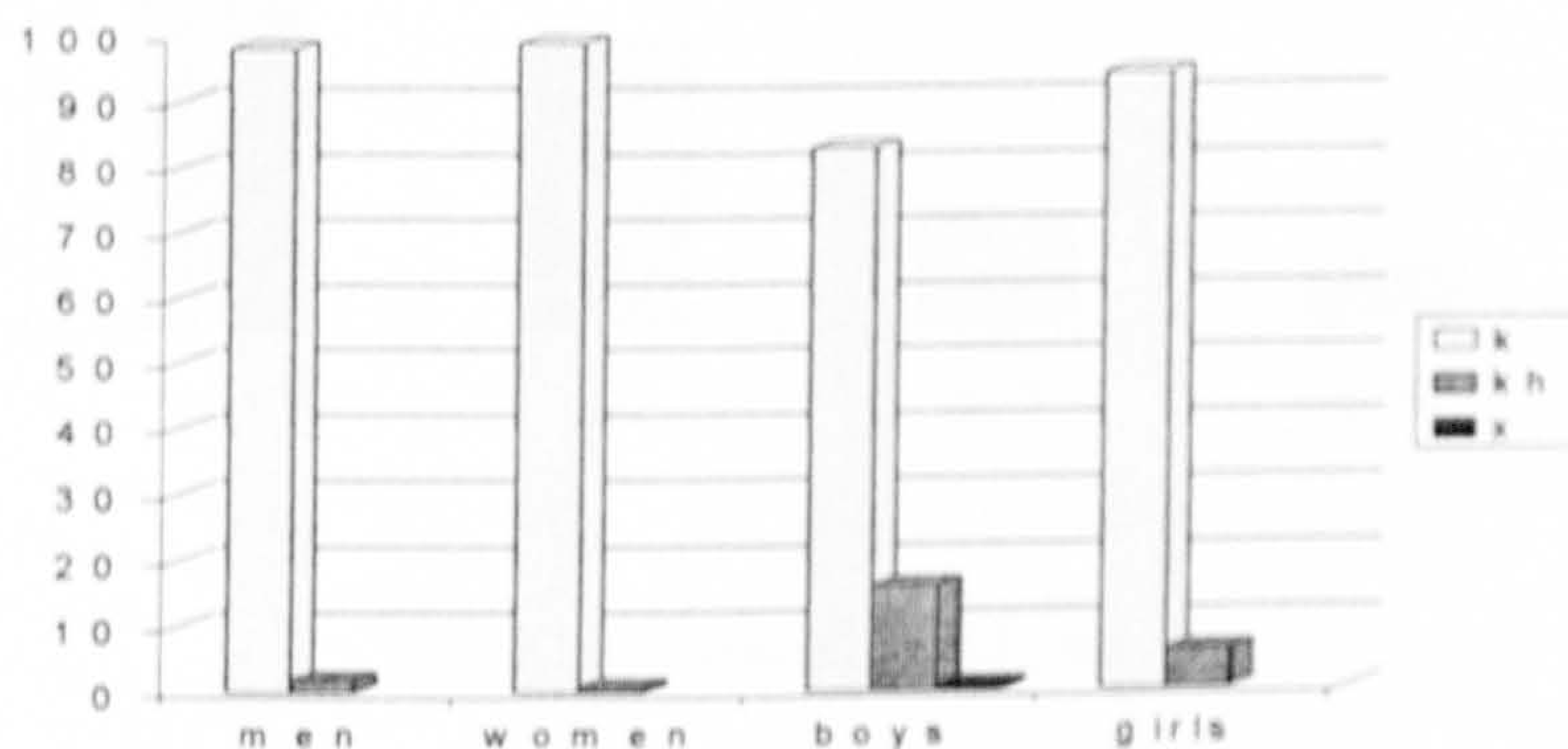
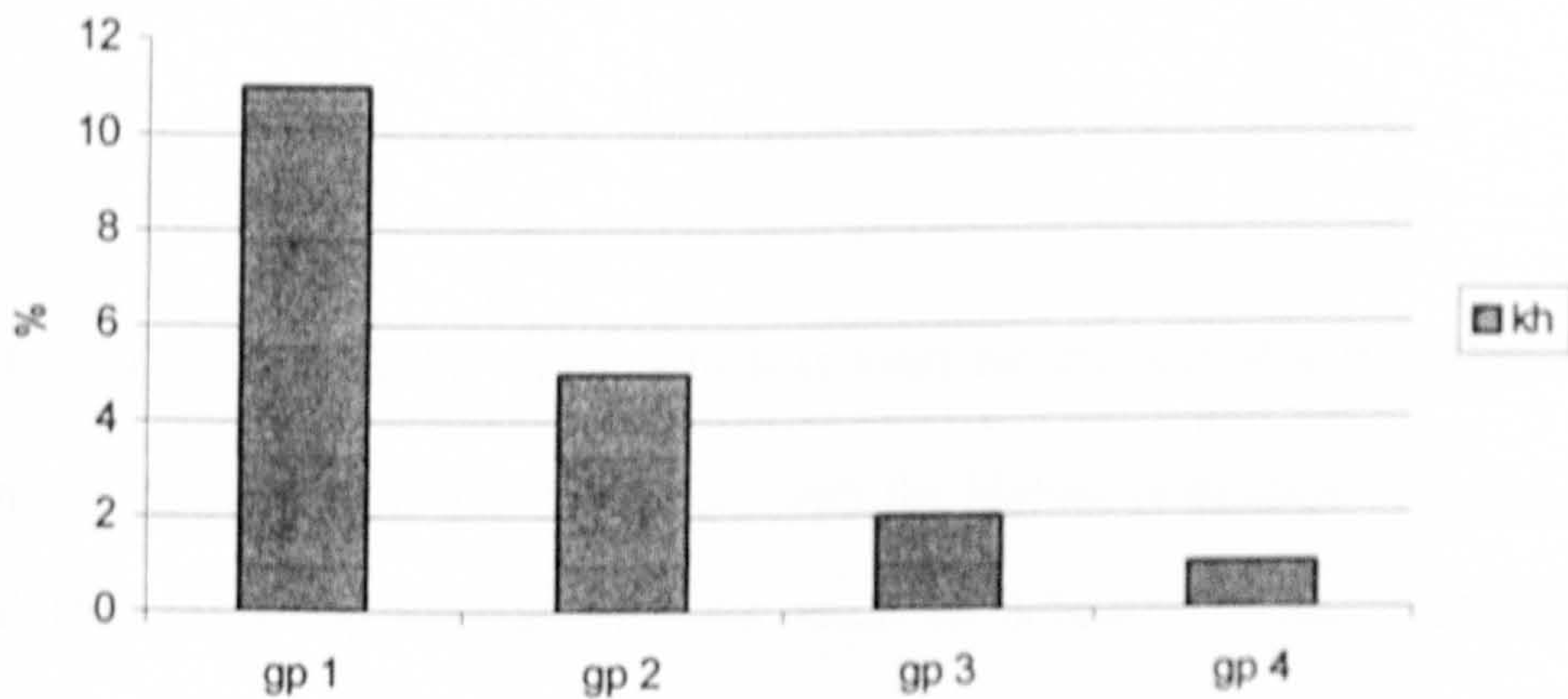


fig 6.9 % usage of affricated /k/ by group

When the results are analysed by age group this is equally apparent. Children remain the most frequent users of [kh], with the eldest informants using the variant least frequently.

table 6.21 % usage of /k/ by age

group	k	kh
1	89	11
2	95	5
3	98	2
4	99	1



. fig 6.10 % usage of [kh] by age

This is the pattern of a linguistic variable undergoing change and it is possible that this process is taking place. However, it is more likely that this is the result of age grading as discussed in section 5.4.2. In this instance the older speakers seem to be moving away from the Scouse variant to the standard, while the children are demonstrating covert prestige. Although there is some suggestion that this is a working class feature (see table 6.24), as there are few occurrences of the Scouse form among any of the adults it is unlikely that standardisation is taking place as they move up the social scale. Rather, this seems to be the result of maturation as they

move into adulthood and the workplace. In the overwhelming majority of cases for all groups the standard is used to a significantly greater degree than the affricated variant, but over time the percentage usage of [kh] is clearly increasing.

School affiliation also shows a clear pattern for this variable.

table 6.22 % usage of /k/ by school affiliation

school	k	kh
A	90	10
B	98	2
C	95	5

As was found for /ɪŋ/, the school which is most clearly part of a working class community (School A) is also the school with the highest percentage score for the use of affricated /k/. In addition, when the results for Schools A, B and C are broken down into children and adults it can be seen that the children from School A realise /k/ as [kh] significantly more often than any other group. The single boy to use the fricative form [x] also attends this school.

table 6.23 % usage of /k/ by school affiliation – children versus adults

Group		k	kh
School A	children	73	27
	adults	97	3
School B	children	95	5
	adults	99.5	0.5
School C	children	91	9
	adults	97	3

Knowles (1973:324-5) suggested that affricated /t/ and /k/ could have spread from the working to the middle class in Liverpool. As was shown in section 6.3.1 this does not appear to be the case for /t/ in Douglas. Neither does this process appear to be taking place to any great extent for /k/ as can be seen in table 6.24. Although more frequently occurring than affricated /t/, the realisation of [kh] is not common. Informant 23 has a score of 57% but he is the only informant to use the variant more than half the time. The next highest scores are those of Informant 22 at 44% and Informant 24 at 28% (plus 3% for the fricative [x]). No other informants use the affricated form more than 20% of the time, and fourteen of them do not use it at all. It is interesting to note that the three informants with the highest scores are all boys and they all attend School A.

table 6.24 % usage of /k/ by class

school	k	kh
m/c	99.5	0.5
w/c	97	3

Although the working class group use the Scouse variant a greater percentage of the time than the middle class group, they use it just 3% of the time. Furthermore, the 0.5% score for the middle class is the result of a single utterance by Informant 14. Five of the seven working class informants use this variant, however, so although infrequent there is some evidence of it being a feature of the working class. This supports the analysis of school affiliation.

A pattern can also be seen for this variable when analysed by family pairs. Two interviews are not included in this analysis (Interviews 5 and 14) because the informants are not relatives or close friends (see section 5.4.5 and appendix 5 for the breakdown of the interviews by family pairs). The only unknown relationship is between Informants 1 and 23. Although this interview will not be included in the analysis below, it is worth mentioning that there appears to be a pattern of behaviour. Informant 23 (as mentioned above) has the highest score for affricated /k/ being the only informants to use it over 50% of the time, and Informant 1 is the second highest scoring adult (5th highest in the whole sample) at 12%.

Of the other thirteen interviews the following patterns were found:

- in those groups where one informant used the standard 100% of the time, in three interviews both informants scored 100% and in a further four interviews the second informant scored 95% or higher.
- in those groups where one informant scored between 90% and 99% (other than those mentioned above), in three interviews both informants scored between 90% and 99%.
- In Interview 2 (like Interview 1 – above) both informants scored below 90%

This leaves two interviews that do not fit clearly into this pattern:

- in Interview 9 one informant (number 9) uses no non-standard variants and Informant 20 uses the standard 90% of the time.
- in Interview 15 the adult uses the standard 100% but the child (Informant 24) uses the standard just 69% (n.b. this is the boy who uses the fricative form, see table 6.2).

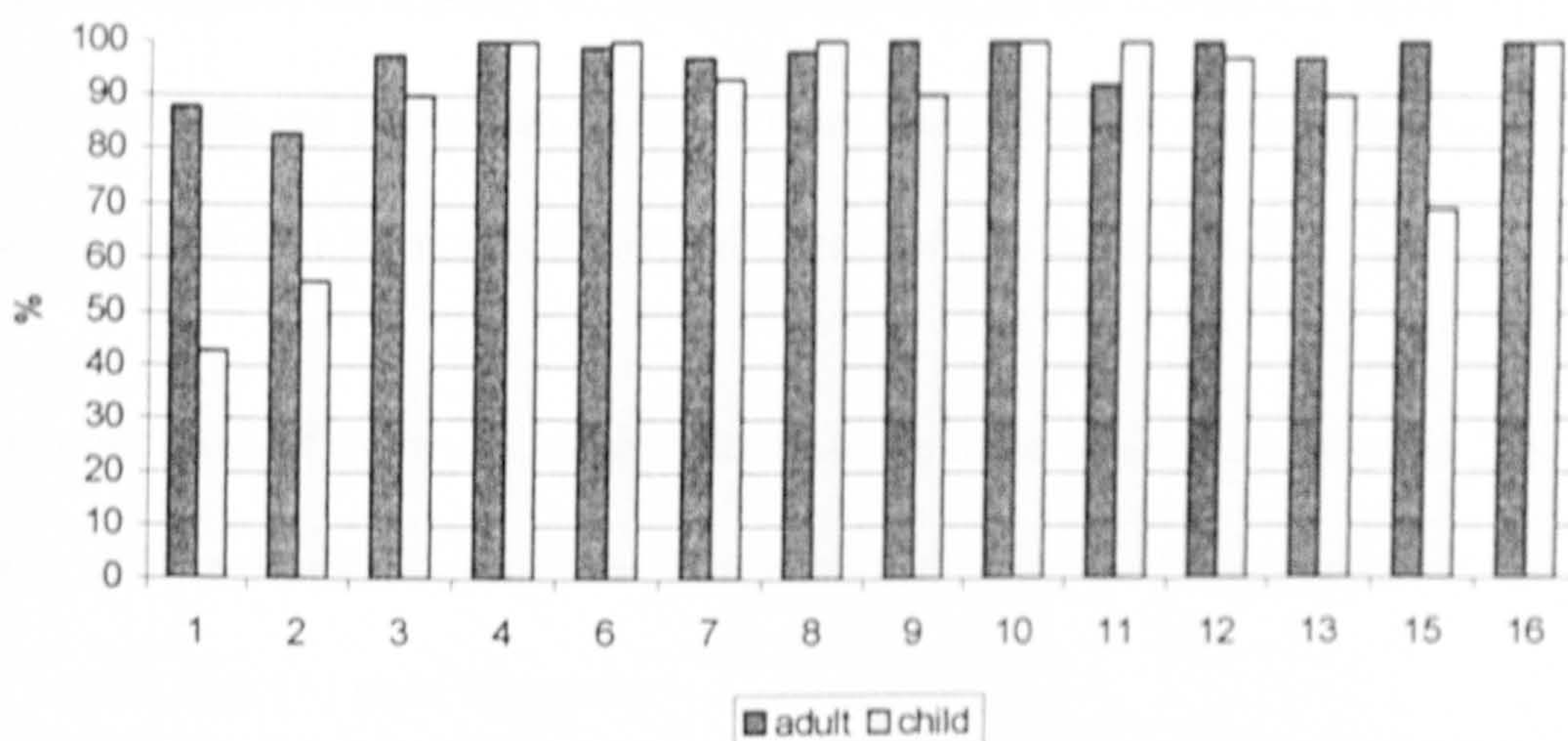


fig 6.11 % usage of standard /k/ by family

In other words, where one informant has a low score for the standard, that is often replicated by his 'partner' and vice versa. It is unlikely that this could be explained by accommodation theory as accent convergence because this is the only variable where this pattern of family group mirroring is found.

This is a very interesting variable because many patterns of differentiation can be seen: school and family group have a strong influence, and this is clearly related to social class, but sex and age can also be seen to be significant. The realisation of /k/ as [kh] does not appear to be firmly established in the language use of the Douglas population, but the evidence suggests that there is covert prestige attached to it by the working class and children, and the boys belonging to the low status School A in particular.

6.3.4 /θ,ð/

As stated in Chapter 4 we are looking for standard /θ,ð/, Scouse/Manx English /t̪,d̪/ and London influenced /f,v/. Variants of /ð/ occur much more frequently than /θ/.

For both variables the standard occurs most frequently for the sample as a whole. [θ] is realised 94% and [ð] is realised 97%. There is therefore greater variation for /θ/ than /ð/ though both show only a small percentage of non-standard forms.

An examination of /θ/ by sex shows that males use more non-standard forms. The males also use dental /t/ whereas the females do not, though both sexes realise /θ/ as the London type [f] more frequently.

table 6.25 % usage of /θ/ by sex

group	θ	f	t̪
male	90	8	2
female	97	3	

The results by sex are somewhat misleading, however. They suggest that the males prefer [f] over [t̪], but by examining the group scores we can see that although this is true for the boys, it is not true for the men.

table 6.26 % usage of /θ/ by group

group	θ	f	t̪
men	97		3
women	100		
boys	65	35	
girls	89	11	

Only the men use [t̪] and just 3% of the time, though it is actually used by just two informants (Informants 3 and 6) and on a total of just four occasions. Informant 3 uses this variant for the word *everything* and Informant 6 for the words *thirty* and

with. That is, although this variant does not occur frequently, it does occur in every position.

Furthermore, only the children use the London variety [f]. Informant 1 does actually use [f] finally for the word *fifth* [fɪf], but as the /θ/ is elided rather than realised as [f] it has not been counted in the group scores. Women, in fact, used no non-standard forms at – this fits with the expected pattern of sex differentiation. The greatest use of non-standard forms occurs among the children, and the boys in particular – they use the London type [f] 35% and the girls use it 11%. This also fits with the expected pattern of sex differentiation, as well as that of age differentiation.

The same is true for /ð/. Greater variation again appears to occur among the males, with this group using both alternative non-standard forms, whereas the females do not use the Scouse/Manx English variant [d̪].

table 6.27 % usage of /ð/ by sex

group	ð	v	d̪
male	94	2	4
female	99	1	

In actual fact one woman also uses this form for the word *grandfather*, but this single occurrence has a negligible effect upon the group score. Similarly the Scouse non-dental /d/ also occurs four times for the word *the* [də] by Informant 23, giving him an individual score of 45% for this variant. No other instances of this word occur for this informant. Despite his high individual score, however, it has a negligible effect

upon the scores when divided into sexes (though it does give a score of 2% for the boys' subgroup).

A breakdown of the group scores shows the pattern of variation more clearly.

table 6.28 % usage of /ð/ by group

group	ð	v	d̪	d
men	95		5	
women	100			
boys	89.5	8	0.5	2
girls	99	1		

[d̪] is only used by the men and by one boy (Informant 21). This boy has an individual score of 6% but actually uses the dentalized form just once for the word *they* [d̪eɪ]. As with /θ/ no women (apart from the single occurrence discussed above) use any non-standard forms. /ð/ is realised as [v] only by the children. Girls score just 1%; again this is due to a single informant (Informant 28) who used the variant three times, giving her an individual score of 6%. The greatest variation occurs amongst the boys with all four possible variants used, though to a limited degree in the case of [d̪] and [d], but with a score of 8% for the London type [v]. Thus, as with /θ/, the expected pattern of sex differentiation and age differentiation is evident.

This pattern of age differentiation for both variables is interesting. In order to see the pattern clearly it is necessary to analyse the data by age group.

table 6.29 % usage of /θ/ and /ð/ by age

	θ			ð			
group	θ	f	t̪	ð	v	d̪	d
1	80	20		95	4	(neg)	1
2	100			100			
3	100			99		1	
4	98		2	96		4	

(neg = negligible)

As already stated, with both variables it can be clearly seen that the youngest group (i.e. the children) favour the London-type labiodentals. Among the adults the Scouse/Manx English dentalized forms are used with greater frequency among the adults.

[f] occurs in all positions, though no girls use it word initially. Medial position is most favoured in that it has the highest number of occurrences, but five children (three girls and two boys) use both medial and final positions. A total of eight children realise /θ/ as [f]. [v] is only used by one girl and three boys. It occurs in medial position but not word finally. This variant is also used for the word *the* [və] on eight occasions by Informant 21. This is somewhat surprising given Wells' statement that the voiced fricative is only realised as [v] when in non-initial position (see section 4.4.5).

Dental /t/ occurs in all positions, but dental /d/ does not occur word finally and occurs most often in the initial position. Whereas dental /t/ is only used by 2 informants (both men), dental /d/ is used by five men, one women and one boy.

These variables are clearly subject to sex and age differentiation. No school, family or class related patterns were evident.

6.3.5 /r/

Tapped /r/, [ɾ], after consonants does not occur among the women or the children, but is exclusive to the men, and for that group occurs 12% of the time. When divided by age, the percentage scores for the males appear to show a simple division between the children and adults, but not between the various adult groups.

table 6.30 % usage of [ɾ] by age (males only)

group	r	ɾ
1	100	
2	87.5	12.5
3	90	10
4	88	12

However, these percentage scores are somewhat misleading. Although each group has a similar score, only one informant each from Groups 2 and 3 realise /r/ as [ɾ], whereas all four men from Group 4 use this variant. Furthermore, the three oldest informants have more individual occurrences that any of the others, particularly Informant 8 who has an individual score of 40%. It is interesting to note that the boys do not use this form at all given that it is a Scouse variant as well as a Manx English one.

The score for Group 4 is lowered by the effect of Informant 5 who has an individual score of just 1%. Without him the Group 4 score would be 20%, considerably higher that the other groups. Perhaps relevant to this is the fact that Informant 5 is the only known middle class man in the sample. There does appear to be a relationship

between sex, age and the realisation of /r/ as [r], however, as older men used it more frequently than any other group.

6.3.6 /h/

Chambers and Trudgill (1980:69) stated that it is well known that many, or possibly most varieties of Welsh and English English are variable in their pronunciation of initial /h/. In other words, as discussed in Chapter 4, /h/ is frequently not pronounced in words like *happy* etc. This is particularly true of the working class.

> Since the British prestige accent, RP, retains *h*, we expect higher class speaker to pronounce more *hs* than lower class speakers. (Chambers and Trudgill 1980:69)

A comparison of the results for this variable in Bradford and Norwich shows that although it has quantitatively different levels in the two cities, the linguistic behaviour of the informants followed the same pattern. In other words, although each class retained /h/ to a greater extent in Norwich than in Bradford, both studies showed the use of dropped /h/ to increase for the lower classes.

table 6.31 % of /h/ dropping in Bradford and Norwich (after Chambers and Trudgill 1980:69)

	Bradford	Norwich
MMC	12	6
LMC	28	14
UWC	67	40
MWC	89	60
LWC	93	60

As mentioned in Chapter 4, /h/ was found to be preserved in traditional Manx English, and the current investigation has found that this remains the case. Wells (1982:254) commented that /h/ dropping also occurs in standard accents, including

RP, in certain phonetic environments, particularly for pronouns when in neither stressed nor post pausal position. Such environments were thus excluded from the analysis. /h/ was found to be present almost 100% of the time. Only two informants did not use /h/ consistently, and only on three occasions. These were Informant 3, who realised /h/ as [ø] twice for the word *here*, and Informant 8, for the place name *Hanover Street*.

6.4 The Vowels

6.4.1 /eɪ/

For this variable we are looking at the standard [eɪ], and the northern/Manx English monophthong [e:]. Also found in certain lexical items were the realisations [ɪ] e.g. *Sunday* [sundɪ], and [e] for the word *always* [ɔ:lwez]. These are widespread non-standard forms, not exclusive to any particular locality. Interestingly, the triphthong [eɪə] was also found in certain lexical items e.g. *tail* [teɪəl], *name* [neɪəm]. The alternative non-stigmatised form [e] was also found e.g. *again* [agen].

table 6.32 % usage of /eɪ/ by group

group	standard	non-standard
men	92	8
women	92	8
boys	98	2
girls	96	4

For all informants the most frequent realisation of /eɪ/ was the standard [eɪ] as is seen in table 6.32. The two adult groups use more non-standard forms than either the

boys or the girls, and boys use fewest non-standard forms. Table 6.33 shows the non-standard forms used by the various groups.

table 6.33 % usage of /eɪ/ by group

group	eɪ	eː	e	ə	ɪ	eɪə
men	92	5		1	2	
women	92		2	4	1	1
boys	98				2	
girls	96		0.5		0.5	3

An examination of the results of each group in turn will be useful.

Men

One man (Informant 1) does not this use this variable at all and is therefore not included in the analysis. For the remaining seven men the standard form has a significantly higher percentage than any other variant (this is also true for the other groups, the men actually having the lowest percentage for standard forms). The widespread non-standard variant [ɪ] is used by five of the seven men, on all occasions it is used for days of the week. The highest number of instances for this variant by any individual is three. The variant [ə] is used by two men, Informant 5 (for the word *they*) and by Informant 7 for the word *always*. The triphthong [eɪə], is only used by Informant 7 for the word *sail*, and this has a negligible impact upon the group score. The most frequently used non-standard form among the men is the northern/Manx English form [eː]. As can be seen from table 6.33 no other group

uses this variable, a clear sign of sex differentiation. In addition, only the four eldest informants use this variant, so age differentiation is also evident (fig 6.12).

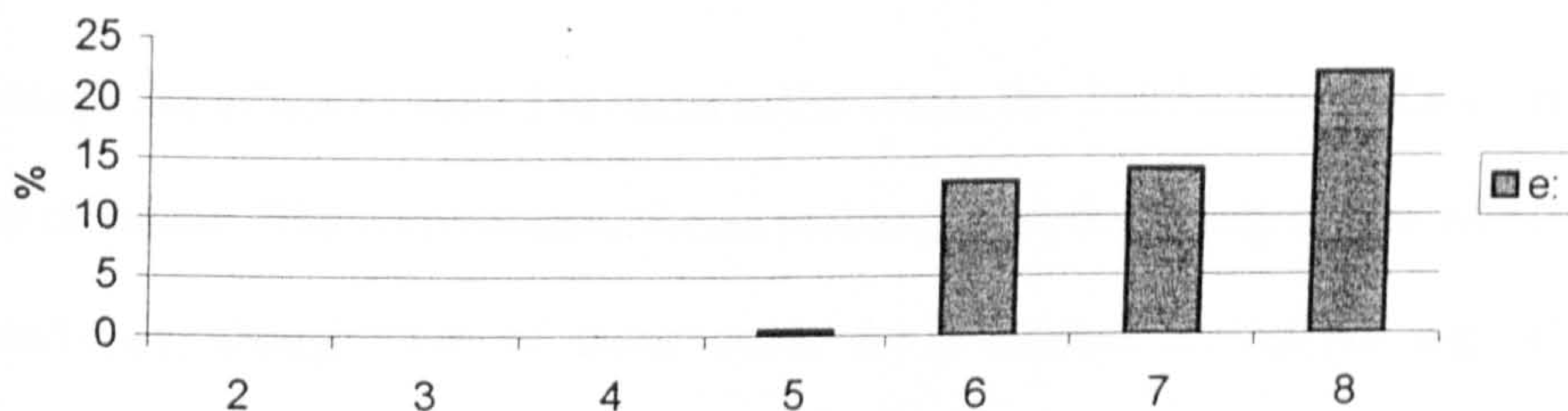


fig 6.12 % usage of [e:] by men

Although personal names were generally excluded form the analysis it is interesting to note the realisation of [ə:] in the Manx Surname *Craine* by Informant 7. Whereas this name would typically be pronounced [kreɪn], in this instance the traditional Manx English form, as well as tapped /ɾ/ are used. The resulting realisation, [kɾə:n], is possibly an inherited Manx English pronunciation of the surname.

Younger men, on the other hand, generally preferred the realisation [i] as can be see in fig 6.13.

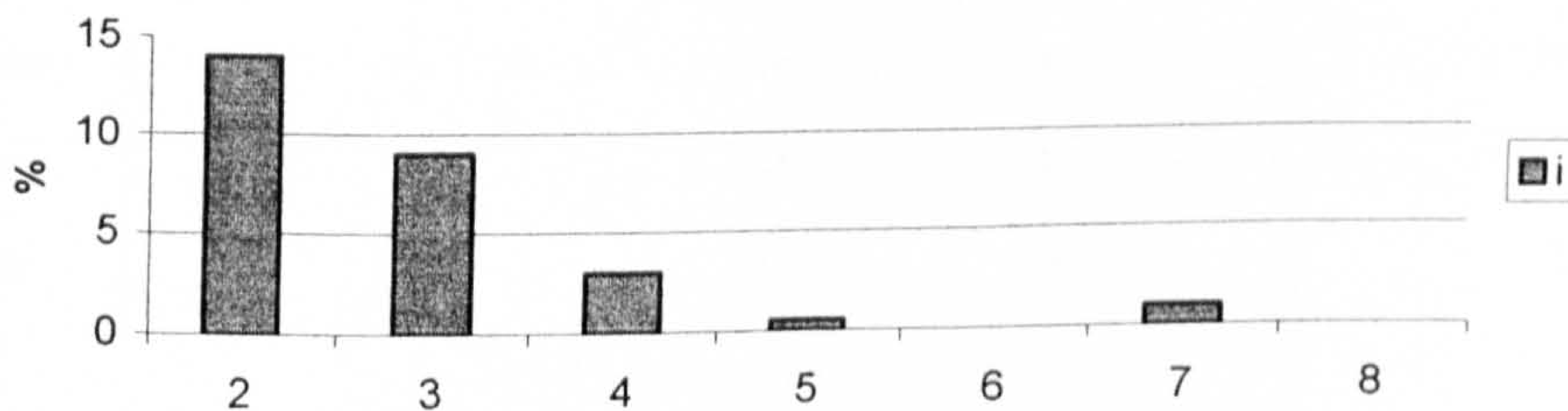


fig 6.13 % usage of [i] by men

Women

The group score presented on table 6.32 appears to show that the men and women have a similar result. However, as can be seen from table 6.33, although the percentage use of non-standard variants is the same, the distribution of these variants is very different. The non-standard forms realised most frequently by the women are [e] and [e], though both of these occur for a limited lexical set e.g. *always* [ɔ:lwez], *again* [agen] and *ate* [et]. Furthermore, as mentioned above, these are widespread forms, not specific to the Isle of Man, Liverpool or the north of England.

However, it is interesting to note that there seems to be a greater tendency among the middle class women (where class is known) to use these variants, a possible indication of perceived prestige. In fact, the working class women can be seen to use more of the standard form [eɪ] than those in the middle class do. The working class women also appear to use [i] and [eɪə] more frequently (see table 6.34). However, the women actually use the triphthong form just twice; Informant 12 (a middle class informant) uses it for the place name *Silverdale* and Informant 13 for *tail*. Only Informant 13 uses [i], for the word *Sunday*.

table 6.34 % usage of /eɪ/ by middle and working class women

group	eɪ	e:	e	e	i	eɪə
m/c	87.5		4	8	0.5	
w/c	94		0.5	1.5	2	2

Age does not appear to be a differentiating factor for women in the way that it is for men. Although Informants 15 and 16 (Group 4) use no non-standard forms, the results for Groups 2 and 3 are very similar. Class thus appears to be the most important factor in the realisation of /eɪ/ for women, although caution must be shown given the small number of women informants in each class.

<u>table 6.35 % usage of /eɪ/ by age (women only)</u>

group	eɪ	eː	e	ɛ	ɪ	eɪə
2	94		4	2		
3	90		2.5	5	1	1.5
4	100					

<u>Boys</u>

Only one informant (number 17) uses any non-standard variants. He uses [ɪ] for the days of the week e.g. *Sunday* and has an individual score of 9% for this variant. With this exception all the boys have a standard score of 100%, giving them a group score of 98%.

<u>Girls</u>

As a group the girls use the standard 96% of the time. One informant (number 25) uses [ɪ] for *holiday* on one occasion, and Informant 31 uses [e] for *again* - this also occurs just once. Particularly interesting is the comparatively high percentage score this group has for the triphthong [eɪə]. This variant is used by four of the eight girls, for the lexical items *tail* and *name*. Although the score for this variant is just 3%, it appears to have some prestige for the girls; it is favoured by them above all

other groups, and is realised by the girls more frequently than any other non-standard form.

Summary

All groups favour the standard. Clear sex differentiation exists in more than one direction, and there is some evidence of age differentiation. The older men prefer the northern/Manx English variant [ɵ:] while the younger men realise [ɪ] more frequently. One boy uses the variant [ɪ] but all others consistently use the standard. Women, and in particular the middle class women, on the other hand, tend to use the non-localised forms [ɵ] and [ɵ] and only for particular lexical items. This variable might be moving in the opposite direction in the girls' speech.

6.4.2 /ʌ/

As with the rest of the north of England, RP /ʌ/ is generally realised as [ʊ] on the Isle of Man. One man uses the RP form on a single occasion for the word *luck* [lʌk], but as he uses [ʊ] 99% of the time (a total of 114 occurrences) this single realisation can be treated as incidental. Only one other informant uses the RP variant; this is Informant 18 who uses it 100%. No information is available about this boy's social class, place of birth etc. It is interesting that with the exception of /ɑ:/ (see below) he does not tend to use the standard form of any other variable to an extent which makes him stand out from the rest of his group. He appears to attach particular prestige to these variables which are generally considered to separate north and south England.

It is safe to say that the sample analysed for the current investigation shows the Isle of Man (or at least Douglas) to be part of what Knowles (1973:284) terms "the linguistic north", at least as far as this variable is concerned.

6.4.3 [u:]

Lexical items such as *room, food* etc. where [u:] would be realised by RP speakers are not included in this analysis, only those words which would be realised by RP speakers as [ʊ] but by many northerners as [u:].

As a whole the sample use [u:] where RP speakers would use [ʊ] 77% of the time. Table 6.36 shows that the male informants favour the non-standard form more than the female informants do by a considerable percentage. This follows the general pattern of sex differentiation.

table 6.36 % usage of [u:] by sex

group	ʊ	u:
male	6	94
female	37	63

When divided into subgroups, however, a more interesting pattern emerges.

table 6.37 % usage of [u:] by group

group	ʊ	u:
men		100
women	33	67
boys	43	57
girls	60	40

The pattern of sex differentiation remains, but the men and women can be seen to use [u:] more than the children, with men using the variant 100% of the time, and the girls least often. Clague noted an awareness of pronunciation differences for this variable among the children she examined. Her preliminary findings support this analysis with the children showing a tendency to use [ʊ] slightly more frequently than the Manx English variant.

table 6.38 % usage of [u:] by age

group	ʊ	u:
1	53	47
2	87	13
3	14	86
4		100

Age differentiation is also evident as can be seen in table 6.38, though the youngest group of adults seems to deviate somewhat from the pattern.

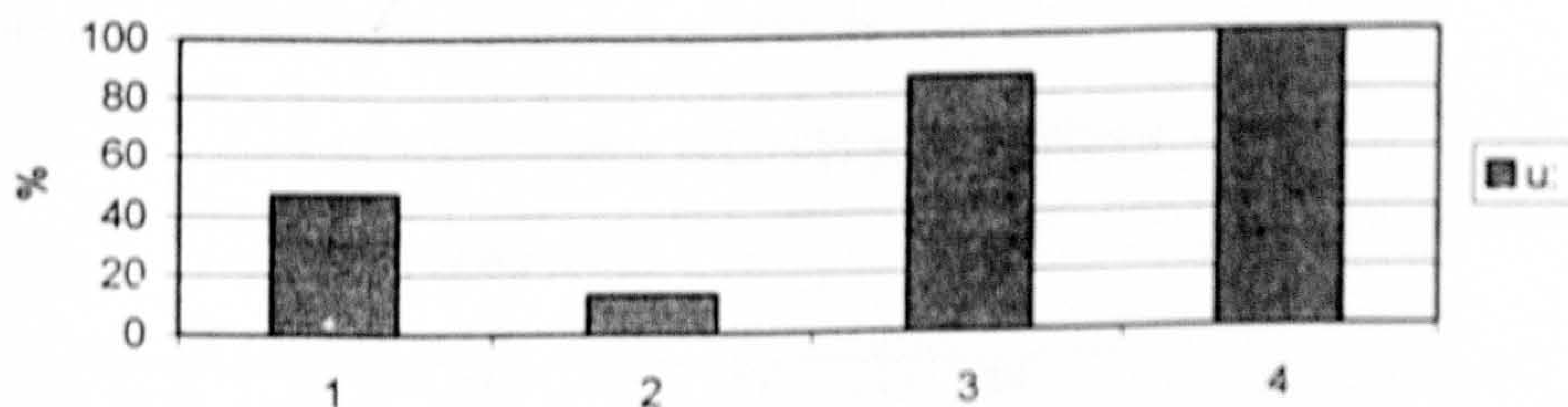


fig 6.14 % usage of [u:] by age

This deviation can be explained, at least in part, by en examination of the individual scores. Informant 1 does not use this variable at all, and Informants 2, 10 and11 each use it just once (Informants 2 and 10 realise it as [u:] and Informant 11 as [ʊ]). Informant 9, on the other hand, uses this variable on 12 occasions, and realises it as

[ʊ] 100% of the time. This woman is the youngest of the adult informants; she was born in the Isle of Man, but her family had previously resided in the south of England. She also attended boarding school in England for part of her educational career. The informant clearly skews the Group 1 results in favour if the RP variant [ʊ].

There is also evidence of social class affecting the use of this variable. The results for those adults for which social class has been assigned are shown in table 6.39.

table 6.39 % usage of [u:] by class

group	ʊ	u:
m/c	34	66
w/c	3	97

This appears to be a low-prestige variable, a finding supported by an examination of school affiliation. Again, only Schools A, B and C will be examined because of the small number of informants for the other schools.

table 6.40 % usage of [u:] by school affiliation

group	ʊ	u:
A	17	83
B	30	70
C	25	75

Once again the school in the working class area (School A) can be seen to use the low prestige variety more than any other school group. This variable is thus used most frequently by the working class, and by the older informants. As is typical of low prestige varieties, females are seen to use it less frequently than males.

What differs between Douglas and the north of England is the lexical items this variable is used for. Those studies discussed in Chapter 4 made reference to [uː] only in words with *-ook*. In the Douglas area (and in the rest of the Isle of Man), however, this variant is also found in the lexical items *good*, *stood* and *soot*. In the case of *soot* this variant is also realised in the north of England (Hamer, personal communication). However, it appears that in the case of *good* the use of [uː] is a Manx English shibboleth[8]. Of the eleven informants who used this lexical item, eight of them used [uː] exclusively, one used both variants and two used [ʊ], including Informant 9 (see above for comments on her background). Furthermore, the men used [uː] 100% and the women 68% (when Informant 9 was not included in the analysis this rose to 81%).

Unfortunately, only one child (Informant 25) used this lexical item. In each case she used the standard form [ʊ], however; this is perhaps because on three of the four occasions that she used this word it was followed by *fun* i.e. *good fun* [ɡʊd fʊn]. As no other children used this word no conclusive statements can be made about it.

With the women there is some evidence of age differentiation for this lexical item, with the older women using [uː] exclusively, the younger ones only using [ʊ], and the middle aged informants using both.

[8] It would be worth investigating this further to see if *stood* is also a Manx English shibboleth, as the single occurrence in this data analysis is not enough to draw conclusions from.

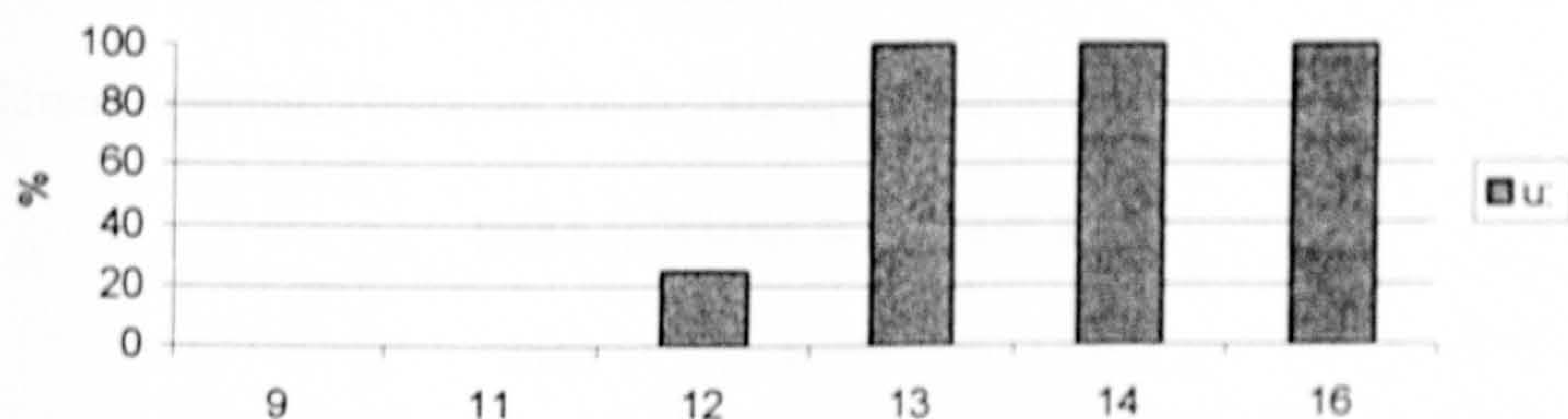


fig 6.15 % usage of [u:] in *good* by women

The words *poor* or *poorly* are also worthy of not as it is often realised with an off-glide [pu:ə, pu:əli:] though occurrences of this item are limited.

School

The lexical item *school* is also of interest. As mentioned in Chapter 4, the use of the diphthong form [u·ə] is a Manx English shibboleth. Preuss (1999:60) claimed that it was realised as [u] but no instances of this were found in the data analysed for this study. Rather, it was realised as either [u:] or [u·ə ~ u:ə], typically [sku·əl].

Many instances of this word were found. This was aided largely by the design of the questionnaire which included a section on school life. This section was not incorporated in all of the interviews, but only one adult informant (Informant 10) and two children (Informants 26 and 32) did not use this lexical item. Nine of the adults used this word five times or more, as did all of the other children, with the exception of Informant 27, who used it just twice.

The sample as a whole was shown to use the Manx type 74% and the standard 26% of the time. When analysed by sex there were no obvious differences, with the males

using the standard 25% and females 27%. Table 6.41 and 6.42 show that the children particularly favoured the diphthongised variant.

table 6.41 % usage of [u˙ɵ] by group

group	u:	u˙ɵ
men	38	62
women	41	59
boys	16	84
girls	15	85

table 6.42 % usage of [u˙ɵ] by children and adults

group	u:	u˙ɵ
children	15	85
adults	40	60

Although the women would be expected to use the standard form more frequently than the men, there is no pattern of sex differentiation. Whereas the men used more non-standard forms than the women did, the girls scored slightly higher than the boys. What is most noticeable is the pattern of age differentiation. This pattern is also seen when the adults are divided into age groups.

table 6.43 % usage of [u˙ɵ] by age

group	u:	u˙ɵ
1	15	85
2	20	80
3	39	61
4	50	50

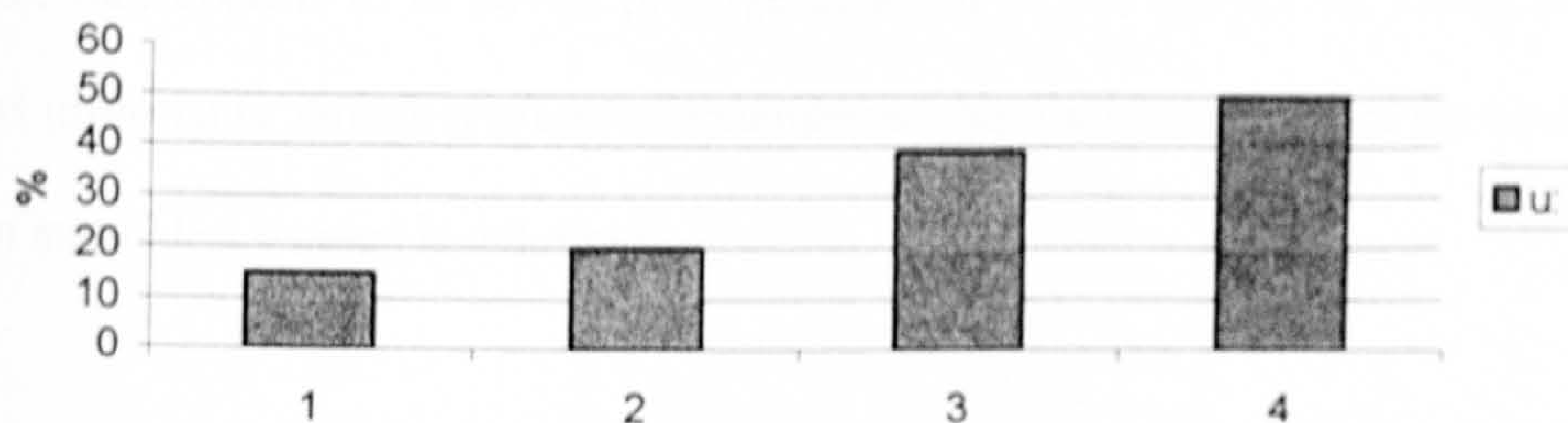


fig 6.16 % usage of standard [u:] by age

Table 6.43 and fig 6.16 show that the younger informants use the Manx English shibboleth more frequently.

Table 6.44 % usage of [uˑə] by school affiliation

group	u:	uˑə
A	7	93
B	46	54
C	11	89

School affiliation can also be seen to hold some influence over this variant, with School A again using the non-standard variant most frequently. Similarly, the working class informants used the Manx English form more often than the middle class.

table 6.45 % usage of [uˑə] by class

group	u:	uˑə
m/c	72	28
w/c	72	28

There thus appears to be covert prestige attached to this variant by young working class informants, though it must be remembered that the social class of the two oldest men and oldest women is unknown.

6.4.4 /ɑ:/

Along with /ʌ/ this variable divided the north and south of England. The Isle of Man can be seen to be part of the "linguistic north", generally realising this variable as [a] for /ɑ:/ (1), but normally using the standard RP form for /ɑ:/ (2) i.e. when followed by *r* or *l*.

Words such as *father* which do not fit into the rule of Middle English lengthening are not included. Neither are compounds of more than one word e.g. *can't*.

For this variable the data has been searched for RP and southern English [ɑ:], northern [a] (as opposed to RP [æ]), and the traditional Manx English forms [æ:] and [ạ]. For /ɑ:/ (1) only one boy (Informant 24) was found to use the last variant, but on just one occasion and this occurrence has a negligible effect on the group score. No informants used it for /ɑ:/ (2). The sample used the northern form [a] 94% for /ɑ:/ (1), the RP form 1% and the Manx English form [æ:] 5%. For /ɑ:/ (2) the RP form was used most frequently with a score of 99%, while the northern form was used the remainder of the time.

a. /ɑ:/(1)

When divided by sex we can see that both sexes use the RP form occasionally, while using the northern form most frequently. Only the males use the Manx English variant.

table 6.46 % usage of /ɑ:/(1) by sex

group	ɑ:	a	æ:
males	1	90	9
females	1	99	

A further breakdown into groups shows that only the men used this variant, and that the adults do not use the standard [ɑ:] at all.

table 6.47 % usage of /ɑ:/(1) by group

group	ɑ:	a	æ:
men		88	12
women		100	
boys	4	96	
girls	4	96	

However, the 4% standard usage by the boys and girls is actually brought about by one occurrence each by Informants 18 and 29 (Informant 18, incidentally, is the sole informant to consistently use the RP variant for /ʌ/). Neither of these informants use this variable at any other time; it cannot, therefore, be said whether or not this linguistic behaviour is typical of them. However, both in percentage terms and in the

number of informants to use each variant, it can be said that the children, like the adults, generally realise /ɑː/ (1) as the northern variant [a].

The Manx English form [æː] is used exclusively by the men, and only seven times, but there is some evidence of age differentiation.

table 6.48 % usage of /ɑː/ (1) by men

group	ɑː	a	æː
2		100	
3		87.5	12.5
5		88	12

As with /r/, however, the small number of instances mean that the percentage scores are somewhat misleading. Despite the relatively high score for Group 3, only one informant (number 3) uses that variant, and on just one occasion. He actually uses the variable only twice in the entire interview, the other realisation being the widespread northern form [a]. In Group 4, on the other hand, two informants, numbers 7 and 8 – the eldest informants in the sample – realise /ɑː/ as [æː]. Furthermore, although Informant 7 also uses it just once, Informant 8 uses it on five occasions, giving him an individual score of 62.5%. Fig 6.17 shows the use of this variant by the men when divided by age, both in percentage form and in the number of actual occurrences.

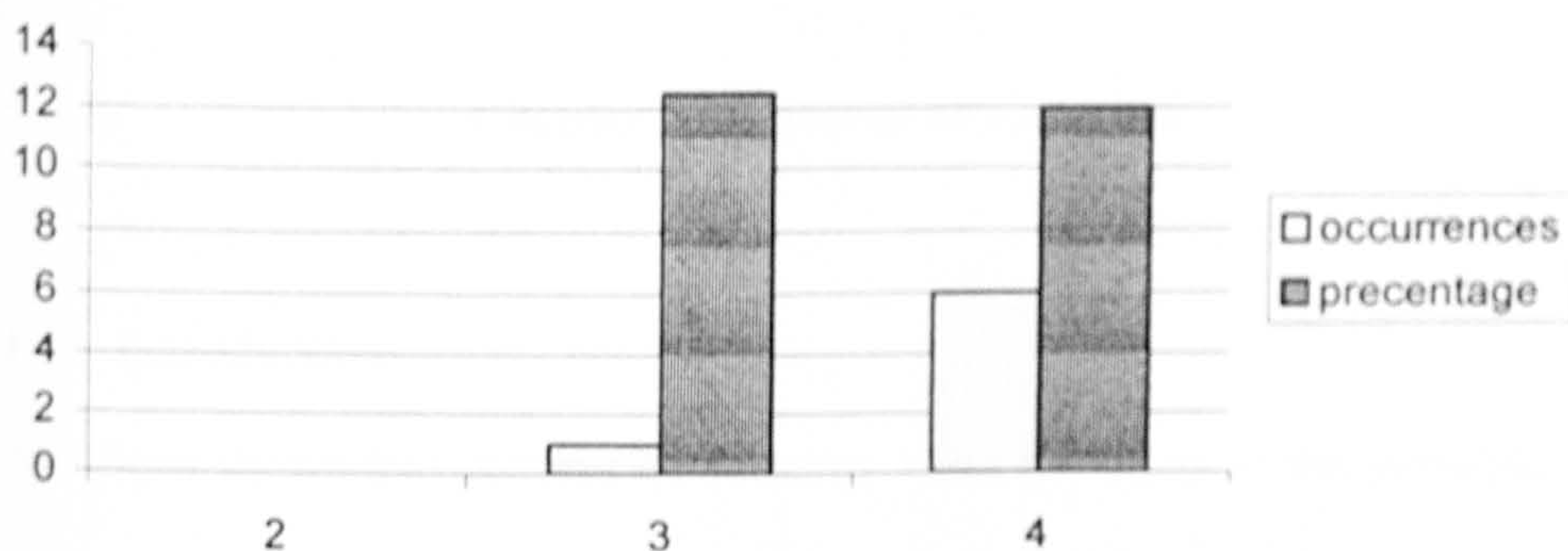


fig 6.17 % usage and number of occurrences of [æ:] by men

Therefore, there is some evidence that older men prefer this variable more than any other group, but that even among them its realisation is not frequent.

b. /ɑ:/ (2)

Sex, age and other extra linguistic factors were not seen to have any effect upon this variable. All groups use the standard form almost all of the time. Only two informants use the northern variant [a], one man (Informant 8) and one woman (Informant 13). However, both of these informants use this variable once, and only for the word *half* when followed by *past* [haf past]. Although no other instances of this utterance occur in the data analysed, the author has frequently observed this realisation throughout the Isle of Man. In all other contexts analysed, *half* is pronounced with the standard variant, [hɑ:f].

Chapter 7 - Patterns of Variation

7.1 Introduction

It has been shown that patterns of variation exist for many of the variables under examination in this thesis. In the last chapter each variable was examined in turn to determine to what extent standard and non-standard variants were used. I will now continue this examination, looking at patterns of sex, age and class differentiation, as well as those shared by family members and school groups. Central to this analysis is the concept of overt and covert prestige. Trudgill (1995:21) described covert prestige as

> A term introduced by William Labov...to refer to the favourable connotations that non-standard or apparently low-status or 'incorrect' forms have for many speakers.

He states that whereas standard forms are publicly acknowledged as 'correct' and thus as having overt prestige, non-standard and often stigmatised forms also appear to have prestige for some speakers. He suggests that this is why such forms continue to be used:

> The covert prestige associated with such linguistic forms bestows status on their users as being members of their local community and as having desirable qualities such as friendliness and loyalty.

7.2 Sex Differentiation

In Chapter 6 it was shown that many instances of sex differentiation for the variables under examination were evident. As was stated there, the usual pattern found is for women to generally use more standard forms, or forms with a higher prestige, or to use such forms more frequently than men. Table 7.1 shows those variables for which

this pattern has been found in the current investigation. The scores shown represent the percentage usage of non-standard forms.

Table 7.1 % usage of non-standard forms by male and female informants

	males	females
k	7	3
θ	10	3
ð	6	1
r	12	0
u:	94	63
ɑ:(1)	10	0

The variables /r/, /k/ and [u:] are straightforward in their patterns of sex related variation. Both [kh] and [u:]are used by both sexes, but are used most frequently by the men. Previous studies such as Knowles (1973) and Newbrook (1986) have found these variants to be low prestige forms and it appears that they have covert prestige for the male group. As will be seen below, age is also relevant for both of these variables. In the case of /r/, its realisation as [ɾ] is exclusive to the male group, but as was noted in Chapter 6, the boys do not use the tapped variant, so this variable is also subject to age related variation. The tapped variant is found in both Manx English and Scouse; it appears, however, that the two varieties are not mutually reinforcing one another and that the use of this variant is in decline.

/ɑ:/(1), /θ/ and /ð/ are somewhat more complex in that there is more than one possible realisation. It was shown in Chapter 6 that the sample generally used the

northern form [a] for /ɑː/(1). The figures shown in table 7.1 do not include the RP or the northern form for this variable. Rather, the 10% usage of non-standard form by the males refers to the use of either [ɑ̹ʊ̀] or [æː]. No females used these forms. With one exception all the women and girls used the standard northern form, the single exception being Informant 29 who used the RP form [ɑː] on one occasion.

The standard variants were realised most frequently for /θ/ and /ð/. Regarding sex differentiation, however, it is clear that the boys and the men use fewer standard forms than the females. It was also seen that age variation was apparent, with the children using more Cockney type forms and the adults using more Scouse/Manx English variants.

There are many suggestions as to why sex differences generally have this pattern. There is, however, no satisfactory answer. Trudgill (1972) put forward two suggestions he described as necessarily speculative but interlinked as to why women use more prestige forms, or use them more frequently. Firstly he suggests that women are more status conscious and, as a result, are more aware of the social significance of linguistic variables than men. This idea is based upon the notion that because women traditionally have a less secure position in society, they are socially rated by their appearance, including how they speak. Men on the other hand, tend to be rated by their occupation and earning power. Deuchar (1989:28) states that Trudgill's source for this assumption is the sociological study by Martin (1954). Martin demonstrated that women are more likely than men to claim membership of the middle class when assigned to the working class by a researcher. Deuchar is critical of Martin as a source, however, on the grounds that women are generally

classified, not on their own basis, but by their husband's or father's social class. She says that under such circumstances it is not surprising that more women disagree with the researcher's classification and questions if women are really more status conscious.

Cameron and Coates (1989:15) also criticise the status-based approach, because of its close links with social stratification. Studies such as Labov (1972) and Trudgill (1972) showed women to have higher scores for standard variants and correspondingly low scores for non-standard or vernacular variants. Cameron and Coates refer to investigations such as these and draw a parallel between women and the lower middle class, who provide the classic example of hypercorrect linguistic behaviour. Referring to hypercorrection generally, and Macaulay's findings for the use of glottal stops in Glasgow specifically (Macaulay 1977), they say that even if hypercorrection is primarily associated with lower middle class women rather than with the whole lower middle class, this would not give licence to describe the speech of all women as hypercorrect, or to use hypercorrection as an explanation for the tendency of women to use more standard speech. They state that women's speech is generally closer to the standard in every class, and it would be no more accurate to describe this as hypercorrection than the speech of the middle class in relation to the working class.

> The notion of women's sensitivity to prestige norms is an explanation that arises from the intrinsic maleness of the norms. Men's behaviour is seen as normal; when women's differs it has to be explained. (Cameron and Coates 1989:17)

Trudgill's second suggestion connected to status conscious approach is the notion that working class speech and culture appears, at least in some Western societies, to

have connotations of masculinity. Labov (1966) found that his women informants showed greater linguistic insecurity than the men did. The women were shown to be more consistent in their attempts to change their language use away from the speech patterns typical of New York.

> The masculine values associated with the working class speech pattern used by the men do not seem to be counterbalanced by any similar positive values with which women endow their native speech pattern. (Labov 1966:495)

Trudgill (1972:183) expresses the idea that certain characteristics such as roughness and toughness, which are associated with working class culture, are not considered desirable female attributes and he therefore concludes that working class speech has more attractive connotations for male speakers. It is suggested that evidence to support this idea is limited, though through the survey in Norwich he was able to provide some.

> We now have some objective data which actually demonstrates that for male speakers WC non-standard speech is in a very real sense highly valued and prestigious. (Trudgill 1972:184)

The results presented in this thesis suggest, however, that the informants analysed do not view gender in the sense that women are respectable and men are not. Rather, it seems likely that sex differentiated behaviour is the result of one sex having a more of a sense of local loyalty than the other. In this respect there are similarities with Labov's study of Martha's Vineyard (1972a).

According to Trudgill (1972:184) the informants in Norwich frequently expressed the attitude that they were unhappy about their speech with statements like "I talk horrible." When pressed, however, many who had claimed to feel this way admitted they didn't actually want to alter their speech patterns, and were concerned that

friends and family would think them foolish, arrogant or disloyal were they to do so. Of greater importance, perhaps, is the comparison of the results of the self-evaluation tests conducted in New York and Norwich cities. An overwhelming number of informants in New York over-reported the use of /r/ (Labov 1966:455), in other words, they claimed to use more prestigious forms than they actually do. This is not because of a deliberate attempt to deceive, but implies dissatisfaction with their real speech patterns. By comparison Norwich informants, and the men in particular, were more likely to under-report.

> This, then is the objective evidence which demonstrates that male speakers, at least in Norwich, are at a subconscious or perhaps simply private level very favourably disposed towards non-standard speech forms...If it is true that informants 'perceive their own speech forms in terms of the norms at which they are aiming rather than the sound actually produced' then the norm at which a large number of Norwich informants are aiming is *non-standard WC speech*. (Trudgill 1972:187-8)

The attitude was never overtly expressed, but Trudgill felt that the statements made about "bad speech" were for "public consumption only" (1972:188). He claims that the male informants were more concerned with covert prestige and with signalling group status than usual social status, and the women were more favourably disposed toward middle class standard forms. That working class women only over-reported slightly less often than middle class men did suggests that the significant factor controlling the presence or absence of 'covert prestige' is sex rather than social class. Deuchar (1989:29) has a problem with the notion of covert prestige in this instance, however, because women under 30 were seen to attach the same covert prestige (see Trudgill 1974).

It has been suggested, however, that the methodology employed in studies such as those conducted in New York City and Norwich may have actually brought about the results obtained. Cameron and Coates (1989:18) question the emphasis placed upon on occupation to determine social class, and ask if the sex differentiated criteria used are actually responsible for women's greater closeness to the prestige standard. They point out that while men were rated on their own occupations, women were classed by the status of their fathers or husbands. Furthermore, in those instances when the woman had a higher rank on the Registrar-General's scale, Trudgill changed the criteria, and used her occupation to determine status. Cameron and Coates point out that many situations such as high male unemployment, divorce, and single families headed by women make his methodology unworkable, and describe it as full of "inconsistencies and absurdities" (1989:18).

In addition, Cameron and Coates (1989:19) point out that using the traditional model with the family as the primary unit of social stratification can lead to problems because the traditional concept of family is breaking down. Instead, they suggest alternatives such as the level of education and social aspirations of an individual. They refer to Douglas-Cowie (1978) who used social ambition rather than occupation or education to predict linguistic behaviour. She concluded that, except when an individual has received an unusually high level of education (i.e. University), linguistic behaviour is "clearly related to social ambition rather than...social status in traditional terms" (Douglas-Cowie 1978:49). Cameron and Coates also say that if Trudgill is right about status consciousness/society's double standards, recent social changes such as altered attitudes to women, widespread unemployment among young of both sexes etc., should be narrowing the gap

between young women and men. This could possibly be the reason for the covert prestige attached to non-standard forms by women under thirty.

An alternative explanation for sex differentiation is provided by the social network approach (see Chapter 2). Instead of referring to women's greater use of the prestige standard, advocates of this methodology, such as Lesley Milroy, place a different emphasis and say that women are less likely to use vernacular variants than men are. Milroy and Milroy (1978:19) found clear examples of sex differentiation in their examination of the three Belfast areas discussed in Chapter 2. The five variables analysed were (th) (L) (a) (ɪ̂) and (ai). Sex related variation was found with each of these variables, though some more noticeably than others, (see Chapter 2 for a discussion about (th) and (a)). Milroy argues that men have tighter knit networks than women, which maintain vernacular norms, and that this is the reason for sex differentiation. In other words, women's speech is more standard because their networks are relatively looser knit.

Cameron and Coates (1989:20-1) believe that the social network approach has great potential but point out some problems with the concept in its treatment of women. The five criteria used to determine network strength score were listed in Chapter 2 (section 2.4.3). Two of the conditions value same sex rather than mixed sex links, and three of them are male orientated because they are specifically related to the domain of waged work, and even though many working class women have waged work, they also have domestic responsibilities not recognised here. Milroy (1980:142) says that the Hammer and Clonard areas have high male unemployment, so individual women frequently score as high, or higher, than men do, but Cameron

and Coates say that although this observation is true it fails to acknowledge inherent bias in conditions. Deuchar (1989:29), on the other hand, points out that the theory is at odds with suggestions by others that women working at home tend to participate in denser and more multiplex networks than those working outside the home (e.g. Brown 1980, Nichols 1984, Thomas 1989).

Cameron and Coates (1989:22) point out that whereas the status conscious theory marginalised women because of their favouring of prestige norms, and resulting failure to consistently use the vernacular, the social network approach has produced a methodology which can take account of sex and class differences simultaneously. Women do have some loyalty to vernacular norms but they are not always the same variants as those used by male groups. For example, Cheshire (1982) found the Reading girls group produced shared, and distinctly female, norms.

Other possible explanations include the notion put forward by Trudgill (1983:162) that as the majority of field-workers in sociolinguistic studies are male, male informants are more likely to be relaxed in a same-sex interview than female informants with a male interviewer would be, thus men produce more casual speech. This may seem to be a reasonable suggestion, but as Trudgill points out, this is not accurate, since studies with female fieldworkers produce exactly same results (Romaine 1978, Milroy 1980, Cheshire 1982). A possible explanation for this is that the linguistic behaviour of the informant is not the result of sex differences so much as the direct result of the position of power held by the interviewer because of his role. The use of school children as fieldworkers has effectively neutralised this imbalance of power between interviewer and interviewee. There are also

suggestions that politeness (Brown 1980), 'face and power' (Deuchar 1989), economic opportunities (Nichols 1984) and Conservatism (Pop 1950, Orton 1962) can help explain the tendency of women to use the prestige standard more. The last is questionable given that studies conducted by the Milroys in Belfast (Milroy and Milroy 1978, Milroy 1980) and Romaine in Edinburgh (1975, 1978), for example, provide evidence to show that women are often at the forefront of linguistic change, particularly when it is the direction of the standard. However, as Cameron and Coates point out (1989:23), women are not a homogeneous group, and as they do not always and everywhere behave in similar ways, their behaviour cannot be explained in global undifferentiated terms.

Table 7.2 % usage of non-standard forms - realisations of /ɪɒ/ and /oɪ/ by males and females

	males	females
ɪɒ	24	34
oɪ	6	6

Not all of the variables in this investigation conformed to the usual pattern. The variable /ɪɒ/ was discussed in detail in Chapter 6. It was seen that the females used non-standard forms more frequently than the men did, but this was largely because of the effect Informants 13 and 25 had upon the group scores. When they were not included in the analysis the usual pattern of variation emerged. The role played by these informants will be discussed below (see section 7.4). In compounds of *thing*, however, the usual pattern of sex differentiation was reversed. While the males used non-standard forms 6% of the time, the females used them significantly more, having

a percentage score of 32%. In this instance, although Informants 13 and 25 were seen to use many non-standard forms they did not differ from the group trends.

The variable /eɪ/ is somewhat more complex. Although it appears that the male and the female groups have the same percentage scores for non-standard forms used, as was discussed in Chapter 6, the realisation of these forms differed greatly. Males were seen to use the localised variant [e:] and the widespread, non-standard form [ɪ], whereas the females were more likely to use [e] and [e], though for different lexical items. With the exception of [e:], however, these forms were all restricted to specific lexical items, and they were not directly contrasted. The girls showed a slightly greater tendency then the other groups to use the tripthongised variant [eɪə]. Interestingly, this form was only used for words ending with *-l* or *-m* e.g. *tail, name*. This is very different to the items recorded by Barry (1984:171) e.g. *daisies, paving stones*. The situation was further complicated by patterns of age-related variability; this will be discussed below. It can be stated, though, that women generally used non-standard forms with greater prestige than those used by the men.

Although glottal stops occurred frequently in my data, Barry (1984) did not record their use, nor are they a typical feature of Scouse (Knowles 1973:235; Wells 1982:371). There was no evidence of change among the girls or the women but there is evidence of sex determined behaviour in that the girls appeared to know how to behave as females. Among the men and the boys, however, there were massive differences in the use of glottal stops. It is possible that this is change from above, the boys preferring the non-stigmatised, more standard model than that of the older role models in the local community. This is supported by Clague's results. She also

found that girls used more glottal stops than boys did. Another possibility is that the boys' speech was standardised because of the use of the questionnaire and the reading style. However, this was not the case for other stigmatised forms e.g. affricated /k/. The weight of evidence suggests that the boys are not being over careful for glottal stops, but that linguistic change from above is occurring. Why this variable should be subject to such change is unclear, but one possibility is that the other stigmatised forms which are used by the boys, such as affricated /k/, are associated with Scouse, and therefore have covert prestige. Glottal stops, on the other hand, are not associated with Scouse, but with more localised values. The boys appear, therefore, to be marked out as wanting to change from the style used by their fathers more than the girls want to change from the style of their mothers.

7.3 Age Related Variation

We have already discussed the difference between age grading and variation due to linguistic change in Chapter 5. It was stated that a study through real time is the ideal way to investigate changes in language behaviour.

> In theory, comparative studies based on realtime provide the basis for describing linguistic diffusion. In fact, such studies are relatively rare. (Chambers and Trudgill 1980:165)

Chambers and Trudgill state that one reason that they are rare is the "inherent incomparability of much of the data that exists". For example, they continue, many early studies gave general comments about an area, rather than concentrate on a particular variable. Surveys examining real time variation do exist though. In Chapter 2 it was mentioned that Gauchat (1905) visited the Swiss village, Charmey. Twenty years later, Hermann (1929) revisited the area and found evidence of linguistic change for four of the five variables investigated by Gauchat. Another

example of this type of study is Trudgill (1988). Twenty years after his original investigation Trudgill went back to Norwich and found that:

> variants occurring only in the speech of young people at the earlier time had caught on as changes and were spreading through the earlier age groups. (Eckert 1997:153)

For the current study the investigations into traditional Manx English referred to in Chapter 4, particularly Barry (1984), have been used to provide real-time evidence. However, the present study is specific to Douglas and Onchan, whereas Barry's data was from traditional Manx English speakers, a dialect which he claimed to be already dying out. We do know, however, that the Liverpool influence was in evidence, and in Douglas and among the young in particular (Barry 1984:169). What we do not know, is which variables showed evidence of this.

The wide range of ages in the sample under investigation means that apparent time can be used to examine patterns of variation for linguistic change. The very wide range of ages available for analysis allows some interesting comparisons to be made. The group can be divided three ways: children versus adults, children versus the adults subdivided into age groups, and by separating the sample into men, women, boys and girls.

Table 7.3 shows the variables which appear to be in decline. They are used most often, or exclusively, by the older informants.

Table 7.3 % usage of non-standard variants by age.

	1	2	3	4
u:	47	13	86	100
æ:	0	0	3	11

In the case of [u:], Group 2 can be seen to not conform to the pattern. It was noted in Chapter 6 that Informant 9 had a great influence upon the group scores, lowering them to below the percentage used by the children. The other occurrences in this group are too few to draw any conclusions from. This variable is a low prestige, stigmatised form in the north of England. It appears to be in decline, the standard form used most frequently by the females, and by the young; the girls thus realise RP [ʊ] as [u:] least often.

No obvious pattern of sex differentiation was found for the possible Manx English shibboleth *school,* [sku·əl], but age related variation was clear. The children used the realisation [u·ə] more frequently than the adults did, and Group 4 used it least, though still as much as 50% of the time. The fact that the oldest informants also used [u·ə] shows that this is not a recent innovation, but as seen in fig 7.1 it is evidently on the increase.

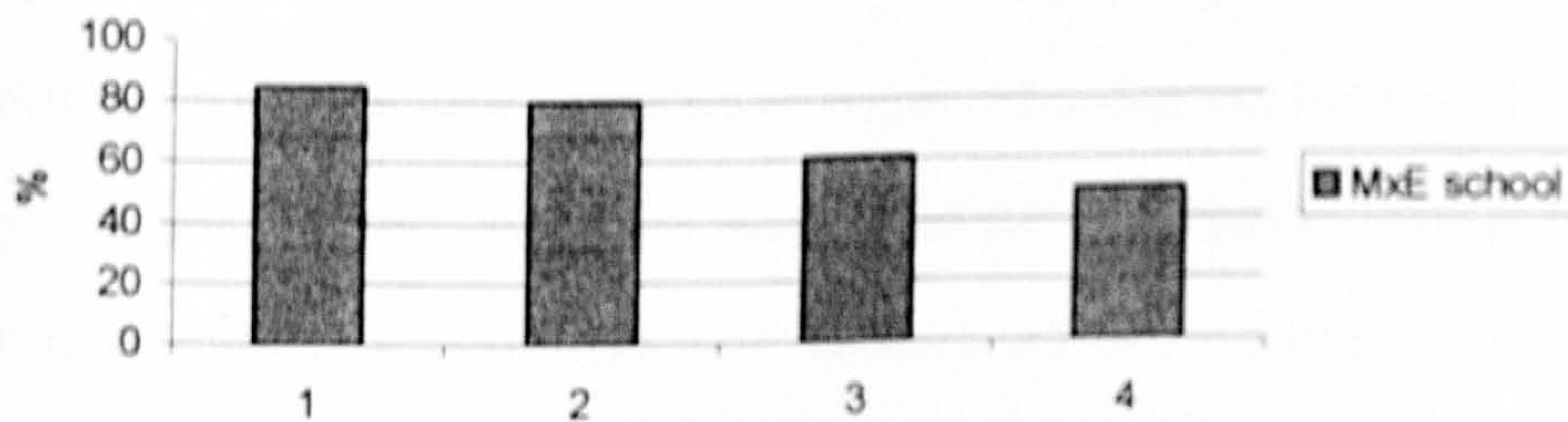


fig. 7.1 % usage of [u·ə] in *school*

Other features of Scouse certainly do have covert prestige among the young. This is particularly true of affricated /k/, [kh]. This variant was seen in Chapter 6 to be a feature typical of the working class and of males, the boys in particular. Little has been recorded previously to suggest that this is a feature of age grading. Barry (1984:174) only refers to its use in the word *kitchen*. It appears then that this feature is undergoing linguistic change led by the young. Clague found that although this feature was not used frequently by her informants, both sexes and all age groups used it. She also found evidence of an awareness of it as a Scouse form.

The realisation of /θ/ and /ð/ as [f] and [v] is also favoured by the young. No adults used [f]and only one man used [v], but they were frequent occurrences among the children, and especially the boys. Conversely, the men, and the older men in particular, were the only informants to use the Scouse/Manx English realisations [t̪], and used dentalised /d/, [d̪], most frequently. Given that the dentalised form is both Scouse and Manx English, mutual reinforcement might have been expected, but there is no evidence to suggest that this has taken place. The London form has greater prestige for the children and the dentalised forms appear to be in decline. They are not used by any Group 1 or 2 members, and are used most frequently by those in Group 4. At the same time, the realisation of [f] and [v] by the young appears to be the initial stages of language change through innovation. It is likely that they are following a pattern which began in London, and has become something of a national trend. This is an example of RP casualisation through the use of Estuary English, a form 'mid way' between RP and Cockney. This accent is spreading throughout England, from the London area, and is viewed by some as the 'new RP'.

> It is perceived as a classless, regionless accent that has prestige value, especially among younger men in their 20s and 30s. (Stockwell 2002:40)

For a discussion of this variety see Rosewarne (1994; 1996).

Age related variation was also seen for /eɪ/. Although the greatest pattern of variation was related to sex, age was seen to be a relevant factor. As was seen in Chapter 6, the oldest men were the only ones to use the Manx English variants [eː]. It thus appears that this form is in decline. The young men, on the other hand, were the group seen to use the widespread non-standard form [i]. This is not, however, to suggest that [i] is replacing [eː]. Rather, the standard form [eɪ] is generally used where [eː] would be realised, and [i] is used only for certain lexical items, mainly the days of the week, but also *holiday* (though in fact this only occurred once in the data analysed).

Both /ɪŋ/ and glottal stops showed an unusual pattern of variation in that the boys used fewest non-standard forms. For /ɪŋ/, the trend among the adults was for the younger informants to use a greater percentage of non-standard forms, but the boys were seen to use them less frequently than any other group. For glottal stops, as discussed already, there are two trends, mutually reinforcing one another, particularly in the final position. Table 7.4 shows the percentage non-standard scores for each age group sub-divided by sex.

In medial position the men conform to the pattern found for a variant not undergoing linguistic change, i.e. the oldest and youngest male adults use more glottal stops than those informants in Group 3.

Table 7.4 % usage of glottal stops by age and sex

	medial		final	
group	t	gs	t	gs
1m	99	1	57	43
f	94	6	41	59
2m	69	31	41	59
f	96	4	31	69
3m	93	7	52	48
f	88	12	38	62
4m	84	16	49	51
f	96	4	57	43

On the other hand, it is the women in Group 3 that use most glottal stops. This is again due to the effect of informant 13. When she is not included in the analysis the Group 3 score falls to 5% in medial position and 45% in final position. The role played by this informant has already been mentioned on numerous occasions and will be discussed below in more detail. In final position the men demonstrate the same pattern, Group 3 using fewer glottal stops than Groups 2 or 4. The women, on the other hand show the use of glottal stops to be on the increase, with Group 2 using most, and Group 4 fewest. This pattern applies whether or not Informant 13 is included. In medial position the girls have a higher percentage score than any other female group except Group 3, but when Informant 13 is not included Group 1 has the highest score. In final position, however, they have a score between that of the

oldest and youngest women. The boys however, do not fit any of the patterns. They score lower than any other group in both positions. In medial position they use the smallest percentage of glottal stops, and in final position they have the same score as the Group 4 women. The suggested reasons for the boys' pattern of behaviour were discussed above.

7.4 Patterns of Variation within Family Units

It was hoped and expected that by analysing interviews conducted with family members, patterns of linguistic behaviour would be found. The relationship between children and their grandparents, aunts, stepfathers and neighbours has a different degree of closeness to the relationship that they have with their parents. As a result, the degree to which linguistic norms are shared is likely to differ. As discussed in Chapter 5, Interviews 1, 5 and 14 are between people who are neither related nor close friends, or whose relationship is unknown. For this reason they will not be analysed in this section.

In addition, because some of the variables are not subject to patterns of variation e.g. /h, ʌ/, are used exclusively by a particular group, e.g. /r/, or because there are too few instances to determine if patterns exist e.g. /t/, /ɑ:/(2), they will not be analysed in this section. By discussing 'patterns' I am really referring to hints or suggestions of patterns which might be followed up rather than definite trends. Table 7.5 shows similarities in linguistic behaviour within each family unit analysed. N represents a significant use of non-standard forms by both informants, S indicates a tendency to use standard forms, and - means that no pattern was evident.

Table 7.5 patterns of variation by family units

	ɪŋ	gs - med	gs - final	k	θ	ð	eɪ	u:	ɑ:(l)	school	thing
2	-	-	-	N	-	-	-	N	S	N	-
3	-	S	-	-	S	S	S	-	-	N	S
4	S	-	-	S	-	S	S	N	S	-	-
6	-	S	S	S	N	S	-	-	S	-	-
7	S	-	-	-	S	N	S	-	-	-	S
8	N	-	N	S	S	S	-	N	-	N	-
9	N	N	N	-	-	S	-	-	S	-	-
10	S	S	N	S	S	S	S	N	-	-	-
11	-	S	S	S	S	S	S	-	-	-	-
12	S	-	-	-	-	-	N	-	S	S	-
13	N	N	N	N	S	S	N	-	S	N	-
15	-	S	-	-	S	S	S	N	S	-	S
16	S	S	-	S	S	S	S	N	S	N	S

Interview 2

Informant 22 and his father, Informant 2, conducted this interview. They are a working class family and the boy is a pupil at School A. There were few distinctive patterns of variation found, the most clear comparison being the realisation of /k/ as [kh]. Informant 2 used the affricated variant 17% of the time, which is the highest adult score (the only other adult to score over 3% was Informant 1 who had a score of 12%). Informant 22 used this form 44% of the time. It is interesting to note that the only child to obtain a higher score than this was Informant 23, who interviewed Informant 1[9]. Both members of this family thus have a significantly high score for

[9] Although not included in this section because their relationship is unknown, it is worth noting that this is the only pattern of behaviour found for Interview 1

the realisation of affricated /k/. Informants 2 and 22 both realise RP [u] as [u:], but each on one occasion only. The use of the Manx English variant for *school* [sku·əl], also occurs frequently for this pair: Informant 22 uses it on nine occasions (100%) and Informant 2 uses it five times and has a score of 83%. No other patterns were found for this pair.

Interview 3

This pair is made up of Informant 3, who was born and educated in Ramsey, and his stepdaughter, Informant 30. They are a working class family, and the girl attended School C. No distinct patterns of variation were found, but there were certain trends or similarities for /eɪ/, the lexical item *school* and glottal stops in word medial position. Informant 30 is one of six girls to use no glottal stops medially, and although they were used 4% of the time by Informant 3, he had the lowest score in his group. /eɪ/ is generally realised as [eɪ] by both members of this family except for certain lexical items. However, the non-standard forms used differ. Informant 3 uses [ɪ] three times (9%) for *Sunday, Monday* and *Friday*, though *Saturday* is realised as [eɪ]. Informant 30, on the other hand, uses the triphthong [eɪə] for *tail*. Both use the Manx English variant for *school* most frequently, though Informant 3 also uses the standard form [u:] once (10%).

Interview 4

Informant 27 conducts this interview with her grandfather, Informant 4. Informant 27 attends School D, and her grandfather is a farmer. Neither informants realise /k/ as [kh] or /ɪŋ/ as [ɪn] or [ən]. Informant 27 does, however, use the northern form

[ɪʊŋ] on three occasions, giving her an individual percentage score of 37%; she is the only girl to use this form. RP /u/ is realised only as [uː], but Informant 4 uses this variable just once, and Informant 27 three times. Given such a small number of occurrences it would be unwise to make any conclusive statements regarding this variable. Like those informants in Interview 3, this couple realise /eɪ/ as [eɪ] except for particular lexical items. Again the man uses [i] for *Sunday* and the girl uses [eɪə] for *name*. Both non-standard forms are used just once.

Interview 6

This interview is conducted by Informant 32, a pupil from School E and her grandfather Informant 6, who is a retired labourer and taxi driver. The most striking pattern for this couple is that they are the only family to both use non-standard variants of /θ/. They differ, however, in their choice of non-standard forms. Informant 6 uses the dentalised form [t̪] 15% of the time, while Informant 32 has a score of 8% for the London variety [f]. Both informants have comparatively low scores for the use of glottal stops in word final position. Although Informant 6 uses this variant 49% of the time and Informant 32 has a percentage score of 33, by comparing them with the other group members it becomes apparent that this unit uses glottal stops in this position significantly less than many other informants. Number 6 has the sixth highest score for the men, and among the girls, only one has a lower score than Informant 32. Similarly, they both have noticeably low scores for /k/: of the six men who realise this variable as [kh], Informant 6 has the lowest score, with just 1%, whereas Informant 32 does not use the affricated form at all.

Interview 7

This pair consists of Informant 7 and his grandson Informant 17, who attends School B. The social class of Informant 7 is unknown. The most noticeable pattern is that this is the interview in which both informants use non-standard forms for /ð/. Furthermore, they both use the London-type variant [v], though only a small percentage of the time. Informant 7 uses it just 1% and Informant 17 uses it slightly more, having an individual score of 2%. In addition, Informant 7 is the only adult to use this feature. Apart from this the patterns of variation are not particularly clear. They have similar scores for /k/, though their group positions differ. Informant 7 has the third highest score for his group at 3%, while with a score of 7%, Informant 17 has the sixth highest score for the boys. Both informants use non-standard forms for /eɪ/, but whereas Informant 7 uses the Manx English variant [e:], the only non-standard form used by Informant 17 is [ɪ]. Informant 17 also uses [ɪʊ] a high percentage of the time. He uses the standard form 93%, and although one of just four boys to score less than 100, he has the highest standard score among them. Informant 7 uses the standard at all times.

Interview 8

Informant 8 is the oldest member of the sample, his year of birth being 1908. He is very deaf, and as a result his great-granddaughter, Informant 31, is assisted by a woman, possibly her mother. Although not part of the analysis in Chapter 6, this woman is included in the results for this family, and will be referred to as Informant 33. Because Informant 8 is very deaf, the other family members, and the girl in particular, have to shout on occasions and it is possible that their speech is more standardised as a result. The validity of this interview could be called into question

given that the deafness and shouting could affect the accent quality. However, the child and the woman (presumably her mother) also talk to each other. It is likely that because these comments are directed to each other, and not for the benefit of the tape, an informal style was used. As there is little evidence of style shifting the data suggests that the speech used throughout the interview was actually relatively natural.

Patterns were found between Informants 31 and 33 for glottal stops in word final position: they scored 75% and 80% respectively. No women or girls had higher scores than these, though Informant 9 also used this feature 80% of the time. Informant 8, by contrast, did not have a high individual score. He had a percentage score of just 39 for the use of glottal stops, the lowest score for the men. For /ɪŋ/, on the other hand, a pattern of behaviour can be seen for Informants 8 and 33. As can be seen from table 7.6, the two adults use [ɪn] and [ən] a significantly high proportion of the time. Informant 31 uses this variable once, and in the form [ɪn].

Table 7.6 % usage of /ɪŋ/ by Unit 8

Informant	ɪŋ	ɪn	ən
8	33.3	33.3	33.3
33	43	28.5	28.5

No members of this family use affricated /k/ frequently. Informants 31 and 33 did not use it at all, and Informant 8 just 2% of the time. There appears to be a tendency for this family to use the Manx English variant for *school*. Informants 8 and 31 use it

on all occasions, and Informant 33 has a score of 75%. In addition, Informants 8 and 33 realise /u/ as [u:] e.g. *look, good* but Informant 31 does not use this variable.

Interview 9

The informants in this unit are number 9 and her nephew, Informant 20. Number 9 is the youngest adult informant aged seventeen, and given that Informant 20 attended a combined infant and junior school (School C), and used a questionnaire specifically designed for younger pupils, it is likely that he is the youngest child in the sample. His mother, Informant 9's sister, was born on the Isle of Wight, and Informant 9 was educated at boarding school in England, after attending a primary school in Douglas. Informant 9 works in the finance sector, and is thus categorised as a member of the middle class. The close relationship of this family is mentioned by Informant 9 during the interview.

For the variable /ɪŋ/ Informant 20 is the only boy to not use the standard form at all. He realises /ɪŋ/ as [ɪn] and [ɪŋg], each on just one occasion. Informant 9 uses the non-standard forms more than any other woman, except for Informant 13, using [ɪn] 53% of the time. Both informants use glottal stops in both final and medial position with relative frequency. Number 9 uses this feature 11% of the time in medial position, the third highest score in her group, and has a higher score than any other woman in the sample in word final position (80%). Informant 20 uses glottal stops 8% medially and 84% finally, respectively the highest and second highest boy's scores. No other patterns of variation were found.

Interview 10

The variables /ʔ, k, ɪŋ, eɪ/ and [uː] show patterns of variation for Informant 10 and her daughter, Informant 26. This is a working class family affiliated to School A. Neither of the informants use glottal stops in the medial position, but both use them word finally. Informant 10 uses this variant 67% and Informant 26 uses it 44% of the time; they have the third and fourth highest scores in their respective groups. Only the standard variants are used by both informants for /k, eɪ, θ, ð/. Informant 26 also uses the standard form [ɪŋ] 100% of the time, but Informant 10 uses [ɪn] once. This does, however, give her a relatively high non-standard percentage score (20%). Both informants use [uː] on one occasion for *look* and *looked*, but do not use [ʊ] at all. There is thus a tendency for this unit to use standard variants, the exceptions being glottal stop in final position, and, apparently, [uː] for words spelt *-ook*.

Interview 11

Although not actually members of the same family it was decided to include this interview because Informants 11 and 29 are neighbours. They have a closer relationship than the informants in Unit 5 do for example, as that interview was conducted with a local official rather than a family member or friend. The social class of Informant 11 is unknown, and Informant 29 attends School C. No patterns of behaviour were found, apart from a tendency to use few non-standard forms for the variables /k, ʔ, θ, ð, eɪ/.

Interview 12

This is one of the longest interviews analysed, and thus provides many occurrences of the variables under examination. Informant 28 conducts it with her mother, Informant 12. They are a middle class family, and the girl attends School B. No shared patterns of behaviour were found for /k.ʔ.k.θ.ð/, [u:] or compounds of *thing*. There was a clear tendency to use the standard form for /ɪŋ/. Informant 12 did use [ɪn] on one occasion, but this gave her a non-standard score of just 2%. Both informants used the triphthong form [eɪə] for /eɪ/; Informant 12 used it for the place name *Silverdale* (one of just two women to use it), whereas Informant 28 used this variant more than anyone else in the sample except for informant 13, using it three times for *name* and *names*. She did, however have the highest individual score (9%). Both informants showed a greater tendency to use the standard [u:] for *school* than many of the informants. Informant 12 was one of two women who did not use the Manx English variant, and informant 28 used the standard form 38% of the time, more frequently than any other child.

Interview 13

The impact of these two informants (numbers 13 and 25) upon certain variables was discussed in Chapter 6. This girl attended School A and her mother worked as a shop assistant. It is known from the interview that Informant 13 was brought up in Douglas, but lived in Liverpool for a period of time as an adult, and that her husband is from there. This may help to explain her linguistic behaviour.

For /ɪŋ/ it was seen that they were the only females in the sample to use the Scouse/Manx English variant [ən], and that they both had significantly lower standard scores than the others in their groups (although informant 31 actually had a lower score than Informant 25, but she used the variable just once, realising it as [ɪn]). This pair were in fact able to reverse the pattern of sex differentiation because of their high non-standard scores, and because of the number of occurrences of this variable in their interview. Informant 25 did use the standard most frequently (46%), but realised /ɪŋ/ as [ɪn] 35% and [ən] 19% of the time. Informant 13 had a percentage score of just 7% for the standard, using [ɪn] 69%, and [ən] 24% of the time.

These informants also showed a greater tendency than most other females to use glottal stops in both medial and final position. In medial position they had the highest scores in their groups (22 and 12.5%), and in final position they both had the second highest scores with 75% and 70%. In addition, no women or girls had higher scores for the realisation of /k/ as [kh]. Informant 13 used the affricated form 3% and Informant 25 used it 10%. For /oɪ/ Informant 13 used all of the non-standard forms except for the Manx English type [o:], but uses the standard 93% of the time. Informant 25, on the other hand, used the standard 97%. Both informants used the triphthong [oɪə], and they were the only female informants to use the widespread form [ɫ]. There was also a clear tendency to use the Manx English form for *school*.

Strong patterns of linguistic behaviour can thus be seen. As a pair, these informants use consistently use more non-standard forms than the other female informants.

Furthermore, they both used [ən] and [ɪ], variants which are typically associated with the men.

Interview 15

Informant 24 conducted this interview with his grandmother, Informant 15. The boy attended School A, but the class of Informant 15 is unknown. This woman was brought up near Ramsey, but now lives in Douglas. Apart from Informant 3, all the other adult informants were born in Douglas or the surrounding area. No interesting patterns of variation emerged from this interview. Only the standard was used for /əɪ.θ.ð/ and compounds of *thing*, and glottal stops were only used occasionally in medial position. Although they had a similar score for word final glottal stops (42% and 44%), Informant 15 was the woman to use it least often, and Informant 24 had the fourth highest score for the boys. Both realised /u/ as [uː], but given that this variable was only used once by Informant 24 no conclusive statements can be made. The most striking thing is perhaps the differences in behaviour for /k/, as discussed in Chapter 6.

Interview 16

Informant 16 is the oldest woman in the sample. She is interviewed by her grandson, Informant 21. The boy attended School F, but the class of Informant 16 is unknown. Both informants use standard forms a significant amount of the time, and use non non-standard forms for medial position glottal stop, /ɪŋ.k.θ.ð.əɪ/ and for compounds of *thing*. Only [uː] shows a different pattern, with them both using the non-standard variant [uː]. For *school* the Manx English form is used 100% by

Informant 21, and 60% by Informant 16. This is the second highest score in her group.

Conclusions

It is interesting to note that [u:] and the lexical item *school* are the only variables for which the non-standard form is used more frequently than the standard form by both informants in most of the interviews. Of the other variables which have patterns of variation, the widespread non-standard forms for final position glottal stop and /ɪŋ/ are the forms which are used most frequently by both unit members. The nature of the relationship between the informants does not seem to make much difference to the patterns of variation. That is, there is no evidence to suggest that the number of linguistic features shared by a family is determined by whether the interview is conducted with a parent, grandparent or aunt. The possible exception to this is Interview 11. Given that this couple are not related, it is interesting to note that they are the only unit to have no shared non-standard features.

There is, nevertheless, a possible connection between school affiliation and the number of shared patterns. The five families which had the highest number of shared features included three from School A, whilst the four families who used fewest shared features included three from School B. Both units from School C were in the middle of the group.[10] However, a larger number of informants from each school would be required to determine if relationship between school affiliation and shared patterns of language behaviour within family units does really exist. It is interesting

[10] Each school has one interview not included in this analysis because of the relationship between the informants.

though, that in this case study, those informants associated with the school in the solidly working class area (School A) appear to generally share patterns of variation more than informants affiliated to the other schools.

7.5 School Affiliation

Table 7.7 % usage of non-standard variants by School's A, B and C

	ɪŋ	gs - med	gs - final	k	θ	ð	eɪ	u:	ɑ:(l)	*school*	*thing*
A	51	12	64	10	10	1.5	4	83	3	93	46
B	12	10	51	2	3	2	9	70	8	54	14
C	45	3	51	5	1	2	4	75	8	89	27

School A

The adults affiliated to School A are either members of the working class or informants whose occupation is unknown. Furthermore, as stated in Chapter 5, it is in a predominantly working class area, on the outskirts of Douglas. It is also a self-contained area, with its own corner shop and public house etc., and it is an area where the children are likely to play together as well as attend the same school. As stated in Chapter 6, it is therefore likely that closer networks will exist here than in many other parts of Douglas, and that there will be a reinforcement of vernacular norms (see Milroy 1980). This group is made up of two men, three women and five children. The two men are the youngest in the sample, and there is some bias toward variants favoured by younger speakers as a result. In addition, the two informants seen to have the greatest effect upon their group scores (Informants 13 and 25) are affiliated to this school. It is anticipated that this will also influence some of the patterns of variation for this group.

No patterns of language behaviour were found for /ɑ:/ (1) or (2), glottal stop in medial position, dentalised /t/, /t/ changed to /r/ between vowels or compounds of *thing*. There was also no clear pattern of variation for /oɪ/, though there was a tendency to use the standard a significantly high percentage of the time. The non-standard variants used most frequently were [ɪ] and [oɪo], no instances of the traditional Manx English form [o:] were found.

All informants in this group used glottal stops in word final position; the lowest score was 24% (Informant 22) and all other informants used glottal stops over 35%, the highest score was that of informant 13 who used it 75%. Five of the ten informants used this feature at least 50% of the time, and this variant was used 64% by the group as a whole. There is a noticeable tendency, then, for them to use glottalisation a high proportion of the time. Affricated /t/, [ts], was used by just five of the thirty-two informants analysed, two of these being associated with this school. There was also a greater tendency to realise /k/ as [kh] among the informants in this group than those affiliated to the other schools (see Chapter 6). Individually, the three adults in this group who used the affricated form, were those with the highest scores for the adult groups. Four of the five children also used this feature, these being the three highest scoring boys and the highest scoring girl. Furthermore, Informant 25, who was the only individual to use the fricative form [x], attended this school.

This group had the lowest score for the use of standard /θ/ (90%), but a marginally higher score for /ð/ (98.5% whereas Schools B and C used it 98%). No dentalised variants were used for either /θ/ or /ð/, but there was evidence of the London type

labiodentals among the children. Four of the five children realised /θ/ as [f], but only two used [v] for /ð/. The children used [f] 33% of the time, a greater percentage than in either of the other schools under examination. In School B the children used this variant 17% and in School C the children used the standard form at all times. Similarly, no children in School C used non-standard forms for /ð/, while this variable was realised as [v] 2% of the time in School B and 5% in School A. School A also included Informant 23, the only member of the sample to use the Scouse-type non-dental /d/ for /θ/.

This group has the lowest score for the realisation of /ɪŋ/ as [ɪŋ]. Table 7.8 shows the percentage usage of the different variants by those affiliated to this school.

Table 7.8 % usage of /ɪŋ/ by School A

ɪŋ	ɪn	ɪŋg	ən
49	37.5	1	12.5

Four informants (one adult and three children) use the standard 100% of the time. The effect of Informants 13 and 25 upon the group results for this variable has already been discussed in some detail. Informant 1 is the only informant to not use the standard form at all, but he uses the variable just twice, realising it as [ɪn] on both occasions. Four other informants use this variant, the smallest percentage score being 20, and the largest, except for Informant 1, being 69%. The northern form [ɪŋg] is only used by Informant 24, and only Informants 13 and 25 use the Scouse-type variant [ən]. There is then, no clear pattern of variation for this variable by this

group, but as was shown on table 7.7 they have a smaller percentage score for the use of the standard form than the other two schools.

The group score for the use of the low-prestige variant [u:] where RP speakers would use [ʊ] is 83%. However, two members of the sample do not use this variable, and five informants use it just once. Informant 13, who uses [u:] twenty times, and [ʊ] once, is thus a heavy influence upon the group score. The small number of occurrences for most of the group means that caution is necessary before any conclusions are drawn. Nevertheless, the fact that all eight individuals who do use this variable use [u:], and that only two (Informants 13 and 25) use the RP form, does suggest that the non-standard variant is the preferred form of this group. Eight informants use the lexical item *school* and the Manx English form [sku·əl] is used by them 93% of the time. All the informants who use this word use the Manx English form, but the standard is also used by four of them. However, with the exception of Informant 15, who uses each variant 50%, the lowest score for the Manx English variant is 83%.

School B

This school group is made up of three men, two women and five children. Three of the adults belong to the middle class, while the socio-economic group for the remaining two is unknown. As with School A, there is some level of bias in terms of age, in this instance because all three of the men are members of Group 4. This has an effect upon the group scores for dental /t/, /r/ and /ɑ:/ (1), resulting in a high

percentage of the Manx English variants being used for each variable. No patterns of linguistic behaviour were found for compounds of *thing*, /k/, /θ/ or /ð/.

As with the rest of the sample, glottal stops are used by the adults more than the children. Only two children use this variant, but all five adults use it. The adults all use this feature over 10% of the time, except for Informant 12 who uses it just 3%. Interestingly, each of them ranks third or fourth highest in their groups. In word final position there is again no real pattern. The group score is 51%, as is the adult score, and the children use this feature 49% of the time. However, an examination of the individual scores reveals this to be somewhat misleading. This affiliation includes the woman with the highest non-standard score and the woman with the second lowest score. It also includes the highest and lowest scoring men. Amongst the children the boys rank second, sixth and seventh, and the girls have the highest and third highest scores. Thus, although it appears that the group use glottal stops roughly half of the time, this is actually because of the very wide range of individual scores.

The variable /ɪŋ/ is used 88% of the time by this group, and with the exception of Informants 8 and 9 all of the informants who use the standard have a percentage score of at least 90%. Two children (Informants 20 and 31) do not use the standard at all. In the case of Informant 20 the variable is only used twice, one of which is the single occurrence of [ɪŋg], and the other is realised as [ɪn]. Informant 31 only uses [ɪn] on a single occasion. Seven of the ten informants use the widespread non-standard form [ɪn]. The informant with the highest score apart from Informant 31 is

Informant 9 who has a score of 53%. Informant 8 uses [ɪŋ], [ɪn] and [ən] 33.3% each. The only other informant to use the Scouse-type form is Informant 5, who uses it once, giving him a score of 3%. Thus there is no obvious pattern for this variable, apart from a tendency to use the standard form. Of the three school affiliations examined, that of School B realises /ɪŋ/ as [ɪŋ] most frequently.

This group realises /eɪ/ as [eɪ] most frequently (91%), as do all other subgroups. The three men all use [e:], but this is again related to sex and age rather than school affiliation. Informants 9, 12 and 31 all use [e], they are all female and both of the adults are in the middle class. The variant [e] is used by four of the adults but no children. However, this variant is only used by five people in the whole sample. [ɪ] is used by three informants. Considering the small percentage of non-standard forms used, there is a great deal of variation within this group. However, this variation is not brought about by school affiliation, but sex, age and social class.

The group score for [u:] is lowered somewhat by Informant 9 (see Chapter 6), but as a group they still use [u:] 70% of the time. Six group members use this variant and four use [ʊ], only Informant 12 using both. The high percentage score for [u:] is probably caused by Informant 5, who uses it more than any other informant, with twenty-two occurrences. The next highest number of occurrences is twelve. By comparison, three children use it just once. There is, therefore, no clear pattern for this variable.

For the lexical item *school*, the Manx English variant is used 54% of the time. The word is used by all informants, six of whom use both variants. Two informants only use [u:], and a further two use just [u·ə]. All five of the children use both forms, but they each use the Manx English form most frequently. Informant 5 also uses both variants 50% of the time. The group score, and the pattern of variation are more equally divided between the two possible variants than for either of the other schools examined.

School C

There are fewer informants affiliated to this school: one man, two women, one boy and two girls. There is one middle class adult, one in the working class, and one whose class in unknown. This school is therefore more evenly divided in terms of class than Schools A or B, though the number of informants is too small for conclusions about patterns of variation by class to be drawn. No real patterns exist for /θ/ or /ð/, though there is a general tendency to use the standard form more often than in the other schools. Similarly, the standard is used most frequently (96%) for /əɪ/. Three of the informants use non-standard forms, but there is no pattern in the selection of non-standard variants used. The variable /ɪŋ/ is realised as [ɪŋ] 50% of the time, but no patterns of variation were found. Five of the informants used compounds of *thing*. Three of them use the standard form on all occasions, but Informants 14 and 29 also use the variant [ɪŋk] once and twice respectively. No other non-standard forms were used for this variable. The non-standard variant [u:] is used 75% of the time, with only Informant 11 using the RP type variant [u]. However, none of the children say the relevant words, and the variable occurs only

once or twice for each of the adults. There is a clear tendency to use the Manx English form for the word *school*; it is used 89% of the time by the group, the smallest individual score being 71%.

Glottal stops do not occur frequently in medial position, the group having a score of just 3%. Furthermore, no individual has a score greater than 3%, and the children do not use this feature at all. In final position the group score is 51%. This total is not representative of the children, who have scores of 85%, 36% and 32%. The adults, however, have very similar scores, two of them using glottal stops 49% of the time, and the third having a score of 51%.

Affricated /k/ is used 5% of the time. All of the informants, except for number 29, use this feature; the adults all score between 2 and 3%, while Informant 18 uses it 13% of the time and Informant 30 has a score of 10%. In addition there are no occurrences of this feature being used in medial position. All of the adults use it either initially or finally, while the two children use it in both positions.

There is some variation for the variable /ɑː/ (1). Informant 3 realises it as both [a] and [æː]; all of the other adults and Informant 30 use the northern standard form [a] only. Interestingly, the only informants to use the RP/southern English variant [ɑː], Informants 18 and 29, both attend this school. However, as all of the children use this variable just once, it cannot be determined whether this is chance or part of a pattern.

Conclusion

In summary it can be said of school affiliation that the group which demonstrates the greatest number of patterns of linguistic behaviour is School A, which supports the suggestion made above - that the social make up of the area has led to a development of more shared linguistic norms. As can be seen on table 7.7 this school group also uses non-standard variants a greater percentage of the time than Schools B and C for most of the variables examined. The variables for which this group did not have the highest percentage score were /ð, eɪ/ and /ɑː/(1). In the case of /ð/ the difference in percentage scores was marginal, but while the children from School A used a greater amount of the London-type variant [v], the Scouse/Manx English form [d̪] was realised most frequently by the adults in the School B affiliation. The Manx English variant [æː] was also used most often by these informants, but in both of these instances this is because of the age distribution of the groups. Both the dentalised variant of /ð/ and the Manx English form for /ɑː/(1) have been shown to be on the decline and used almost exclusively by the older male informants. Given that three of the men in age group 4 are affiliated to School B, it is no surprise that this affiliation should have the highest percentage scores for these variants. School C also has a high score for the realisation of /ɑː/(1) as [æː] but this is due to the high individual score of Informant 3 (50%). The results of /eɪ/ are class related and will be discussed below.

The examination of school affiliation is a sort of modified social network approach, but without the formalised scoring. As the scoring is for individuals, any attempt to formalise it would only result in the averaging of the scores of the informants in each

group. This discussion is not an attempt to put forward a cast iron case; its purpose is to point out patterns suggested by the limited data analysed. It would be interesting to see the extent to which these patterns are evident if the schools were treated as social networks as discussed in Chapter 2.

7.6 Social Class

Only three variables showed clear differentiation on the basis of class. In each case the working class used more non-standard forms, which fits with the expected pattern.

Table 7.9 % usage of non-standard forms by working and middle class informants

	m/c	w/c
ɪn	12	69
k	0.5	3
u:	66	97

/k/ in particular has only a small percentage score. Knowles (1973) suggested that it was a working class feature in Liverpool that had spread into middle class speech. As stated in the last chapter there is no evidence of this in the IOM, but the feature does appear to be associated to a greater extent with the working class. The social factors most relevant to this variable appear to be age and gender, with the boys using it most often. However, this is particularly true for those children attending the predominantly working class school, School A. Thus affricated /k/ appears to have covert prestige for the working class and the young, and the boys in particular.

[ɪn] and [u:] are both traditionally associated with the working class; this was found to be true in Douglas too. Somewhat surprisingly, the use of glottal stops did not appear to be associated with class, as sex and age were the relevant features. It was found that class did have some relevance for the variable /eɪ/. As can been seen from tables 7.10 and 7.11, however, it was more relevant for the women than for the sample as a whole.

Table 7.10 % usage of /eɪ/ by class

class	eɪ	e:	e	ə	i	eɪə
w/c	92	1.5	0.5	1	4	1
m/c	93	0.3	2	4	0.3	0.3

Table 7.11 % usage of /eɪ/ by class (women only)

class	eɪ	e:	o	ə	i	eɪə
w/c	94		0.5	1.5	2	2
m/c	87.5		4	8		0.5

It appears that the non-standard, widespread variants have greater prestige for the middle class women than the other members of the sample. As a result they in fact use the standard form less than the working class women. It must be remembered, however, that with the exception of [e:], all non-standard forms used for this variable are restricted to particular lexical items.

In a study with only a small number of informants, care must be taken to not place too much weight upon factors such as class. Given that five of the sixteen adults

were not categorised by social class, and that only four of the remaining eleven are in the middle class, conclusive statements cannot be made about patterns of behaviour. There do appear to be certain class related patterns of behaviour, but further study involving a greater number of informants is necessary.

Chapter 8 – Concluding Remarks

8.1 Introduction

Central to this thesis are two statements made by Barry (1984). He claimed that traditional Manx English was rapidly dying out, and that RP and Scouse would vie for dominance over the following fifty years. He also stated that the influence of Scouse was noticeable among the young, and in the Douglas area in particular.

> The mid-east coast...seems to be an area of entry of new linguistic forms since it faces the mainland and is the site of the administrative 'capital' and three of five of the remaining most significant towns. The Liverpool speech in the Douglas/Onchan area and amongst the younger generation is now very noticeable and seems to be spreading throughout the island. (Barry 1984:168)

The variables chosen for examination in this thesis were selected because they have traditional Manx English and Scouse variants as well as RP/Standard English forms. In addition, there are widespread northern variants in many cases. In this final chapter I will attempt to demonstrate the extent to which Barry's predictions have been realised, looking specifically at how 'Manx' the language used in Douglas is, and if it is as 'Scouse' as is popularly believed.

8.2 Manx English Variants

The variables /t,oː/ and the word *school* were shown in Chapter 4 to have Manx English variants which do not occur in Scouse or RP.

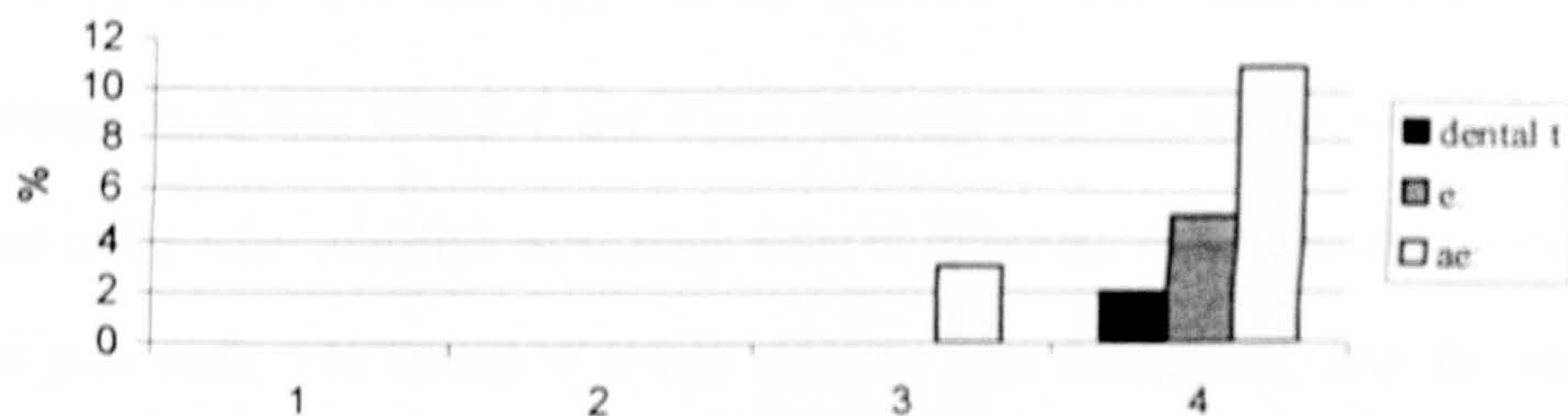


fig 8.1 % usage of the Manx English variants [t̪ , e : , æ :]

Barry (1984:73-4) recorded the realisation of /t/ in traditional Manx English as the dentalized variant [t̪]. In the sample of thirty-two informants analysed for this study only four were shown to use this form and none of them used it frequently, the highest percentage score being 7%. As stated previously, it is interesting to note that these informants were all men and members of Group 4.

Two non-standard realisations of /eɪ/ were recorded in traditional Manx English. Barry refers to a glide which creates some overlap with [eɪə] for *daisies* and *paving stones*, and Hamer (1998) and Preuss (1999) make reference to the monophthong [e :]. /eɪ/ was realised as [eɪə] most frequently by the girls, but this was only for the lexical items *tail* and *name*. Given that it was used most often by the girls, a negligible amount of time by the men, and was not used at all by the boys, it is possible that the girls' triphthong pronunciation is age and gender related. However, as the number of occurrences and the lexical set to which they apply are so small, further investigation would be required before any comments regarding possible language change could be made. All of the other non-standard features evident for this variable were also restricted to particular lexical items with the exception of [e :]. The use of this variant was related to sex and age, again being used only by

the men in Group 4, as with [ṭ]. In this instance Group 3 actually had a higher percentage score than Group 4, but it was demonstrated in Chapter 6 that this was because of the relatively high percentage score of Informant 3, who actually used this variant just once. In Group 4 it was used by two informants, and the oldest, Informant 8, used it most frequently. The Manx English variants appear to have little prestige and seem to be in decline. The only variant associated specifically with Manx English for which there is no indication of decline is the realisation of /uː/ as [u·ə] in the lexical item *school* [sku·əl]. It is used by all four age groups, and does not, therefore, appear to be a recent innovation, but there is evidence of a steady increase in the use of this variant with time. It was suggested in Chapter 7 that although this is not a Scouse variant, an association between this variant and the Merseyside area may exist in the minds of the speech community because of the triphthongised forms [ᵊuə] and [ᶦuə] sometimes used to pronounce the place name *Liverpool*.

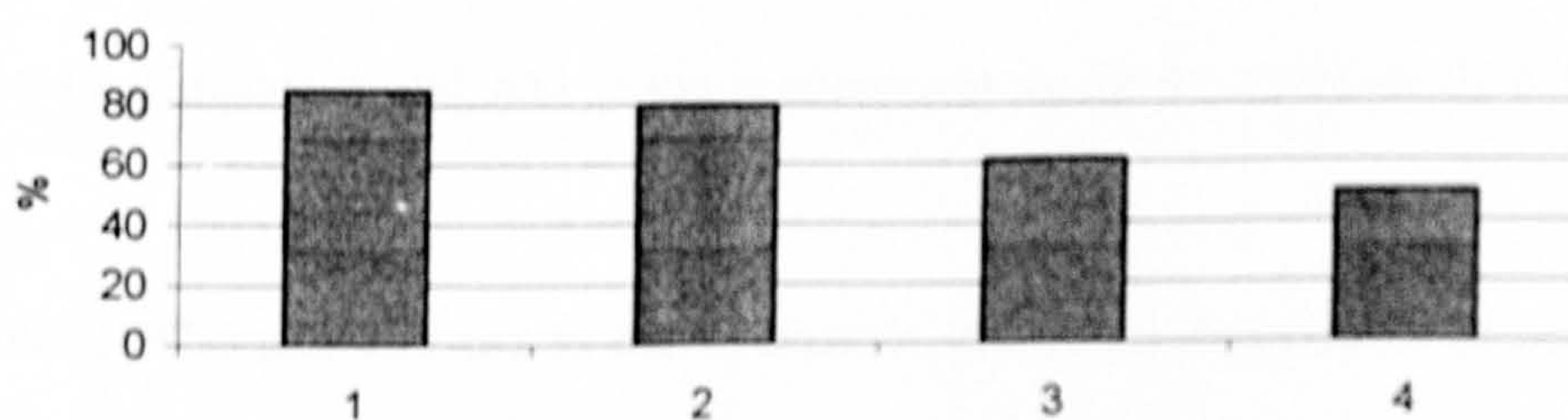


fig 8.2 % usage of [u·ə] in *school*

8.3 Scouse Variants

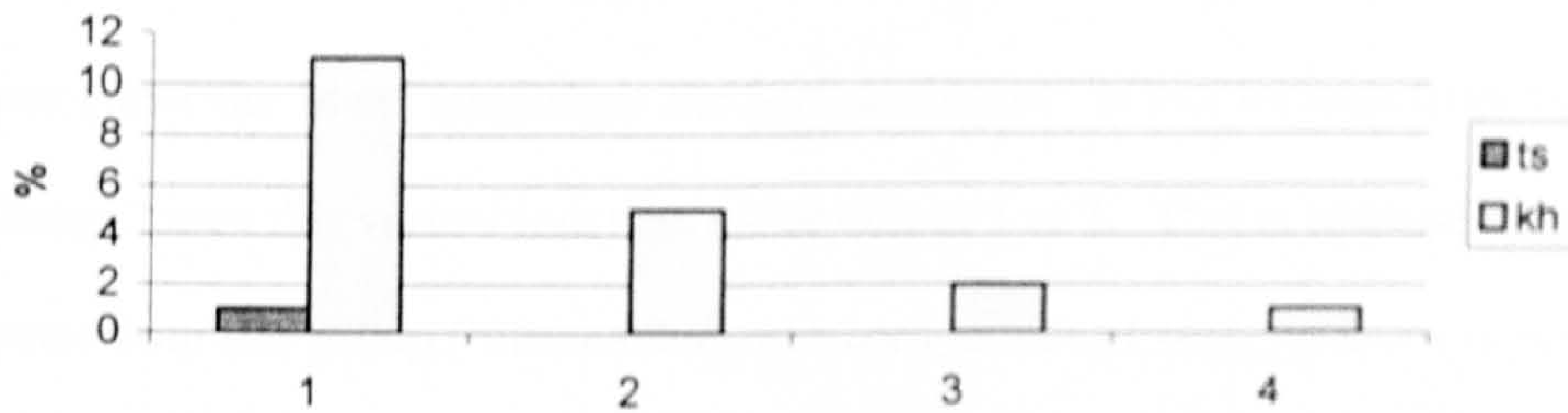


fig 8.3 % usage of Scouse-type affricated variants

According to Knowles (1973), Hughes and Trudgill (1979) and Newbrook (1986) the realisation of /t/ and /k/ as the affricates [ts] and [kh], or fricatives [s] and [x], are typical features of Scouse. In the data analysed for this study affricated /t/ was used only occasionally. Only four children and one adult used this variant, and each individual had a score of 6% or less. This Scouse variant thus appears to have had little impact upon language use in Douglas. Affricated /k/, on the other hand, was seen to have covert prestige for the working class, the males and the young, particularly the boys. The realisation of /k/ as [kh] occurred significantly more often than affricated /t/ did, and its use is apparently on the increase (see fig 8.3).

Knowles (1973) also referred to the realisation of /ɪŋ/ for compounds of *thing* as [ɪŋk] in Scouse, whereas Barry (1984) stated that the unstressed variant [ən] was found in Manx English. Only Informant 13 used the Manx English form. It was suggested in Chapter 6 that her use of [ən] for verbs followed by -*ing* was probably due to the influence of Scouse rather than Manx English. Five informants (one woman, one boy and three girls) used the Scouse form [ɪŋk]. It is likely that this is

a new feature in Douglas speech, and that although its occurrence is by no means frequent, it has some covert prestige for the females, and the girls in particular. No men use either the Manx English or the Scouse variant. It can be seen from fig 8.4 that Group 2 uses this variant less than either Group 1 or 3. This is because only one informant from this group (Informant 9) uses compounds of *thing*, and she is seen to use fewer Scouse or Manx English forms than many of the other informants.

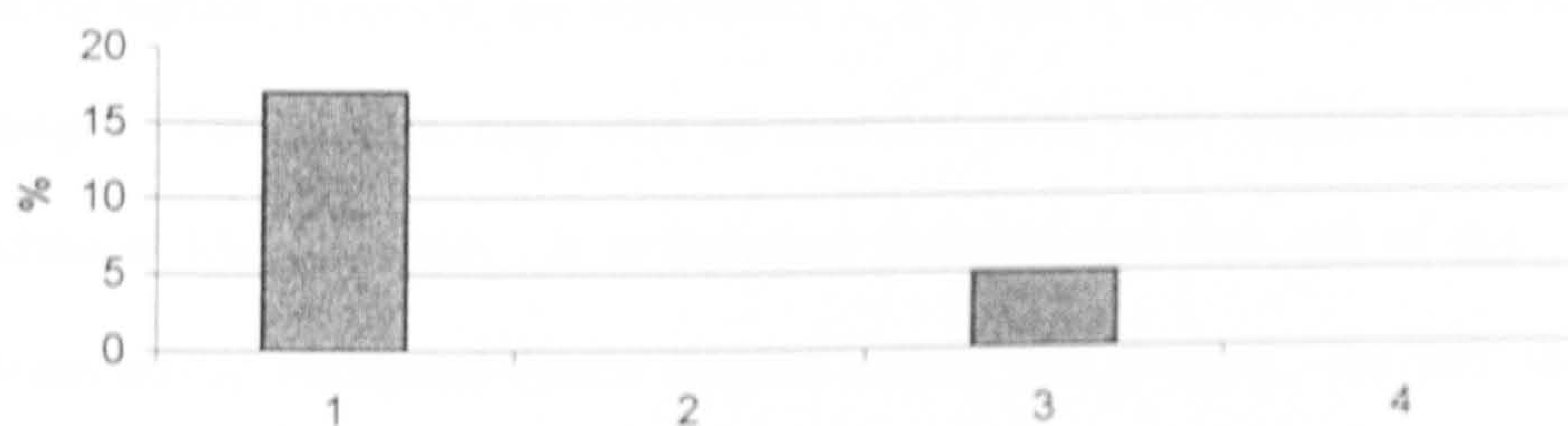


fig 8.4 % usage of Scouse type [ɪŋk]

8.4 Variants which are present in Scouse and Manx English

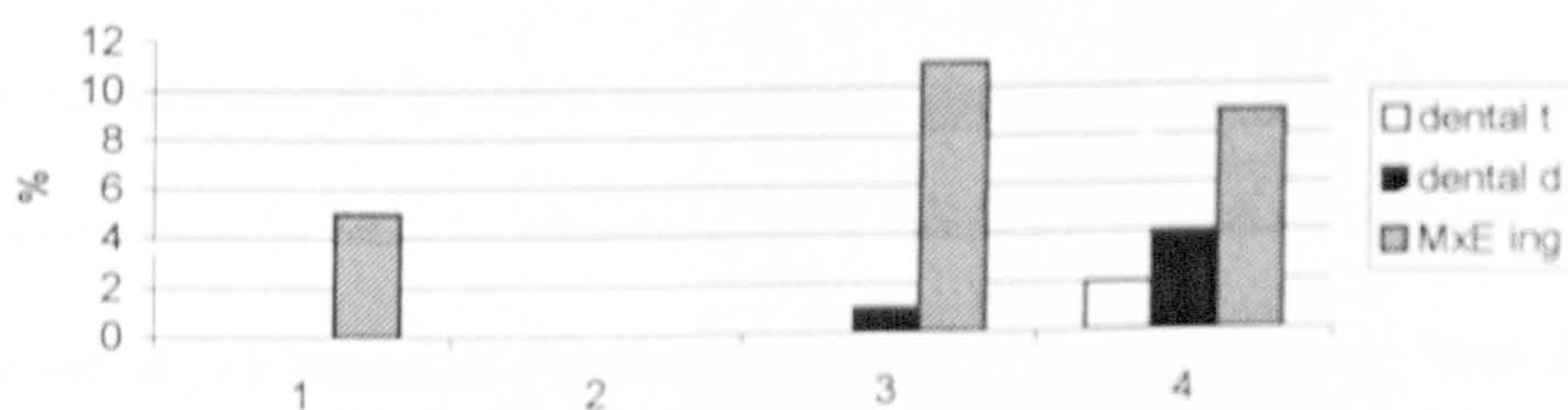


fig 8.5 % usage of Scouse and Manx English variants

The variable /ɪŋ/ is generally realised by this sample as [ɪŋ] or [ɪn]. Interestingly, there is little evidence of the northern form [ɪŋg]. Knowles (1973) and Newbrook (1986) make reference to the variant [ən] in Scouse. Moore, Morrison and

Goodwin (1924) and Barry (1984) also mention its use by traditional Manx English speakers, though in the case of the latter he was referring to the use of unstressed vowels, not to the variable /ɪɒ/ (see Chapter 4). The only females to use this variant are Informants 13 and 25. Given that they are mother and daughter, Informant 13 lived in Liverpool for a period of time, and that her husband is a Liverpudlian, it is likely that their use of this form is due to Scouse influence. The other informants to use the variant, however, are Informants 3, 5, 6 and 8, all men and three of them in Group 4. Furthermore, they were all recorded using other variants associated with traditional Manx English. It is therefore probable that their use of this variant is influenced by traditional Manx English rather than Scouse. As this variable is present in both varieties it would be expected that they would mutually reinforce each other, and occur relatively frequently. There is, however, no evidence of this process taking place.

The other variables which have shared Scouse and traditional Manx English forms are the realisation of /θ/ and /ð/ as dentalized forms [t̪,d̪], the realisation of /r/ as the tapped variant [ɾ] after a consonant, [uː] where RP speakers would use [ʊ], and the use of [r] instead of [t] between vowels in certain contexts. Each of these variables shows the same pattern as /ɪɒ/ to a greater or lesser degree. Only two informants were seen to use [r] where [t] would be expected (it was used by Informant 13 on three occasions, and Informant 3 once). The tapped variant of /r/ was only used by male informants, but from each age group except for the boys. However, as was discussed in Chapter 6, the older men demonstrated a greater

tendency to use it than members of Groups 2 or 3. It is interesting to note, nevertheless, that Informant 2 is the only informant to use this variant who does not use any other forms associated with Manx English except for [u:]. Furthermore, he used the Scouse type affricated /k/ a greater percentage of the time than any other adult and all but three of the children. This perhaps suggests that, like Informant 13, he is influenced by Scouse rather than Manx English in the realisation of shared forms.

The variables /θ/ and /ð/ are interesting in that the children were seen to use a relatively high proportion of the London variants [f] and [v], while the Manx English and Scouse dentalized forms were used most frequently by the adults. [t̪] was only used by the men, and although [d̪] was also used by one woman and one boy, the men used it most often. In the case of /θ/, the number of informants to use the Scouse/Manx English variant, and the percentage of time it was used, was considerably less than the London form [f]. The same pattern did not emerge for /ð/: six informants used the London variant, and five used the dentalized form. Furthermore, they were used just 1% and 2% respectively. However, the evidence suggests that the children are introducing the labiodentals into the speech community and that the Scouse and Manx English forms are in decline.

The realisation of [u:] in words spelt *-oo* is a low prestige variant, present in Manx English and Scouse, as well as many other varieties of Northern English.

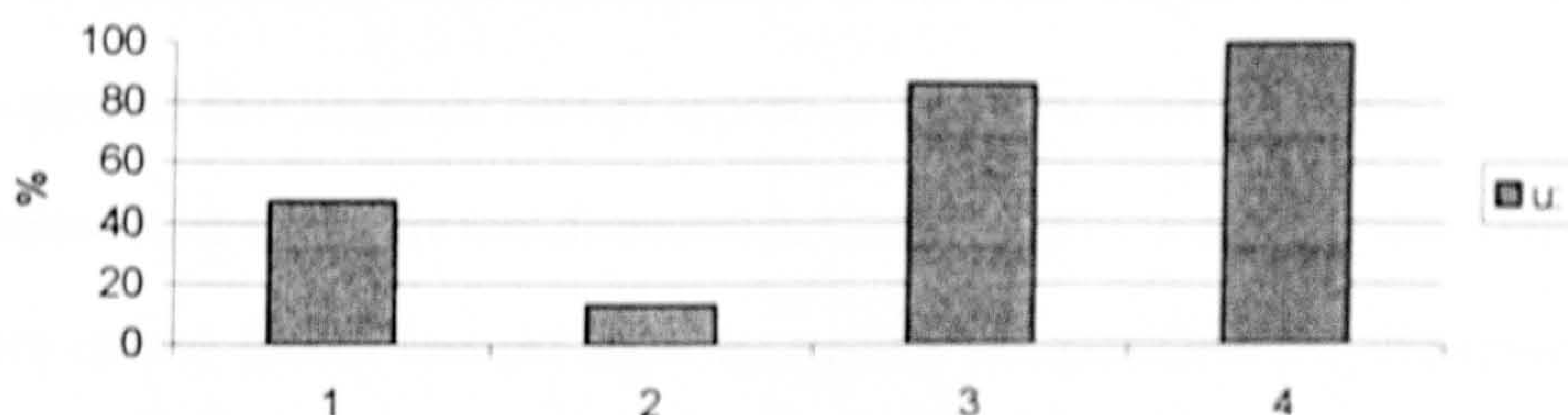


fig 8.6 % usage of [uː]

Although the pattern is less noticeable than for many of the other variables discussed, and the variant it still used by all the groups, it was demonstrated in Chapter 6 that this variant appears to be in decline. In the West Wirral, Newbrook (1986) recorded the standard variant [ʊ] 86% of the time. This is a significantly higher score than was recorded in the present investigation, but both studies found there to be a decrease in the use of the non-standard form over time.

> In this case, uniquely, the younger informants produced more RP forms. The direction of change here is clearly towards RP, with the non-standard form undergoing a rapid eclipse. /uːk/ is now almost a stereotypical feature of a very 'broad' Scouse and of low-prestige Northern English accents in general, and can have little covert prestige for the young. (Newbrook 1986:156)

However, since the results of some of the other variables (and affricated /k/ in particular) suggest that Scouse does have covert prestige for the young in Douglas, it may be the case that [uː] is felt by young Manx people not to be a Scouse form, so much as a traditional Manx English one.

The realisation of /t/ as a glottal stop is not a typical feature of Scouse, nor is it recorded in previous studies of Manx English except when followed by [ən] (Barry 1984:174; Hamer, personal communication). As was shown in Chapters 6 and 7,

however, glottalization occurred frequently in the data analysed for this thesis. It was suggested that language change appears to be taking place, with the boys using this feature least often. As was discussed in Chapter 7, this is possibly due to the use of more careful speech brought about by reading the questionnaire. However, the weight of evidence suggests that it is more likely to be a rejection of a present day Manx English form. The stigmatised forms used most frequently by the boys are associated with Scouse (or London in the case of /θ,ð/), whereas glottal stops are not. In other words, those variants that appear to have prestige for the young do not generally appear in Manx English.

In summary it can be said that with the exception of the word *school* those variants that are typical of traditional Manx English, but not Scouse, appear to be in decline. Furthermore, those variants that are present in both traditional Manx English and Scouse also appear to be in decline. It was stated in Chapter 5 that older speakers generally use linguistic forms that are dying out most frequently. This pattern is shown for these variables on figs 8.1, 8.5 and 8.6. Those variants which are associated with Scouse, but not with traditional Manx English, however, appear to have covert prestige for the young as is illustrated in figs 8.3 and 8.4.

8.5 Conclusion

Barry stated that it was likely that Scouse would compete with RP for prominence in the language use of the Manx speech community.

> It seems likely that north-west Midland, (especially Liverpool) phonology and RP phonology will vie with one another for dominance in the pronunciation of English in Man during the next fifty years, so long as Liverpool remains that main port of access. (1984:177)

There is evidence, as shown above, of certain Scouse features being used, though the accent is certainly not 'dominant'. However, there is no evidence of RP being the dominant accent either. Initial /h/ was shown to be preserved by the sample analysed, and standard forms were used most frequently for all of the variables examined except for glottal stop in word final position and [uː]. However, the realisation of /ʌ/ as [ʊ], and /ɑː/ (1) as [a] shows that the local prestige standard is not RP, but as anticipated, is a northern regional standard accent.

Barry's comments were made twenty-eight years ago, but he was referring to data collected in 1958 and 1966. It is now approximately forty years since his data were collected, almost the period of time he predicted RP and Scouse would "vie for dominance". Scouse is by no means the primary influence upon the speech patterns of the sample analysed for this investigation, but it is present, particularly among the young. The evidence suggests that Scouse-type variants are not increasing in use, but are subject to age grading. It appears likely that for each new generation Scouse is a covert prestige variety, but as they grow older they use it less. Barry's remarks suggest that the speech patterns of previous age groups have been influenced by Scouse; my data shows, that for the informants analysed in this thesis at least, speech patterns are modified away from this variety over time.

This thesis is part of a wider survey into the use of English in Man. Other studies are being conducted into the speech of young people and the use of the traditional Manx English dialect. The present thesis is a pilot study looking specifically at the patterns of variation in the Douglas and Onchan area. Statements have been made about what appears to be taking place, but further studies are needed, with larger numbers of

informants (particularly from the various socio-economic groups), to determine to what extent the patterns shown for this sample are part of a wider trend.

Appendix 1: List of Informants

Informant	Sex	Group	Age Group
1	M	men	2
2	M	men	2
3	M	men	3
4	M	men	3
5	M	men	4
6	M	men	4
7	M	men	4
8	M	men	4
9	F	women	2
10	F	women	2
11	F	women	2
12	F	women	3
13	F	women	3
14	F	women	3
15	F	women	4
16	F	women	4
17	M	boys	1
18	M	boys	1
19	M	boys	1
20	M	boys	1
21	M	boys	1
22	M	boys	1
23	M	boys	1
24	M	boys	1
25	F	girls	1
26	F	girls	1
27	F	girls	1
28	F	girls	1
29	F	girls	1
30	F	girls	1
31	F	girls	1
32	F	girls	1

Appendix 2: List of Informants by Age Group

Group 1:

Informant	Sex
17	M
18	M
19	M
20	M
21	M
22	M
23	M
24	M
25	F
26	F
27	F
28	F
29	F
30	F
31	F
32	F

Group 2:

Informant	Sex	Year of Birth	Age
1	M	1965	32
2	M	1958	39
9	F	1980	17
10	F	1962	35
11	F	1961	36

Group 3:

Informant	Sex	Year of Birth	Age
3	M	1946	51
4	M	1943	54
12	F	1957	40
13	F	1955	42
14	F	1954	43

Group 4:

Informant	Sex	Year of Birth	Age
5	M	1933	64
6	M	1923	74
7	M	1918	79
8	M	1908	88
15	F	1940	57
16	F	1928	69

Appendix 3: List of Informants by Class

Class	Informant	Sex	Occupation
Middle Class	5	M	House of Tynwald
	9	F	Finance
	12	F	Housewife
	14	F	Finance
Working Class	1	M	Busdriver
	2	M	Water Board
	3	M	Joiner/Carpenter
	4	M	Farmer
	6	M	Retired Labourer /Taxi owner
	10	F	Home Carer
	13	F	Sales Assistant
Unknown	7	M	Retired
	8	M	Retired
	11	F	Housewife
	15	F	Unknown
	16	F	Retired

Appendix 4: List of Informants by School

School	Informant	Sex	Group	Class
A	1	M	Men	working class
	2	M	Men	working class
	10	F	Women	working class
	13	F	Women	working class
	15	F	Women	unknown
	22	M	Boys	
	23	M	Boys	
	24	M	Boys	
	25	F	Girls	
	26	F	Girls	
B	5	M	Men	middle class
	7	M	Men	unknown
	8	M	Men	unknown
	9	F	Women	middle class
	12	F	Women	middle class
	17	M	Boys	
	19	M	Boys	
	20	M	Boys	
	28	F	Girls	
	31	F	Girls	
C	3	M	Men	working class
	11	F	Women	unknown
	14	F	Women	middle class
	18	M	Boys	
	29	F	Boys	
	30	F	Boys	
D	4	M	Men	working class
	27	F	Girls	
E	6	M	Men	working class
	32	F	Girls	
F	16	F	Women	unknown
	21	M	Boys	

Appendix 5: Relationship Between Informants

Interview	Interviewer	Interviewee	Relationship (to interviewer)	School
1	23	1	unknown	A
2	22	2	father	A
3	30	3	step-father	C
4	27	4	grandfather	D
5	19	5	none	B
6	32	6	grandfather	E
7	17	7	grandfather	B
8	31	8	great grandfather	B
9	20	9	aunt	B
10	26	10	mother	A
11	29	11	neighbour	C
12	28	12	mother	B
13	25	13	mother	A
14	18	14	cub scout leader	C
15	24	15	grandmother	A
16	21	16	grandmother	F

Questionnaire for older pupils:

Section One: family background

1. What is your full name?
2. What is your date of birth?
3. Where were you born?
4. Did you live there as a child?
5. What were the names of your parents?
6. What was your mother's maiden name (i.e. her surname before she married)?
7. Do you remember anything about your grandparents, aunts or uncles?

Section Two: memories of childhood

1. Who looked after you at home?
2. How many people lived in your house?
3. What was your house like?
4. How did you get water and heat?
5. What did you eat?
6. What kind of baking was done in your house?
7. How did you help your parents in the house?
8. Where did you go shopping?
9. Did any shops make deliveries to your house?
10. Were there any local businesses in your town or village?
11. Who was the local doctor?
12. What do you remember about visits to the doctor?

Section Three: going to school

1. How old were you when you went to school?
2. Which school did you attend?
3. Did you walk to school?
4. How far away was it?
5. What did you learn at school?
6. Can you remember any of the teachers?
7. What were they like?
8. Did you eat your dinner at school?
9. Did you have breaks during the day?
10. What sort of games did you play at playtime?
11. Did you stay at one school, or did you have to move to another one?

1. Section Four: church/chapel

1. Did you attend a local church?
2. Was there a Sunday School?
3. What were the Sunday School classes like?
4. Did a lot of children go there?
5. What do you remember about the services?
6. Could you tell me about Sunday School outings?
7. What other activities did the church organise?

8. What were church concerts and fairs like?

Section Five: language and folklore

1. Did anybody in your family speak Manx?
2. Did they use Manx in the home?
3. Did you know anyone who else who spoke Manx?
4. Can you remember any particular sayings your grandparents or parents used?
5. Which superstitions did you and your family observe?
6. Was there anything that you were not allowed to bring into the house because of bad luck?
7. Were there any words that you could not use? (e.g. longtail instead of the word "rat")
8. Did you do anything special at Christmas or Easter?
9. How did you celebrate May Day or Hop tu Naa?
10. What were the particular traditions when someone was born or died?

Section Six: work

1. Did you have a job when you were still at school?
2. What did your parents do in the home?
3. What were their jobs outside the home?
4. What did you do when you left school?
5. What was your work like?

Section Seven: social life

1. What did you and your friends do when you were young?
2. What sort of mischief did you get up to?
3. What was there to do when you were older?
4. Did you go to the cinema or theatre?
5. How did you travel around?

Section Eight: wartime

1. Do you remember anything about the First World War?
2. Were you or any of your relatives involved in the war?
3. What was it like living on the Island during the Second World War?
4. Do you remember anything about the internees?
5. Did you have to carry an identity pass?
6. What was rationing like?
7. Do you remember any plane crashes or other events during the war?
8. What do you remember about the Steam Packet boats being involved?

Section Nine: migration

1. Did any members of your family leave the Island to work elsewhere?
2. Did any friends of the family leave?

3. Why did people have to leave the Island?
4. What do you think about people moving to the Island?
5. Should there be any restrictions on immigration now?
6. Is there a Manx way of life?

Section Ten: Identity

1. Is there anything special about being Manx?
2. Which characteristics would you describe as being "typically Manx"?
3. Do you feel Manx?
4. Do you have to be born on the Island to be Manx?
5. Do you go to the Tynwald ceremonies?
6. Is it important to attend?
7. What do you think about the Manx language revival?
8. Do you think Manx should be taught in schools?
9. Is there any point in learning Manx nowadays?
10. In your opinion, what are the other main aspects of Manx culture?
11. Are you involved in any activities related to Manx culture?
12. Which Manx organisations are you aware of?
13. Which traditions or superstitions do you keep alive?
14. What do you say to the little people/fairies at the Fairy Bridge?
15. Is Manx culture the same as English culture?
16. What do you think is being done to support Manx culture?
17. What is destroying it?
18. Are there any negative aspects to Manx culture or identity?

Questionnaire for Younger Pupils

1 Family

1. What is your name?
2. Where were you born?
3. When were you born?
4. Where did you live?
5. What were your parents called?
6. Can you tell me about your grandparents?

2 As a child

1. Who looked after you?
2. How many people lived in your house?
3. What was your house like?
4. What did you eat?
5. Did you help your parents?
6. What were the shops like?

3 School

1. How old were you when you started school?
2. What was your school called?
3. What did you learn at school?
4. What were the teachers like?
5. Did you eat your dinner at school?
6. What sort of games did you play at playtime?

4 Church

1. Did you go to church?
2. Was there a Sunday School?
3. What was it like?
4. Did you go on Sunday School outings?
5. Did the church have any clubs?
6. Were there any parties or fairs?

5 Manx

1. Did your family speak Manx?
2. Are there any words you do not like saying? (rat)

3. What did you do at Christmas?
4. What did you do when a baby was born?

6 Work

1. Did you have a job when you were at school?
2. What did your parents do in the home?
3. What were their jobs outside the home?
4. What did you do when you left school?
5. What was your work like?

7 Free time

1. What did you do when you were young?
2. Were you ever naughty?
3. Did you have a car?

8 War

1. What was it like in the war?
2. Did you or your family take part?
3. What did you eat?

9 Leaving the Island

1. Did any of your family leave the Island?
2. Why did they leave?
3. Are there too many people living here?

10 Manx again

1. Do you feel Manx?
2. Do you have to be born on the Island to be Manx?
3. Do you go to Tynwald?
4. Should children learn Manx at school?
5. Do you know any Manx traditions?
6. Do you speak to the little people/fairies at the Fairy Bridge?
7. Why/why not?
8. Is being Manx the same as being English?

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