

Variation and change in a traditional Northern English rural dialect

The 6th Northern Englishes Workshop
Lancaster University, 16-17th April 2014

Warren Maguire, University of Edinburgh
w.maguire@ed.ac.uk

The nature of traditional NE rural dialects

Much of what we know about rural Northern English dialects comes from traditional dialect studies such as the *Survey of English Dialects* (SED; Orton and Dieth 1962-71)

- 'rural' in this context refers to villages and farming (or fishing) communities, not small towns such as Berwick-upon-Tweed (which, from a village or countryside community viewpoint, might be considered to be 'urban', and were excluded from the SED)

But investigations of this kind employed methods which were designed to elicit the most old-fashioned dialect forms still used in the community

- it is not clear exactly what they tell us about the traditional dialects of rural Northern England in the mid 20th century

What were these dialect communities really like?

- what kinds of inter- and intra-speaker variation existed?
- what trends of change were affecting them?
- do these kinds of dialect still exist, or have they disappeared (dialect death)?

What were traditional NE rural dialects really like?

For example, the northernmost SED location, Nb1 (Lowick, north Northumberland) was recorded with:

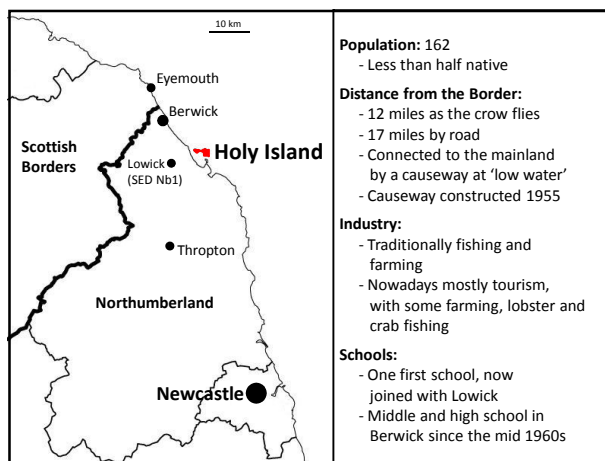
- 100% uvular R [ʁ] in onset position
- almost 100% monophthong [u:] in words of the MOUTH lexical set

Was this what people in these kinds of communities really spoke like?

- indeed, what these informants actually spoke like?
- and how might we find out?

What we need to answer these questions are corpora of real speech from these kinds of communities

- preferably corpora which allow us to compare SED-style elicited speech with the everyday speech of the speakers under investigation and the speech of other people in the community
- I'm going to look at one such case – the dialect of the Holy Island of Lindisfarne in Northumberland



Population: 162
- Less than half native

Distance from the Border:

- 12 miles as the crow flies
- 17 miles by road
- Connected to the mainland by a causeway at 'low water'
- Causeway constructed 1955

Industry:

- Traditionally fishing and farming
- Nowadays mostly tourism, with some farming, lobster and crab fishing

Schools:

- One first school, now joined with Lowick
- Middle and high school in Berwick since the mid 1960s

THE DIALECT OF HOLY ISLAND A Phonological Analysis

Dissertation
zur Erlangung der Würde eines Doktors der Philosophie
vorgelegt der Philosophisch-Historischen Fakultät der
Universität Basel

VON
Jörg Berger
VON
Basel


Peter Lang
Bern · Frankfurt am Main · Las Vegas
1980

Berger provides a substantial number of phonetic transcriptions, but they are problematic in various ways:

- speaker is not identified
- it's not clear what the reason for inclusion of some words/forms and not others is
- their accuracy is debatable

More importantly ...

"The data consist of some fifty hours of tape-recordings,* of which about two thirds are recordings made with usually one informant at a time ... The remaining third contains recordings of conversations between informants" (p. 20)

**The recordings were made in the years 1971-1973 and are in the possession of the author.

Warren Maguire

The 1971-3 recordings

Reel-to-reel recordings of natives by Jörg Berger

- 24.5 hrs, 10 main informants (3F, 7M), born 1893-1914 (the 'older' speakers), plus 1945M
- 3.5 hrs of poor quality recordings but with some useful material in them (not yet analysed)
- 9.5 hrs of recordings of unusable poor quality

The recordings include:

- conversations:
 - between Berger and informant(s), or at least with Berger present
 - sometimes several people at the same time, some recorded in the pub, with lots of background, largely inaudible chatter
- discussions of local place-names (from a numbered map)
- answers to traditional dialect questionnaires:
 - the *Survey of English Dialects*
 - Wright/Elmer's *Fishing Questionnaire* (Wright 1964, Elmer 1973)

Other Holy Island recordings and DHIL

Two *Millennium Memory Bank* recordings (British Library):

- 1926M (30 years in London), 1965F

On-going data collection by WM

- 1945Mb (in 2006)
- 1947M, 1963F, 1967M (in 2013)

Dialect of the Holy Island of Lindisfarne (DHIL) corpus (British Academy grant SG112357), 2012-2014

- time-aligned orthographically transcriptions (ELAN)
- of 24.5 hrs of Berger's recordings + 2 hrs of 1945M by WM in 2006
- c. 280,000 words (c. 160,000 words spoken by natives)
- hosted on the *Diachronic Electronic Corpus of Tyneside English* website (<http://research.ncl.ac.uk/decte/>)
- accessed via a password-protected interface subject to completion of a user agreement form

Conversation/data types

The data in the recordings is of rather different types

- especially normal conversational speech vs. elicited speech (answers to, for example, SED questions)
- each speaker's speech at any given point in the recordings been categorised as follows, regardless of whether there is a linguistic difference between the different types:

Questionnaire answers (q)

Wordlists (1945M in 2006 only)

(Q)

Incidental conversation during questionnaire sessions (I)

Conversations (c)

- with interviewer
- between Islanders, with interviewer present/taking part

(C)

Berger's speakers

Speaker	Occupation	Source	Types
1893F	'Herring girl'	Berger	q and i
1902F	Shop keeper	Berger	q and i
1908F	Housewife	Berger	c
1903M	Fisherman	Berger	q and i
1904M*	Wireless operator	Berger	q and i, c
1905M	Various jobs locally	Berger	q and i, c
1906M	Fisherman	Berger	c
1908M	Driver	Berger	q and i, c
1910M*	Fisherman, lifeboat man	Berger	q and i, c
1914M*	Various, inc. Navy	Berger	c
1945Ma	Fisherman	Berger	q and i, c

'Older' speaker sample in red; speakers marked * had higher status jobs, typically involving time and training away from the Island

Other speakers

Although it's not possible to fully determine the nature of the wider speech community in the early 1970s from Berger's recordings, we can get a hint as to what it was like from other people featuring in the recordings

8+ other natives, mostly male (several with very local forms of speech)

- some of the oldest, most local males seem to have been reticent about being recorded on their own but were happy to be present at recording sessions and occasionally contributed
- too little data for them for many features, but some analysis may be possible for most of them (not done yet)
- one female, who may be a native (she has an Island nickname), spoke something close to RP

6+ non-natives (e.g. other Northumberland, Gateshead, Yorkshire, southeast England, America) – bar workers, girlfriend of native, non-native residents

- 'inty-lowpers'

New speakers

Speaker	Occupation	Source	Types
1926M*	Merchant Navy, painter and decorator	MMB	c
1945Mb	Fisherman	WM 2006	c, wordlists
1947M	Fisherman, bus driver (on the Island)	WM 2013	c
1963F*	Hotelier	WM 2013	c
1965F	Priory attendant	MMB	c
1967M*	Navy, publican	WM 2013	c

Notice that the 'younger' speakers in particular typically have very different life histories compared to the older sample

- they went to middle and high school in Berwick (where they boarded through the week)
- they may have gone to college further away again
- they may have worked away from the Island for substantial periods
- they are usually employed in the tourism and hospitality industry

Int.	And this is?	1905M: I've seen it, [when we] used to keep the articles here. You know what them things is, George? Well, I'm going to tell you. Now, there's an art, there's an art, uh, uh, uh, [you know] preparing them first and cutting their throat.
1893F	The door.	
Int.	And, and, and the thing at the door?	Now, if they didn't bleed right, you buggers, they would never cure. You couldn't, they would never cure right.
1893F	That's the handle, isn't it, or the -, aye, that's the handle.	1906M: Keep a woman out the road.
Int.	Uh-huh. And on the other side, you know? These things, there.	1905M: Well, there's something in that and all. I dinna know w-, whether that's an old saying or no.
1893F	- The jambs of the door? Is that, do you mean the round about -	1906M: No, it's quite perfectly true.
Int.	No, uh, these?	1905M: It might be right. But, uh, uh, [I know] we used to keep them and I knew perfectly well as soon as they was killed and their throat was cut, if they didna bleed right, they would never cure right. Couldna cure them right.
1893F	Oh, that's the hinges.	
Int.	Hinges?	
1893F	Hinges.	
Int.	And this is?	
1893F	Tha-, that's the surroundings.	
Int.	Surroundings?	
1893F	Surroundings.	
Int.	Oh. Beautiful.	
1893F	Ye couldn't understand we.	

1945M: You **dinna** put any boxes upside **down** in the boat. B-, when you put your empty boxes in they've got to be the right way up. That used to be an **old man's**, an **old man's** super-. If the box is upside **down** some of them would **go home** again. If the box is upside **down** how the hell can you put **anything** in it? Everything's going to **fall out**. **So** that was a superstition. Another **one**. If possible get away from your moorings **without going** backwards. You know? You've got to go **ahead** if you **can**. It's **no** use going **astern**. You know? That's **no** bloody use. Whistling. **No** allowed to whistle in the boat. My **father** would, what, he would bloody kill me for, "Do you **no** think there's **enough** wind?". Aye. "**Without blowing any more**".

1965F: Yeah, it's a lovely place for children to grow up. I know there's not a lot of facilities **but** they're not far away and Berwick's just easy to nip to. There's swimming pools and all those kinds of facilities. They go to nurseries on, if they want to in Berwick. They might actually start a nursery up here if there's more children. But, yeah, when we were small, there's a beach as you come on to the Island called the Chare Ends. And everyone, even my dad, my granny used to take my dad there when they were **little**. Every day in the summer holidays if **it** was fine, everybody took their children **out** there and they all used to **sit** right along this beach with all the prams and push-chairs and everything.

The features

In order to address the questions posed at the start of this presentation, I have analysing four linguistic features from different parts of the grammar which vary between local/non-standard forms and non-local/standard forms:

- 1) Phonetic: the realisation of /r/ in onset position
 - is it uvular or not?
- 2) Phonological: the realisation of the mouth vowel
 - is it a monophthong or a diphthong?
- 3) Morpho-syntactic: the realisation of verbal negation (declarative contexts)
 - is negation of a 'Scots' or an 'English' type?
- 4) Lexical: the word used for affirmation
 - is it *aye* or *yes*?

SED data

The following analyses use data of two kinds from SED location Nb1 (Lowick):

- 1) Data from the printed SED volumes
 - all data in these is assumed to represent Q-type, even though the SED makes a distinction between question answers and 'incidental material'
 - but this 'incidental material' is almost certainly very selective, chosen to further illustrate traditional dialect pronunciations in the dialect rather than to give a picture of the non-questionnaire speech of the informants
 - the SED Nb1 data is from three informants (average year of birth: 1881), but is treated as a single data point in this analysis
- 2) Data from the audio recording (British Library) made of a different speaker from Ford (4.5 miles west-southwest of Lowick) in 1952-3 (14.5 mins in length), also born in the early 1880s
 - this data is of conversational speech and is assumed to represent C-type for this SED location

Onset /r/ realisation

The traditional realisation of /r/ in Northumberland is a uvular fricative [ʁ] or approximant [ʀ]

- SED Nb1 has 100% uvular R (Q and C)

Pählsson (1972), Thropton:

- "the Burr seems to be faced with fairly bleak prospects for the future, although it constitutes a prominent and vigorous feature of the dialect of the community at present" (p. 222)

Beal et al. (2012: 40):

- "The 'Northumbrian Burr' [ʀ] is nowadays completely absent from urban areas and indeed very rare in rural areas, so much so that its use by speakers is said by Beal (2008: 140) to be little more than a 'party trick'."

/r/ analysis

Subset of data analysed

- roughly 1 hour per speaker

Onset /r/ analysed in initial position and in initial clusters, three categories:

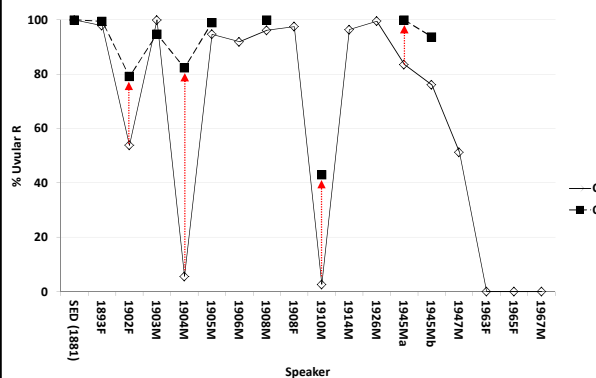
- uvular, e.g. [ʀ]
- alveolar tap [r] and trill [r]
- anterior approximant, e.g. [ɹ]

Results:

- over all 67.62% uvular across both data types (n = 4213)
- in the 'older' sample, 67.07% over all (n = 2335)
- in the 'older' sample, 78.44% uvular in Q data (n = 1067), 57.49% in C data (n = 1268), p < 0.001

1910M is the only speaker with significant levels of alveolar taps/trills (12.72%); 1947M has 3.65% taps/trills; other speakers have very few or none

/r/ results



The MOUTH vowel

The vowel in words which had Middle English /u:/ (see Wells 1982: 151-2)

- e.g. *about, brown, down, house, out*

A monophthong (e.g. [u:]) is retained in traditional Northern English and Scots dialects

BUT it has been diphthongised in morpheme-final position in some dialects on either side of the Border (see Johnston 1997: 476), including Holy Island

See Johnston (1980), Beal (2000), Stuart-Smith (2003), Smith et al. (2007), Smith and Durham (2012) for analysis of this variable

- Beal (2000: 349) suggests that monophthongal MOUTH has become restricted to a small number of lexical items (especially *Brown Ale* and *Town* = Newcastle/Newcastle United) in Newcastle

SED Nb1 (Lowick) has 96.83% (Q), 96.97% (C) monophthong in non-morpheme-final MOUTH

- in 22/23 lexemes

Analysis of the MOUTH vowel

All data for each speaker analysed

- morpheme-final words excluded (always diphthongs)

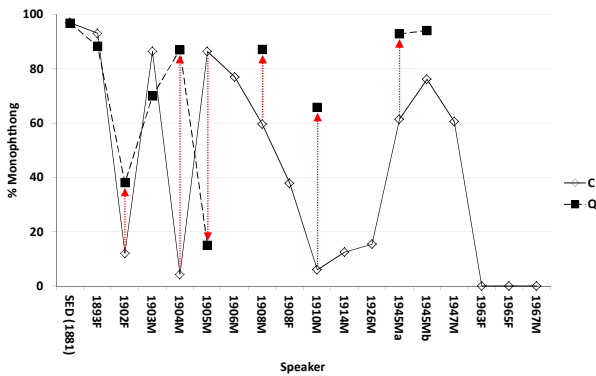
All other MOUTH tokens categorised as:

- monophthong (typically [ɹ] or [ʊ], SVLR-conditioned length)
- or as diphthong (typically [aʊ] or [ɔʊ])

Results:

- over all 49.71% monophthong across both data types (n = 2211)
- in the 'older' sample, 55.91% monophthong over all (n = 1041)
- in the 'older' sample, 69.25% monophthong in Q data, 47.58% in C data (p < 0.001)
- in the 'older' sample, there are 19/33 lexemes in C data with the monophthong at least once
- there are 34/40 lexemes in the 'older' sample Q data with the monophthong at least once

MOUTH results



Verbal negation

Scots dialects have a rather different form of verbal negation than Standard English and (most) dialects in England (Beal 1997); in declarative contexts Scots dialects have:

- inflected negatives with non-contracting verbs: non-Scots *-n't* vs. Scots *-nae* (e.g. *She didnae see it*)
- full negatives with contracting verbs: non-Scots *not* vs. Scots *no* (e.g. *He's no been here*)

Similar forms of 'Scots'-type negation are also found in north Northumberland, as indicated in sources such as the SED and Glauser (1974)

- usually [nə] *-na* rather [ne] *-nae*
- Pichler (2013) finds a variety of types of negation in Berwick English
 - non-local *-n't* and *not*; 'Scots'-type *-na(e)* and *no*; 'Tyneside'-type *cannit* and *divn't*
 - non-local forms of negation are in the majority (72.5%), *divn't* is common for *don't*, *-na(e)* is largely restricted to *do (dinnae)* and *can (cannae)*, *-na(e)* is declining in apparent time

Analysis of verbal negation in the Holy Island data

There are 28 tokens for verbal negation in declarative contexts for SED Nb1

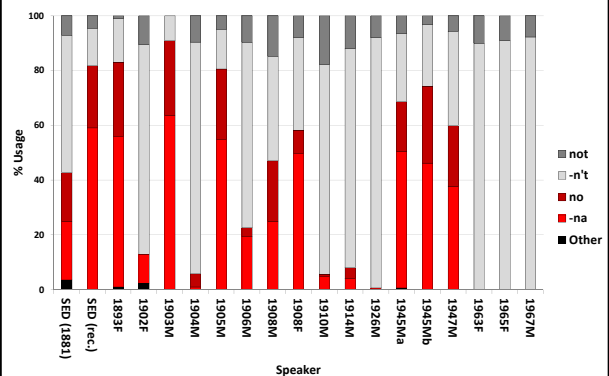
- only 12 (42.86%) of these are non-standard (11 'Scots'-type, 1 *divn't*)
- either 'Scots'-type negation is much less common in north Northumberland than other non-standard features (perhaps Pichler's study suggests this), or the SED questionnaire method was not suitable for eliciting naturalistic morpho-syntactic data of this sort (the SED audio recording for Lowick suggests the latter)

All instances of verbal negation in declarative contexts were analysed in the Holy Island corpus, and were categorised by verb and into five different types:

- not, -n't, no, -na*, other ('Tyneside'-like *cannit* and *divn't*)
- there are very few instances of verbal negation in Q data or of negation of lexical *have*, so these have been subsumed in the over all figures for *no*

Over all, there is 46.06% non-standard negation in the corpus (42.64% in the 'older' sample), including less than 1% 'Tyneside'-like negation

Verbal negation results



Affirmation words

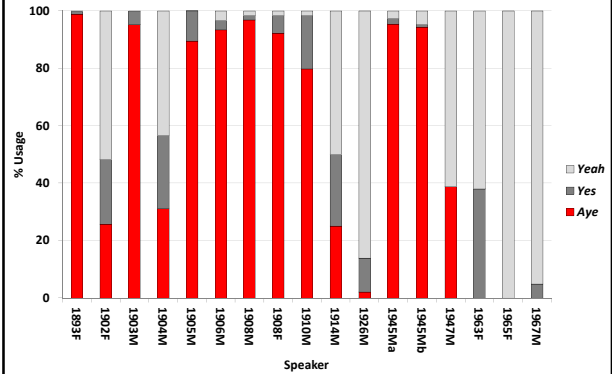
Smith, Durham and Richards (2013) analyse the degree to which speakers in Buckie, NE Scotland, use either *aye* or *yes* for affirmation

- *aye* "remains today one of the defining features of the Scots tongue" (p. 304)
- "In more formal situations, it is somewhat stigmatized ... In other words it is a stereotype" (p. 304)
- they find that *aye* is far and away the preferred form in the adult speech community in Buckie (at 99% use)

aye is also a well known feature of Northern English (cf. SED Q. VIII.8.13, including Nb1) and is common in Holy Island speech

- the frequency of *yeah*, *yes* and *aye* in the corpus were determined; non-verbal affirmatives (*mm-hm* and *uh-huh*) were excluded
- it is only possible to give figures for affirmatives in C data (and there are only 3 tokens – 2 *aye*, 1 *yes* – in the SED audio recording)
- *aye* was used at a rate of 64.51% over-all in the Holy Island corpus (73.18% in the 'older' sample)

Affirmative results



Summary so far

There is a difference between the frequency of local variants in Q and C data, sometimes dramatically so (especially 1904M, 1910M)

- but uvular R is more likely to be equally present in either data type
- and one speaker has a dramatic drop in MOUTH monophthongisation in Q speech (1905M)

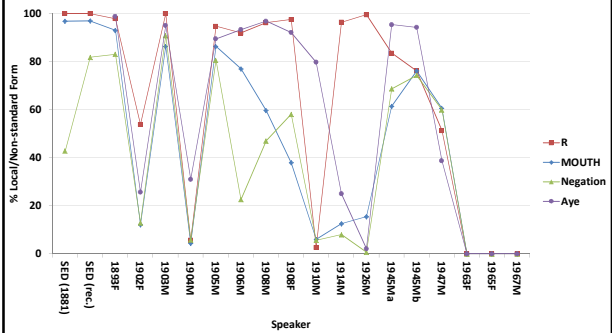
Speakers are characterised by different patterns of variation

- some have very local/non-standard patterns, even in C speech, at SED-like levels, at least for some features
- others have non-local/standard patterns (except in Q speech)

But how do the different features compare and relate to each other, and what does that tell us about the structure of the Holy Island dialect community?

The features compared

Consistent patterns emerge when all of the frequency profiles of local variants for each speaker are compared (C data only, except for SED):

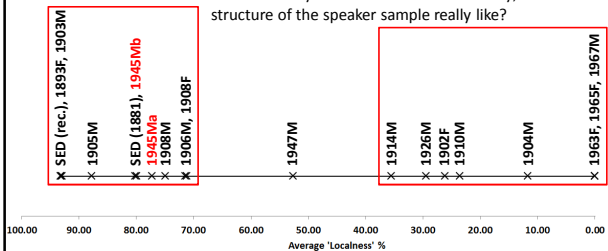


'Localness'

If the average % across all the local features is calculated, a fairly clear distinction between very local (traditional dialect) speakers and much less local (regiolect/modern dialect/regional Standard English) speakers is evident

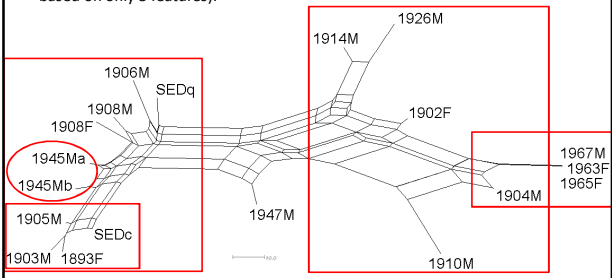
- note that 1945M is more local even than his father, 1906M

But this rather crude calculation reduces the dimensionality of the situation considerably; what's the structure of the speaker sample really like?



Relationships between speakers (Neighbor-net)

The relationships between speakers in the corpus can be revealed in a more complex way using a phylogenetic network (drawn via Neighbor-net, Huson and Bryant 2006), derived from the Euclidean Distance between each of the speakers based on their average values for each feature (SEDq and SEDc based on only 3 features):



What were the effects of traditional methods?

Traditional methods, as employed by surveys such as the SED, were designed not only to target the most old-fashioned speakers in the community, but to elicit the most old-fashioned speech from those speakers

- the Holy Island data shows that for /r/ realisation and the pronunciation of the MOUTH lexical set this is usually the result
 - speakers produce higher levels (often very much higher) of the local variant than they do otherwise
- but some speakers don't change much at all
 - with MOUTH, this is usually only those speakers who are most local in speech anyway
 - with /r/ realisation, high levels of uvular R are present for some speakers regardless of speech situation or how local they are otherwise
- one speaker substantially reduces his local pronunciations of MOUTH when subject to SED-style questioning
- the SED appears to under-report the frequency of 'Scots'-style verbal negation in north Northumberland, which is found at high levels for some speakers from Holy Island (and the Lowick recording)

What was (and is) the Holy Island dialect really like?

Despite all of this, the SED captures something close to a natural form of speech used by some speakers in rural northern England in the mid 20th century

- 1893F, 1903M, 1905M and 1945M are at or near to SED levels of 'localness' in their everyday speech
- and other speakers are similar in their Q speech only
 - but this isn't stylised 'performance speech' in the *It's high tide on the sound side* sense (Schilling-Estes 1998); rather speakers appear to be frequently, consistently and genuinely targeting the most localised part of their variation space

But of course, the situation was much more complex than this

- the community was made up not only of traditional dialect speakers, but speakers of regional forms of Standard English, and of speakers with various degrees of local features in their speech
- but there does appear to be a pattern whereby speakers roughly fall into two groups – traditional dialect speakers and non-dialect speakers
- some of these speakers (e.g. 1904M, 1910M) approach a situation of 'bidialectalism' (Smith and Durham 2012) in their ability to switch sharply between the Holy Island dialect and local Standard English

Dialect survival and death on Holy Island

The situation in the 21st century appears to be quite different, although more research is needed

- 1945M has an extremely local form of speech, more typical of his parents' generation (he is more local in speech than his father, 1906M, and uncle, 1910M)
 - he is recognised by people on the Island as being the last 'proper' speaker of the dialect (and again, not in a *It's high tide on the sound side* sense)
- 1947M has an intermediate form of speech, probably more characteristic of the small handful of older local males left on the Island
- speakers born in the 1960s or after appear to have completely lost local traditional dialect features
 - as a result of entirely different education, life histories and experiences than previous generations
- for example, 1945M's son (born late 70s), who didn't want to be interviewed, is a fisherman on the Island, but he went to high school in Hawick and doesn't seem to use Holy Island dialect features at all
- this looks like *dialect death* (Britain 2009)

How dialect death might be happening on Holy Island

There are two ways that dialect death can develop (Schilling-Estes and Wolfram 1999):

- 1) **dissipation/levelling**: over a period of time (perhaps several generations), the dialect loses those features which make it distinctive due to exposure to other varieties – most likely with 'exocentric' communities and speakers
- 2) **population attrition**: over time, speakers of the dialect become fewer in number as a result of population decline, out-migration, in-migration, or other dramatic social changes (e.g. collapse of local industries, change of educational practices) – most likely with 'endocentric' communities and speakers

Both situations are relevant to Holy Island:

- since the construction of the causeway and the explosion in tourism, speakers are constantly in contact with people from outside the Island
- the native Island population and the fishing industry have dramatically contracted, so that natives employed in traditional occupations have become a dying breed, and many non-natives now live on the Island
- and there has been a dramatic change in the educational system, with Island children boarding in Berwick for middle and high school

1945M – a case of dialect concentration?

In cases of dialect death by attrition, there may be *dialect concentration* (Schilling-Estes and Wolfram 1999)

- the last few speakers are even more dialectal than we would expect them to be as a result of the recognition of the loss of the dialect and conscious or sub-conscious wish to retain it and/or to differentiate themselves from outsiders

1945M stands out as unusually dialectal given his birth date

- he is more local in speech than his father (1905M), his uncle (1910M) and those from the same generation (1947M)
- to the point where he is essentially equivalent to an SED-type speaker
- he is one of the last native fishermen (now retired), very Island-oriented (endocentric), quite superstitious
- when the small number of people like him die, there won't really be a Holy Island dialect any more

Final thoughts

An analysis of the corpus of the dialect of Holy Island has revealed complex patterns of variation and change:

- SED-like speech existed for some speakers in the mid 20th century
- speakers could change the way they spoke, sometimes dramatically, depending upon the context ('bidialectalism')
- there was a fairly sharp distinction between traditional dialect and supralocal regiolect/modern dialect/local Standard English speech in the community, even in the mid 20th century
- the traditional dialect is disappearing, although a very small number of traditional dialect speakers remain (with signs of dialect concentration)

Holy Island is perhaps rural Northern England in microcosm

- an example of a rather different, rather fragile kind of speech community compared with better known, relatively well-studied urban areas
- a place where there has been dramatic social and demographic change
- accompanied by striking linguistic changes

Much work still remains to be done to understand what's going on in Holy Island, never mind the rest of rural Northern England!

Thanks to ...

- Sam, Claire and Dan
- The British Academy
- Eleanor Robert (transcription)
- Karen Corrigan and Adam Mearns (Newcastle University, DECTE)
- Jonathan Robinson (British Library recordings)
- Jörg Berger
- ... and the people of Holy Island

- Beal, Joan. 1997. Syntax and morphology. In Charles Jones (ed.) *The Edinburgh history of the Scots language*, 335-377. Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press.
- Beal, Joan. 2000. From George Ridley to Viz: popular literature in Tyneside English. *Language and literature* 9(4), 343-359.
- Beal, Joan, Lourdes Burbano-Elizondo and Carmen Llamas. 2012. *Urban north-eastern English: Tyneside to Teeside*. Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press.
- Berger, Jörg. 1980. *The dialect of Holy Island: a phonological analysis*. Bern: Peter Lang.
- Britain, David. 2009. One foot in the grave? Dialect death, dialect contact, and dialect birth in England. *International journal of the Society of Language* 196/7, 121-155.
- Elmer, Willy. 1973. *The terminology of fishing*. Bern: Francke Verlag.
- Glauser, Beat. 1974. *The Scottish-English linguistic border: lexical aspects*. Bern: Francke Verlag.
- Huson, David and David Bryant. 2006. Application of phylogenetic networks in evolutionary studies. *Molecular biology and evolution*, 23(2), 254-267.
- Johnston, Paul. 1980. *A synchronic and historical view of border area bimoric vowel systems*. Unpublished PhD thesis, University of Edinburgh.
- Johnston, Paul. 1997. Regional variation. In Charles Jones (ed.), *The Edinburgh history of the Scots language*, 433-513. Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press.
- Orton, Harold and Eugen Dieth (eds). 1962-71. *Survey of English dialects (B): the basic material*. Leeds: Arnold and Son.
- Påhlsson, Christer. 1972. *The Northumbrian Burr*. Lund: Gleerup.

- Pichler, Heike. 2013. *The structure of discourse-pragmatic variation*. Amsterdam / Philadelphia: John Benjamins.
- Schilling-Estes, Natalie. 1998. Investigating "self-conscious" speech: The performance register in Ocracoke English. *Language in Society* 27, 53-83.
- Schilling-Estes, Natalie and Walt Wolfram. 1999. Alternative models of dialect death: dissipation vs. concentration. *Language* 75, 486-521.
- Smith, Jennifer and Mercedes Durham. 2012. Bidialectalism or dialect death? Explaining generational change in the Shetland Islands, Scotland. *American Speech* 87(1), 57-88.
- Smith, Jennifer, Mercedes Durham and Liane Fortune. 2007. "Mam, my trousers is fa'in doon!": Community, caregiver, and child in the acquisition of variation in a Scottish dialect. *Language variation and change* 19, 63-99.
- Smith, Jennifer, Mercedes Durham and Hazel Richards. 2013. The social and linguistic in the acquisition of sociolinguistic norms: caregivers, children, and variation. *Linguistics* 51(2), 285-324.
- Stuart-Smith, Jane. 2003. The phonology of modern urban Scots. In John Corbett, J. Derrick McClure and Jane Stuart-Smith (eds.), *The Edinburgh companion to Scots*, 110-137. Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press.
- Wells, John. 1982. *Accents of English*, 3 vols. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Wright, Peter. 1964. Proposal for a short questionnaire for use in fishing communities. *Transactions of the Yorkshire Dialect Society* 11 (14), 27-32.
- Diachronic Electronic Corpus of Tyneside English* (DECTE): <http://research.ncl.ac.uk/decte/>
ELAN: <http://tla.mpi.nl/tools/tla-tools/elan/>