Standard English, the National Curriculum, and linguistic disadvantage: a sociolinguistic account of the careful speech of Tyneside adolescents.

James Richard Crinson

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For Lesley, Jessica, and Robin

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Abstract

This study investigates adolescents' use of standard English in situations requiring careful speech. An account is given of the historical, political, linguistic and educational development of the concept of standard English, with particular emphasis on spoken standard English. Popular conceptions of 'correct speech' are also considered, and all of these are related to requirements in the National Curriculum for England and Wales for the teaching of spoken standard English. This is related to a specific case, namely that of Tyneside English. This variety is described, and an account is given of the area and its main social and economic characteristics. Twenty four adolescents are chosen from two schools which contrast highly in terms of socioeconomic profile. The individuals are also selected to provide a spread of levels of attainment, and both sexes are equally represented. Phonological, grammatical, lexical and discourse variables are quantified using Labovian quantification techniques and approaches which involve counting non-standard variants over a period of time. Principal linguistic variables are: glottalised variants of (p) (t) and (k); non standard verb and pronoun forms; non-standard lexical items, and certain kinds of discourse markers. This process provides evidence of the extent to which young people use or do not use spoken standard English. It is shown that in more careful speech young people from more and less privileged backgrounds use only small frequencies of non-standard variants, but that within this relatively small number differences do exist: certain items are used mainly by less privileged boys, others mainly by girls, others by more privileged individuals in general. Use of non-standard speech is shown to differ for different groups at different linguistic levels. Important differences in gender and in social class emerge, but attainment also appears to have a significant bearing on children's use of spoken standard English. The study concludes by discussing pedagogical approaches which might increase awareness of issues associated with standard English.

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1. Introduction

This study originated from a remark made by a teacher in one of the schools in the study, concerning spoken standard English. At the time there had been considerable debate about whether, when and how pupils should be "taught" spoken standard English. The teacher remarked that he felt that this was not necessary, since his pupils could, on leaving school, speak standard English when they considered it necessary. He produced as evidence for this work which he had carried out with pupils in drama lessons over a number of years. Whenever they found themselves in role as a high status person, they changed their modes of speech to a marked degree. As a drama teacher myself I was well aware of this phenomenon. However, I felt that what occurred in drama could not be directly applied to what children might or might not do in real life (a view originally expressed by A.D. Edwards (personal communication)). The insight was nevertheless a valuable one, and a view which could be tested using the methods of quantitative sociolinguistics. This study intends to shed some light on this phenomenon, while at the same time investigating conflicting notions of standard English as they impinge on the teaching and learning of standard English in schools

1.1. Main aims

The aims of the present study are therefore as follows:

- To investigate children's use of standard English used in formal situations. To establish what young people actually did when speaking to a stranger in using careful speech, and whether there were any differences between the kinds of speech used by boys as opposed to girls, lower class as opposed to higher social class, and lower-attaining as opposed to higher-attaining pupils.
- To investigate the notion of standard English as currently used by a variety of people: linguists, educationalists, and non-specialists, especially politicians. The aim here would

be to establish how conflicting criteria might give rise to confusion in legal, educational, linguistic and pedagogical operationalisations of the concept of standard English.

- To place the above investigation in the social educational and political context of current debates on language and education.

1.2. Areas of study

The first part of the study looks at three aspects of standard English: legislative/political, educational/linguistic and historical/linguistic. Thus we consider the reports and Acts of Parliament which affect the teaching of standard English, and spoken standard English in particular. We consider a range of movements in education and in language/linguistics which have had an impact on the teaching of standard English, including notions of compensatory education and linguistic disadvantage. And finally in this section we consider the history of standard languages in general, and the relationship of non-standard dialects and languages to them. An account is given of Tyneside English and its development, and how the vernacular in Tyneside is used today. Some background is also provided on the Tyneside area, and its historical, geographical, and industrial context, in order to enable the reader to understand the context in which the individuals in the study operate.

The empirical part of the study incorporates a number of different disciplines and procedures. Formal interviews were carried out with 24 pupils lasting between 45 minutes and an hour. These were analysed according to procedures which derive from the quantitative approach to sociolinguistics pioneered by William Labov (e.g. 1972a, 1972b), and developed by Trudgill (1978) and Milroy (1987a) amongst others. Some consideration is also given to discourse markers in the speech of the youngsters in the study, using as a theoretical background the work of Schiffrin (1987). The work done by Giles and his associates in Wales and Canada on Communication Accommodation Theory (CAT) is also considered when analysing the social context of the interviews, and the effect of different perceptions of the interview on the language used (e.g. Giles (1973) Giles and Powesland (1975), Giles and Coupland (1991)).

Three strands - linguistic, historical, and educational combine to make up the current situation regarding standard English, where educators are required by law to teach it to children. The present study aims, in teasing out the complex background to this concept, to shed some light on the current status of standard English, and to enable educators to make rational decisions as to when and how and indeed whether to intervene to equip children with the linguistic skills they need for adult life.

1.3. Organisation of the study

The study begins (Chapters 2 & 3) with a look at the educational background to the study, in terms of the legal framework, the links between language and education, and issues surrounding linguistic disadvantage. We consider in Chapter 2 government reports on English, from the Newbolt report in 1921 to the revision of the National Curriculum by Dearing in 1995, in the light of developing official views to the teaching of spoken English.

Chapter 3 discusses compensatory education and linguistic deficit theories, from their beginnings in America, through the work of Bernstein, to Labov. We consider recent work on spoken English, including the work of the National Oracy Project, and the work of linguists such as Halliday, Labov, Trudgill and Wells. The section concludes by considering work on school culture (especially Eckert (1988, 1989). We also consider the work of influential developments within education which have had an impact on the teaching of English. These include the work of Wells et al in Bristol (1981 1985 1987), The National Oracy Project (e.g. Norman (1992) the work of the *Language in Use* team (e.g. Doughty et al 1971) , and the LINC (Language in the national Curriculum) project) e.g. Carter (1992).

Chapter 4 constitutes a consideration of the historical and theoretical background to the concept of standard English. We look at what a standard language can be considered to be, and work from a particular definition stemming from the work of Kloss (1967), and developed by Joseph (1987). We consider the way Latin and English emerged as standard languages, and noted that the key factors in the emergence of these were historical, social and political, not linguistic. We consider the development of English towards standardisation in

greater detail, and then consider the differences between present day standard languages, and dialects, looking at the reasons given for considering standard languages to be superior. The example of Irish and its relationship with standard English is considered. The history of prescriptivism in language is discussed, considering the ideas of eighteenth century writers such as Swift and Johnson, and nineteenth century writers such as Archbishop Trench. Milroy and Milroy (1985) is used as a basis for distinguishing two traditions of prescriptivism about language, and the legacy of these traditions in modern day writers such as Honey (1983) and Marenbon (1987), whose work has been heavily influential on many of the politicians charged with supervising the development of a curriculum for English. The chapter concludes with a description of Tyneside English, and its differences from standard English.

Chapter 5 moves on the social and regional background to Tyneside, in terms of geography, housing, industry, and cultural life, and dialect. The aim here is to create a context for the account of the empirical investigation which follows. Figures are included which illustrate the relative decline of heavy industry, and the increase of the service sector. Unemployment and other indices of deprivation are considered for the different wards in North Tyneside where the two schools are located. Full descriptions are given of the two towns in the study, and of the schools. The backgrounds of pupils are also discussed in this section.

Chapter 5 describes the procedures adopted for the collection of data. The pilot project which was carried out to test some of the ideas in the study is described. Issues such as the age groups chosen, composition of groups, and the fundamental idea of contrasting research sites are dealt with in this chapter. An account is given of the treatment of non-linguistic variables of social class, sex, and attainment.

Chapter 6 provides a full account of the linguistic literature which provides a basis for the study reported here. Background detail is provided for the methods used for analysing the data at all linguistic levels. Thus, with regard to the phonological variables, the work of Labov, Milroy Trudgill and others is discussed, and the relevance of the quantitative approach is outlined. We consider various approaches to the quantitative analysis of

glottalised variants of fortis stops, and the theoretical justification for the approach adopted in the present study is outlined, giving especial emphasis to an approach based on syllables rather than words. Similar background is provided for the study of the grammatical, lexical and discourse variables analysed in this thesis, looking in particular at the kinds of variables studied and their relevance to the teaching of spoken standard English. Chapter 6 also considers relevant non-linguistic variables, i.e. age, sex, social class and attainment, referring in each case to difficulties and issues regarding the use of these as variables in a sociolinguistic study. We might point out here (and see further below 6.2) that we will follow the National Curriculum in referring to all aspects of syntax and morphology as grammar. The chapter concludes with a consideration of three important sociolinguistic issues which have particular bearing on the analysis of real-life conversational data. These issues are: speech style, linguistic identity, and the selection of speakers. In each case literature is considered which has relevance to standard English. Particularly important here is the work of Giles, Coupland and others involved with social psychology and communication accommodation theory; the work of John Gumperz; and the work of Le Page.

Chapter 7 outlines the methods adopted in collecting the data. An account is given of the pilot project, and what was learned as a result of this. Then the procedures adopted in the main study are described, including procedures for selecting individual subjects, data collection, interviewing, and recording procedures.

Chapter 8 provides an account of the linguistic procedures used in analysing the data. The classification system for the phonological variables is described and exemplified, and environments which were excluded are also explained. Examples are given of grammatical and lexical items which were counted as non-standard, and some technical problems concerning the borderline between lexical and phonological tokens are also exemplified. A broad classification is introduced for the discourse and pragmatic markers which were used as variables, using the work of Schiffrin (1987). The chapter concludes with a discussion of the statistical techniques used to analyse the data.

Chapter 9 presents the results of the analysis. Results are presented for data at the various linguistic levels (phonology, grammar, lexis, and discourse). First of all they are

presented according to one non-linguistic level: sex, school (social class) and attainment. Then the data are analysed according to two non-linguistic levels, to show the interaction of the two variables.

Chapter 10 summarises the findings from the current research. It considers the ways in which the term standard English has proved useful, and whether in fact the individuals in the study can use standard English in the range of linguistic levels studied. Some key issues are identified which would be relevant to teachers and to those who may revise the national curriculum for English. An assessment is made of the contribution of the present study to educational and linguistic debates.

Chapter 11 briefly summarises where the contribution of the present study might lie, and the limitations of the present study and possible avenues for future research are identified.

We begin, however, with the political and legislative background through which spoken standard English became a salient issue in educational thinking in England and Wales.

2. Standard English and education: historical and political perspectives

2.1. Introduction

The first two chapters of the study concern the relationship between standard English, education, and linguistic disadvantage. We bring together a number of rather disparate strands which constitute essential background for any account of language issues in schools. In the present chapter the main issue is the complicated history of standard English in relation to education. We consider government reports which touch on the teaching of English right up to the review of the National Curriculum carried out by Sir Ron Dearing in 1995. In Chapter Three we consider various perspectives on the nature of spoken English as perceived by scholars from the fields of education, linguistics, and sociology, and the approaches recommended by these scholars to the central problem of perceived disadvantage on the part of lower class and ethnic minority children. We finally consider ethnographic work in education which explores the culture of the school. These two chapters attempt to pull together the diverse strands of thought which make up current pedagogy in spoken English, and the role of standard English within this, before moving on to looking at standard English from a historical and linguistic perspective.

As mentioned in chapter 1, and discussed further in 6.3, the term grammar in the present study is used to cover syntax and morphology, following the usage in government documents.

2.2. Conflicting views of English

The place of English in the school curriculum has never been clear. Crowley (1989) discusses the progress of English in the school curriculum, and argues that social and political ideology has never been far away. The aim to create social homogeneity has been one strand of this. Sampson (1921:35), for example, argues that

> There is no class in the country that does not need a full education in English. Possibly a common basis of education might do much to mitigate the class antagonism that is dangerously keen at the moment, and shows no sign of losing its edge...If we want that class antagonism to be mitigated, we must abandon our system of class education and find some form of education common to the schools of all classes. ...The one common basis of the common culture is the common tongue. (1921:35)

Another has been to move English into the place formerly held by Latin and Greek: hence the emphasis on the study of great writers (Shayer (1970), provides an account of this process).

Another view of the purpose of teaching English has been to counteract 'barbarism'. The Newbolt report (1921), set up to bring about the aim of a common curriculum based on English envisaged by Sampson, describes the job of the Elementary School teacher as 'to fight against the powerful influences of evil habits of speech contracted in home and street. The teacher's struggle is not with ignorance but with a perverted power.' (1921:59) The idea of teaching standard English was also being envisaged in this period:

> First, systematic training in the sounded speech of standard English, to secure correct pronunciation and clear articulation: second, systematic training in the use of standard English, to secure clearness and correctness both in oral expression and in writing....(Newbolt 1921:19).

The Cox Report (D.E.S. 1989:2.20-2.27) presents several views of English teaching which it says co-exist in English and Welsh schools. The views are based on the following:

- personal growth;
- cross-curricular (emphasising the role English plays in supporting other subjects);
- adult needs (needs of employers and of children themselves);
- cultural heritage;
- cultural analysis.

It will readily be seen that these do not all sit easily with the need to teach standard English, though some clearly do. English as a school (and indeed university) subject is and has always been a battlefield, and it has always been a vehicle for political and public concerns (see 4.5 for a discussion of expressions of these concerns in newspapers, in the courts, from politicians (the Conservative cabinet minister Norman Tebbit), and from members of the British royal family (Prince Charles). Gramsci argued that debates about

standard language become especially intense when other problems are also occurring, for example 'the formation and enlargement of the governing class' (1985:183). We need to consider the common threads in this historical debate, and to see if any light can be shed on the current situation which obtains in the National Curriculum for England and Wales.

2.3. Government reports on English

There have been a number of reports on the place of English in schools. The major ones are Newbolt (Ministry of Education 1921) Bullock (Department of Education and Science 1975) Kingman (Department of Education and Science 1988) Cox (Department of Education and Science 1989), and the revisions leading to the Dearing Review (Department for Education 1995): which was preceded by reports in 1993 and 1994. The last differs in that it was a revision of the whole curriculum and the others related purely to English. It differs also in that it was a revision led by Department for Education officials with committees of (mainly) teachers as sounding boards. The others had been staffed by experts on English, with a small presence of primary headteachers and secondary English specialists.

In addition to these reports have been numerous initiatives, sponsored by government or by quasi-official bodies such as the Schools' Council, the National Curriculum Council, (N.C.C.) and the Schools' Curriculum and Assessment Authority (S.C.A.A.). These include the National Oracy Project, the National Writing Project, and the Language in the National Curriculum Project (L.I.N.C.). I shall have more to say on these later.

In many ways the debate has been remarkably static for at least 80 years. On the other hand the terminology has changed, as has the research base on which the conclusions are built. What follows is an attempt to disentangle some of the threads in national reports on the teaching of English, and particularly those threads which relate to the seemingly new primacy of standard English in the National Curriculum.

2.4. The Newbolt report (1921)

The Newbolt report (1921) stressed two aspects of English: (a) the command of the mother tongue as a means of communication, and (b) the study of literature as a record of human thought and experience. It advocated a move from classical literature to English literature. It also emphasised English as a mode of communication, however, and stated that 'every teacher *in* English is a teacher *of* English' (1921:243, original italics). It recommended more speech and drama work, and the teaching of a grammar of function rather than form. It hoped also for a uniform grammatical terminology: the wish also enshrined in the terms of reference for the Kingman committee. The hope for a more effective command of the communicative aspects of English are captured in the comments from employers who submitted evidence. Lever Brothers, detergent manufacturers, in written representation the committee, commented that "it is a great surprise and disappointment to us to find that our young employees are so hopelessly deficient in their command of English. (1921:350). The Board of Education document relating the Newbolt report to elementary schools (ages 5 - 14) (Board of Education 1925) comments that:

> The definite progressive training which is required to widen experience, to build up vocabulary, to cultivate the ear and the voice, to refine utterance and to correct bad habits of speech, has not generally received sufficient attention...not infrequently the outside influences outweigh the influence of the school, and the children's speech degenerates as they grow older. (1925:11-12)

The emphasis on degeneration, poor standards, and bad habits in spoken English is one which remains with us in 'folk linguistics' (a term used in Doughty et al 1972) to the present day. These reports emphasise that the problem, if problem it is, is not a new one.

2.5. The Plowden Report (1967)

The Plowden Report was not a report on English. Its purpose was to review the nature and purpose of primary schools. However, it included a section on the curriculum.

Since Plowden was perhaps the most influential report ever published on primary education (i.e. pupils aged 4 - 11), its comments on spoken language are worth examining.

> Usage is always changing and teachers must not burden their pupils with the observance of outworn conventions. Correctness should be sacrificed rather than fluency, vigour or clarity of meaning. When relationships are sound, children can usually accept and benefit from correction by their teachers of gross grammatical errors and of the use of phrases like 'kind of' which impede clear communication. It is more difficult to decide whether accent is to be tolerated, welcomed or modified. All sorts of personal and social as well as pedagogical questions are bound up in this problem, and whenever the matter is discussed in the press, wide differences of opinion and strong feelings are revealed. (1967:211).

The report goes on to discuss the then forthcoming Project English, which was to become the Schools Council Programme in Linguistics and English Teaching, directed by M.A.K.Halliday, and staffed by Peter Doughty, John Pearce, and Geoffrey Thornton. The Plowden report's hopes for this project were as follows:

> ...Project English will study amongst other questions the lessons that linguistics has to offer to teachers, and its findings will be awaited with interest. In the meantime we offer the following propositions for the consideration of teachers:-
> (a) Children are interested in words, their shape, sound, meaning and origin and this interest should be exploited in all kinds of incidental ways. Formal study of grammar will have little place in the primary school, since active and imaginative experience and use of the language should precede attempts to analyse grammatically how language behaves.
> (b) The time for grammatical analysis will come but it should follow a firmly laid foundation of experience of the spoken and written language. When 'rules' or generalisations are discussed these should be induced from the child's own knowledge of the usage of the language. The theory of grammar that is studied should describe the child's language and not be a theory based on Latin...(1967:223)

Plowden here is looking to linguistics to solve a number of problems. In the first extract we see the view, still current today among many teachers, that fluency, vigour, and clarity should come first. The term 'correctness' is of course one which has come under scrutiny, largely as a result of the influence of linguistics and the work of Trudgill (esp. 1985), and teachers and advisers in English have questioned the usefulness of the term 'correct', preferring terms like 'appropriate'. And the second part of the first extract, with its reference to 'gross grammatical errors' and 'kind of' shows how far we have moved since 1967. The 'gross grammatical errors'

of which the authors were thinking are almost certainly dialect features of the sort discussed in the present study, since from personal observation older primary school children rarely make 'gross grammatical errors' of any other kind (see Perera 1984, and Chapters six and seven below). Similarly, 'kind of' (a discourse marker in the terms of this study, following Schiffrin (1987, 1994)), needs to be analysed in terms of pragmatics, not grammar: changing this usage would need intervention (if this were deemed necessary) in a very different way from errors of grammar. However, the views expressed in this extract would not now be expressed in this way by liberal educators, though they are so expressed by other groups, educated and less so: see 4.5 in the present study. Thus the systematic nature of the contribution of linguistics has had some influence. Perhaps we might hope that in time views on this subject will become more informed on the part of the public at large.

The second passage calls for language awareness activities of the sort promoted by the LINC project (see below 2.9), and which are fairly common today, and it makes a plea for an approach where use precedes analysis. These are approaches which are largely adopted in Britain today. Secondly the report seeks a model of English through which grammatical study can successfully be carried out. This was the task which the Kingman committee was charged with (2.7), though we are still far from having a pedagogical model of language which commands wide assent and general understanding on the part of teachers.

2.6. The Bullock Report (1975)

The Bullock Report (Department for Education and Science 1975) does not contain the words 'standard English'. However, it has much to say about the teaching of talk, of correct and accurate written English, and of language study (including 'a knowledge of the modest collection of technical terms useful for discussion of language (1975:172)). It also has a good deal to say about compensatory education, especially whether children from disadvantaged homes lack appropriate language, and whether something can be done to improve the situation.

The Bullock report was set up to explore the central question of whether reading standards had fallen, for whom, and how much. Significantly, the projects which gave rise to the work of Labov and other researchers in America also had their genesis in concern about reading standards, especially among the Black population. (See Labov 1972b, Shuy et al (1968, Wolfram and Fasold (1974)). In England the report was a response to comments from employers, who were, as in the time of the Newbolt report, raising the subject of a perceived lack of reading ability in their young employees. Although the report was not concerned specifically with an ethnic group, there was an awareness that under-achievement in reading might well be associated with one social class. Surprisingly, however, the questionnaire did not include information on social class, or indeed ethnic origin. It does draw on other contemporary evidence (1975:22), and draws attention to the finding from an investigation by the Inner London Education Authority (ILEA), that 'the proportion of poor readers in the semi-skilled and unskilled groups increased from 17.9% and 25.9% respectively to 22.0% and 28.8% in 1971' (1975:22). In the light of this it is strange that the research design did not collect data on social class, since it would seem to be at the heart of any survey of reading problems.

The questionnaire was given to a wide range of primary and secondary schools, and information was assembled on classes at ages 6, 9, 12, 14. There was also an individual in each class whose whole language 'diet' was recorded. The bulk of the report relates to reading standards, both within English and across the curriculum, and the report made the notion of *language across the curriculum* the main focus for curriculum development for some time. However, we are concerned here with the relatively smaller part of the report which deals with spoken and written English. We will consider spoken English first. The sections on talk are concerned with the place of talk activities in English, and in other subjects, and encourage more discussion groups, more exploratory talk, open questioning on the part of the teacher and so on. However, there are sections on the issues connected with standard English and RP. I will give a reasonable flavour of the Bullock report's view on this, because this formulation became the liberal view of this issue, and the one which later politicians and educationalists of a different political persuasion wished to attack.

> The point to be emphasised is that the child's language should be accepted...To criticise a person's speech may be an attack on his self-esteem, and the extent to which the two are a associated is evident from the status accorded to accent in society at large...We believe that a child's accent should be accepted, and that to attempt to suppress it is irrational and neither humane nor necessary. The teacher's aim should be to indicate to his pupils the value of awareness and flexibility, so that they can make their own decisions, and modify these as their view alter. (1975:143)

This view of accent is one which has been largely accepted, (though not wholly: see Honey (1989)). The formulation is a distinctly liberal one, emphasising the right of the individual to have a regional accent, and the potential damage if the teacher were to do otherwise. In fact this formulation (followed in good part by the Cox Report (1988, 1989)) is a little too confident about drawing an absolute distinction between lexis and phonology: see section 6.2 below. Nevertheless the formulation became very influential, and certainly represents a gain on earlier generalisation about 'barbarisms', some of which relate to phonology, some to syntax, and so on. The report continues:

> The question of conformity to acceptable standards of grammar and diction is rather more difficult and certainly one in which more teachers feel the need to change the speech habits of their pupils. However, a view that has long been held by linguists is that an utterance may be 'correct' in one linguistic situation but not in another. Any one person belongs to a number of speech communities, and correctness therefore becomes a matter of conform to the linguistic behaviour appropriate to the situation in which he is talking. Many people find this notion of relativity hard to accept, but it seems to us far more reasonable to think in terms of appropriateness rather than absolute correctness. This is to operate positively rather than negatively, in the sense that one is seeking to extend the child's range of language use, not restrict it....In the course of the child's life in school there should be a gradual and growing extension of his powers of language to meet new demands and new situations, and this again takes us firmly to the need for an explicit knowledge by the teacher of how language operates. (1975:143)

Here we see repeated almost word for word the opposition between correctness and appropriateness referred to in the discussion of Plowden above. The last sentence emphasises the provision of new situations for the child to operate in, and requires in-service training for teachers to facilitate this. This was a breakthrough, and gave new legitimacy to the growing oracy movement (see 3.3). The report goes on to consider at length the differences between

speech and writing, considered by many educational linguists today to be at the heart of the pedagogical issues surrounding standard English (Stubbs 1986, Perera 1984). This again was new to many teachers, and the formulation here was very influential.

2.7. The Kingman Report (1988)

The Kingman report was set up by the government of Margaret Thatcher with a very specific aim:

> to recommend a model of the English language as a basis for teacher training and professional discussion, and to consider how far and in what ways that model should be made explicit to pupils at various stages of education. (1988:1)

In terms of awareness of current linguistic theory, the Kingman Report is much more sophisticated than its predecessors. This partly reflect the composition of the committee (of which more below), and partly reflects what had happened between the publication of Bullock and Kingman.

To take the second point first, the Schools Council Programme in Linguistics and English Teaching had a considerable effect, but only on enthusiasts (of which the present writer was one). There were teachers and university education tutors who introduced an element of language awareness or knowledge about language into their courses, using pupil materials called *Language in Use* (Doughty et al 1971). Secondly, in the light of the increased awareness of language, books were published which highlighted the part linguistics could play in teaching English. Among these we might refer to Trudgill (1985) Carter (1982), Hawkins (1984). Thirdly, Her Majesty's Inspectorate (H.M.I.) published two booklets in a curriculum series. They were entitled *Curriculum Matters 1: English from 5 - 16* (1985) and *English 5 - 16: the responses to Curriculum Matters 1* (1986). Contained in this document, which related to an entitlement curriculum, was a suggestion that as well as speaking and listening, reading, and writing, there should be an aspect of English called 'teaching pupils about language'. This produced a storm of protest, so much so that the second volume was produced, discussing the response. However, the idea had taken root, and would not

disappear, especially with a government instinctively keen on 'grammar' and 'correctness'. The final area of change was the move towards introducing an 'A' level in English language: the examination pre-university for 16 - 18 year olds. This enabled a number of secondary school English teachers who traditionally had been mainly taught literature (see Shayer 1970) to acquire some skills in language and linguistics, and to represent to their purely literature-based colleagues that the study of language could be as challenging and liberating as the study of literature. All of these created a climate where linguistics was felt to have a part to play, though suspicions remained, and still do. Primary teachers, while also having eschewed the teaching of formal grammar, tended to be keener on the possibility of teaching language, since many of them acquired an understanding of phonics during initial training in reading, grapple on a daily basis with developing speech and literacy skills in young children, and deal with the effects of accent and dialect on written and spoken English.

The other factor alluded to earlier which highlights the changed situation was the composition of the committee. (See Rosen (1988) and Cox (1991) for accounts of the political trafficking which surrounded the constitution of these committees and their reports.) The Bullock report had a large number of people on its committee from the world of teaching. To be specific, ten members were University lecturers in Education or LEA English advisers. A further six were practising teachers, of which four were primary and two secondary. The remainder included a publisher, a chief education officer, The editor of The Economist, and the vice-chancellor of Oxford University. This composition of the great and the good from the world of education became unacceptable in the political climate of the late eighties in England and Wales. Thus the Kingman committee, had reduced this number of representatives from education-based professions to three: a college lecturer who had been a primary headteacher, two secondary teachers, and an adviser/inspector from a local education authority. There were no representatives from the influential English in Education group represented by such academics as James Britton, who had been a member of the Bullock committee, or Harold Rosen. The academics on the working party were linguists or literature-based academics, rather than education-oriented professionals, and the rest of the committee were in the main industrialists and writers (including, for one meeting only, the children's

writer Roald Dahl). The composition of this committee, selected as it was by the secretary of state at the time, naturally gave rise to a different kind of report. Equally, the committee's composition also affected the reception given to the report by teachers, who felt their views had not been represented, and therefore were not well disposed towards its findings.

The findings of the Kingman report were mostly very well-informed, however, and in terms of the linguistic background underpinning the report it was a step forward from many of the previous reports. It distinguishes between three social groups in which children will find themselves:

> the family, the peer group, and the wider group, in social terms, of their 'public world'. The public world of children is largely bounded by the school, where standard English will be the norm. In each of these groups the conventions of language behaviour are likely to be different, and children ought, in our view, to be aware of how all three have their own legitimacy. The conventions may be associated with different accents, different dialects, and (in the case of some communities) different languages. (1988:9)

This is a much more sophisticated analysis than anything we have seen so far. It does not pick out any one level of linguistic analysis for 'correction', but rather relates lexical, syntactic and other choices (including choices of one language rather than another) to 'the way they must adapt their speech to fit patterns accepted by particular social groups' (1988:9). It also calls attention to the use older children will make 'not only to identify with certain groups but also to exclude others.' (1988:10). It also deals with standard English specifically:

> When children go to school for the first time, their language may differ in may respects from standard English, depending on where they live, their parents' speech habits, and so on. However, one of the school's duties is to enable children to acquire standard English, which is their right. This is not a matter of controversy: no item of evidence received by the Committee contained disagreement with this point. (1988:14)

The specific reference to speech habits in this passage implies that the committee are here requiring spoken standard English, as well as the written form, of all schoolchildren. If

there was no controversy at that time, there certainly was subsequently, since the implications of this were great. Should teachers intervene and change (not correct) verb forms, pronoun usages and so on of the sort discussed in chapter 4 (see (4.10) paradigms relating regularities in Tyneside English to those in standard English)? Do children learn these anyway by a certain age as they go through the processes Kingman calls attention to above? Or must these be taught, and if so when? One politician felt that non-standard English should be corrected even in the playground (John Patten, Secretary of State for Education, radio interview). Would teachers have the knowledge to correct only grammatical and lexical errors, leaving phonology alone? And would discourse features of the sort stigmatised by the Plowden report be corrected? The Kingman Committee seemed unaware of the potential controversy here.

In a later chapter which discusses how the model should be used, the committee makes a very compelling plea for more (and more effective) teacher education.

> It is important for teachers to have clear and informed views about accent. For example, it is indefensible to make a pupils feel at any time and in any way ashamed of his or her accent. As one witness to the Committee pointed out, 'more than 12 years ago, the Bullock Report declared fairly..."We believe that a child's accent should be accepted, and that to attempt to suppress it is irrational and neither humane nor necessary"...'Yet only recently I heard a tape recording of some 11 year olds... in Northumberland who were being asked to tell the teacher about a book they had been looking at. One of them said, in the accent of the region - "It's aboot (about) tigers. His teacher said "Not a boot, Nigel; a boot is something you wear on your foot..." '.(1988:42-3)

This kind of ignorance about accent and dialect and the distinction between the two concepts still exists amongst teachers. Kingman's linguistically reasonable statement that 'all languages are rule-governed systems of communication, and none is linguistically superior' (1988:42) is still being questioned by academics, albeit non-linguists (e.g. Marenbon 1987, Honey 1989). And the popular view (see the discussion in 4.5) remains similar to that of the teacher from Northumberland.

Kingman then says a good deal about acquiring 'the vocabulary, syntax and conventions which are characteristic of different types of discourse' (1988:43), and promotes

the study of language as used in different contexts, as well as practising using language in different contexts.

2.8. The Cox Report (1988, 1989)

The Cox Committee (whose chair, Professor Brian Cox had also been a member of the Kingman Committee) was charged with producing a curriculum for English 5 - 16. The first part of the report (D.E.S. 1988) covered ages 5 - 11. The second part (D.E.S. 1989) included much of the first part, and extended it to age 16. The report caused much controversy, and was criticised by the political right and left. It became a battleground because Professor Cox had been charged with producing a document which would satisfy cries in the Conservative party for 'standards' to be restored in English. The committee took its job very seriously, and produced a document which satisfied a large part of the teaching profession, and in many ways laid down an entitlement for pupils which prior to that they had not previously had access to. It did not quieten the debate, however, because the committee's statements (especially on the issue under discussion) did not satisfy members of the government and of 'think tanks' close to the government that the revision had been rigorous enough. Cox (1991) provides an account of this process and of the highly political atmosphere in which the committee conducted its business.

The 1988 report contained, amongst other things, chapters about standard English and linguistic terminology, as well as ideas, teaching programmes and assessments for the three designated 'profile components' of speaking and listening, reading, and writing. The second report (1989) contained additionally a chapter about 'knowledge about language'. While there were other chapters, for example on literature and on assessment, these three chapters took up a large proportion of the Cox Report, and also took up nearly all the discussion which followed its publication. Publications and courses proliferated discussing Kingman and Cox (e.g. Jones and West 1988, Stubbs 1989, Winch 1989 Cameron and Bourne 1988). In 1989 a government sponsored project (L.I.N.C.) was set up to promote the ideas in Kingman and in these chapters in Cox: see below 2.8.

The areas of argument and debate were the following. Cox placed great emphasis on finding the appropriate spoken and written language for different situations, and on recognising appropriateness in the language of others. It argued that those who are able to operate in a wide variety of contexts 'are freer and more independent than those whose sense of linguistic inadequacy restricts their behaviour, their responses, and their opportunities.' (1988:11).

Cox argued that 'all children have an entitlement to learn, and if necessary to be explicitly taught, the functions and forms of standard English.' (1988:13). The committee suggested that the bulk of the work on standard English should be done with older children in secondary school (11 - 18). Many felt that younger children could enjoy teaching which focused on language, and yet others felt that children should be caught young (pre-7) and 'corrected' before habits become ingrained. (See John Patten's comments referred to above).

The chapter on knowledge about language argued that teaching children about language should be done in the broadest contexts of modern linguistics:

> The broader approach that we advocate covers not only sentence structure but also larger patterns of organisation, not only the forms of written academic English, but also a range of stylistic and dialectal varieties, not only language structure but also meaning and use. (1989:6.8).

This view was contested by those who wanted both Cox and Kingman to come up with a relatively small set of grammatical terms such as 'noun' and 'verb', and to legislate for these to be taught alongside correct punctuation and spelling. Cox (1991) describes the way sentences promulgating this view were inserted at the last minute into drafts of the report by civil servants who were presumably acting on the direct instruction of ministers.

Cox queried the actual communication problem brought about by differences between standard English and non-standard dialects: 'Non-standard forms are rarely more than a social irritant to some people' (1988:13). This view tended to denigrate the arguments put forward by politicians and writers on the right (e.g. Marenbon (1987), Honey (1989), Tebbitt (quoted in Cox (1993)) that non-standard forms were seriously inhibiting the life-chances of working-class children.

The committee refused to define the linguistic terminology to be taught in schools, though it did provide a list of examples of terms which might be thought important: even these upset those in education who did not wish to teach terminology at all, or who objected to individual items on the list. Some of these arguments upset people from the left of the debate, and others upset people on the right. The terms suggested were linguistically technical enough to upset certain English teachers and primary teachers without a background in language (they included *elision, auxiliary verb, collocation, cohesion, topic sentence, inference* and *presupposition, Creole* and *lingua franca*.) On the other hand the curriculum proposed was extremely wide even in language, and caused others to feel that the grammatical terms that they considered essential would be submerged. The 1989 report proposed the following:

> the sounds of English (pronunciation or accent);
> the spelling and writing systems of English;
> the grammar of English (i.e. sentence syntax);
> the semantic relationship between words in English vocabulary as a whole and in texts;
> the textual or discourse structure of English.
> In addition to all this, terms are also needed to discuss the functions and varieties of language. (1988:5.28)

With regard to standard English, the view was very similar to that expressed in the Kingman report: '...we do not see it as the school's place to enforce the accent known as Received Pronunciation.' (1988:35). The report is very firm on the teaching of written standard English: 'to produce written standard English is undoubtedly a responsibility of the English curriculum.' (1988:14). It calls attention usefully to the fact that 'correcting' features of dialect at the same time as such things as spelling errors is likely to cause confusion. And on the teaching of spoken standard English the report discriminates very carefully (but see Winch (1989) for a critique of a confusion of prescriptive and descriptive approaches to language). It does not argue as Kingman had done for bidialectalism. The report comments '...it is unrealistic to require children to speak standard English in the classroom if it is not their native dialect because many aspects of spoken production are automatic and below the level of conscious control.' (1988:14) Their conclusion is that ...the English curriculum must

help children to move towards spoken standard English on occasions when they will need to use it.' (1988:14). The second report (1989) extends this view into the secondary school. The committee does claim that the role of the English teacher is to enable the pupil to 'add standard English to the repertoire' (1989:4.43). However, it argues against 'correcting the spoken language of the pupil in any general way' (4.50), and draws attention to research (Cheshire (1982)) which suggests than pupils in secondary schools use fewer non-standard forms that primary school pupils when talking to the teacher. It suggests that the key is to provide a variety of situations (including drama, which is mentioned in this context for the first time) which provide naturally occurring opportunities to speak in different ways. Another suggestion is to use adults in the community to provide this context.

2.9. The Language in the National Curriculum (L.I.N.C.) project (1989 to 1992)

The L.I.N.C. project was a 3 year project set up on the recommendation of the Kingman committee to promote the Kingman model of language, and to teach it to primary school language co-ordinators, and secondary English teachers, many of whom had studied for literature degrees, who knew little of language or linguistics, and who were slightly hostile towards the subject area. The project carried out a huge programme of training, and several hundred teachers were appointed to train teachers in the model. It must be said that some excellent training took place, and that in many respects language teaching is now taking place in primary and secondary schools in a way which was uncommon before 1989. However, the project became a political football.

The leaders of the project had reservations about the Kingman model, and also about the desirability and wisdom of dealing with language separately from the new national curriculum, at a time when teachers were crying out for help with a number of new curriculum documents and directives. It must be said also that some of those appointed were writing or reading specialists whose sympathy with teaching language was small, and who wanted to continue the excellent work they had done in national projects such as the National

Writing Project and the National Oracy Project. Even the title of the project was a subject for dispute, starting out as English Language in the National Curriculum, and being changed because it was pointed out that community languages such as Urdu and Turkish could be usefully studied in these lessons.

Materials were developed collaboratively by the 'expert trainers' who led the project. These went through a number of drafts and this caused slippage to the timetable so that the materials were not ready for training purposes until a year into the project. However, the materials produced in this way embedded 'knowledge about language' into all aspects of the curriculum, including literature, drama, and reading. This was a radical departure from the original idea of an additional training package in a model of language, but it was one which the majority of teachers could accept and work with. It also fitted with the new approaches to A level examining at 18+ in English language which were becoming popular with teachers and pupils.

However, there had been considerable change in the political climate since the inception of the project, and this, combined with a backlash against the Cox report on the part of some politicians, led to a move against the LINC project. The government refused to allow any of the LINC materials to be published, even commercially. The materials (about 360 pages of training materials covering all aspects of English, but with a strong language component) were copied to all schools by the project itself, and also to teacher training institutions. The materials are heavily used by advisers, teacher trainers and schools as a reference document and training manual.

2.10. The Dearing Review 1994 - 1995

Discontent (mainly in government circles, but also in certain national newspapers of the political right) with the Cox version of the English National Curriculum continued, and in 1993 the National Curriculum Council reviewed the Orders for English and Technology. The English document amongst other things was much more prescriptive about spoken standard English, requiring children under seven years of age to be taught to use it. This review was

combined with a general feeling that the National Curriculum was far too cumbersome. So the government asked Sir Ron Dearing (an industrialist) to 'slim down' the National Curriculum.

The English documents which emerged during this review were of a very different character from the Cox and Kingman documents. The notion of knowledge about language disappeared completely, and was replaced by a much greater emphasis on standard English. Three key areas of the English Curriculum were identified: range; key skills; standard English and language study. The emphasis is much more on the study of language *for teaching* standard English, and the emphasis on language as fascinating in its own right is rather less. The emphasis on diction is also greater: 'They should be taught to speak with clear diction and appropriate intonation.(1994:5)' However there is also a clear injunction to teach 'the similarities and differences between the written and spoken forms of standard English, and to investigate how language varies according to context and purpose and between standard and dialect forms.' (1994:12) The emphasis on formal grammar is much more spelled out in this document, and explicitly wedded to the idea of standard English. Even at Key Stage 1, which is the programme of study laid down for 5 - 7 year olds, teachers are asked to handle the following:

> They should be introduced to some of the features that distinguish standard English, including subject-verb agreement, and the use of the verb 'to be' in past and present tenses. (1994:5)

By the age of 11, the orders for writing are thus:

> Pupils should be given opportunities to develop their understanding of the grammar of complex sentences, including clauses and phrases. They should be taught to use paragraphs, linking sentences together coherently. They should be taught to use the standard written forms of nouns, pronouns, verbs, adjectives, adverbs, prepositions, conjunctions, and verb tenses.

The words 'introduced to' and 'be given opportunities to' perhaps reveal by their tentativeness a discomfort on the part of the writers about some of these things. While pupils have done some of these things (such as learning about complex sentences), many teachers of 7 - 11 year olds, and some teachers in secondary schools also, would have difficulty in discussing

the grammar of complex sentences, and very few people are able confidently to discuss the features which distinguish standard and non-standard varieties of English (while not referring at all to accent). This of course is an issue of teacher knowledge, which could be addressed in training. However, it is by no means proven that such matters can be taught (or even meaningfully introduced) to children under 7, and certainly many 7 - 11 year olds will find it difficult to understand concepts such as clauses and phrases. There is also the issue of whether this will help children acquire standard English or to speak or write better. The argument has raged for many years, and it is certainly not proven. No pilot study has been carried out to see if these things can or should be done with primary aged children.

The argument in Cox and Kingman, and it is an argument which stretches back at least as far as the Bullock report, is that studying language is interesting in its own right. The Dearing review does contain suggestions of this sort, especially in the secondary school, alongside an emphasis on vocabulary which earlier reports had under emphasised. However, this argument is very different from the one outlined above, which is predicated on the idea that explicit grammatical study in the primary school at a young age will enable children to speak and write standard English. This has never been explored in a rigorous way in educational or linguistic research. Research was carried out in the 1950s and 1960s in secondary schools about the efficacy of old style grammar teaching. This research produced evidence which suggested that the time spent on grammar teaching would be more profitably spent on free writing. However this evidence is old, and arguably flawed methodologically. Tomlinson 1984 usefully reviews the literature, and questions some of its premises. It may be that intervention in the direction of more explicit knowledge of grammar and being able to distinguish between standard and non-standard forms might help children. However, the case is not established. This has not prevented it becoming law, and, according to the government, the law will remain in place for five years.

This is the situation at the time of writing. The place of standard English is now fully established. Certainly in terms of linguistic sophistication progress has been made, and few would challenge the value of the increased emphasis on language which now exists. And certainly a population better informed about, for example, accent and dialect would be less

likely to offer ignorant prejudice as fact, examples of which we saw in Chapter 4. However, the question of whether pupils can be taught to speak standard English, and also whether and when certain grammatical notions should be taught, remains an open one.

2.11. Conclusion

The present chapter has sketched the historical background to the present debate surrounding the teaching of spoken standard English. Sections 2.1 to 2.3 show how many of today's debates have resonances in earlier decades. At the same time a consideration of official documents of the 1920s and 1930s suggests that that in some ways progress has been made in terms of general understanding (at least on the part of writers of government reports), in the sense that words such as 'correction' and 'barbarism' are no longer used. Sections 2.4 and 2.5 outline the liberal consensus on the teaching of English, with an emphasis on appropriateness and on respect for the language the individual brings to school. The most recent legislation and reports (2.6 to 2.9) represent a restatement of this position with an attempt to clarify what could and could not be taught as spoken standard English. As we have suggested, the most recent formulations still do not make clear exactly how teachers might go about the business of teaching spoken standard English, and many technical questions (such as the line between phonology and lexis) remain unexplored. This study will attempt to shed some light on all of these issues.

In Chapter 3 we discuss other background to the present debate, focusing on attempts by educationalists and linguists to get to grips with perceived linguistic disadvantage, and the bearing this debate had and has on the standard English debate.

3. Standard English: educational and linguistic perspectives

3.1. Introduction

In the previous chapter we saw how government reports and committees dealt with the issue of spoken standard English. They may reflect to some extent broader views within society. We have considered at the level of national policy the framework from which the present study arose. Central to the thrust of the National Curriculum is the notion of entitlement to standard English. The view is that not to have the ability to use standard English in written and spoken forms when one chooses to do so will seriously weaken a person's chances of social and occupational advancement. This argument is the main reason given for the increasing centrality of the notion of standard English. It links with a whole strand of thinking in education and linguistics which is concerned with deprivation, and with compensation for supposed deficiencies in certain kinds of upbringing. The claim is that these deficiencies, which principally apply to working class children but also may apply to some ethnic groups, are preventing children from realising their true potential. In terms of the teaching of language there have been a number of programmes intended to help children who are deprived in this way.

The National Curriculum asserts that an emphasis on standard English will help children realise their potential, but no research has been done on whether working class children can already use standard English, or if they cannot how best to help them acquire it, if it is considered necessary to do so. Nor does the National Curriculum suggest ways of achieving this. The literature on deprivation provides a fascinating background to the current debate, and to the reasons behind some of the current moves towards standard English.

We turn in this chapter to considering the contribution made by linguists, educationalists and psychologists to some of the issues discussed above. We will consider in particular three areas:

- the work arising from projects such as Head Start in America, and the whole compensatory education movement, alongside more recent thinking on language and disadvantage from linguists;
- the oracy movement in Britain and the National Oracy Project;
- issues surrounding bidialectalism in school, referring amongst others to the work of Trudgill and Labov.

3.2. Compensatory education and linguistic disadvantage

3.2.1. Linguistic disadvantage: background

As we have seen from the reports detailed above, the sixties and seventies are associated with a considerable interest in the notion of linguistic disadvantage. It was observed that working class children in a number of industrialised societies were failing to benefit from their schooling as much as their more privileged peers. This was observed amongst economically disadvantaged groups in the U.S.A., for example Black and Hispanic children. Findings came mostly from psychological laboratory experiments (e.g. Hess and Shipman 1972) or from the use of I.Q. (intelligence quotient) tests, (e.g. Deutsch 1963, Deutsch and Brown 1964, Vera 1963, and Eells et al 1951). All these studies pointed to a situation which caused a great deal of concern. They refer to lower scores on I.Q. tests, the differences becoming greater with age. Black children in general seemed to get less out of schooling, to score lower grades, to leave earlier, and to be more likely to be unemployed. Initially some researchers looked at genetic bases for these findings (See accounts in Banton (1987 and Barkan 1992). However this was rejected in favour of an argument which became known as a 'cultural deficit' argument. This argument takes the form that disadvantaged groups within society, whether they come from a lower social class, or from a disadvantaged ethnic group, perform less well because of deficits within the culture. This argument is complicated by the fact that certain ethnic groups (e.g. Jews, many Asian groups, Vietnamese) seem to perform well at school in the west as compared to indigenous groups. However, if we consider the group which

prompted the American research, there was concern expressed that many black children were not achieving their full potential within society. This was seen by certain researchers to be attributable to styles of mother-child interaction, and to problems within the extended family. Hess and Shipman (1965), for example, examine the reactions of 163 black mothers and their 4 year old children from different social classes. They gave them a number of laboratory tasks and psychometric-type tests, and found considerable differences between mothers of different social classes. These differences were in the direction of lower mean-sentence-length, fewer abstract words, and so on. They also classified the types of utterance typically used by mothers of different social classes in a teaching situation, and concluded that the mother's instructional technique could be classified as broadly 'person-oriented', or broadly 'status-oriented'. This meant that the 'person-oriented' mother would explain more, convey information, and prepare the child cognitively for problem-solving. In contrast, the 'status-oriented' mother would focus more on what she 'had to' do, and used more deictic language and non-verbal cues. The authors conclude that this type of upbringing gives rise to a child who 'relates to authority rather than to rationale' (1972:176).

3.2.2. Bernstein

This type of approach is very similar to the approach taken by Bernstein (1971) with deprived white working class children in London, and indeed Hess and Shipman refer explicitly to Bernstein's work, and relate their distinction of status- or person- oriented discourse to Bernstein. Bernstein's 'codes' became well known amongst teachers on both sides of the Atlantic, and had a great effect on classroom approaches to language. Unfortunately these were not always clearly beneficial. Bernstein's work is reported in a number of his books (e.g. 1970, 1971, 1973, 1975). It was concerned with what he termed 'restricted' and 'elaborated' codes. These codes were originally found through empirical research with boys of different social classes, but later volumes elaborated the findings of the research into a general theory of linguistic codes. His 1971 article claims that early socialisation is highly

affected by social class, and that language is one of the key areas where these differences show most clearly:

> ...elaborated codes orient their users towards universalistic meaning, whereas restricted codes orient, sensitise their users to particularistic meanings: that the linguistic realisation of the two orders are different, and so are the social relationships which realise them...One of the effects of the class system is to limit access to elaborated codes. (1971:174).

There has been much criticism of Bernstein, especially from educators and linguists (e.g. Rosen (1972) Wells (1981 1985a 1985b 1985c 1987) Trudgill (1975) and see Edwards J.R. (1979) or Edwards A.D. (1976) for an overview). From a present day perspective it seems difficult to believe that it is possible to distinguish codes in this way by carefully structured linguistic analysis. Bernstein's research was heavily criticised for its design, and for using relatively insignificant indices such as number of pauses and number of pronouns as data on which to build a theory. However, Bernstein's work did give rise to much work on compensatory education in Britain; for example the move, following the Plowden report, towards Educational Priority Areas. Joan Tough's work had a strong compensatory strand, and was easier to read and more practical than many of the other projects of the time. This work, which aimed to extend language for all children (though perhaps aimed principally at working class children), used specific programmes, picture activities and group work to encourage children towards using a more elaborated code (Tough 1973).

Projects like 'Head Start' in America were influenced partly by the work of Bernstein and by those influenced by him in America (e.g. Blank and Solomon 1969, and Weikart 1967). Finally, the issues highlighted by Bernstein, though not the solutions, remain relevant: working class children still appear to function less well in the educational system, and the reports reviewed above manifest the belief that access to spoken and written standard English would help them function better.

Linguists and educators attempted in a number of ways to find a better model than the Bernstein codes and related compensatory approaches. Three are particularly salient: the work of the National Oracy project.; the work of Labov, and of other related American

scholars; and the work of Wells et al. These are discussed below in 3.3, 3.4.1 and 3.4.6 respectively.

3.2.3. American critics of 'compensatory education'

We will start with American criticisms of compensation. Baratz and Baratz (1970) question the whole basis for the assumptions made in the studies referred to above: that lower class mothers are inadequate, and that this inadequate mothering leads to language deficit. Referring to Labov's 'The Logic of non-standard English' (collected in 1972b), Baratz and Baratz construct an argument for difference, not deficit. They question the evidence for working class blacks carrying out inadequate mothering, and attack the argument put forward in research by Hess (see above, 3.3.1). They accept that their data show that middle class black mothers are more mainstream in their early socialisation procedures, and this enables middle class black infants to perform better on school I.Q. tests. However, they point out that this does not lead to the conclusion that working class mothers are inadequate.

> Research has indicated how unlike the middle-class mother the lower-class mother is, but there is very little description of who the lower class mother is and what she does. (1972:193)

It is in this respect that the work of Wells and his colleagues (e.g. 1981, 1985, reviewed below 3.4.6) is so relevant, because it provides empirical research into the nature and quality of mother child interactions in the home.

Their argument is that if children fail, it is because the predominantly white, middle class school is failing these children. Following Labov's convincing case that the speech of black deprived youths was as regular and as creative as that of their more privileged peers, Baratz and Baratz argue that the fault lies with the school and its values. They argue that 'a disadvantage created by a difference is not the same thing as a deficit.' (1972:191). Their major hypothesis is that:

> The educational problems of lower-class culturally different Negro children, as of other groups of culturally different children, are not so much related to inappropriate

> educational goals as to inadequate means for meeting these goals...The goal of (education) should be to produce a bicultural child who is capable of functioning both in his sub-culture and in the mainstream (1972: 193).

This is a broader version of the argument made by for example Trudgill (1985), and echoed in the Cox Report: that children should be able to use two different modes of speech for home and school. Here the Baratzes are arguing that children should be helped towards being able to function in two cultures: home and school.

3.2.4. Compensatory education: conclusion

Here we have the dilemma for educators. Do teachers consider pupils as deficient in some way owing to inadequate mothering, environment or other factors, or do they change their teaching methods and styles of interaction to meet the children more on their own terms? If they do the latter, how and when (if at all) should they intervene to move children towards the mainstream culture, or in the case of the present study towards standard English, and how is this to be done without denigrating the patterns of speech and cultural values which the children and their families hold? Many educators in both Britain and America feel strongly that too much interference with a child's culture and modes of speech will result in silent children or alienated teenagers. The National Oracy Project collects a number of articles by teachers (e.g. Graddol and Swann 1988, Norman 1992) outlining the problems for pupils with a poor image of themselves as speakers, and suggest that the standard language culture in schools is at least partly to blame. Many teachers feel that they need to lean towards to children's culture, accepting non-standard syntax and lexis in order to achieve what they consider as more important goals: children who will talk freely in a variety of contexts.

3.3. National Oracy project

The National Oracy Project was established in 1988 to look into the process of teaching talk in schools. Unlike the deficit theory and other projects we have considered so far, this belongs to a different research tradition. While the work of Bernstein, Hess and

others, and their critics, come from psychological and sociological backgrounds, often with a educational focus, the tradition we turn to now comes from the field of English studies and education. The Oracy movement originated in Britain, and indeed the word itself comes from Andrew Wilkinson, a Professor of Education in Exeter. His work is linked with material such as Britton (1970), Barnes, Britton and Rosen (1969) Stratta, Dixon and Wilkinson (1973), and scholars associated with the National Association for the Teaching of English (NATE), whose national conference was and remains an influential meeting place for secondary English teachers, advisers and inspectors for English, teacher trainers from Universities, and primary school English specialists. Wilkinson's (1975) book *Language and Education*, highlighted a growing concern especially among secondary teachers with the ineffectiveness of the types of talk deployed by pupils in the classroom. A.D. Edwards gives a tongue in cheek account of the approach to classroom language which this movement was intended to challenge:

> ...as a competent pupil you have to be willing and able to:
> - listen to the teacher, often for long periods of time;
> - when the teacher stops talking, bid properly for the right to speak yourself, sometimes when competition for the next turn means balancing the risks of not being noticed against the risks of being ignored as too enthusiastic;
> - answer questions to which the answer will be judged more or less relevant, useful and correct by a teacher who is seeking not to know something but to know if you know something;
> - put up with having anyone's answer treated as evidence of a common understanding or misunderstanding, so that the teacher will often explain something again when you understood it the first time or rush on when you are still struggling with what was said before;
> - look for clues as to what a right answer might be from the way the teacher leads into a question, asks the question, and evaluates the responses - the last source of clues being often so prolific that even a wild guess may lead the teacher to answer the questions for you;
> - ask questions about the administration of the lesson but not usually about its content (and certainly never suggest that the teacher may be wrong);
> - accept that what you know already about the topic of the lesson is unlikely to be asked for, or to be accepted as relevant, unless and until it fits into the teacher's frame of reference. (1992:235)

This list of points neatly highlights the concerns of this school of educationalists and English teachers. See also Edwards and Westgate (1994), Mehan (1979) Sinclair and Coulthard (1975) Barnes Britton and Rosen (1969), Britton (1970) Stubbs (1986) Barnes and Todd

(1977) Wragg (1993) for further discussion of the issues surrounding classroom discourse, and issues concerned with questioning techniques and classroom organisation for effective talk. The National Oracy Project was concerned to highlight some of these issues, and to promote best pedagogical practice in areas such as: teacher questioning, learning through talking; providing a variety of contexts for learning; encouraging new classroom strategies for talk such as interlocking groups ('jigsaws'); and using talk as 'scaffolding' to enable learning to take place. The work of Barnes (e.g. Barnes and Todd 1977) was especially influential. He emphasised the value of children talking without the continuous presence of the teacher, and of the teacher simply observing these talk sessions as a way of learning about the pupils. He devised an approach for analysing talk which owed something to Goffman (1959, 1984) and also something to discourse analysis methods being developed at the time (Sinclair and Coulthard (1985, Mehan 1979), which also focused on classroom discourse. This approach was much used by the National Oracy Project. Some writers are now to some extent questioning whether the subsequent moves towards group work and collaborative methods have gone too far (Stables 1995); H.M.I. (1995), however, argue that collaborative talk activities are still too rarely seen.

The Project was also distinctive in that its primary focus was on teachers and classrooms, and on what practitioners could find out about their own practice. Johnson et al comment:

> The National Oracy Project was not established to carry out traditional research - there were no standard formats for data collection, no 'control groups', no statistical analyses (1992:5).

This was both a strength and a weakness. It was a strength in that it enabled gifted practitioners to analyse their classroom work, change their practice, and disseminate good practice. Many of the people involved in the National Oracy Project would have rejected standard academic discourse and its methods, and not have brought their skills to the project. The materials produced, which were very accessible, were interesting to teachers who attended courses, in a way the early L.I.N.C. materials (see 2.9 above), which were much

more linguistically technical in tone, were not. Also, this approach represented a 'bottom up' form of educational research which encouraged thought and innovation within the classroom. On the other hand, the lack of academic input led to a rather inconclusive style of writing which, while it was interesting, did not give teachers a clear idea of how to proceed: the work might have benefited from a more theoretically explicit starting point. It also meant that different groups within the project were talking at cross purposes because, unwittingly, they were working within a different framework. Equally, because the team rejected procedures such as control groups and statistical methods, it never achieved the degree of prominence which more academic educational research can achieve. For example the great influence of Gordon Wells' work (1981, 1985a, 1985b) was mainly because its solid findings were supported by a representative sampling procedure and a statistically valid quantitative analysis.

The approach to talk adopted by the National Oracy project contrasts a great deal with the emphasis on standard English which we find in the National Curriculum and in Kingman. In the kinds of analyses of talk carried out by practitioners in the National Oracy Project it seemed less relevant whether a given pupil used an item of non-standard grammar, or a non-standard lexical item. The aim was to give the pupil the opportunity to learn through talking, and to this end it was considered important to give pupils the chance to explore ideas away from the tyranny of teacher talk as caricatured by Edwards above. From this perspective one might well argue that the emphasis on standard English is at best a minor feature of some speakers, who in any case could produce standard English in a more formal situation. Bain (1993) for example, says that 'I have never come across a child who, when asked to take the role of a monarch, or 'to read the news' on class radio, cannot produce a very acceptable version of R.P.' 1993:88). The National Oracy Project, in its emphasis on purposes, audiences and contexts for talk, made out a good case for drama teaching as a forum in which children could use an even wider linguistic repertoire (Crinson and Leak 1993).

The argument with respect to standard English from this group of writers and teachers is that standard English is a natural by-product of good oracy teaching, and will emerge given the right context.

Interestingly many of the ideas of the National Oracy Project are still present in the succeeding versions of the National Curriculum. These ideas are present in the sections on speaking and listening (called 'talking and listening' in the 1988 version of the Cox report). It may be that they do not present a challenge to the primacy of standard English in the rest of the curriculum. However, I can envisage classrooms where teachers might be uneasy having to, at the same time, provide opportunities for the two following aspects of the programme of study for speaking and listening:

> 1a Pupils should be given opportunities to talk for a range of purposes, including:
> - exploring, developing and clarifying ideas; predicting outcomes and discussing possibilities:
> - describing events, observations and experiences; making simple, clear explanations of choices; giving reasons for opinions and actions.
>
> 3 They should be introduced to some of the features that distinguish standard English, including subject-verb agreement and the use of the verb 'to be' in past and present tenses. Pupils may speak in different accents, but they should be taught to speak with clear diction and appropriate intonation. (Department for Education 1994:4 - 5)

These legal requirements, which are for 5 - 7 year olds, appear to require teachers to enable children to explore ideas (as advocated by the National Oracy Project) at the same time as possibly informing them about how their language differs from the standard, and improving their diction and intonation. While the concept of appropriateness (as outlined by Winch (1989) might enable a careful teacher to step through this minefield, the potential for confusion is great.

3.4. Linguistic perspectives

We next consider the contribution to this debate made by linguists themselves. It is obvious from the foregoing that much of the work on disadvantage, deprivation, deficit, and pedagogy was carried out in disciplines other than linguistics. In the 1960s linguists on both sides of the Atlantic and in Europe were centrally concerned with the synchronic aspect of linguistic knowledge, and under the influence of Chomsky (1966) were concerned with generative

models of syntax and phonology. This is not to say that work was not being carried out on language in context: Halliday (1973a, 1973b, 1976, 1978, 1985,) Quirk (1968, 1990) for example and in America Hymes (1972) Labov (e.g. 1972a 1972b) and Gumperz (1968, 1970, 1971 1982) exemplify a tradition which did focus on language in use. However, linguists were comparatively slow to move into the field of education, and to see that their discipline might have something to offer the teacher. This meant that the disciplines of sociology and psychology provided the main theoretical base for much thinking about language in education. It is only within the last ten years that training in language in education based on sound linguistic thinking has been part of initial teacher training in England. Prior to that, courses were often implicitly predicated on the deficit theories discussed above, alongside some instruction on the teaching of reading and phonics. This meant that awareness of issues such as accent and dialect were not directly addressed, and thus we have a generation of teachers who may remain unaware of issues related to them. Chandler et al (1988) surveyed linguistic knowledge amongst students training to be primary teachers, and found that the majority could not correctly identify the eight parts of speech identified in 'English 5 -16', though most could identify five (1988:168). They found that the best correlation for grasp of grammar was having studied a language to GCSE level. It was also suggested that the students surveyed had some factual misunderstandings about the nature of language. They recommended that language study should be made an important part of initial teacher training, though they point out that this will not necessarily give rise to better practice.

3.4.1. Early sociolinguistic studies

One of the earliest pieces of work carried out by a linguist which was valuable to teachers was Labov's (1972b) work collected in the volume *Language in the Inner City*. In this book Labov looks at a number of issues including that of reading standards among blacks in inner city areas, based on a research project carried out during the sixties. Also contained in this book is the essay which still causes debate: (e.g. Marenbon 1989) 'The logic of non-standard English'. Here Labov shows that non-standard English is both rule-governed and adequate to normal communicative functions. He analyses a cogent argument in an extremely

non-standard form from one of the members of the the street gangs he studied, and compares it with a rather dull argument in standard English by 'Clarence', a middle class black. This article became a rallying point for scholars such as Rosen (1962, 1986), who were looking for an alternative to the Bernstein approach to language amongst working class whites in Britain. Also in the same volume Labov reports some work on storytelling which became the basis for work on spoken and written narrative, and alongside the work of earlier writers such as Propp (1968) Bakhtin (1981) and Barthes (1973) led to exciting developments in the teaching of narrative (see for example Brooker and Humm (1989). In all cases the motivation for Labov's work was to set the record straight about what the black or working class person could do. This was achieved using systematic and often quantitative analytical procedures. It could be seen by Rosen and his colleagues such as Barnes and Britton that this approach made the findings of Bernstein's researchers appear flawed and both linguistically and methodologically unsophisticated.

Labov's work was not the only work with resonances for education. Wolfram (1974) and Shuy (1968) also carried out research from a linguistic perspective looking at issues surrounding language deprivation, and concluded that there was little linguistic evidence for the differences found by sociologist and psychologist, although they did recommend intervention strategies to enable students to become bidialectal.

3.4.2. Halliday and the School's Council programme

The Schools Council Programme in Linguistics and Language Teaching, directed by M.A.K. Halliday, was the first attempt to provide a linguistic background for the teaching of English and Modern Languages. Doughty, Pearce, and Thornton (1971, 1972) are the principal publications of the project, whose main focus was the teaching materials *Language in Use*. The materials stemmed from a project set up by Halliday in 1964: the Nuffield Programme in Linguistics and Language Teaching. The materials were trialled extensively in secondary schools and colleges of education, and became very influential with teachers. Indeed, Halliday is probably the most influential linguist in education circles - his grammar (1985) is taught to teacher training students in many education departments in Australia and

New Zealand. *Language in Use* takes as its premise that linguistics cannot be taught in the abstract, but must be taught through experiences rooted in everyday experience. Thus a teacher's requirements will be different from a speech therapist's, and also from an academic syntactician. *Language in Use* therefore considers language mostly in its social and heuristic aspects. The aim is to encourage students to consider not accent and dialect as such, not standard English as such, but how they use language, how it is used in the media, and what the effects would be of finding non-standard speech or writing in places where standard language would be expected. It uses drama, media, role-play and games to develop 'knowledge about language'. The aim is to create linguistically sophisticated adults, but the technical terms they acquire along the way would be subordinate to the exploration of language as it is actually used. This is substantially the approach adopted by course designers such as the Joint Matriculation Board (JMB) for 'A' level language. ('A' level is the terminal examination in the English educational system, taken at 18 year of age). It is also the approach adopted by writers such as ILEA (1981), BBC (1980) Keen (1978) Richmond and Savva (1985) Keith (1990) Bain (1996). The programme also gave rise to the highly influential *Breakthrough to Literacy* scheme (Schools Council 1970) which was an approach to early literacy teaching based on taking language from the children themselves and turning it into reading materials. This was intended to avoid the middle class bias referred to above in school language.

In both of these projects the approach was from larger segments of text to smaller, and an emphasis on meaning, rather than analysis. While highly influential, the techniques developed by the project did not reflect mainstream linguistic approaches (e.g. generative grammar and phonology), and had little to say on the place and influence of standard English. The movement was more towards awareness of language as a phenomenon in the world, rather than as a way of equipping pupils with standard English. Indeed, the *Breakthrough to Literacy* materials specifically required the teacher to write the child's words as they were spoken including non-standard verb forms where used, and to deal with differences between speech and writing later.

3.4.3. The language awareness movement

The language awareness movement (Hawkins 1984, Carter 1982) developed this approach. Hawkins came from a modern languages background, and many of the techniques originated in providing a background to language for pupils about to embark on the study of French or German. One of the purposes was to create interest in language in general. However the movement grew, and linguists such as Sinclair (1975, 1982a, 1982b) and Carter (1982, 1990a 1990b 1992) became involved in it. Secondary schools set up language awareness courses for their younger pupils. Again, this approach developed interest in language as an aspect of the world, but left the issue of standard English unresolved, except to emphasise that standard English was also a dialect.

3.4.4. Accent dialect and the school: Trudgill

Trudgill (1975) was one of the first linguists to consider dialect with specific reference to educational issues. Trudgill's book is aimed specifically at teachers. It considers the issues, and distinguishes accent, dialect, standard English, R.P., and other confusions which still cause problems in the classroom (consider for example the comment referred to above (2.7) made to a member of the Kingman committee where the teacher corrected a child for saying 'aboot'). Trudgill also considers and rejects all the arguments for changing accents (chapter 4). He enumerates the possible reasons for interfering with accent as follows: to help with reading; to enable comprehension; to avoid social stigma (e.g. to enable pupils to get a job). In all these case he makes a good case for the disadvantages outweighing the advantages, and suggests that accent should be left alone. Apart from Honey (1989) this appears to be an argument which has been won, since the National Curriculum's line is similar. We are left then with dialect as defined in terms of grammar, and lexis. Trudgill cites a number of examples of expressions collected in a junior school, from written work. They include items such as 'when I done that'; 'them men'; and 'I was playing on me bike;'. They resemble the collection from spoken English in the present study (and see also Hudson 1995), and equally illustrate that the distinction between accent and dialect is rather more complex that we might imagine: is 'me bike' a grammatical difference, or simply a spelling error based

on an accent-driven pronunciation? (see 6.3.1 for discussion) This issue is considered in some depth later in the present study: Indeed, a main aim of the present study is to arrive at a fairly complete characterisation of the extent and nature of standard English with regard to Tyneside: a variety which differs the most from the standard (see 4.6 to 4.11). However, Trudgill argues that none of these is so different from standard English as to cause problems, but that since performance is written standard English is 'required or rewarded' (1975:64), further action may be needed. Trudgill goes on to discuss this issue at length (Chapter 4). After considering all the arguments, his view is that in the long term 'appreciation of dialect differences' is desirable, but in the short term the bi-dialectalism approach would be the most effective. He argues that this approach is justifiable in terms of written work, especially if the teacher distinguishes carefully between errors, lapses in style, and dialectal interference. With regard to spoken language he takes a firm line:

> ...the only legitimate motive for teaching children to speak spoken standard English as a second dialect is to prevent them from being discriminated against for speaking socially stigmatised dialects; and the only legitimate method of teaching it is to use the bi-dialectalism approach. But even with this motive, and with this method, the teaching of spoken standard English in schools is not advisable, since it is almost certainly a waste of time. Except in cases where children would have learned to speak it anyway, it is very unlikely to succeed; there is a danger of inducing feelings of linguistic insecurity and alienation; and the time spent could certainly be put to better use. We would be much better advised, for example to concentrate on producing dialect tolerance and linguistic security. (1975:79)

Along with many other teachers, I am in agreement with this completely. As will be apparent in the course of this thesis, the present study shows that to a very great extent children will naturally adopt standard English, and even modify their accents when they consider it necessary. However, in an effective 'knowledge about language' course there would be room for considering dialect difference, from about the age of 8 onwards. Within this study, as well as considering dialect songs, stories and poems, it would be acceptable with older pupils to look at paradigms of the sort outlined in 4.10, and by Beal (1993). This would enable pupils to converge more effectively towards the standard if they so wished. Many of the pupils I interviewed for the study reported later in this thesis seemed, as far as I could judge, to wish to avoid non-standard grammar, but were unaware of their own usage of it. My own

discussions with children and those of others confirm that the aim of many pupils is to be able to speak standard English when and where they considered it necessary (e.g. McKenzie 1990).

During the course of my work advising teachers on these matters I conducted many lessons and discussions in North Tyneside. One question I asked frequently was the following: 'if you could take a pill which would help you speak the way you do now and also speak standard English, would you take it?' Almost all the children I ever interviewed would have taken the pill. This was emphatically not to lose their accent, of which they were generally proud, but so as not to be stigmatised. Karl, aged 11 commented that 'folks in offices and that think you're thick if you talk Geordie.' (Thick is slang for stupid, and Geordie is the vernacular for Tyneside). Julie (aged 15) felt that 'people don't take you seriously if you're a Geordie. They just think you're like Gazza.' (Paul Gascoyne, an international footballer and Tynesider renowned for intemperate behaviour). Perhaps one might regret that these children had these perceptions about their speech, and one might hope that if education moves in the direction recommended in this study such perceptions may become less common, as individuals become more at ease with the way they speak and better at recognising prejudice. However, given that such feelings exist, teachers ought to be able to facilitate this without in any way denigrating vernacular speech, provided that the discussion takes place in an informed way. These issues are discussed at length in Chapter 10, especially 10.5.

3.4.5. Social psychological perspectives and communication accommodation theory

The work of Lambert (1975) in Canada and Giles, Coupland and others in Bristol: (Giles and Powesland 1975 Giles and Smith 1979 Giles and StClair 1979 Bourhis and Giles 1971 Giles and Coupland 1991 Coupland 1980, 1985, 1988) has been influential for educationalists (see 6.6.1). Rosen comments that Giles's (1985) work 'suggests that where a group or class identity is threatened in interaction then solidarity will lead to a defence of the speech which identifies the group' (1986:134). He goes on to give the example of Creole

usage among black Londoners, whose use of Creole attracts stigma both from outsiders and from other black Londoners. It is clear that in the present study a very small number of the pupils similarly felt threatened by the language of the interviewer, and reacted by using a high degree of non-standard usage, especially lexical items, which other working class children avoided with ease (see discussion in 9.5).

Equally the matched-guise technique work carried out by Lambert (1975) Giles and Smith (1979) on language attitudes has given rise to a good deal of work within education on attitudes to accent and dialect, and has provided useful classroom material for what Trudgill (1975) called the 'appreciation of dialect differences' approach. (See Crinson (ed. (1990), and Norman (ed.) (1991) for accounts of such work). This has focused on pupils' own attitudes (both positive and negative) to different accents and dialects, and on seeing these as part of a natural response to that which they perceive as different.

3.4.6. The Bristol longitudinal study

We consider finally the work of Gordon Wells and his collaborators in Bristol. The project as described in a number of publications (e.g. Wells et al. 1987) was a longitudinal study of a representative sample of children from virtually their first utterances, revisited at three monthly intervals until the age of 10. The impetus for the study was a desire to investigate claims that various social factors influenced pupils' educational progress, and to determine whether language deprivation, inadequate parenting, or failure on the part of teachers might be the cause of variable patterns of achievement. Wells and his collaborators observed that no systematic empirical work had been previously carried out regarding what actually happens between mother and child (and the rest of the family) at home before schooling started with respect to patterns of linguistic behaviour and language interaction.

The procedure they adopted was as follows. From an earlier survey of the 128 children born in Bristol at the time of the study, 32 children were selected. Each child was selected to provide a representative sample based on socio-economic factors and related variables such as single parenthood. (See Wells 1985a :7-25 for details). The children were

fitted with a tape recorder equipped with a timer which sampled their speech at intervals throughout a day. This took place regularly at three monthly intervals.

Wells notes that much of the research in the 1960s and 1970s attempting to explain some of the differences referred to above commented on a mismatch between language at home and language at school. He sets out the questions the research team asked themselves in this way:

> By following some of the children that we had first recorded at the age of 15 months into school, we hoped to be able to provide some much needed information. If the language of the school is different from that of the home, what is the nature of these differences, and do they affect all children equally? It has often been suggested that children from low-SES (socio-economic status) are at a particular disadvantage in this respect, and that this is a major cause of the relatively lower educational achievement of many of these children. Is there a causal connection between socio-economic status, language experience in the pre-school, and educational achievement? If so, what are the specific linguistic skills, important for success in school that are associated with membership of one social group rather than another, and what can be done to give children from all types of family background a more equal opportunity to succeed at school? (1987:xi)

These are fundamental questions, relevant also to the present study, where the concern is oral competence in a particular spoken style at 15 years. Wells' findings were surprising to many.

First, they found no evidence of linguistically impoverished households. All children were talked to, shared activities took place, and a wide range of purposes and functions for language were employed. Transcripts exist in many of the publications arising from the study (e.g. Wells et al 1985b, 1987) of children from low socio-economic groups who are talking very fluently about daily life (see also Heath (1983 for similar evidence).

They did however find differences between home language and school language (1987 chapter 5), and many disparities between teacher talk and home talk corresponding to differences which discourse analysts had identified: Sinclair and Coulthard (1975) Sinclair and Brazil (1982), Stubbs (1983) Edwards and Westgate (1994), Mehan (1979). They also found that factors which had facilitated language acquisition by the children from low socio-economic status groups when at home disappeared at school. Teachers tended to have such a clear view of what they wanted to teach that they did not always listen to what the child was

trying to tell them. Thus the child might appear to have little to say, but this was because the teacher had not listened in the way most parents did. Strangely it was parents of high socio-economic status who sometimes exhibited 'teacher-like' behaviour at home, and attempted to instruct the child rather than collaborate with his or her attempts to make meaning from the world (See Wells et al 1987:48 - 49 for examples of more and less successful collaborations).

The study also found that children of lower socio-economic status struggled at school, and the correlation between social class and attainment was high. Children were tested at 2; 3yrs 6 mths; 5; 7; and 10. Obviously the tests differed at different ages, and more will be said about this below, but the broad results were that there was no correlation between class and attainment below the age of 5, but above 5 there was such a correlation. The results were as follows:

Table 3-1 Correlation between achievement and family background at successive ages

Age in years	Correlation
2	.24
3,6	.29
5	.66
7	.58
10	.59

From Wells (1987:136)

The last three figures were significant at the .01 level. Equally the last three figures included standardised literacy tests, and it was here that the low SES pupils did less well. However, even at 10 it was difficult to differentiate the spoken language characteristic of different social groups.

The main conclusions were that two factors were significant in predicting success in schooling. The first was book experience, and the second, less significant factor was the amount of working together on a shared task that had taken place. For example Rosie, one of the pupils who was highly socially disadvantaged, learned to talk well. The real difference between her and her more privileged peers was in book experience: her mother stated that no-one had ever read to Rosie before she went to school. In contrast, the most able boy tested had had approximately 6 000 shared book experiences. And it is this which seems to separate out the children, and especially to mark out those who are likely to fail. For spoken language, social class was not a significant factor:

> All four family background groups contained children who were relatively advanced and others who were much less so, and these differences within the groups were much greater than the relatively small differences between the averages for each group...For the vast majority of the sample - representing about 90% of the population - there was no clear relationship between family background and level of (spoken) language development attained. There is therefore little justification for continuing to appeal to simple class stereotypes when thinking about the oral language abilities of children at the point of entry to school. (1987:134)

If educators wish seriously to combat educational disadvantage, the work of Wells and his colleagues suggest that early literacy is the place where effort should be concentrated: spoken standard English may be something which can look after itself, and does not need a great deal of teaching.

3.5. School Culture

Finally we will consider briefly work carried out by educationalists and ethnographers which relates to the culture of the school. While the connections between this literature and spoken language are not direct, they make a very important point about school culture and schools as sites for close knit communities, with dense social networks (see 6.3.2). This literature includes work on the following:

- on secondary schools: Ball (1981) Lacey (1970) Woods (1979);
- on primary schools: Pollard (1985);
- on independent (non-state funded schools): (Delamont 1984);

- on transfer to secondary school: Measor and Woods (1984), Galton and Willcocks (1982);
- school management and effective schools: Hargreaves (1992) Mortimore et al (1988), Reynolds 1993).

This strand of research comprises mostly of ethnographic studies of schools as communities, usually carried out by participant observation over a long period of time, and presenting qualitative research in the form of case studies. All these studies conclude that school culture, affects children's lives and life chances a great deal. It is reasonable to expect that this will affect their spoken language also. Eckert (1988, 1989) appears to be the first to provide systematic evidence for this effect, confirming what Delamont (1984) suggests impressionistically; that at the micro- level: the choices pupils make in terms of friends and alliances affect their language. The present study suggests that equally at the macro-level the school one attends will affect many aspects of one's life, one's speech being a significant part of this. There appears to be a school-wide way of speaking, created and subscribed to by the pupils themselves. This way of speaking will vary according to the groupings arrived at within the school.

In Delamont's study the groupings were constituted according to attitudes to school work and intellectual life, sport, and school social events. Delamont calls these groupings (following the girls own terms) respectively 'swots', 'boarders' and 'debs' (1984: 70) Other studies of boarding schools (e.g. Bamford 1967) have shown that these are communities with their own norms, and even a distinctive vocabulary. However state schools too have their social categories.

Measor and Woods (1984) follow a number of pupils new to a secondary school, and arrive at the terms 'conformists', 'deviants', and 'knife-edgers'. This categorisation builds on the acceptance or rejection of school norms, and the loss of face required to accept school norms. Primary pupils too have groupings, though these relate rather less than adolescent groups to acceptance or rejection of social norms. Pollard (1985) has 'good groups', 'joker groups' and 'gang groups'.(1985:58). These groups probably correspond to something like Measor's 'conformists', 'deviants', and 'knife-edgers', and do relate to social class; (see Willis

1977 for a trenchant account of how these divisions transfer into working class and middle class jobs and lives).

Eckert's Jocks and Burnouts in an American high school (1988, 1989) are classified according to deviance or conformity, but the classification here is with respect to orientation to sport or drugs. This does not mean that all Burnouts take drugs or that all Jocks are good at sport, but these activities seem to symbolise a way of life. Eckert points to the mobility of the Jocks, who often move away for college and have friends in other parts of the city and elsewhere. Burnouts are more territorially based and tend to hang out on street corners locally rather than attending school or other organised events. (1989:76). The present study found differences such as these: within the schools studied there were conflicting allegiances to similar norms: 'the street' and 'society'. However, the present study suggests that for the majority of pupils the school norm is more or less accepted, for language if not for other things. Only a small number will reject the school linguistic norm, and these will tend to use another code. Depending on the school this might be a more standard mode of speech (as the higher-attaining pupils did in the present study), or it might be to adopt a more vernacular style, signalling links to street speech. However, the speech even in schools located in more middle class areas will not necessarily resemble standard English or the local standard of the parents. The speech of the Greenbelt pupils, in particular, differed from conventional middle class Tyneside, being characterised by a higher proportion of glottalised variants of voiceless stops: there is a school norm which pupils are expected by their peers to conform to.

This fits in very much with the broader literature discussed here, where the emphasis is more on school culture and less specifically on language. Measor and Woods found considerable pressures in various directions on pupils, which they relate to the what they call 'status passages' (from the anthropological concept of rites of passage). They suggest that the move to secondary education is one such crucial point in a child's life. On girls, for example, the pressure was to avoid appearing 'brainy'. Equally they also had to avoid being a 'slag', although a certain amount of sexual availability was considered appropriate. Amongst the boys there was a category of boy who rejected the school norms, and who signalled this by minor disruptive behaviour: currently on Tyneside these are known as 'Trevs' (an

abbreviation of the name Trevor). Others who worked hard were considered swots. There was also a group in the middle, whom Measor and Woods term 'knife edgers', who want to learn, but also want to be part of the alternative culture, and so live dangerously in the middle. This group created enough trouble to upset teachers from time to time, but not enough to be unable to study. These are often working class pupils with some ability. It is the outcome of this struggle which will determine how well such 'knife edgers' do.

Various statements by Conservative and Labour leaders (Guardian 14/1/97) around the 1997 General Election are intended to support just these individuals, and extra homework or homework centres are being provided to enable them to work outside of school.

3.6. Summary and conclusion

I have tried to give a flavour of the educational context surrounding the present study. We have considered the political climate; government publications; educational thinking on standard English; and the work of linguists, sociologists, psychologists and educationalists as they have considered educational disadvantage over the last 40 years. Especially important have been the findings of Wells and his colleagues, whose study of early language and subsequent attainment has shown to be false some common beliefs about child language and suggests some approaches for researchers who wish to improve the life chances of less privileged children. Finally we have considered ethnographic work in schools. This work has shown that the school itself is a powerful repository of values and beliefs. These will translate themselves into a linguistic code which can be accepted or modified depending on the allegiances which the individual chooses.

4. Dialect and standard English

4.1. Introduction

The present chapter moves from the world of education towards the business of defining standard English. Standard English is defined in many different ways. One of the most confusing aspects of these differing definitions is the fact that different writers consider different aspects of language as touchstones of what it is to be standard. We will see later in this chapter that folk-linguistic definitions of standard often start from pronunciation. Official government definitions tend towards considering grammar and lexis as the cornerstone of what should be modified in children's speech. This chapter considers these and other issues, and attempts to identify how 'standard English' might most usefully be defined in the context of children in schools.

We first consider how a standard language may be said to differ from a dialect. We will look at how a dialect becomes a standard language. Sections 4.2 to 4.4 consider this in more depth. The prescriptive tradition from Johnson and Swift to Norman Tebbit and Prince Charles is considered in 4.5, with some consideration of the work of recent writers such as Orwell and Gowers. Finally we consider research which relates to Tyneside dialect, and give a brief account of what is distinctive about this dialect, in terms of phonology, grammar, and lexis, thus attempting to show how one dialect differs from the standard.

4.2. What is a standard language?

In considering what a standard language is, we find that most of the factors are extra linguistic, and that historical, social, and political factors are especially relevant. A language's 'standardness' results from such external variables: as far as linguists can tell there is nothing about the language itself which makes it in some way better suited to becoming a standard. Languages which move towards the status of standard acquire certain characteristics which other languages/dialects do not have, such as written texts, regularised spelling, codification

in terms of lexicon and grammar, and so on. However these aspects accrue to languages/dialects for reasons other than inherent quality of the language itself. The language becomes standardised because it is the language of a group which is politically dominant, socially dominant, or which has been so in the past.

4.2.1. Latin as a standard language

We will take two obvious examples, Latin and English. Latin to post-renaissance Western culture is the archetypal standard language; the language looked to by Renaissance vernacular writers all over Europe as the standard both for written and spoken educated discourse. It had a codified grammar and lexicon, and, even in its days as a living language, a supranational currency. Later, when it died as a living language, it lived on as a *lingua franca* for intellectual and religious discussion and debate. However, its origins as a standard come very obviously from the position of the Roman Empire as the great power in the years before about 400 AD, and then the Holy Roman Empire after that time. This was at a time when Christianity was growing in influence and when many of the political and legal structures we use today were being organised: legal structures depend on written texts which can be considered and interpreted, and the legal structures of Roman law ensured the status of Latin as a standard language. Thus the status of Latin as a standard and its linguistic accompaniments: written forms, dictionaries and formal documents all come through political power and social influence. The influence of Latin throughout the Middle Ages arose because of historical, not linguistic reasons.

4.2.2. English as a standard language

A very similar story can be told with regard to English. Early writers in English (such as Chaucer) bemoan the barbarity of the tongue they have chosen to use compared with Latin. At the time of Chaucer English was third choice language (after Latin and French), and was not codified in any of the ways referred to above with regard to Latin: there was no regularity of spelling, no grammatical description, no legal or administrative documents in the language,

and no choice at that time of the appropriate dialect which was to become the standard. Chaucer wrote in the dialect which was to become the standard language, the Gawain poet in north-west Midlands dialect, the Scottish Chaucerians in another, and Langland wrote Piers Plowman in South West Midlands dialect. Milroy and Milroy (1985:31) cite a physician (1545) complaining that his colleagues considered themselves too superior to write in English. Within 500 years English had everything a standard language needed, and was spoken in many parts of the world. Today English is as a *lingua franca* for academic, political and scientific debate much as Latin was in the Middle Ages. A particular dialect (an East Midlands dialect spoken around the law courts in London (see Strang 1980, Barber 1993, Baugh 1935, Pyles and Algeo 1982), had risen to become the standard, and it had acquired a standard pronunciation, lexicon, grammar, literature, and technical vocabulary. At the same time other dialects such as that of Northumbria (see section 4.7), which could have acquired standard status had political power been vested in Newcastle not London, remain to this day without codification or standardised spelling. Local words not part of the standard language have no agreed spelling. The elevation of the East Midlands dialect into an international language is the result of political, social and historical, not linguistic, forces.

4.3. Historical aspects of standard languages

Standard languages appear to have no inherent advantages over other dialects. However, when a language undergoes the process of standardisation, it acquires a number of features which a non-standard dialect does not possess. This process can be described, and the important features can be discerned. This section considers these processes in more depth. First I will discuss the features which distinguish a dialect from a language, in socio-political rather than linguistic terms; then we consider the stages through which a dialect goes to become a standard; and finally we consider this in relation to particular languages, and with regard to Tyneside English.

4.3.1. Political factors, Abstand *and* Ausbau

Joseph (1987) using terms first proposed by Kloss (1967) suggests there are three features which distinguish a dialect from a language, at least in the minds of those connected with it. They are *political factors*, *Abstand* and *Ausbau*. In any group of people, political factors will identify a community which in some way is pre-eminent: in the Middle Ages London became this community in England. In Tyneside Newcastle fulfils this function. The dialect of this place will become pre-eminent. If this place acquires sufficient political power, its dialect will become what Joseph calls a *synecdoche*: the pre-eminent dialect, and in time a language.

The second condition, *Abstand*, is, according to Kloss (1967) a need for a sufficient structural difference to exist. Thus English must be sufficiently different from other equally prestige languages of which English might otherwise be a dialect. For this reason American English, for example, is not a separate language, although politically it clearly has many of the functions of a standard language.

The third condition is *Ausbau*. Kloss (1967) defines this as

> language by development. Languages belonging in this category are recognised as such because of having been shaped or reshaped, moulded or remoulded, as the case may be (1967:29).

Thus, a standard needs to acquire the accoutrements of a standard language: features such as publication, education, a dictionary, and laws enacted in the language. It is in this respect that languages such as Basque, which has impeccable *Abstand* from all other European languages, fails as a standard.

4.3.2. Levels in standardisation

The above concepts are very important in defining standard languages. Equally important is the sense that these conditions develop over time. Joseph provides a useful list of characteristics which standard languages acquire over time. This is important in

understanding Joseph's conception of a standard as a construct: a product of non-natural human forces, but also in a sense an entity with a life-span. This life pattern is not one which applies to all languages, but it applies if a language becomes a standard. The fact of language 'life and death' is certain (see Dorian 1973, 1981, 1989), but some languages become taken over by standardisation, which hi-jacks the normal processes and puts them on a different track. This track can be interrupted at any time, but if it is not the language will ultimately become a 'classical' language, and live on, as Latin does, in the vocabulary and structures of its progeny.

Joseph's nine stages of language standardisation are given in full below:

1 Since 'language' applies to a relatively broad unit of political-cultural loyalty, implying enough geographical and social space to guarantee significant dialectal diversity, 'standard language' implies the necessity of synecdoche having taken place. One will not call an idiom Standard *x* unless it is underlain by a system of non-standard *x* dialects.

2 Standard *x* implies that the speakers of *x* dialects recognise a significant body of language standards, in which the positively valued variant is always part of Standard *x* (except for occasional superstandard usages) thus setting standard *x* qualitatively apart from other *x* dialects.

3 Standard *x* is only metaphorically standard unless a significant body of the language standards discussed in 2 is codified i.e. legislated, recorded and available to users and potential users of Standard *x*.

4 The nature of these standards is such that their codification implies the regular use of a writing system. The hesitation of some linguists to posit writing as a necessary feature of a standard language is likely due to the overwhelmingly phonocentric leaning of the discipline. An unwritten language can possess at most only a few of the traits which follow in this list, so that the designation of it as standard would be, again, metaphorical.

5 Codification, which gives Standard *x* stability across time, also requires that persons who act as forces of linguistic stability be in established cultural roles within the *x* community.

6 Besides codification and writing, other functions act as requisite hallmarks of standard status. These functions are associated with prestigious cultural realms both those indigenous to *x* culture and those assimilated from other cultures.

7 Use in assimilated cultural functions means that Standard *x* must undergo whatever changes are necessary to make operation in these functions comparable to that in the source language.

8 In conjunction with 7, Standard *x* must be readily intertranslatable (and regularly intertranslated) with one or more other languages recognised as standard.

9 7, requires, and 8 entails, changes in the synecdochic dialect underlying Standard *x*, which means that persons acting as forces of linguistic change (in this context usually called development, reform, modernisation, or planning) must be in established cultural roles within the *x* community .

(1987:6)

As mentioned above, there is an implicit order in this process. We can trace this for English, from the emergence of the East Midlands dialect as standard in part of London where the Courts of Chancery were situated; to the beginnings of publishing (King James Bible, other literature), to the codification in the eighteenth century (grammars, Johnson's dictionary, the regularisation of spelling); to a high culture of fiction, drama and literature, translated into French, German, Russian etc.; to a move within education from Latin (grammar schools meant Latin and Greek grammar) to the study of English grammar and literature (see Shayer 1970 for an account of this process within education).

For English this process is more or less complete. Indeed there are signs that English may almost be moving towards classical status, as spelling becomes more and more unlike the underlying synecdochic 'dialect' which has continued to change since codification took place. There are languages where this process is complete: classical Arabic, Slavonic, Classical Sinhalese, Classical Chinese. Joseph comments:

> If complete stability is demanded of the standard language, then the gap between it and its underlying dialect base can only widen as the dialects continue their normal rate of progress...In time the synecdochic dialect will evolve right out from under it. (1987:172)

This is the relationship Spanish, French and Italian have to Latin.

4.3.3. Actual languages and Joseph's levels

Standard languages, then, go through a process which can be mapped out. It is possible to look at languages existing in the world today and consider the distance they have covered along this route. Romaine (1992) considers the development of Tok Pisin, and other languages in Papua New Guinea, with regard to the emergence of a standard. Edwards (1985) also discusses the emergence of languages as standards, especially with regard to nationalism, and the relationship between national languages and identity. He discusses the links between especially French and German nationalism with the national language. Notions of linguistic purity begin to go hand in hand with ideals of nationhood, and this leads, in the case of the French, to institutions like the Academie Française, and a belief in the superiority

of French as a mode of expression (Edwards 1985:27). In the case of Germany, Herder (1744-1803) linked German with Greek, and contrasted this unfavourably with Romance languages such as French (with whom Germany was at war). With von Humboldt and Fichte, Herder has been extremely influential wherever nationalists have wished to enlist their language to support their project.

4.3.3.1.English and standardisation in the eighteenth century

Swift (1712) and Johnson (1747) were both involved in a general movement in the eighteenth century intended to regularise and standardise the language. Johnson characterises his enterprise thus. He says (page 60) that his dictionary will be 'a dictionary by which the pronunciation of our language may be fixed; by which its purity may be preserved, its use ascertained, and its duration lengthened.' Johnson is here concerned with level three onwards in Joseph's list: that of codifying, recording and making available to users. He is particularly concerned with orthography. He says:

> When all the words are selected and arranged, the first part of the work to be considered is the ORTHOGRAPHY, which was long vague and uncertain, which at last when its fluctuations ceased, was in many cases settled by accident, and in which, according to your Lordship's observation, there is still great uncertainty amongst the best critics...(1712:49)

We can see much of the work of 3, 4, and 5 being carried out in the eighteenth century in English, including the codification and standardisation of writing. Johnson was also a member of a literary elite which came to have increasing influence during the eighteenth century. Johnson's dictionary itself was a good example of this influence.

Swift, another member of this elite, and also, and significantly a churchman (see comments on Archbishop Trench below), proposes in his 'Proposal for Correcting, Improving and Ascertaining the English Language' (1712) a meeting of eminent persons (a sort of Royal Commission) to settle the language into standard patterns:

> ...nothing would be of greater Use towards the Improvement of Knowledge and Politeness, than some effectual Method for Correcting, Enlarging, and Ascertaining, our Language; and they think it a work very possible to be compassed, under the

> Protection of a Prince, the Countenance and Encouragement of a Ministry, and the care of proper Persons, chosen for such an undertaking. (1712:30)

Swift goes on to give a short history of English as he is aware of it, and his main aim in the establishment of this group of proper persons, is to 'fix it for ever, or at least till we are invaded'. He is concerned to fix the language so that readers will still be able to read Pope and Dryden (and Swift?) in a hundred years. He also seeks codification so that he can protect it from 'an Infusion of Enthusiastick Jargon [which] prevailed in every writing.' He refers here to the Cromwellian period, and the 'enthusiastick' persons were the Puritans, with whom he disagreed. Thus, as well as a wish to fix the language, Swift is also concerned to preserve a certain political viewpoint. Here we see Joseph's items 7 and 8, where the language has to undergo certain changes in order to be appropriate to prestige cultural functions.

4.3.3.2.English and standardisation in the nineteenth century

In the nineteenth century the movement to standardise the language was taken a stage further. Crowley (1989) discusses the writings of Archbishop Trench, a cleric and Professor of New Testament Theology. His purpose was to discredit Darwinism, and to argue that language was God's revealed truth, revealed slowly over time. In particular a scholarly tradition had emerged of regarding the science of language as something very akin to geology. Thus language had its regular formations and its exoliths (anomalies). The Archbishop's project was to explain all these in terms of the fall of man (corruption of words, and falling away from the one true meaning made by God), but also the divinely inspired rightness of some words, which revealed God's glory still working in the world. Thus 'tribulation', comes from *tribulum*: a threshing instrument. Thus, claims Trench, tribulation's very nature as a word reminds us that we were separated from God's love by the Fall.

This process, which is the process described in Joseph's items 6 and 7, is the means whereby the language, in this case English, takes over from the previous prestige language (which becomes the superstandard, in this case Latin). The process Trench is involved in is to claim that English in some way contains revealed truth. This is a move away from previous

versions where either Latin or Greek were the ultimate linguistic reality revealed by God, but in a comparable way, Trench shows how English through its etymology contains not only truth but also the post-lapsarian accretions of the English people, both good and bad.

It is a short step from there to adding, as Trench did, that English should be the object of study in schools and universities. He is claiming for English all the accoutrements of a standard language (Joseph's item 6), including the study of its linguistic and literary history. This move led to the establishment of English as an academic subject along the lines of the study of classics: language and literature. English, especially the history of the language, became a part of the civil service examination (Crowley 1989). The very fact that English acquired this status meant that it became the focus for hopes, fears and dissatisfactions: it became allied to the fate of England itself. This added fuel to the 'complaint tradition' (Milroy and Milroy 1985a), see below. It is in this way that the canon of English literary texts (a current battleground between different political viewpoints in schools and universities) and English studies as such, became established (see Shayer 1970).

Thus, the process engaged in by Johnson and Swift in the eighteenth century and by Archbishop Trench in the nineteenth may be seen as part of an inevitable historical process by which the elite move the standard language centre stage. The enshrinement of standard English as part of a National Curriculum in England and Wales can be seen as a further stage in this process: a stage which would have been impossible if the national 'folk linguistic' view of language had remained that Latin was the touchstone of 'standardness'. Notions of clarity and logicality which now are perceived to inhere in standard English and indeed in standard French could not exist until the influence of Latin had been undermined, and English (or any other standard language) put in its place.

In the next section we consider the effects of standard languages on non-standard dialects.

4.4. Relationships between H and L languages

Joseph uses the terms H (high) and L (low) to describe the relationship between standard and non-standard languages. He suggests three ways in which languages become standard languages: in other words become H, and in the process depose the existing H. These are *imperialism*: for example the influence of French in Algeria); *nationalism* (the development of German during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries); and more recently *internationalism*: for example the central importance of English in the Philippines (Tollefson 1991, Chapter 6). These movements and transformations always involve struggle in a number of directions. Usually the old H or superposed language has to be deposed (as we saw with Archbishop Trench as regards Latin) so that the functions of the new H may take over: these functions will include law, literature, religion. The new synecdoche has to take precedence over other contenders (in the case of nationalism) and in the case of imperialism and internationalism the putative H has to establish its superiority over the L language: whatever justifications may be given, the reasons actually tend to be political or economic. Fig 4.1 is a diagram identifying the various justifications which may be used in substantiating a language's claims to H status, and in controlling the L language.

Table 4-1 Three possible categorisations for justifications used to control non-standard language.

Jesperson (1925)	Joseph (1987)	Ray (1963)
	NORMAL	
Aristocratic	various	
	norms	
Democratic	determined	Commonality
	by	
Geographic	various	
	methods	
Literary		
	EXTRA-NORMAL	
(Authority)	Purism	
Artistic	Connotation	
Logical	Logic	Rationality
	Economy	Efficiency

adapted from Joseph page 125

Joseph distinguishes two kinds of justification: normal and extra-normal. Appeals may be made to 'normal' authorities: one might claim that the best people (aristocratic), most people (democratic), people who live in the North/South/capital (geographic) or the best literature (literary) will be the arbiter. Alternatively claims may be made which relate to 'extra-normal' standards of greater logicality, higher artistic standards, purity, logic, economy of expression and so on. These appeals were nearly all made by Johnson and Swift in the

eighteenth century, and also in nineteenth century grammar books and elocution manuals (see Milroy and Milroy 1985 chapter 2). Section 4.5 makes clear that the same criteria are at work right up to today.

4.4.1. The example of Irish

Irish provides an interesting example of the struggles which occur between languages in the light of political social and historical change. The discussion which follows derives mainly from the work of Edwards (1985). In the twelfth century Irish was secure as a H language. Edwards in fact suggest that 'in the so called 'Golden Age' of the sixth to ninth centuries Ireland was the only Western European language which was seen as suitable for education and literature.' (1985:53). Thus in Ireland there was in place an H language, and the evolution of the synechdochic dialect. Irish had reached the higher reaches of Joseph's levels. However, after the Norman invasion French and English speaking settlers settled in the Pale (the eastern coastal area):given that this was the language of successful invaders this might be perceived as a threat to Irish. Despite this, in 1600 a law was passed (the statute of Kilkenny) decreeing that English speakers should not become Gaelicised, showing that the balance of power between the two languages was not at that time in the direction of English. Between 1600 and 1800 however the various governments began to try to promote English, and indeed planted English-speaking settlers, so that by the nineteenth century the Catholic Church and the new school system used English. From then Irish began to decline. By the middle of the nineteenth century the number of Irish monolinguals was very small. Also, by now economic as well as political factors were tipping the balance in favour of English, and even those monolinguals who became bilingual were frequently using this linguistic repertoire as a stepping stone to English.

By the time of the founding of the Irish Free State, when Irish was promoted, taught in schools, and made compulsory for the language of government, the decline was perhaps too far advanced to be reversed. Even those who nominally count as Irish bilinguals rarely use Irish in the home, and measures such as ensuring knowledge of Irish for the Police and for the Army have not ensured that people actually use the language.

The Gaeltacht is the area of Eire where the largest number of native speakers live. However, the area has shrunk, despite efforts from outside, and very few Irish monolinguals exist now. Edwards uses this story as an example of the complexity of language planning: see also Tollefson (1991) and Thomas (1991) for discussion of language planning and purism and the difficulties involved. He refers to what he calls the 'paradox of the Gaeltacht': every attempt at revival of a L language requires a strong heartland. However:

> If nothing is done, there is every likelihood of continued erosion. If things are done, then a danger exists of creating a fishbowl in which language (and other) matters are treated with the same conscious attention which characterises the half-an-hour a week German class....furthermore, the process of out-migration which is associated with isolated heartlands says much about the desires and priorities of residents, which often interfere with the hopes of revivalists. (1985:64)

Thus, in every language there is a struggle between dialects to become languages, between competing H languages, and with minority languages a struggle for survival, leading increasingly to language death. Dorian (1981) documents the process of language death with regard to a Scottish dialect.

Where does this leave the present study? Standard English is a result of the processes we have considered briefly here. The pronouncements of National Curriculum planners are similar in kind to those of language planners the world over, and they use similar vocabulary to justify their choices. We will consider in the next chapter the educational arguments for and against standard English being taught in schools, but it is important to be aware of when arguments are what they purport to be, and when they are actually traditional arguments along the lines of those used by Archbishop Trench and his colleagues, where a political or economic claim for a H language is disguised as something else.

In the above I have attempted to provide detail concerning standard languages, their nature, their development, and how existing languages represent stages on the road to complete standardisation. The aim of the discussion has been to put into context the assumption of the English National Curriculum that standard English is a 'given', and is not problematical in any way. We can see from the discussion above that standard English is a

historical construct, and one which is still subject to change from many competing forces, from demands of industries (e.g. publishing), and is subject to competition from other languages and dialects of languages. Other countries deal differently with their standard: some codify very strictly, some actively modify spelling as the spoken language changes, some countries make conscious decisions to adopt one or other languages as standard. The standard English we have is a result of social, historical and political processes which will not cease until the language itself dies.

4.5. Prescriptivism and The Complaint Tradition

We move now to what Milroy and Milroy (1985 Chapter 2) call 'the complaint tradition'. For as long as there has been writing there has been complaint about standards of speech and writing, and this is often allied to prescriptivism or purism, usually in favour of the synecdochic dialect or the emergent standard language. This tradition is perhaps the spur which has brought standard English to its current prominence in the National Curriculum: the whole English curriculum document (Department for Education (1994)) is prefaced by a page on standard English. Standard English is seen as a way of restoring standards to English teaching. Recently the Better English Campaign, led by newscaster Trevor McDonald, was established by Gillian Shephard, Secretary of State for Education, in order to raise standards in spoken English. One of the secretary's concerns which led to this was an increase in those who 'communicate by grunt', and the growth of 'Estuary English' (Times Educational Supplement 26/4/96). Here we are considering not the historical processes which create standards or which modify them, but rather the influence of 'folk linguistics' (see Doughty et al 1972, and 3.4.2 for further discussion). Clearly this tradition has its roots in the kind of thinking we can see in Dr Johnson and Archbishop Trench, but usually it is more an expression of irritation with what is perceived as falling standards of speech, or writing, or both. This irritability stems from roots similar to other kinds of prejudice, where the speaker or writer feels that in some way a linguistic usage is irredeemably 'other'. The complaint

tradition may ultimately derive from fear, and the impetus to standardise speech in schools be seen as a move to create a more homogeneous society.

Milroy and Milroy identify two types of 'complaint', both of which have a long history, and both of which can be seen in the work of, for example Honey (1983) and Marenbon (1987), both influential figures in the new political right's recasting of the English curriculum. The Milroys point out that earlier types of complaint refer more to such issues as lack of standardisation, (Caxton 1490, cited by Milroy and Milroy 1985); and the relationship between English and other possible H languages, especially French and Latin. These are discussions which relate to Joseph's earlier stages in standardisation. As English becomes pre-eminent, however, both of the types of complaint identified by the Milroys become discernible.

4.5.1. Type 1 complaints

Swift, (1712) Johnson (1755) and also Bishop Lowth (1762) and Lindley Murray (1795), both of whom wrote grammars (Milroy and Milroy 1985:34), are examples of type 1 complaints. These characteristically relate to some imperfection in the phonology, syntax or lexis which must be changed or stamped out. Typically these writers will use one or other of the justifications referred to above, where the appeal is to a higher aristocratic, democratic, geographic, literary, logical, pure or artistic level. As an example of a type 1 complaint, here is Swift (quoted in Milroy and Milroy 1985:34) :

> My lord, I do here, in the name of all the learned and Polite Persons of the Nation, complain to Your Lordship as First Minister that our Language is extremely imperfect; that its daily Improvements are by no means in proportion to its daily Corruptions; that the Pretenders to polish and refine it, have chiefly multiplied Abuses and Absurdities, and that, in many Instances, it offends against every Part of Grammar.

Perfection is seen by Swift as desirable and possible, and if criteria of purity and logic were applied by the right (aristocratic) people, then the language would attain its rightful perfection. Milroy and Milroy point out that here they seek a scapegoat for this falling off, and call attention to the fact that this is normal with type 1 complaints. Marenbon (1987,

reprinted in Crowley 1991) blames 'linguists', as does Honey (1983). Interestingly, earlier in the 1980s in England teachers had been the culprits. Perhaps linguists, being less numerous, were a softer target with less political influence. However the main point is that type 1 complainers usually seek groups who are responsible for the decline, and without whom pronunciation, syntax, lexis, would be purer, more logical etc.

4.5.2. Type 2 complaints

Type 2 complaints are moral in nature. Orwell is the key figure here. He was much more concerned about bureaucratic language, about the manipulation of language by authority, and about the consequent effects on ordinary people. Rather than beginning from the high status aspects of language, Orwell concerned himself with the speech of ordinary people, and its relationship with authority. Here he intersects with nineteenth century neo-grammarians such as Grimm's *Deutsche Grammatik* (1819) and Schlegel's *Uber die Sprache and Weisheit der Indier* (1808), whose interests concerned a 'pure', untutored dialect. The same impulse can be seen in dialectologists' interest (until recently) in old, preferably male country dwellers (e.g. Orton 1962). The same impulse led the Inuit to adopt as their standard language the dialect most free from Western European influences (see Joseph 1987 pp 83-87). Orwell spotted such current problems as the possibility of manipulation by language, of exclusion by dialect, and of dead metaphors and clogged language. Others in this tradition are Ernest Gowers, whose *Plain Words*, aimed at official writing, led in part to the laudable attempts of government agencies to make forms more accessible to the majority of the population.

The main instinct in this complaint tradition is towards a view that language is clogged by bureaucratic obfuscation. However, many more recent inheritors of this tradition (for example Prince Charles) are less careful about the linguistic aspects of what they say, and the two traditions can become conflated, as when Norman Tebbit (quoted in Graddol and Swann, (1988)) makes a connection between failure to teach grammar and crime.

> ...we've allowed so many standards to slip...teachers weren't bothering to teach kids to spell and punctuate properly...If you allow standards to slip to the stage where

> good English is no better than bad English, whether people turn up filthy at school...all those things tend to cause people to have no standards at all, and once you lose standards then there's no incentive to stay out of crime. (1988:101)

This is an extreme example of the complaint tradition, and most complainers would not make the links as explicit as this. Nevertheless this fear that slipping standards in language will unleash the deluge is fairly well established within people's minds.

Neither of these traditions is necessarily bad; value judgements about language are inevitable, and, Thomas (1991) would argue, valuable. However it is important to distinguish between ideology and fact in these discussions, and to bear in mind the history and background of standard languages.

As a final thought in this section we will consider a recent newspaper article which highlights the unfortunate effects of the ignorance of linguistic matters reflected in the complaint tradition on the lives and livelihoods of people. A recent article (Independent 12 March 1994) written by Sandra Barwick, describes the case of Jean Briscoe, apparently sacked for having a Birmingham accent. She took the case to appeal convinced that she would not have been dismissed if she had not been black and in court was asked about her 'grammatical integrity'. (see Lippi-Green, 1994, for a discussion of linguistic discrimination in America). Here we have completely untutored people making linguistic judgements, using the complaint tradition (and incidentally not discriminating at all between phonology, grammar, lexis or pragmatic features, nor even between accent and dialect).

> "I feel," said John Jenkins, a director of First In Service, on being asked to judge on Jean Briscoe's grammatical integrity, "that when in reception she has a short time to put over the view of the company, and maybe its 'Yer' and 'Norrin' and 'Aint'. I just felt that it's a little bit strong or grammatically wrong.
>
> The solicitor asked for more examples. "They're terms like 'Ang on', 'Just a minute', 'OK', said Mr Jenkins, and a few minutes later, "It's just this heavy Brummie accent which I believe gave an unprofessional sound". And yet Mr Jenkins had a pronounced Birmingham accent himself.

A little later Mr Jenkins, while dismissing her, suggested elocution lessons. The company's solicitor, summing up, put it this way:

> She consistently failed to end her words in '-ing'. You have heard her ...talk of 'im rather than him. You have heard her confuse the singular and the plural. And she put

> through a call with 'It's your (or possibly yer) wife'. That led directly to the demise (sic) of the applicant.

In both of these cases the complaint against Mrs Briscoe is that she did not produce an appropriate manner on the telephone. Implicit in statements from both the director and the solicitor is that there is an appropriate manner free from blemishes, and that everyone knows what it is. Yet the 'mistakes' allegedly made by Mrs Briscoe range from pronunciation, through grammar, to socio-pragmatic aspects of language use: there is nothing whatsoever in 'It's your wife' which is non-standard in any way, and certainly elocution lessons could not have helped. The difficulty, if there was a difficulty, might perhaps have been in her adopting an over-familiar descriptive expression: not something addressed in dictionaries, grammars, or pronouncing dictionaries.

Mrs Briscoe's claim of unfair dismissal was rejected, since she had not shown racial discrimination, and there is no offence of linguistic discrimination.

The complaints made here about Mrs Briscoe echo the complaint about secretaries made by Have Went (a nom de plume used by a letter writer cited by Milroy and Milroy 1985), who complains about a secretary having said 'I looked up and seen two men'. Have Went, like Mr Jenkins, are fulfilling the function which the complaint tradition carries out: 'the maintenance of a standard language and discrimination against those who do not use it in speech.' Milroy and Milroy (1985: 39). While some complaints may have beneficial outcomes (such as the improvements of bureaucratic forms), others lead to the loss of people's livelihoods and unhappiness.

All standard languages have such self appointed guardians. However, the level of debate is low: it would not be tolerated with regard to race. Lippi-Green (1994) comments:

> (potential employers) will continue to confuse their valid concern that employees be able to communicate effectively with the political and social complexities of accent...They will continue to hear with an accent: the accent of the intolerant, empowered mainstream. (188)

And we note here that Lippi-Green's article discusses accent as the source of difficulty, reinforcing the point made in the Briscoe case that aspects of language other than grammar and lexis are considered by the general public to be linguistic bad manners. Equally, we must

be aware of the fact that Mr Jenkins and his colleagues are probably right to think that a more RP-oriented voice would create a good shop window for his company: Mr Jenkins' customers share the prejudices of Mr Jenkins. Lambert (1972) Giles and Coupland (1991) Giles and Powesland (1975) and others carried out a series of matched guise experiments which show that judgements about a person's intelligence, reliability, trustworthiness and other non-linguistic attributes are made by all sectors of the population on the basis of aspects of a person's language use. (See 6.5.1 for a full discussion).

The preceding discussion has focused on standard English. We now move to a consideration of the particular non-standard dialect with which we are concerned.

4.6. Tyneside English

Tyneside English is the dialect spoken around the rivers Tyne and Wear, in the North East of England. The dialect of Northumberland to the north shares many of the features of Tyneside, though not all. The extreme north of Northumberland borders with Scotland, and linguistically, as we shall see, there is much in common. To the South, County Durham gradually shades into Cleveland and Yorkshire, and the dialect becomes in specifiable ways very different.

The area we are concerned with in the present study is the area of Tyneside slightly east of the city of Newcastle, towards the coast. This area is called North Tyneside, or informally 'the coast'. Chapter 5 provides more detail geographically and socially. The present section considers the Tyneside dialect in general, both historically and in terms of the present day dialect. The historical information is important to reinforce the point that the development of a local dialect is subject to the same forces as a standard: social, political and historical forces create the usages we now regard as given.

4.7. Historical development of Tyneside English

In common with dialects of other fringe areas of Britain, Tyneside English has kept features which have died out elsewhere. Historically Tyneside has been part of the rest of

England for a much shorter time than more central areas, and has always had close connections with Lowland Scots, with which it shares a common origin. This section will outline in brief the history of Tyneside English, and comment on some of the salient features which have formed the contemporary dialect. For this account I draw heavily on Beal (1993), Strang (1970) and Heslop (1892).

Northumbrian and Lowland Scots share a common ancestor: the Anglian dialect of the Kingdom of Northumbria, which extended from Doncaster in the south to the Forth in the North. Northumbria was divided into two halves: Bernicia in the north and Deira in the South, the division being the river Tees. From about 600 AD onwards the English had settled in Northumbria, and there was a great flowering of culture and education which had no equal elsewhere in the country. Great names such as Bede, Benedict Biscop and Aidan were well read and cultured, and works such as Bede's Ecclesiastical History and the Lindisfarne Gospels were without parallel at the time in Britain, and possibly in Europe. This extremely powerful kingdom and its culture were devastated by the arrival of the Vikings, but the language remained a culturally cohesive force throughout the region. (Strang 1970:360)

In 1018 the Lothian region separated from the rest of Northumbria at the battle of Carham. However, this region became the centre for Scottish national ambitions, and ultimately the site of its capital Edinburgh. Thus the Northumbrian dialect of English became the basis for Scots as Scotland embarked on its journey towards nationhood and language standardisation: this dialect became the basis for Scottish law and religion until the time of James V1 of Scotland's accession to the English throne in 1603.

The kingdom of Northumbria, shorn also of its more southerly regions south of the Tees, was independent of the new Norman crown under the Earls of Northumberland until 1242. Equally, the language was little influenced by the Celtic of further north, or the Scandinavian of the Danelaw and the Norman French of the South. When the standardisation process began in earnest in London in the fifteenth century via the law courts, the dialect in Northumbria remained little changed, and visitors to Northumbria thought its inhabitants were Scots. Beal (1993) quoting from Bullein's (1578) *Dialogue against the fever pestilence*, refers to a London traveller in Redesdale saying to a local beggar:

What doest thou here in this Countrie? Me thinke thou art a Scot by thy tongue.

One might deduce from this that despite fierce border fighting between Northumbrian and Scots throughout this period, Northumbrian sounded to the outsider more like Scots than anything else.

In the sixteenth century there began the slow build up of Newcastle as a centre, initially because of coal mining in the Tyne valley. Coal was transported to London and elsewhere by water via Newcastle. From the outlying dales and valleys came people who settled in small communities mainly devoted to mining, and others moved into the city of Newcastle to become keel men, moving coal on barges on the river. Rail transport (horse drawn) brought coal down to the riverside, and all of these operations brought workers from the country.

Linguistically two important outcomes stemmed from this development. First, a new urban dialect emerged where speakers from different micro dialectal areas met and created a new dialect: that of Tyneside. This levelling process is analogous to the development of standard English in London through the interaction of traders, writers and lawyers from elsewhere, creating a mode of speech different from that of native Londoners (Strang 1970: 161:165). Secondly, many of the workers settled in small communities ten or twenty miles outside the city, and developed very close knit communities. Even today these communities (for example Bedlington, in Northumberland, or Stanley in County Durham) preserve a version of the vernacular which is much more conservative than that found in the city.

A final feature which has shaped Tyneside as it is spoken today is the influence of Irish immigration after 1840. One writer suggests that at one point in the nineteenth century in Newcastle one in ten of the population had been born in Ireland (House 1954:47). Connection with Scotland remain also, and throughout the nineteenth century and up to the present day Scots people have moved to Tyneside, married Tynesiders, and taken holidays in Tyneside. Some features of modern Tyneside dialect may be attributed to these links. For example, both Scots and Irish have plural *you* as 'youse', which occurs in Tyneside, and the intensifier 'geet' may come from the Scots intensifier 'gey' (Beal 1993).

4.8. Contemporary Tyneside English

I will now give a short account of Tyneside English as it is spoken today. First of all I will deal with phonology, then grammar, and finally lexis. The aim is not to provide an exhaustive account, which can be found elsewhere (Beal 1993, McDonald (1981), Pellowe et al (1972), Wells 1982), but rather to indicate areas where Tyneside English differs from the standard, with particular reference to items which feature in the present study. It should be mentioned that the standard English referred to is standard British English. Other standards, for example General American, will differ as does Tyneside from standard British English: past tense verb forms such as *gotten* and many prepositional usages are examples. However, the focus is on Tyneside English in the National Curriculum for English, which relates to standard British English.

Given that the present study does not confine itself to the parameters of dialect as defined by the National Curriculum but rather attempts to see the standard v non-standard dichotomy in terms of public perceptions as well as linguistic fact, a broad range of Tyneside dialect and accent is considered. Section 4.9 discusses aspects of phonology, concentrating especially on those which appear to be salient to Tyneside speakers. Section 4.10 considers grammar, focusing mainly on the grammar which occurred in the present study, and which is therefore likely to occur in many formal situations. This excludes many features which I have met with, but which occur very rarely, and more so in Northumberland than on Tyneside, such as double modals, and indeed restricts us mainly to features which are common to many social dialects. 4.11 considers lexical items which occur in the study, and makes reference to items found in the pilot study which did not feature greatly in the main study. Discourse markers are dealt with separately in 6.3.2.

4.9. Tyneside phonology

Key features relating to Tyneside phonology which are distinctive, are the following:

- glottalisation, especially of the fortis plosives /p/, /t/, and /k/, especially in certain environments, as in *metro, happy*. These are discussed in detail in Chapter 8.

- realisations of /l/ in contexts where /l/ is realised as velarised in R.P, alveolarised realisations are found in Tyneside English. Thus (*bottle, trouble),* realised as [bɔtɬ], [trʌ bɬ] in R.P. would become [bɔʔl] or [bɔʔtl] and [trʊbl] in Tyneside.

- uvular realisations of [r]. This is a feature much more common in Northumberland, and largely restricted to persons aged over 50. In Tyneside also it is restricted to older speakers. I have never heard a younger speaker using this feature, but have heard the feature in older males in Blyth, Gosforth, and Seaton Sluice, all towns in or near the Tyneside conurbation, and all speakers who were born and bred in that area. There is no doubt, however that it is dying out, unless it is adopted by young urban speakers, as has happened with some other features. Wells (1982:374) comments that this feature 'left its influence on certain vowel qualities, notably those in the lexical sets NURSE and lettER; also in the [ia] [ua]-type qualities of NEAR and CURE'.

- other significant vowel changes are words like *work* and *shirt*, which are pronounced [wɔ ːk] and [ʃɔːt], and words like *all, talk* and *cold*, pronounced [aːl], [taːk], [kaːd], with the /a/ vowel more centralised than R.P [a].

- there is a central rounded monophthong [ɵ] as in words like *don't* and *suppose* [dɵːnt], [səpɵːz].

- vowels pronounced [ei] in standard English as in *wait* are either [e:] or a diphthong

[eə~ia]. The first of these, along with the monophthong [ɵ] above give Tyneside English much of its characteristic sound. This is the aspect of Tyneside English (along with the glottals) that identifies people as having been brought up on Tyneside, even though they have not lived in the area for many years.

- the vowel in *mouth* becomes [mu:θ] in more conservative versions of Tyneside, and [mə u:θ] in a compromise between that and standard English. The first of these is highly stigmatised, and was highlighted in the pilot project for this study as one of the aspects condemned by parents (and effectively avoided by children in more formal situations).

- words like *clever* and *under* have a weak vowel which is very open: [kleva] [ʊnda] or possibly ending in [ɛ].

The above account derives largely from Wells (1982:374-376) and McNeany (1971), with some additional personal observations, including those made during the pilot study and for this thesis.

Other items which occur in many other dialects are rare in Tyneside English. Examples of this (from personal observation, also Wells (1982: 374) are 'h' dropping, which is rare in all social classes and realisations of [ɪŋ] as [ɪn] in items such as *running* and *going*, which is becoming more common but still much less than categorical, as it is in many other English dialects. Both of these are characteristic of the phonology of many 'social dialects' - i.e. dialects related to a particular class rather than a particular geographical area. This is further evidence of the fact that Tyneside is still relatively remote from other working class accents: people move away from Tyneside less than in many other places (e.g. Byrne et al 1972), and they tend to stay in a very small area of Tyneside. In Trudgill's (1974) study a great deal of influence came from Cockney via workers working temporarily in Norwich and Norwich workers having contacts in London. Links with neighbouring urban centres are less common in Tyneside, mainly because of the distance (150 miles) from Tyne and Wear to the

next conurbation of Leeds to the south and Edinburgh in the north. This relative isolation has probably helped to maintain the distinctiveness of the dialect.

Section 8.3 discusses the phonology which was particularly important during the present study (fortis stops and glottalisation) in greater detail.

4.10. Tyneside grammar

4.10.1. Introduction

Here I will give an account of the ways in which grammar differs from standard English. Following Beal (1993) McDonald (1981) I will consider the verb phrase, the noun phrase, sentence final elements, and the prepositional phrase. More detail can be found in these texts, which I draw upon for this account. Examples are drawn sometimes from the present study, and at other times from other work, principally McDonald (1981), whose work was carried out in more informal contexts. Because the focus of the present study is on formal talk, some non-standard grammatical features were not present in the corpus at all, and will therefore receive rather less attention than features which did occur in the present study. Again, the interested reader is referred to the texts above.

It must be stated at this point that Tyneside English is not unique with respect to many of the features I will describe here. Trudgill and Chambers (1991 Chapter 2) make a distinction between mainstream English dialects (where one might say *we're not coming; we aren't coming, we ain't coming*) as opposed to traditional dialect (where one might say *us byun't a-coming*). Related to this is the distinction been made by Milroy (1987a) Romaine (1982b) Kerswill (1987) who distinguish between a local standard, a local vernacular, and standard English. These three will compete in areas where there is not a simple opposition between standard and non-standard English, and some of the vernaculars come under Trudgill's heading of traditional dialect:, such as 'broad Scots', as described for example by Miller (1993).

Some features of Tyneside English are common in non-standard English generally, not only in the UK but also in the USA and Australia: see for example Labov (1972b) Eisikovits (1993) Baugh (1982) Gilmore and Glatthorn (1982) Hughes and Trudgill (1989). These include (from Cheshire et al (1993)) multiple negation (*don't you not*); past tense forms of irregular verbs (*I done it*); *never* as a past tense negative (I never done it); present tense verb forms (*-s* deletion or addition: *I thinks*); relative pronouns (*the story what you told me*); reflexive pronouns (*hisself*); comparatives and superlatives (*more better*); demonstratives (*them things*); adjectival forms with adverbial function (*do it quick*); unmarked plurality (*twenty mile*).

Urban Tyneside has many of these features, though, as with phonology, not all: for example there is little that is non-standard about Tyneside present tense verb forms, such as the deletion of the -s morpheme in *he like*, or its addition in *I likes*, which are common in many other non-standard urban dialects in the British Isles. On the other hand there are features which are unique to Tyneside, for example a number of non-standard past participles which to my knowledge do not occur elsewhere, such as *forgetten* (forgotten), *tret* (treated) and *sayed* (said).

4.10.2. The verb phrase

4.10.2.1.Past tense morphology

As mentioned, aspects of the verb phrase (VP) in Tyneside English differs considerably in some respects from standard English, within the fairly modest parameters of grammatical variation in English (see Cheshire et al. 1989 for a discussion of variation in Dutch and German, where the differences are much greater). Most salient amongst these is the morphology of the past tense, both the simple past (preterite) and the perfect aspect (i.e. with auxiliary verb *have*). The table reproduced here as table 2.1 is taken from McDonald (1980:28-29) and shows the extent of the variation within the VP in Tyneside.

Table 4-2 Examples of the correspondence between base, past and past participle or irregular lexical verbs in Tyneside and Standard English

Tyneside			Standard		
Base	**Past**	**Participle**	**Base**	**Past**	**Participle**
speak	spoke	spoke	speak	spoke	spoken
break	broke	broke	break	broke	broken
bite	bit	bit	bite	bit	bitten
take	took	took	take	took	taken
fall	fell	fell	fall	fell	fallen
write	wrote	wrote	write	wrote	written
forget	forgot	forgot	forget	forgot	forgotten
		forgetten			
eat	ate	ate	eat	ate	eaten
	et	etten			
beat	beat	beat	beat	beat	beaten
give	give	give	give	gave	given
do	done	done	do	did	done
give	went	went	go	went	gone
see	seen	saw	see	saw	seen
ring	rang	rang	ring	rang	rung
sing	sang	sang	sing	sang	sung
shrink	shrank	shrank	shrink	shrank	shrunk
	shrunk			shrunk	
sink	sunk	sunk	sink	sank	sunk
come	come	came	come	came	come
run	run	ran	run	ran	run
spin	span	spun	spin	spun	spun
swing	swang	swung	swing	swung	swung
get	got	getten	get	got	got
treat	tret	tret	treat	treated	treated
put	put	putten	put	put	put
say	sayed	sayed	say	said	said

It is clear that there are considerable differences between verb morphology in standard English, and that of Tyneside English. The most obvious group of differences is where a word is used which does not exist in modern standard English: *forgetten, getten, sayed, tret*. The second group is where the same word is used but it occupies a different slot. So for example Tyneside English will have *I done it* (S.E. *I did it*), and *I seen it* (S.E. *I saw it*). To complicate the latter verb further *I've saw it* (S.E. *I've seen it).* It will be appreciated

that these differences amount to a complete reversal of usage: where Tyneside English has *saw* standard English has *seen*, and vice versa. Finally, there are verbs where either Tyneside English has fewer inflections than standard English (e.g. break) and verbs where the opposite is true (e.g. put). Many, though not by any means all of these non-standard past tense forms occurred in the present study. See 6.6 for further details of features which occurred commonly in the study.

'Folk linguists' often call attention to examples such as these in order to belittle local dialect, often claiming a lack of logic or complexity. This table makes clear that claims such as this are difficult to substantiate. In some cases the non-standard varieties are more complex than the standard variety. Equally, the non-standard varieties are often ancient linguistic forms long disappeared from the standard (e.g. the T/V distinction which persists in Durham and Yorkshire *thee* and *thou* (Kerswill 1987 also Geeson 1969 and Mitchell and Waddell 1987).

The table also shows, however, that the differences are sufficiently great to cause problems for learners who are trying to distinguish similar words used in different slots in standard English and in Tyneside English.

4.10.2.2.Present tense morphology

Regarding the present tense, there is generally less variation than in other non-standard dialects, as mentioned above. One small exception to this is that the morpheme (-s), in SE only attached to the 3rd person singular, can in Tyneside be attached to the 3rd person plural, but only (according to McDonald 1980) where there is a noun, rather than a pronoun, as a subject. Example (from McDonald (1980:12)

(1) The carpets was soaked

Other common aspects of non-standard present tense morphology such as -s morpheme with first person singular (I takes) or -s deletion in third person (he like) are not reported by

McDonald or Beal, and do not occur in the present study even in the pilot project where a more informal vernacular was found.

4.10.2.3.Modal verbs

Modal verb forms display considerable variation. Most interesting is the double modal, found also in Scottish English (see Miller (1993) p116-121). No examples of this occurred in the present corpus, but McDonald (1981:196-7) gives the following:

(2) I can't play on Friday. I work late. I *might could* get it changed though.

(3) The girls usually make me some (toasted sandwiches) but they *mustn't could have* made any today.

Other aspects of Tyneside modals which differ from SE include the following.

May and *shall* are rarely used, and only in formulaic patterns such as *May I go to the toilet*, often made a prerequisite to permission by teachers who are trying to correct *Can I go to the toilet*? Shall is less common in many non-standard and social dialects, but even where many non-standard dialects would have shall (as in *shall we go out?*) Tyneside will have *will we go out?* In standard English certain adverbs are placed before the main verb, but after modals. In Tyneside these appear before modals, thus

(4) she just can reach the gate (SE she can just reach the gate).

(5) If they only could walk a bit they should thank God (SE if they could only walk a bit they should thank God).

It should finally be noted that modals in Tyneside can bear different meanings to those in SE. Beal (1993:197) gives the following examples:

(6) The lift can't be working (standard English)

(7) The lift mustn't be working (Tyneside)

where the meaning of the two statements is the same. While this would strike an outsider as odd, the following could give rise to confusion (Beal 1993: 197)

(8) You haven't got to do that!

In SE this would be expressing a lack of compulsion: it is not obligatory; in Tyneside the same phrase would express obligation, equivalent to SE *you mustn't do that*.

4.10.2.4.'never' as emphatic negative operator

Negation in Tyneside, in common with other non-standard dialects, contains a number of differences from SE. Firstly *never* can be used as an emphatic negative operator. Example from McDonald (1981)

(9) The women were waiting for the men to play cards but the men *never* turned up so the women sent Ruby out to look for them.

This is very common in many non-standard dialects (see Trudgill and Chambers (1991: 51) and Cheshire et al (1993:67).

4.10.2.5.multiple negation

Tyneside, in common with many other dialects, has double negatives. (Labov 1972b looks at this in more detail). Strang (1970:151) points out that in 1570 the negative was formed with *not* following the main verb (*I say not*). During the next 200 years the negative forms of the modals (e.g. *won't*, *can't*) developed. It was the complication this caused which led to widespread double negatives, where the normal negative operator was used in conjunction with negated modals. This was then attacked by prescriptive grammarians in the

eighteenth century so successfully that it rarely occurs in standard English. It persists, however, in most local dialects. McDonald (1980:13) gives the following examples:

(10) you couldn't say nothing bad about it

(11) you bring it up or I won't have none.

The present study did not elicit any double negatives, though I hear examples on a regular basis. Interestingly, Cheshire et al in their survey of British dialect grammar, state that:

> multiple negation was reported less frequently in the North of Britain than in the Midlands, and most frequently in the South...Multiple negation was not reported in any of the three responses from Newcastle upon Tyne. (1993:76)

The survey was conducted through schools and schoolchildren who 'recorded items which they had heard recently in the local community' (1993:56). It may be that the school is not the best place to obtain certain aspects of the local vernacular, or that since McDonald's (1980/81) study double negatives have become less common, at least amongst the young. Certainly it seems to be a feature that the pupils in the present survey were able to avoid using in formal situations.

4.10.2.6.lack of negative attraction

Another aspect of negative syntax in Tyneside which differ from standard English are the lack of negative attraction:

(12) everyone didn't want to hear them (SE no-one wanted to hear them).

4.10.2.7.uncontracted negative

A very noticeable Tyneside syntactic feature is the uncontracted negative. *Cannot*, in particular, is the type of item which visitors to Newcastle first notice and regard as attractive in the dialect. It is, as Beal (1993) indicates, related to Scots *cannae*, and indeed Scots also has this feature of uncontracted negatives. Other examples are:

(13) *He cannot get a job*

(14) have you not got it

(15) Does he not want a one

(15) Is he not there.

(Beal (1993:199)

Note that this last is similar to the original English negative referred to by Strang (1970) as being the only negative form in 1570. Strang points out that negatives involving modals have encroached more and more on this earlier form ever since then (1970:151). Again, Tyneside, in common with other dialects, maintains grammatical features now lost in SE.

4.10.3. Verb phrase complementation

4.10.3.1.for to

For to is often used where SE would have to:

(16) The firemen were putting on breathing apparatus for to go into the house. (McDonald 1985).

(17)

4.10.3.2.verbs of necessity

Verbs of necessity are expressed differently in Tyneside English. Compare the following:

(17) The floor needs washing (Standard English)

(18) The floor needs washed (Tyneside English)

this use of the past participle with these modals is also a feature of Irish English (Harris 1993) and Scottish English (Brown 1991, Miller 1993).

4.10.3.3.complementisers 'being as' and 'with'

The words *being as* and *with* are often used to introduce subordinate clauses instead of *because* or *since*:

(19) He can't come, being as he's working

(20) with the wife being ill, I'll have to look after her. (Pellowe et al 1972:46)

4.10.3.4.had have + -ed participle

This is a feature in many social dialects: *had + -ed participle* becomes *had + have+ -ed participle.*

(21) She might just have getten the same sort of job if she had have stayed at school.

4.10.4. The noun phrase

We now move on to features of the noun phrase. The main elements of non-standard usage here are different PRO-forms, but there are other aspects of variation also.

4.10.4.1. personal pronouns

Fig 4.2 is a paradigmatic representation of the personal pronoun system for Tyneside English.

Table 4-3 Personal pronouns in Standard English and Tyneside English

	Subject		Object		Possessive	
	Standard	Tyneside	Standard	Tyneside	Standard	Tyneside
1 p sing	I	I	me	us	my	me
plural	we	us	us	we	our	wor
2 p sing	you	ye	you	you	your	your
plural	you	yous	you	yous/yees	your	your
3 p sing m	he	he	him	him	his	his
f	she	she	her	her	her	her
n	it	it	it	it	its	its
plural	they	they	them	them	their	their

(Source Beal 1993:205)

The system differs considerably from standard English. As was noted earlier regarding VP items, where the item (in this case a pronoun) is a word which exists in SE but is used differently (such as *us* and *we*) there will be problems for speakers and writers as they try to separate standard from non-standard usage. It turns out in fact that it is relatively easy to avoid plural *yous* and the possessive *wor* in writing, because it does not have an accepted spelling (Crinson 1990), whereas the *we/us* distinction causes problems.

Examples of usage of these pronouns include:

(22) Ye can get lost Kevin

(23) Give us me ball

(24) Us'll do it

(25)Wor Charlie said yous could come

(26) Give it we!

(27) They beat we four nil!

(28) The teachers took we on different trips.

(29) What if the ghostie gets we?

(Examples from Beal 1993 and from the present study.)

While some of these occur in some other dialects (for example plural *yous* occurs in Scottish and Irish dialects), the overall pattern is uniquely that of Tyneside English. These pronouns do seem to be an area of grammar where speakers who have been brought up as Tyneside speakers have difficulty in noticing where it differs from standard English. Non-standard pronouns were, with past participles, the most common non-standard grammatical elements in the present study.

4.10.4.2.reflexive pronouns

In contrast, the use of reflexives (myself etc.) resembles other social dialects. Table 6.3 indicates the operation of reflexives in Tyneside, and contrasts them with standard English.

Table 4-4 Reflexive pronouns in Tyneside and standard English

Standard	Tyneside
myself	meself
ourselves	worselves
yourself	yourself
yourselves	yourselves
himself	hisself
herself	herself
itself	itself
themselves	theirselves

(Source Beal (1993))

The principle is extremely regular: the list of possessive pronouns shown in table 4.2 becomes the reflexive pronouns of 4.3 with the addition of the morpheme -self. This resembles other dialects, except that words like *wor* are unique to Tyneside. In contrast standard English has an irregular formation pattern, where some reflexives are attached to the object pronoun and some to the possessive pronoun.

4.10.4.3.Object pronouns

Object pronouns in Tyneside are often (though not always) used in subject position. This again is common in other dialects.

(30) her and her friend were looking at a programme

(31) the day him and his dad made a hot air balloon.

(32)

(Examples from Beal (1990)).

4.10.4.4.Demonstrative 'them'

The demonstrative *them* is used in Tyneside where standard English would have *those*.

(32) all them ships

(33) my uncle and them all drinking

(examples from the present study)

4.10.4.5.'which' with a personal antecedent

Macdonald (1980) highlights the following non-standard pronominal usage: one which occurs in other dialects also.

(34) The ladies which accompanied him had curly hair

In standard English the complementiser would be *who*, on the basis that *which* is used only with an inanimate antecedent. Beal speculates that this may be hypercorrect, since the more common non-standard relative would be *that,* as in

(35) The ladies that accompanied him had curly hair.

4.10.4.6.relative 'what'

What is also used as a relative, with both personal and inanimate antecedents:

(37) The coats what the men wore were very long.

(38) It cannot be anyone else but you what's left that bath dirty.

(Examples from Beal (1993 and from the present study)

4.10.4.7.'one' with the definite article

In Tyneside English the word *one* is used alongside the indefinite article. This is not the case in SE.

(39) I would like to be a one because it is a job where you meet people. (S.E I would like to be one...)

4.10.4.8.expressions with number

Expressions with number are in certain cases singular. This is again in common with many other dialects, though there are rather more in Tyneside than in other dialects. Some remain in SE:

(40) he bought eight ton of coal

(41) he is six foot tall

(Quirk and Greenbaum (1973))

Quirk and Greenbaum, however, indicate that both singular and plural are possible (1973:87). Thus it looks as if this is a change in progress towards a regularisation of plurals with quantitative nouns in the direction of using the normal plural morpheme. As usual this change is less developed among non-standard dialects, and some exist in Tyneside which are not reported by other writers:

(42) His temporary visa was now six month out of date

(43) I lived there for ten year

(44) If you take early retirement, they'll pay you twenty three pound a week to retire.

(McDonald 1980: 22)

Cheshire et al (1993:66) comment on the variation in items like this. and refer to reports from Edwards and Weltens (1984) that there were no reports of *inch* as an unmarked plural form. However Cheshire et al's study did report these, and certainly they are reported in McDonald, (1980) and occur in the present study. Singular expressions of time, which are very common in Tyneside English (*month* and *year*) are not reported to my knowledge in any other dialect, though do occur in Scots (Miller J, personal communication).

4.10.4.9.double comparatives and superlatives

Another item very common in many non-standard dialects is that of double negatives. These no longer exist in standard English, but are very common in Tyneside English.

(45) *She's got the most loveliest clothes*

(46) *I think alcohol is much more safer, kind of relaxing if took in small quantities.*

(47) *they're more friendlier up here.*

(from Macdonald (1980, 1985) and the present study)

4.10.4.10.intensifiers

Intensifiers are a feature of Tyneside English, as of most dialects and indeed of young people's speech in general. Children cannot readily distinguish between youth slang expressions and local vernacular (McKenzie 1990). However, there are intensifiers which are local to Tyneside.

These phenomena are rather different from items which occur within youth culture. They are often borrowed from traditional dialect, and transferred into the street vernacular of a particular community. One interesting item in this respect is the intensifier *geet*, which is considered by Beal to have started in North Shields, and to have become a major part of the vernacular used by young people throughout Tyneside. She hypothesises that this intensifier may have come from the Scots 'gey', which in its adverbial meaning can function as an intensifier, as in:

(48) ken I'm gey thick in the head

(Sir Walter Scott, quoted in OED).

Examples from the present study are:

(49) It was going geet quick

(50) a geet big phone bill.

Another example of this is *dey* (dəi:)and *deyn't* (dəint) (do and don't), expressions which are currently largely restricted to North Shields, but which may in time become more widespread as young people seek out new and exciting forms of the traditional dialect to use.

(51) Me mam's always tellin us not to go saying 'deynt dey that' and stuff like that.

(from the pilot study)

4.10.5. Sentence final elements

In Tyneside English it is quite common to attach a object pronoun to the end of a sentence.

(52) They're useless, them.

(53) My skirt's too short, this.

(54) I could just go a toasted sandwich, me.

from Beal (1993)

Another possible sentence final element in Tyneside English is the word *but*, which, as in Scots and Irish dialects, can occur at the end of a sentence.

(55) We just went day trips, but.

(from the present study).

4.10.6. Prepositions

Table 4.5 (adapted from Beal (1993)) outlines the salient differences between preposition use in Tyneside English compared with standard English.

Table 4-5 Tyneside English prepositions and their standard English equivalents

Tyneside	Standard
off	from/by
on	about
at	in (place)
on	at (time)
used with	used to
by	of (agent)

Source: Beal: (1993)

The following examples illustrate the use of the above.

(56) He is forever getting hit *off* my parents

(57) The pilot did as best he could to keep the radio informed on where the plane was going to land.

(58) Ten people had already died by the fumes

(59) You should get yourself out, especially on a weekend.

(60) In May, Mam, Dad, Michelle and I are going to a place called Estartit at the Costa Brava.

(61) Going up New York. (SE going to or up to)

(62) We just went day trips (SE we just went on day trips).

Sources: McDonald (1985) and the present study

The preceding discussion has focused especially on the aspects of Tyneside grammar found in the present study. The aim has been to give a flavour of the dialect, and of the peculiar features of Tyneside English. Interested readers are referred to Beal (1993) for a

fuller description, including aspects of Tyneside and Northumbrian English not referred to here, either because they are rare, or because they occur only in less formal speech.

4.11. Tyneside lexis

Traditional dialect has a rich lexis, and many of the words do not exist in any form in SE. The following examples give an idea of the range of the traditional lexis of Tyneside and Northumberland.

penker (a marble)

cuddy (a donkey)

clarts (mud)

peely wally (pale)

Much of this vocabulary has, however, completely disappeared from urban centres, and younger people even in rural areas do not know many of the words. A study carried out by a teacher in North Shields (McKenzie 1990) using some of the *Larn Yersel Geordie* books (Dobson (1969) suggested that 10 - 11 year olds in North Shields knew very little of the dialect words, and neither did their parents. This finding is echoed by researchers elsewhere (see Chambers and Trudgill (1980)).

However some words do persist. Non-standard verb morphology, as we have seen above, does survive, and with it verbs like *gan*, *div*, (go, do) etc. Words like *aye*, and *na* (yes and no) also survive. *Howway* (come on) is very common, even among middle class speakers in informal contexts.

Other examples from the present study include:

mebbies (maybe)

wag (play truant)

get wrong (be verbally chastised)

little-uns (children)

lad (boy, young man)

lass (girl, young woman)

nowt (nothing)

knock about with (spend time with).

8.4.1 gives more detail of the lexical items actually found in the present study.

4.12. Summary

In this chapter we have considered the question of standard languages and their relation to non-standard dialects, focusing in the latter part of the chapter on Tyneside English and its differences from standard British English. In 4.2 we considered the nature of a standard, using Latin and English as examples. This was developed in 4.3 using a theoretical model based on Joseph (1987). A modern example was given in 4.4 of the relationship between Irish and English, and the variability of the relationship between the two over the years. In 4.5 we considered the nature of prescriptivism, considering type 1 complaints (appeal to a former golden age) and type 2 complaints (the quality argument). 4.6 and 4.7 consider the historical development of Tyneside English, and set it in the context of the fluctuations of fortune experienced by other languages previously discussed. Sections 4.8 to 4.11 considered contemporary Tyneside English according to phonology, grammar, and lexis, paying particular attention to the similarities and differences between Tyneside English and standard English. Some reference was made to the problems certain items at different linguistic levels might present to Tyneside speakers who wished to use standard English.

In chapters 2 to 4 of this study we have considered the political, historical, and educational background to the study of standard English. We move now to the empirical study with a consideration of the social and geographical factors affecting the two research sites in the study.

5. The social and regional context of the study

5.1. Introduction

The purpose of this chapter is to outline the demographic characteristics of the Tyneside area and the nature of the settings in which the children use language. First of all I consider the geographical areas concerned, defining and describing the Tyneside area, and referring also to industry and cultural aspects of Tyneside. I then address the Tyneside dialect as regards its status in the community. The two towns in the study are described, and the social situation in the towns is also outlined. I next consider the two schools which form the research sites for the study, and finally the individual pupils who made up the 24 subjects for the study. The intention here is to provide the social, linguistic and cultural context in which the students find themselves, and within which the results of the study need to be understood.

Much of the information outlined here comes from the work done during the pilot study for this project, and also from the L.I.N.C. project (see 2.9), where groups of local teachers met and considered language in its social context. Other useful sources of information are Byrne (1989), Byrne et al (1974, 1976), Crinson (1990) and various publications of North Tyneside Council, including Council Minutes, and the Local Management of Schools Scheme.(1991 et seq).

5.2. The Tyneside area and its culture

5.2.1. Geography and housing

The term *Tyneside* is used in this study co-referentially with the county of Tyne and Wear. This includes the cities of Newcastle, Gateshead and Sunderland, and towns such as North and South Shields, Jarrow, Wallsend and Whitley Bay. Byrne (1989:40) also includes the area to the North of North Tyneside, called South East Northumberland, as part of what he describes as the city of Tyneside. This includes towns such as Blyth, Cramlington and Morpeth. See fig 5.1.

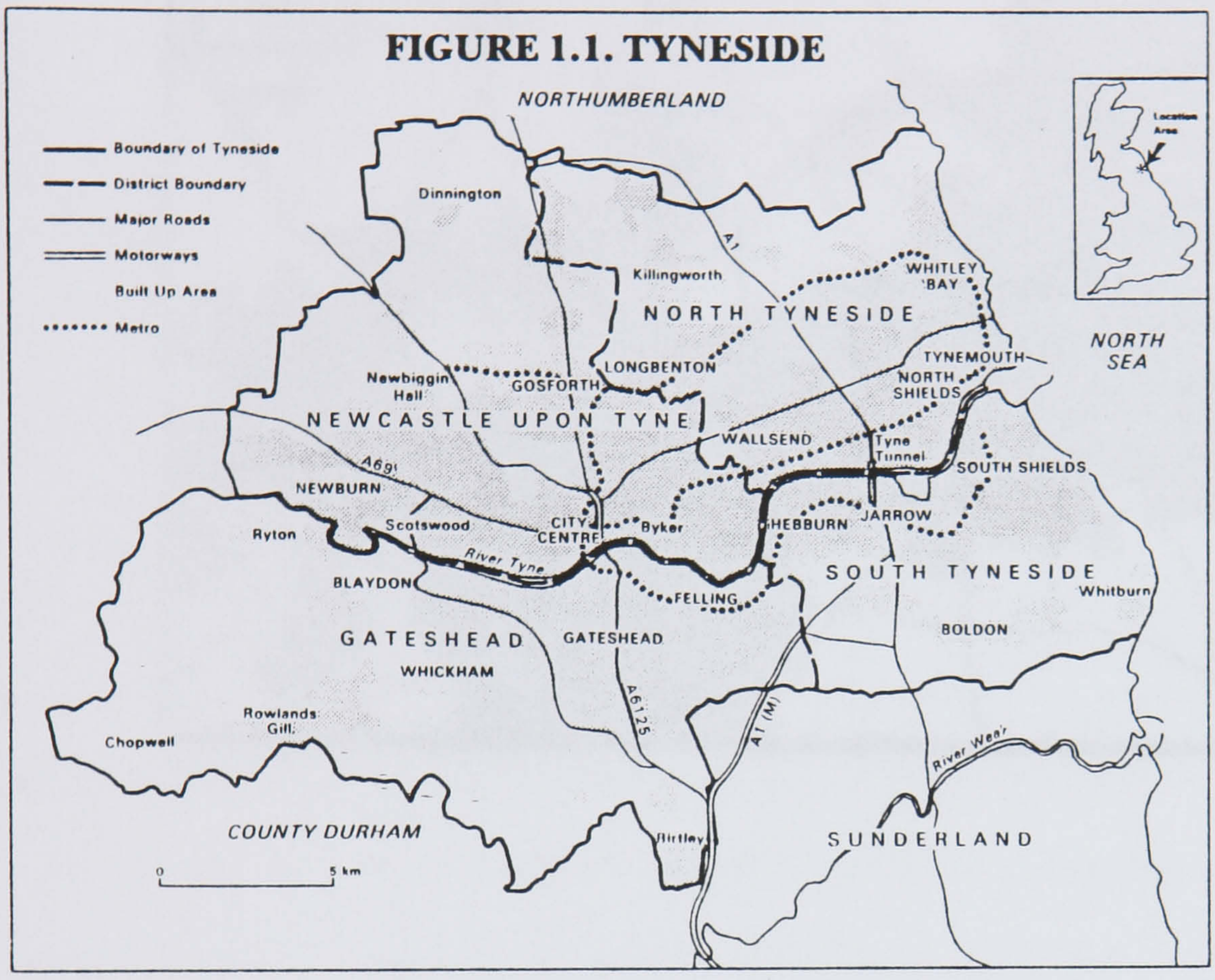


Figure 5-1 Map of Tyneside (Byrne 1989)

The present study focuses more narrowly on the Metropolitan Borough of North Tyneside, as a fairly representative sample of the contrasts which exist within Tyneside. Specifically two areas are considered. One is the area around Townhead school, which consists mainly of a large council estate and a variety of low cost private and housing association housing. This area is near to the River Tyne. The other area is that surrounding Greenbelt School. This area is further from the river, though near the sea. It has the characteristics of a prosperous suburb, and is composed mostly of semi-detached and detached houses with some older terraced housing. Contrasting unemployment statistics (see below 5.2.2) give a picture of relative poverty and affluence.

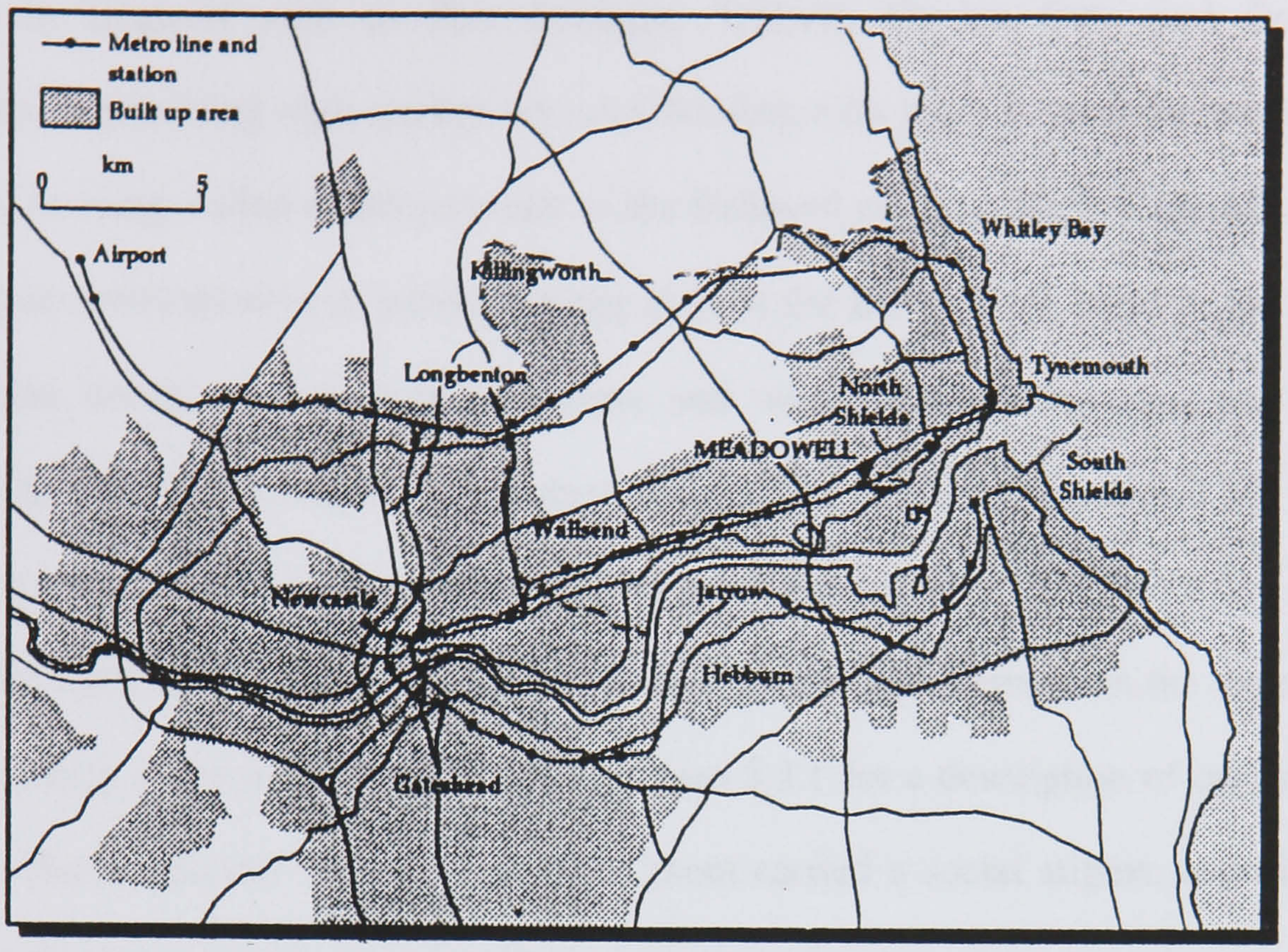


Figure 5-2 Map of North Tyneside (from Barke and Turnbull 1992)

Tyneside is an area which grew massively during the late 18th and early 19th centuries. It became prosperous through industries such as coal mining, shipbuilding, steel making and heavy engineering. Industrial workers on Tyneside were among the best paid in the world in the mid- to late- nineteenth centuries (Colls and Lancaster 1992). However, as with many other cities which grew rapidly, the infrastructure and housing was inadequate, and many slum areas existed. Mess (1928) commented that Tyneside, above other urban areas, had a large number of very small dwellings of one or two rooms. In Newcastle in the 1920s, 36.8% of homes had only one or two rooms, where nationally for England and Wales the figure was 14.1% (Cameron and Crompton 1988). Mess (1928) noted that a characteristic of Tyneside housing provision was a great number of back to back housing with tiny back yards, surrounded by acres of underused land. Local councils dealt with the problem from the 1930s onwards by building their own housing stock, popularly called council houses. These usually took the form of small semi-detached houses on estates, and most had reasonable

sized gardens. The thinking behind these houses drew from visionary developments elsewhere in England such as Port Sunlight, Welwyn Garden City, and Bournville: experiments in providing high quality low cost housing with land. A good local example of this kind of housing, called a cottage estate, is the Balkwell estate in North Tyneside.

Other developments in public housing include the Byker Wall, build in the 1970s to an innovative design, and enclosing attractive and well landscaped housing; and the less successful Killingworth Citadels, which were designed to resemble a medieval hill fort, but which were never popular with residents, and are now demolished.

The council estates were popular, and were a vast improvement on the overcrowded conditions which many urban workers endured (see 5.3.1 for a description of conditions for workers in North Shields). However, some of them carried a social stigma, especially if it was known that the estates had been built to compensate for slum clearance programmes.

The situation today is transformed. Mess's measure of overcrowding was density of persons per room. In 1921 34.9% lived at a density of more than two persons per room. Today (1981) only 4.8% live at a density of more than 1 person per room, while at 1.5 persons per room there were only 0.6%. (Cameron and Crompton 1988). Thus housing policies have achieved a great deal. If there are other problems connected with low cost housing in the 1990s, they are the result of social and cultural conditions in the main, rather than physical conditions.

Other housing continued to be built from the 1930s onwards. More attractive towns and villages near the cities, such as Gosforth, Whitley Bay, Tynemouth, Ponteland, Low Fell, and Boldon, acquired large developments of semi-detached and detached housing in the 1930s to the 1960s. These were also built on estates, but these were owner occupied estates. Many of the children attending Greenbelt school live in such areas, which now have mature trees and a settled aspect.

5.2.2. Industry

Tyneside in the late 19th century was a highly successful economy built on heavy industries such as shipbuilding, mining and steel. While there was a considerable downturn in

the region's economy in the 1920s and 1930s, the heavy industry continued to flourish from 1935 until the mid 1960s (Mess (1928), Byrne (1992) Robinson (1988). Indeed, some writers claim (Byrne 1992:43) that organisations such as the National Coal Board resisted moves to create new kinds of employment from the 1940s onwards, because it would damage the supply of young men for the mining industry: this explains why until recently many of the new industries in the North East have been in areas such as textiles, and have employed mainly women.

From the mid sixties in particular all the traditional industries have been in decline. Tyneside has only one shipbuilder left, and no deep mines. Organisations such as NEI Parsons, Vickers, and AMEC still operate in the fields of heavy engineering, tank manufacture, and oil industry production. However there has been a steep decline in the number of jobs created in these areas. The table below shows the move from engineering related jobs towards service sector employment.

Table 5-1 Industrial structure Northern Region 1966- 84 (in thousands, with percentages in parenthesis)

	1966	1976	1981	1984
Agriculture	23	16 (1.3)	14 (1.3)	15 (1.4)
Mining	107	50 (4.0)	41 (3.6)	33 (3.1)
Total Manufacturing	461	438 (34.9)	344 (30.5)	281 (26.5)
Chemicals	57	51 (4.1)	49 (4.4)	41 (3.9)
Metal manufacturing	62	47 (3.7)	30 (2.7)	17 (1.6)
Engineering	114	118 (9.4)	114 (10.2)	85 (8.0)
Shipbuilding	58	48 (3.8)	34 (3.0)	21 (2.0)
Other manufacturing	171	175 (13.9)	117 (10.2)	117 (11.0)
Services	687	751 (59.8)	714 (63.8)	735 (69.3)
Construction	105	96 (7.6)	72 (6.4)	61 (5.8)
Transport	237	210 (16.7)	197 (17.8)	180 (17.0)
Professional	130	180 (14.3)	174 (15.6)	179 (17.0)
Public administration	71	91 (7.3)	81 (7.3)	75 (7.1)
Other services	144	174 (13.9)	190 (16.7)	240 (22.6)
Total	1277	1255	1144	1064

Adapted from Byrne (1992:44)

The table shows a steady decline in manufacturing, a significant overall drop in numbers employed, and a slight growth in services overall. However, within the services sector we can see that public administration and construction have declined up to 1984.

The region has very recently been able to attract some new industry, notably the Nissan plant near Sunderland, Komatsu in Birtley, and most recently the Siemens microchip plant in North Tyneside, all organisations attracted by amongst other things the skilled work force, and low wages compared to many countries on the continent of Europe. However, these organisations are not based in the North East, and head offices remain elsewhere, leaving them vulnerable to reduction or closure in a different economic climate. Also, modern heavy industry will never employ the numbers who formerly worked in the mines and the shipyards. For example, Vickers' new tank plant at Scotswood employs 700; in 1945

Vickers Armstrong employed 20 000. Over the ten years to 1988 NEI Parsons has reduced its workforce from over 14 000 to 7 000. (Robinson (1988)).

The upshot of all these developments is that there are very prosperous areas, such as Gosforth, Whickham, Whitley Bay and Monkseaton, Ponteland and parts of Sunderland. These co-exist with pockets of considerable poverty, where people existing on state benefits appear unable to acquire the skills which would enable them to find employment in the high tech low manpower firms which are growing in the region. The following data, from the 1991 Census, give an idea of these contrasts, expressed in terms of the research sites of the present study.

Table 5-2 Employment statistics: Tyne and Wear total. Percentages

	Male	Female
Working full-time	67.8	49.2
Working part-time	2.6	36.1
Self employed	9.1	3.8
Unemployed	17.6	8.8

Source: 1991 Census

Table 5-3 Employment statistics: North Tyneside total. Percentages

	Male	Female
Working full-time	70.9	49.3
Working part-time	3.0	38.3
Self employed	9.9	4.1
Unemployed	14.1	6.7

Source: 1991 Census

It can be seen that total unemployment was high in Tyne and Wear, with 17.6% comparing with 10.1% in the country as a whole. North Tyneside has a lower figure than the Tyne and Wear average, but this masks large contrasts, as the next two tables make clear.

Table 5-4 Employment statistics: Riverside ward total. Percentages

	Male	Female
Working full-time	56.7	42.6
Working part-time	2.6	36.5
Self employed	5.4	3.4
Unemployed	30.7	14.0

Source: 1991 Census

This ward contains Townhead school. We can see that male unemployment here is twice the North Tyneside average, 13 % more than the Tyne and Wear average, and three times the national average. Significantly female employment, which tends to be relatively buoyant, is much higher than either the Tyne and Wear or North Tyneside averages.

Table 5-5 Employment statistics: St Mary's total. Percentages

	Male	Female
Working full-time	74.4	48.3
Working part-time	3.9	38.7
Self employed	15.0	7.8
Unemployed	5.4	3.8

Source: 1991 Census

In contrast to the Riverside ward figures, the St Mary's figures (the ward containing Greenbelt school) are extremely low, with both male unemployment at half the national average and a third or so of the North Tyneside and Tyne and Wear averages.

The statistics for Riverside ward mask greater disparities. Byrne comments as follows:

> An example is provided by the South Meadowell Estate in the former CDP area in North Shields. In 1971 male unemployment in this local stood at 22% and female unemployment at 12%. By 1981 these figures had increased to 48% and 32% respectively. By 1981 17% of households were headed by a single parent and 13 % contained only pensioners. It is clear that the majority of households in this area did

> not contain anyone in waged work and were likely to be dependent on state benefits. (Byrne 1989:110)

The outcome of the changes of the last 40 years has been that Tyneside has to a certain extent been able to adapt to the conditions of the late twentieth century. There are new industries, and Tyneside has prosperous shopping malls, successful football teams, higher education, and a vibrant cultural and entertainment scene. Those who are in work enjoy a high standard of living, since house prices have fluctuated less than elsewhere in the country. Nation-wide data in 1987 show an average house price of £27 519, which is two thirds of the national average of £41 724 (Cameron and Crompton 1988:131). Market researchers often target Tyneside as an area where there are significant numbers of people with high personal disposable income. However certain areas where the culture has been closely connected with the largely defunct heavy industry have been left behind. These areas, such as the Meadowell estate, have very high numbers dependent on state benefits, and a culture very different from the consumer culture enjoyed by, for example, those living in more prosperous parts of Whitley Bay. The new jobs require skills and levels of education which rule them out for many of the people who live in the more deprived areas. This tends to make these areas look inward, and to be suspicious of the new developments.

5.2.3. Culture

The Tyneside area has maintained a strong and distinctive local culture, connected with local institutions such as football teams, local pop groups such as *Lindisfarne* and *the Animals*, Tyne Tees TV and the local BBC TV station, and local radio and press (*Metro Radio* and the *Newcastle Chronicle and Journal*: one of the most successful local newspaper groups in the country). There are local celebrities also, quite unknown outside the region, such as Mike Neville from the BBC, Sir John Hall who built the shopping mall known as the Metro Centre, and the late comedian Bobby Thompson. Products such as Newcastle Brown Ale are widely known and promoted, and distinctive foods such as 'stottie cake' (a type of bread) are recognised throughout the region.

Many young people from the region remain there for higher education, and many stay for the whole of their working lives. (Coffield et al 1986, Dennison and Edwards 1988). Teacher vacancies for primary staff below the rank of deputy head teacher are not advertised nationally, but only in the local newspapers. Managers and senior staff in industry and education are to a large extent locally born and bred. Thus Tynesiders of all social classes tend to have fairly strong regional loyalties. Within this, however, there are considerable differences, and one of the most striking is that between those who depend on benefits from the state, and those who are in work. See below 5.3 for a more specific discussion of two contrasting Tyneside towns.

5.2.4. Dialect

Linguistically Tyneside has an unusual history: see 4.6 for a full discussion. The dialect remained independent of all invaders, and was only confirmed to the crown of England, in 1242, which was considerably later than other dialects of English. Beal comments as follows:

> When a standardised form of English began to develop in the fifteenth century Northumberland was just about as far removed from the centre of standardisation in London as it was geographically possible for a dialect region in England to be. To the sixteenth century Londoner, Northumbrian sounded distinctive and outlandish (1993:188).

The dialect has continued to be distinctive, despite increased mobility and the influence of the media. One of the things characteristic of the area is the deep regional loyalty of its population. Local people often try hard not to leave the area for study or for work. This strong local 'born and bred' element gives rise for many people to what Milroy (1987b) has called a dense social network. Many Tynesiders have most of their families living locally, socialise with work colleagues, and have a number of contacts in one sphere of life who know people in others. This applies to some extent even to professional people, but is especially the case among working class communities. (Byrne et al 1976, 1978) All of these factors serve to keep the language distinctive.

Tynesiders are proud of the dialect, and its characteristic jokes and songs, books of which are available in any newsagent or bookstall. This does not mean that they reject the standard; indeed, as is common in non-standard speaking areas, some educated or upwardly mobile Tynesiders will claim not to be able to understand broad Tyneside, and censure children for using non-standard spoken forms. But most Tynesiders, if pressed, would probably argue that Geordie (the local name for the dialect) was a good thing. Trudgill (1983) drew attention to what he called 'covert prestige': the hidden or unacknowledged prestige of the vernacular which related to values of solidarity. On Tyneside the prestige of the vernacular is not very covert, though McKenzie (1990) points to the mixture of emotions which the dialect gives rise to for Tyneside school children: see 5.2.4 for further discussion.

Differences can be found in the speech of individuals from different parts of Tyneside. All local people can hear the differences between the speech of Sunderland (called, disparagingly 'makkem'); and the 'pitmatic' of South East Northumberland. Equally, however, there is a social dimension, which the present study found very clearly. The normal conversational style in North Shields (as recorded in the pilot study for the present project (see 7.2) has many more dialect features of lexis and grammar than the style used in Whitley Bay. The Tyneside dialect the Whitley Bay young people naturally speak amongst themselves is clearly a variety of Tyneside English, but in general the more stigmatised forms of Tyneside dialect do not appear, and the accent is closer to what Kerswill's (1987) study of Durham vernacular refers to as a local standard form, as opposed to a strong version of the vernacular. (See also Romaine (1980) and Milroy (1987a Ch 6) for a discussion of local standards.)

5.3. Research sites

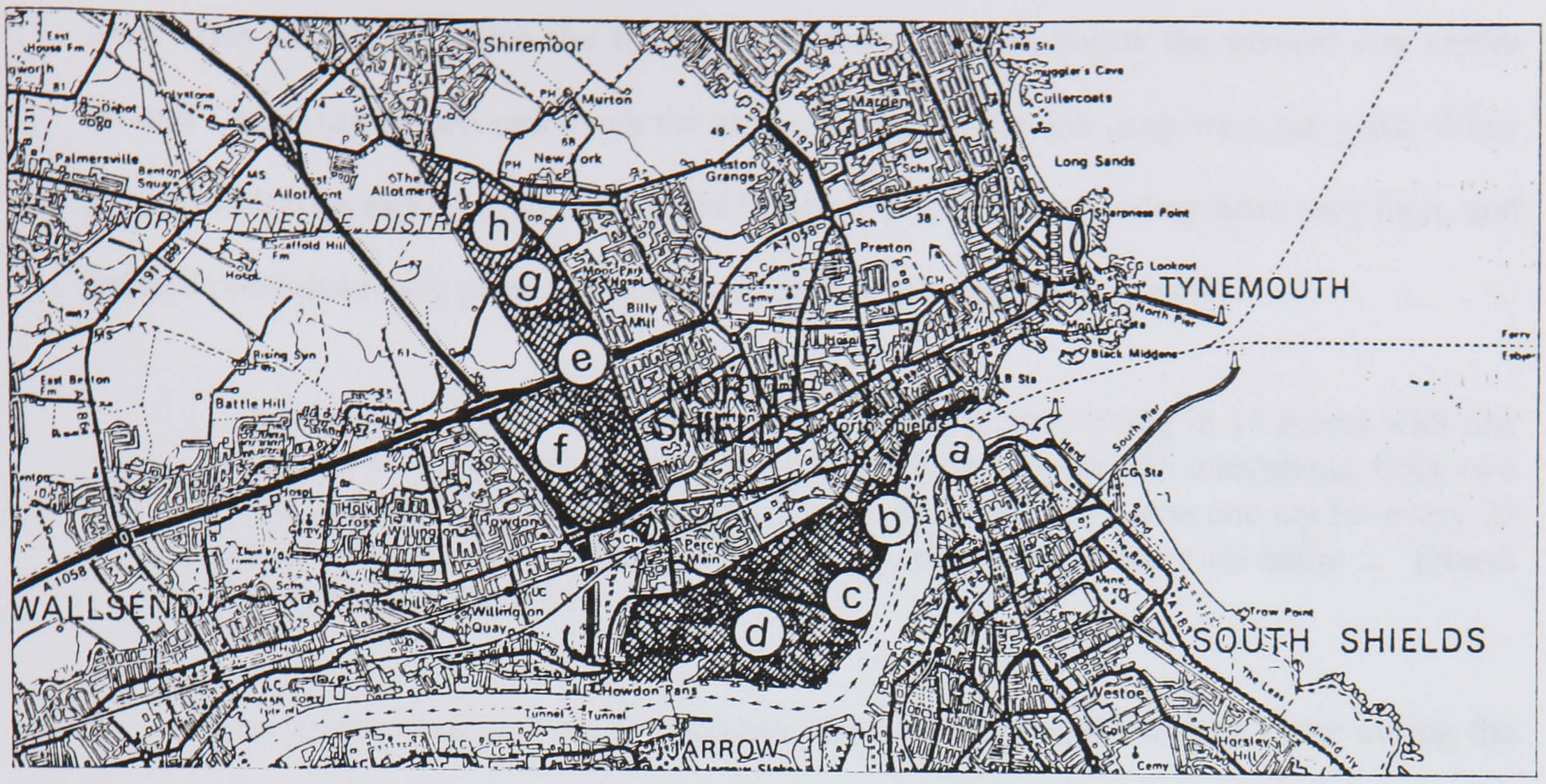
Two towns within the North Tyneside conurbation were chosen, and they represent the strong contrasts which can be found on Tyneside. 5.3.1 describes North Shields, and 5.3.2 Whitley Bay.

5.3.1. North Shields

North Shields is an old fishing community, whose Fish Quay is well known throughout the North East and beyond. It is still the centre for fish distribution over a wide area from Teesside to the borders, and employs a number of boats and people, though fewer than earlier in the century. The Fish Quay is a very distinctive culture, very male dominated and fairly enclosed, with the same families having been involved in the trade for generations. Some of the lexical items which are unique to North Shields may have originated there, such as the negative auxiliaries 'deyn't' and 'weyn't', (*don't* and *won't*) which are equivalent to the more general Tyneside non-standard forms 'divvent' and 'winnet'.

As well as the Fish Quay there is a large and thriving town centre which caters for less prosperous customers. There are a number of what are known as 'cheap shops' (bulk-buy stores), and to be seen emerging from one of these is socially stigmatised amongst the young people of North Shields. The town centre is characterised by the liveliness noted by outsiders and shared by other such centres in the region, such as Wallsend and Blyth.

North Shields divides very much on geographical lines, and in general areas nearer the River Tyne are considered to be poorer than those which are further away. One local head teacher considered that one particular road constituted the divide; "the river side of Albion Road tends to be where our 'problems' come from". The other side of the road is made up of more desirable late nineteenth and early twentieth century housing, all of which is owner occupied, and amongst which are buildings which are listed for conservation.



KEY

INDUSTRIAL AREAS

OLDER RIVERSIDE AREA.

a Fish Quay.

b Shiprepair Yard (Smith's).

c Docks, Scandinavian ferries.

d Port of Tyne Authority land-
Esso Terminal, artificial quarry,etc.

NEWER INDUSTRIAL ESTATES.

e West Chirton Industrial Estates (EIEC).

f Tyne Tunnel Trading Estate (private).

g Tynemouth Industrial Estate (EIEC)

h Middle Engine Lane Industrial Estate
(Local Authority).

Figure 5-3 Map of North Shields (from Barke and Turnbull 1992)

Further inland, towards the old mining villages of Percy Main and Chirton, are large council estates. Again the perception seems to be that the area nearer the river is poorer: such perceptions often being expressed as judgements such as 'bad' or 'rough' areas. The estate nearest the river is the Meadowell estate, made famous in 1991 by serious riots triggered by a car crime incident. The young people in North Shields who do not live on the Meadowell tend to fear it as a centre of crime and violence. Those who do live on the estate generally cannot see what the fuss is about. The council have made strenuous efforts to develop community pride, and this appears to be bearing fruit. There is also a less well-publicised policy of moving 'difficult' families to other estates in the borough.

The Ridges, as the Meadowell was originally called, and which the young people all still call it, was built in the 1930s to house overflow from the streets directly above the fish

quay. The conditions which the families left, from the area below the present city centre around Dockwray square, and down the slopes leading to the fish quay were not good. When the slum clearances took place around 1933, the levels of overcrowding were very high, and general conditions very poor, as a contemporary commentator makes clear:

> ...one thoroughfare, Union Stairs, housed 48 inhabitants living in 17 rooms with one water tap for all of them. In Liddle Street itself there were 405 inhabitants. Only two of the dwellings had separate internal water supplies. There was one tap for every 23 people and one privy (earth) for every 11 people. There were no baths ... (North Tyneside CDP, 1978:35)

The people cleared from this housing were rehoused in the Ridges estate during the 1930s. Barke and Turnbull (1992) comment that its 'slum clearance' history meant that the Meadowell estate was doomed to be a 'problem estate' right from the beginning. They cite examples such as the fact that, unusually for the time, families moving into the Meadowell were subjected to an enforced disinfection procedure. (1992:39).

It must also be emphasised that documentation at the time suggested that difficulties were expected with the estate. The Shields Daily News commented:

> There is considerable speculation...as to how Tynemouth Corporation is going to deal with the knotty problems surrounding the transference of families from the slum clearance areas of North Shields...In particular, the problem of preventing the perhaps unwitting introduction of vermin to the new property has exercised the minds of the authorities, who realise the matter is a delicate one. (*Shields Daily News*, 26 May 1933)

The council had a policy of giving first consideration (for rehousing on the new Ridges estate 'to those cases where four and more persons are living in one room' (County Borough of Tynemouth Proceedings of the Council 1939/40 p90). Thus problems of overcrowding were simply transferred to the new estate. It appears that this is a case of a very tight-knit community being broken up by being offered better quality housing. The people who moved to the new Ridges estate were mainly fisher folk and related people, and those who are still employed often work on the Quay.

Mass unemployment hit the estate hard. Few residents have educational or technical qualifications and relied in the past on unskilled work which is becoming scarce, especially

for men. In fact it is not uncommon to find that the women in families have jobs, though they tend to be part time and low paid, but that very few men, older or younger, work or have ever worked. This situation seems sometimes to give rise to the involvement of the male 14 - 25 age group becoming involved in a cycle which might start with graffiti, petty theft and vandalism, possibly moving into glue sniffing and drinking, then joy-riding (taking a car without the owner's consent, and often setting fire to it when finished), more serious theft, and finally to involvement with the police. This does not happen with a large number of unemployed young people, but it happens enough to result in a number of young men willing to be involved in crime. This constitutes the group which has been dubbed by the media the 'underclass'.

Elsewhere in North Shields, apart from the more prosperous areas mentioned above, there are a large number of streets of 'Tyneside flats': a small terraced house with two doorways, one leading to an upstairs flat, and the other to a downstairs flat. These areas are owner-occupied and often very well maintained. Many of these provide housing for skilled trades people, clerical workers and shop workers, who are, like the Meadowell community, born and bred North Shields people with dense and multiplex social and family ties. However they tend to be in work, and to subscribe more than the Meadowell residents to the values of the rest of society. Thus they may be supportive of institutions such as schools, doctors, the local council. The populations of many of the other council estates in the North Shields area are also of this general type, though there are one or two other estates other than Meadowell where the set of attitudes described above might also exist.

The above description is very general, and all areas of North Shields, as any other town, will contain its share of 'difficult' and 'respectable' families (these being the descriptive categories generally used by local people). Nevertheless the description in this section here would not be seen as controversial by most local people.

Barke and Turnbull's (1992) study of the Meadowell estate has considerable ethnographic evidence for the kind of lifestyles which people on the estate lead. An extract from the diaries kept by the field worker during the project gives a vivid impression of life on the estate.

> The nature of the estate resembles in some way a rural community, a hunter and gatherer society, a frontier town. It in some way manages to allow both hope and hopelessness to co-exist at the same time, in the same place. What I mean is there are times of great joy, of success, of being somebody, yet at other times there is great despair, a lack of self-worth....Envisage a community where only a minority work, where ends meet in other ways, where news travels fast from doorstep to doorstep 'around the doors', where there is no private business, just 'Chinese whispers'. (1992:90)

And again:

> Beneath this harsh, stigmatised environment where empirical data cannot even being to describe the degree of deprivation felt and known by some, there are vibrant communities, not simply surviving, but getting on, being somebody, living out lives which mean a lot, which have a purpose, it is simply that this purpose is not recognised by 'them'. And 'them' play a crucial role in Meadowell because 'them' are everything outside, everything that conspires in one way or another to tread Meadowell into the ground. (1992:84)

The present study interviewed children from backgrounds such as this, and also from professional backgrounds from Greenbelt. Two of the individuals whose linguistic behaviour was most strikingly different from the majority came from the Meadowell. Their unwillingness to communicate to a stranger, and their willingness to use non-standard vocabulary, in contrast to the majority from both schools, can easily be explained by considering that the interviewer would certainly be considered to be one of 'them': an official, an outsider. In terms of communication accommodation theory (e.g. Giles 1973 Giles and Powesland 1975, Giles and Coupland 1991 Coupland 1988 Bourhis et al 1979, Scotton 1985) these individuals were diverging from the interviewer, and as a result their talk became as different as they could manage. This is precisely the kind of response which social workers, health professionals, and teachers do receive from individuals who live in areas such as the Meadowell: they have learned not to trust authority. However, as Barke and Turnbull also make clear, within their own culture, they are articulate and reflective. This insight is not new (see Labov 1966), but in the context of an education system which places increasing emphasis on the ability to speak standard English, it is important to understand extra-linguistic reasons why people might choose not to do so.

The final point to make about North Shields is that the riverside and the Quay itself are gradually, like London's Dockhands, becoming desirable. A number of developments of new and fairly costly flats are already built, often in or near derelict buildings, disused pubs, and in one case a notorious local brothel. The biggest of these developments, called the Royal Quays, is being built on the south side of the Meadowell itself, on disused land between the estate and the river. This area is planned to include industrial developments, a marina, and exclusive housing developments. Meadowell people are sceptical about how much of the work this creates will come their way, but these developments, by encouraging incomes, will certainly change the tight social structures which currently exist in most parts of North Shields.

5.3.2. Whitley Bay

Whitley Bay, by contrast, has been since the nineteenth century a holiday resort. It still has a village atmosphere in the middle of the town, and has never acquired the extensive town centre that North Shields has. This is partly because Whitley Bay has two main functions; one is as a suburban dormitory for Newcastle, and the other as a holiday resort. Neither of these functions requires a town centre. This has implications for the mobility patterns of the children and adolescents who participated in this study. Pupils at one of the local High Schools were asked whether they ever shopped in Whitley Bay. None of them did, in contrast to the North Shields pupils, who nearly all shopped locally as well as in Newcastle.

The housing in Whitley Bay consists predominantly of semi-detached and detached houses, built in the 30s, 50s and 60s. There are some newer developments, and nearer the sea front are older terraced houses, in general fairly generous in size; some now used as boarding houses. There are council estates, but these are not extensive. Also, under the right to buy legislation introduced in the 1980s, many of these houses are now owner-occupied. Again, this contrasts with some parts of North Shields, where no-one would consider buying a council house because it would be impossible to resell. A fair number of Whitley Bay residents are not born and bred Tynesiders, and the ones who are tend to be less localised in

their outlook than North Shields residents: for example they frequently have relations in other parts of the country or outside the UK., which is uncommon in North Shields.

The sea front is a well-known local feature. Located there is a large amusement park called the Spanish City, and a number of young peoples' bars. At the weekend the streets leading down to the sea front are full of young people who are always dressed in colourful summer clothing, even in the winter. People tend to consume fashionable beers, and to be seen wearing designer labels and trainers.

There is a good deal of conflict between the quiet suburban middle classes and the revellers on the sea front. This can lead to friction in homes where the young people desire to participate in the youth culture, while their parents are suspicious and disapproving.

5.4. The schools in the study

The schools reflect the very different character of the communities they serve, as outlined in 5.3.1 and 5.3.2. The next two sections consider the characteristics of the two schools, both where they are similar and where they contrast, before considering the subjects themselves.

5.4.1. Townhead School

Townhead is a High School, with approximately 750 pupils aged 11 - 16 years. The children come from four or five primary schools in the area, and those who go on to post-16 education attend one of two local colleges. In general Townhead serves the less privileged North Shields residents.

North Tyneside Council, in common with many Local Authorities in England and Wales, uses a proxy indicator to calculate the levels of social deprivation and assumed special educational needs. This indicator was, until 1995, the numbers of pupils in the school eligible for a £20 clothing grant, which is a grant towards school uniform costs. In 1995 this indicator changed to entitlement to free school meals. Entitlement to a clothing grant is calculated on entitlement to Family Credit, a social security measure aimed at low earning families and families of unemployed people. Entitlement to free school meals is calculated on

entitlement to Income Support, which is paid only to those who are unemployed. Both of these indicators correlated highly with other indices of deprivation, and free school meals, in particular, is a very easy statistic to obtain, since it is information which all schools have.

Table 5.6 shows comparative information for a number of different schools, primary and secondary, and the amounts of money they received for what is called 'social factor funding', in 1992. These figures are the first year they were available in this form, but relative differences between schools change very little over time, in the same way that residential areas change only slowly.

Table 5-6: Sample funding profiles for a range of North Tyneside Schools: extra social factor funding

School	pupil numbers	clothing grant funding (£)	weighting (social factor) (£)	Total social factor (£)	Total per pupil (£)	free meal equivalent (% of school population
1 Townhead	616	154906	21714	176620	287	55
2 Greenbelt	1113	45297	0	45297	41	9
3 Secondary School: privileged area	847	59265	0	59265	70	15
4 Primary School: deprived area	220	86151	26567	112718	512	86
5 Large Primary School: deprived area	325	104271	32155	136426	420	71
6 Small semi-rural First School	129	20860	2924	23784	184	36
7 Primary School: privileged area	416	32651	0	32651	78	17
8 Secondary School: deprived area	688	91588	12838	104426	152	29

Adapted from information from North Tyneside Council (1993)

As can be seen from the table, schools receive differing amounts of money depending on the social profile of their schools. An amount (column 2) is calculated from the clothing grant figures provided by social services. A factor is added in (column 3) which adds a weighting if a school goes above three banding thresholds. This is intended to weight the resources more heavily in the direction of schools with high levels of deprivation. The total of these two figures is then divided by the number of pupils in the school to arrive at an amount per child (column 5) of extra funding for social factors. This money is intended to provide smaller classes, more support for children with special educational needs, and other support for schools working with larger numbers of deprived children. Townhead receives the highest social factor funding per child of any secondary school with £287 per child, its next rival being school 8 with £152 per child. In contrast Greenbelt has only £41 social factor funding per child, the lowest in the borough, although school 3 is close with £70. One or two primary schools have been included to show the possible variation. Because secondary schools tend to draw from a wider area geographically, it tends to happen that social factor elements tend to be more extreme: thus school 4 (a feeder school for Greenbelt) has £512 per pupil. However, another factor is that as pupils grow older, parents and pupils are less likely to request free school meals or clothing grants, because the children perceive a stigma to be attached to this. The Local Education Authority has recently begun to compensate with a weighting for this problem with the proxy indicator.

The final column represents the free school meal equivalent. Although the above figures were actually calculated on clothing grants, free school meals are a more universally accepted measure, and indicate approximately how many pupils at the school come from households with no-one in paid employment. Although there are complexities around the derivation of this statistic (one of which has already been alluded to), it is a universally understood figure, at least in British educational circles. I have therefore calculated an equivalent free school meal figure for the schools concerned, using a constant derived from one of the schools whose actual free school meals total at the time was known (because I had access to the registers). While this cannot be as reliable a figure as the other figures in the table, it gives a reasonable comparative statistic. What is clear is that on all possible

measures, Townhead has more children who suffer material disadvantage than does Greenbelt.

Townhead, then, has a high number of children who qualify for free school meals. Thus the school receives more funding per pupil than other schools where this indicator is lower. The extra funding tends to be spent on achieving favourable teacher-pupil ratios, and on supporting children with Special Educational Needs. Townhead also has historically received more funding towards capital spending, though this is increasingly less the case since Local Education Authority finance has become much more restricted. However, Townhead is eligible for inner city development grants, and funds from the European Community. This has enabled the school to provide, among other things, high quality community facilities; these are well used by the pupils.

The school is well thought of, both by parents, and by the students. The teaching staff are very committed to the welfare of their students, and to the school's ideology. The students who participated in this survey were very well disposed towards the school. The school has used its powers under local management of schools to develop ground-breaking approaches to perennial problems. For example, the students were told the cost of vandalism for the previous year, and were promised that they could spend any money saved on replacing vandalised property on any project they wanted. The result was that vandalism almost disappeared, and the school carried out the improvements requested, namely mirrors and upgrading for the toilets and cloakrooms. A second example is the school's approach to the problem of truancy. Students were told that they would receive a free cinema ticket for achieving full attendance over a specified period of time. The tickets were donated free by a local cinema.

In terms of language, Townhead children, certainly in the pilot study, use a fairly strongly defined version of the vernacular. Most of the children use non-standard verb and pronoun forms, and phonology is very clearly Tyneside. Stigmatised vocabulary such as *aye, na, deyn't* (don't) are used categorically. My impression is that the speech patterns in Townhead is actually less school specific than that of Greenbelt: in other words it resembles that of other High Schools in the area where the vernacular is more significant. This would

need further research to state with confidence. It is also possible that the fact that the school has no sixth form (16 - 19 year old pupils) makes a difference to the nature of the school linguistic culture. Although the notion of a school mode of speech is difficult to capture, it does appear that a relatively homogeneous way of speaking seems to emerge in schools, which can be adopted or rejected by pupils. This mode of speech will differ slightly from schools with similar catchment areas as particular linguistic norms adopt a school-wide significance. The issue of a school-wide mode of speech is discussed further in 10.4.

5.4.2. Greenbelt School

Greenbelt is a High School of 1113 pupils aged 13 - 19, serving a residential area. The school is very large and has high academic standards. It is well respected locally, and achieves examination results which compare well with any other non-selective school in the North East. Its size causes some disorientation to pupils when they first come at the age of 13. However, by the time they reach the age of 15, which is the age of participants in this study, all pupils were very well disposed towards the school, and nearly all were highly motivated to do well.

Greenbelt's level of Local Authority funding is proportionately lower given that it has a Free School Meal percentage of around 5% (9% equivalent in 1992), see Table 5.6. It is ineligible for many of the Inner City capital projects which less privileged schools can benefit from, and teacher pupil ratios are higher.

In terms of speech, it would appear, from both the pilot study and the main study, that Greenbelt has a very different linguistic culture from that of Townhead. While judgements of this sort are very difficult to quantify, the present study makes clear that there are strong linguistic differences between the schools. Clearly this is in part due to the backgrounds of the individuals who make up the school. Equally however, I believe it is evident in the North East as it is elsewhere (e.g. Eckert (1988,1989 in Detroit). Children from all over North Tyneside claim to be able to identify people from Greenbelt school in particular. The mode of speech has been described as 'Morpeth posh', Morpeth being a relatively prosperous county town north of Newcastle. Certainly the pupils in the school have a characteristic way of

speaking which can also be heard in other better off areas of Tyneside such as Gosforth and Ponteland, but given a particularly North Tyneside pattern. The style is characterised by a light Tyneside phonology, few non-standard syntactic items, and a favouring of discourse markers such as *like*. Kerswill describes a similar style in County Durham as 'Durham standard' (Kerswill 1987). It is the contention of this study that linguistically speaking, the school itself is a factor in determining the way the individuals within the school speak. Equally, those who felt disaffected from the school modified their speech away from the school norm, either towards the vernacular, or towards R.P. Research into this phenomenon would have to concentrate on schools with similar social profiles and in similar places, and would have to sample large numbers of children. However, the present study has made some progress in establishing this notion. (See discussion in 10.2).

5.5. The pupils

The pupils' home background varied enormously, with some significant differences emerging. For example, the Whitley Bay children had generally a larger number of contacts. These generally would derive from out-of-school activities such as rugby clubs, ballet, tennis and badminton, Saturday jobs (more common in Greenbelt school), and activities such as scouts, guides and church groups. They mostly had family friends living near, but relatives tended to be living in other parts of the country, which they of course therefore visited from time to time. They also had nearly all had had a range of holidays, both in Britain and abroad. They also tended to travel more in the North East, and would thus visit places such as Morpeth and the Metro Centre shopping mall in Gateshead.

In contrast to this the North Shields pupils were much more localised in their interests. They were unlikely to belong to clubs, unless this was organised by school. Thus, those whose interest could be catered for by the school (major sports and drama) were actively involved in these. There was also a thriving and well-attended youth club. For those who wanted other types of out-of school activities there seemed to be a problem. It was difficult to find out whether the problem was that such activities did not exist, or that the

pupils either couldn't get to them, or that they did not want to go to them. Saturday jobs and even paper rounds were rare amongst this group of people also.

Pupils generally tended to name as contacts either family, or close neighbours, (always referred to as Auntie or Uncle, even if this was not an actual kin tie). They almost always named as friends pupils at their school, but occasionally named pupils from their primary school. Contacts made at clubs etc. were rarely mentioned. They were less likely to visit other parts of the North East, though most did visit Newcastle on the Metro (underground rail system) on a regular basis. It did appear that the pupils in North Shields were very much more reliant on school for opportunities than in Whitley Bay, where school, though important, was a less central part of life.

5.6. Summary

The present chapter began by considering a number of aspects of Tyneside, moving progressively towards the schools, areas and individuals involved in the study. We considered the development of Tyneside in terms of its economic status: having attained the status of a prosperous base for heavy industry, it declined somewhat until the 1930s, and then remained buoyant till the 1960s, when many of these industries, in the light of international competition, began to fail. We also considered the nature of public and private housing provision, and indicated that conditions have improved, though certain areas continue to have have problems which are more intractable. Industry and employment (5.2.2.) have declined, and even those industries which have survived the chill winds of the 1930s and 1980s have many fewer staff, and those much more highly educated. The same section discussed changes in employment, and the increasing differences in unemployment levels between areas within Tyneside, leading to the conclusion that in some areas people who are not dependent on state benefits are in a minority. 5.2.3 discussed the distinctive culture of Tyneside, and drew attention to the differences which exist between those in mainstream society and those on the margins. Some consideration was given to the very distinctive characteristics which obtain in areas like the Meadowell, where poverty and 'getting by' create a culture more akin to rural

society. 5.2.4 considered cultural aspects of Tyneside dialect. 5.3.1 describes North Shields as a community. In particular the Meadowell estate, its beginnings and its current situation are discussed. 5.3.2 considers Whitley Bay in a similar way, both in terms of its role as a suburb of Newcastle, and also as a seaside resort. 5.4 considers the two schools Townhead and Greenbelt, and points out similarities and contrasts in terms of the socio-economic background of the pupils. The characteristics of the subjects are the concern of 5.5. Salient points here are the contrast between individuals in the amount of talk they would volunteer, and in the nature of their out-of-school activities, where the Townhead children were much more territorially focused on family and school, while the Greenbelt children had a wider field of interest, both geographically and in terms of friends, family and youth groups such as sports clubs and churches.

Chapter 5 has outlined the social and geographical context of the study. We now move towards the linguistic aspects of the empirical study with an outline of the theoretical and technical sociolinguistic literature on which the thesis rests.

6. Perspectives on the analysis of spoken standard English

6.1. Introduction

The present chapter seeks to bring together strands of research in linguistics and related fields which have a bearing on the present study. The previous chapters have provided the educational, historical and linguistic background to the study of standard English. Here we consider the theoretical linguistic models which inform the empirical consideration of issues relating to standard English. In each of the sections relevant research literature will be referred to, and its usefulness to the present study will be outlined. We begin with three sections which relate to the variables under consideration. 6.2 discusses the methods adopted to deal with the phonological variables which are used in the study, and the related issue of linguistic variables. 6.3 deals with similar issues relating to grammatical, lexical and discourse variables, and 6.4 considers the non-linguistic variables of sex, social class and age. There then follows 3 sections in which we consider three key theoretical issues which relate to the present study. They are (6.5) the issue of studying careful speech, rather than more vernacular styles; (6.6) the question of linguistic identity and allegiance, and the way in which this relates to use or non-use of standard English; and in 6.7 we consider the selection of speakers, and methodological issues connected with this.

6.2. Phonological variables

We turn first to the phonological variables used in the study. The approach adopted here owes a good deal to the procedures developed by Labov, and is based on the notion of the sociolinguistic variable: this is defined as a phonological item which appears to vary according to non-linguistic parameters (such as sex, age, or social class). Certain items appear to be more sensitive to this kind of variation, and are often though not always identified by speakers as salient (this is discussed in detail in Labov 1972a, 1972b, see also Milroy 1987a). The variables chosen for the present study are the glottalised and non-glottalised variants of unvoiced plosives: (p) (t) and (k). A good deal of research has been carried out on the phenomenon of the glottalisation of these stops in Tyneside English, and

they seem to be useful sociolinguistic variables. Rigg (1986) studied Tyneside children according to sex and stylistic variation. Cowhig (1987) studied Tyneside adults according to class and sex differentiation (see also Milroy 1989, Fasold 1990). Hartley (1992), also Milroy Milroy and Hartley (1994) studied five and ten year olds according to sex and age. In each case sharp contrasts occurred between social classes, and also between sexes. Work currently ongoing in Newcastle reported in Milroy, Milroy, Hartley and Walshaw (1995) is considering (t) in great detail, according to sex, age, and social class. In each case, regular patterns of difference emerged for all variables. Thus there is good evidence that the glottalised and non-glottalised variants of unvoiced plosives: (p) (t) and (k) are reliable sociolinguistic variables.

Another important reason for selecting these variables is the fact that they are heavily stigmatised. Milroy Milroy and Hartley comment as follows:

> It is extremely salient, and universally condemned by elocutionists and other 'authorities'. McAllister, (1963) for example, attributes it to 'careless speakers' and calls it a 'degenerate tendency in modern speech'. She adds that it is 'the most marked fault in bad speech,' that it 'detracts from intelligibility', and that it is characteristic of 'the slovenly speaker'. Contemporary novelists such as Ian McEwan and the thriller writer Colin Dexter also use it as a symbol of slovenly, careless speech, reflecting a personality whose moral shortcomings are all too evident. Dexter describes the habit of one of his female working-class murder victims of 'omitting her final t's' as 'irritatingly slack', (1975:5) while McEwan (1992:12) refers to a middle class character who is cultivating working class friends as ' work[ing] up a dim-witted mode of speech with glottal t's...' (1994:4)

It is precisely this which makes it ideal for the present study. Glottalisation appears to be one of the components of 'talking by grunt', complained of by Gillian Shephard (Secretary of State for Education), and one of the forms of language censored by Prince Charles and Norman Tebbit (see 4.5.2). If we are attempting to characterise non-standard speech as it might be more broadly in society (discussed fully in Chapter 4), then glottalisation clearly is a very salient indicator.

The phenomenon of glottalisation is now common in many parts of Britain, and especially in urban areas. It has been researched by Reid (1978) and Macaulay (1977, 1991) in Scotland, by Mees (1987, 1990) in South Wales, by Harris (1990) in London, as well as the authors described above in Tyneside. Wells (1982) describes it as:

...the complete replacement of the oral articulation by [ʔ]. In the local accents of London, Glasgow, Edinburgh and increasingly in urban accents everywhere in England, such glottalisation is now to be observed for /t/ in all the environments mentioned in (173).

(173)

	/p/	/t/	/k/
(a) __# true C	*stop talking*	*quite good*	*look down*
(b) __# L or S	*stop worrying*	*quite likely*	*look worried*
(c) __# V	*stop eating*	*quite easy*	*look up*
(d) __ pause	*Stop!*	*Quite!*	*Look!*
(e) __ true C	*stopped, capsule*	*nights, curtsey*	*looks, picture*
(f) __ L or S	*hopeless*	*mattress*	*equal*
(g) __ [m,n,ŋ]	*happen*	*button*	*bacon*
(h) __ V or [l]	*happy, apple, stop it*	*butter, bottle, get 'im*	*ticket, buckle, lick it*

'L' stands for liquids, and 'S' stands for semi-vowels.
(Wells, 1982: 260, 261)

There are a number of differences in the way these stops occur within phonological environments in different geographical areas; for example certain dialects permit glottalisations in environments where they are not found in other dialects (Harris 1990, 1994), and see further below, where we found it necessary to extend this analysis.

Milroy, Milroy, Hartley and Walshaw (1995) have recently drawn attention to phonetic complexities within the notion of a glottalised realisation of especially (t), and they outline a possible 10 variants of (t). Although they refer to other elements (such as tapping), a key element in this is the distinction between a glottalised and glottal realisations of (t):

(a) [ʔt] with some kind of supra-laryngeal articulatory gesture;

(b) [ʔ] no supra-laryngeal gesture.

This work is in its early stages, but may well give rise to a much more phonetically subtle approach to sociolinguistic variables, backed up by instrumental analysis (see Docherty (1994). It appears to be identifying different social groupings as associated with differing realisations of (t). Specifically, the glottalised realisation [ʔt] appears to be associated with local norms, and with more traditional modes of speech found in rural as well as in urban speech, and in the speech of males. The glottaled variety appears to be associated with younger people, especially females, and especially with females of a higher social class. If this proves to be the case, public perceptions of glottalisation as one (stigmatised)

phenomenon may change. However, at the moment, both glottaling and glottalisation are perceived as undesirable, and the present study is concerned with usages which may be stigmatised by the general public. A similar paradox also occurs with the discourse markers discussed below, which again appear to be favoured by females of a higher social class, but which are also stigmatised. It remains to be seen whether public perceptions will change in line with this, or whether females are seeking linguistic markers of their own identity which differ from the local norms favoured by males. See further Chapter 10.

The normal analytical procedure for these variables is to count each occasion where a /p/, /t/ or /k/ occurs, and then arrive at a percentage figure of how many of these are in fact realised as a glottalised variant. Examples of studies which adopt this approach include Labov (1963, 1966, 1972a), Trudgill (1974), Macaulay (1977), Reid (1978), Romaine (1978), Mees (1987 1990). It is normal to exclude some tokens of /p/, /t/ or /k/, since certain environments appear not to permit glottalisation. This is discussed in some detail below in relation to the present study. These results can then be considered in relation to non-linguistic variables such as sex, age or social class, or can be clustered according to similarities, using statistical techniques such as Principal Component Analysis (see Horvath 1985). In general, if the researcher has selected the correct sociolinguistic variable for the geographical area being researched, the results will show sociolinguistic variation.

As an example which shows the method in practice, but which is also a study which has much in common with the present one, we will consider the work of Reid (1978). Reid considered three schools in Edinburgh which differed considerably in terms of the social profile of its pupils. One of the schools was fee paying, the other two were publicly funded schools in contrasting socio-economic locations, similar to the present study. He considered the variables (t) and (ŋ), and charted them over four levels of formality: reading passage style, interview style, group style, and playground style. Reid considered the following environments:

M = word medial e.g. 'wa*t*er'; 'si*tt*ing.
FV = word-final before initial vowel in the following word: e.g. 'lot o*f*', 'righ*t* over.
F+ = word-final before pause e.g. 'fell ou*t*'; ' a minu*te*'.

FC = word-final before initial consonant in following word e.g. 'tha*t* would:' 'qui*t*e soon'.
(Reid (1978:161)

He found that the variables came in the order shown; in other words there were fewer uses of glottal variants for word medial and word final position than where there was a following consonant. Reid's results for the variable (t) were as follows:

Table 6-1 Group indices for (t) (%) Adapted from Reid (1978:163) - Styles for (t)

RP	IV	GP	PG
25	71	84	79

(Key) RP - Reading passage IV - Interview GP - Group Style PG - Playground Style

We can see here that there were lower levels of usage of glottalised variants of (t) in the reading passage style than in the other three styles. The interview style (attempting to elicit more careful speech) gave rise to fewer glottal variants than the other two styles which analysed natural language. The results for social class are similar:

Table 6-2 Group indices by social class for (t), (%)

Social class

	A	C	D
(t)	55	74	78

Adapted from Reid (1978:167)

The non-linguistic variable of social class shows similar variation here, between levels of use of glottalised variants of around 50% for children of higher social groups, to levels of use of glottalised variants at nearer 75% for lower social groups, across all styles.

In broad terms, this is the analytical procedure adopted in the present study, though with one or two adaptations in terms of the definition of the phonetic environment, and in terms of the methods adopted for eliciting more formal speech. Both of these adaptations are discussed below.

Similar results to these could be presented from other studies (e.g. Mees (1987, 1990), Macaulay (1978), and for other variables (e.g. Milroy 1987b, Romaine (1978) Trudgill (1974)).

We now move to a more detailed consideration of the phonetic environments considered for the study of glottalised variants of these stops. Reid's list (above) gives the most usual way of dealing with phonetic environment: either word internal, or word final before a pause, a consonant, or a vowel. Most of the earlier studies use something similar to this (e.g. Trudgill 1984, Macaulay 1978). Some variation can be found (e.g. Romaine (1978) and Mees (1987 1990), but these are in the direction of combining one or more of the above alternatives. A slightly different approach is to use the syllable as the basic unit of study rather than the word, and this is the one used in the present study. Analysing glottalised variants of /p/, /t/, and /k/ in terms of syllables was considered because it appeared to fit one or two facts which in Tyneside at least sit uneasily with an analysis based on words. The first is that normal procedure would be to count only intervocalic items within words such as *water, butter*. However words such as *sometimes, Metro, Centre, interesting, winter* would normally be excluded, on the basis that they are part of a compound. Equally, word initial sites such as *to* as in *go to* would also be excluded from most analyses. During the course of analysis it became obvious that these sites gave rise to some of the most characteristic Tyneside realisations, and that to exclude these would distort the findings. We therefore explored other analyses, initially based on syllables only, but later employing the notion of the foot in tandem with a syllabic explanation. I am confident that the analysis given below explains most clearly the operation of fortis stops in Tyneside.

The present analysis makes use of work of a number of theorists whose approach to phonology emphasises the notion of levels (Harris (1994) Carr (1993, Chapter 9) Goldsmith (1990) Harris and Kaye (1990) Giegerich (1992). Some of these authors are concerned with

autosegmental and metrical phonology. Giegerich, and also Carr, aim for a more eclectic approach. However, all of these writers consider that the behaviour of individual phonemes can best be explained in terms of higher phonological levels, especially those of the syllable and the foot. This approach is well adapted to the analysis of Tyneside phonology. The following is a very brief of the principal ideas involved. The reader is referred to the texts above for more detailed information.

The syllable consists of two main elements: an onset (O) and a rime (R). Thus, the word *so* consists of an onset /s/ which is consonantal, and a rime /o/ which is vocalic. This can be represented in a form not dissimilar to the tree diagrams familiar in syntax:

O R

| |

[s oʊ]

More complex syllables can be represented in these terms: thus *soap* becomes

O R

| |

[s oʊp]

However, the rime clearly can be further subdivided. The rime is normally subdivided into Nucleus (or peak) and Coda. Thus

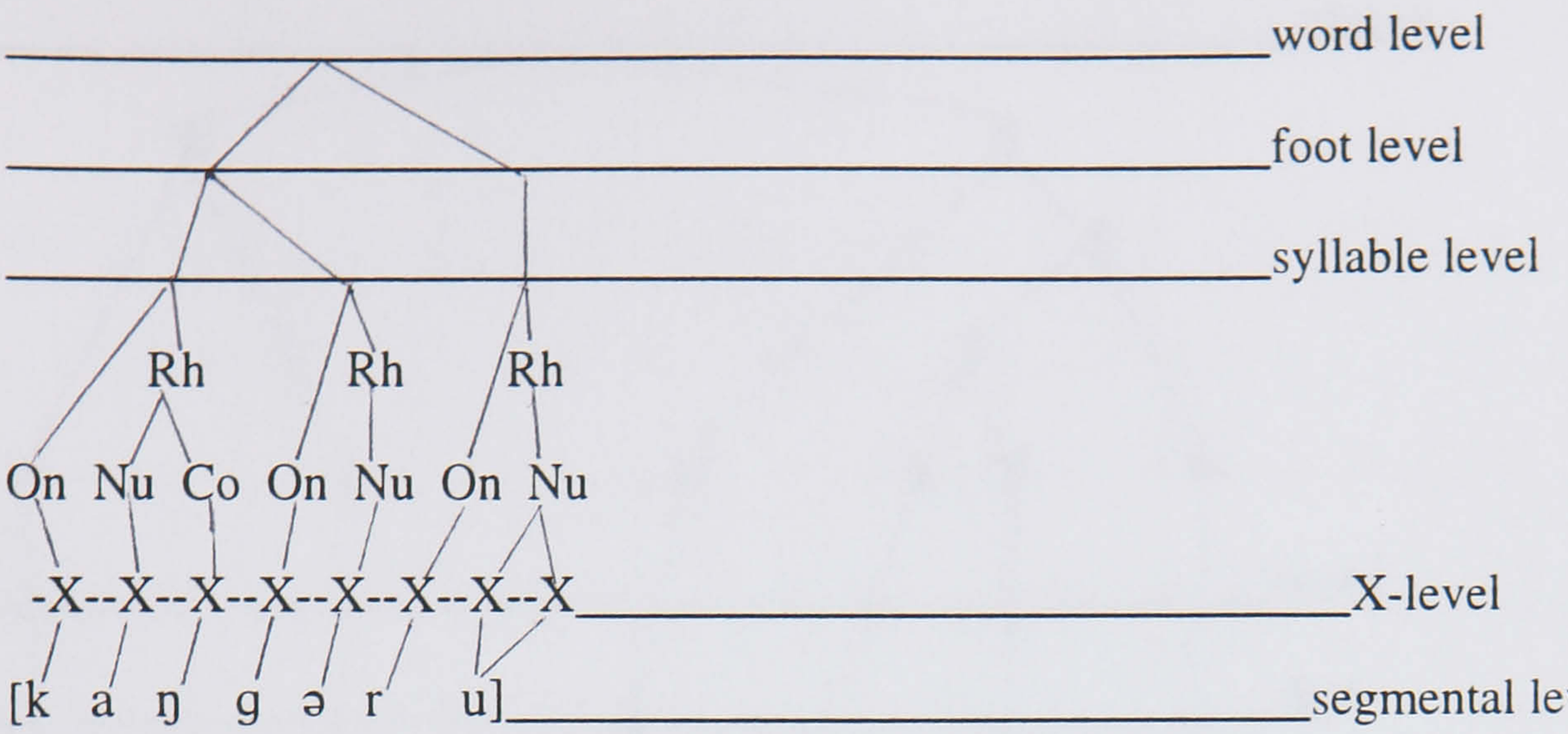
R

| \

N C

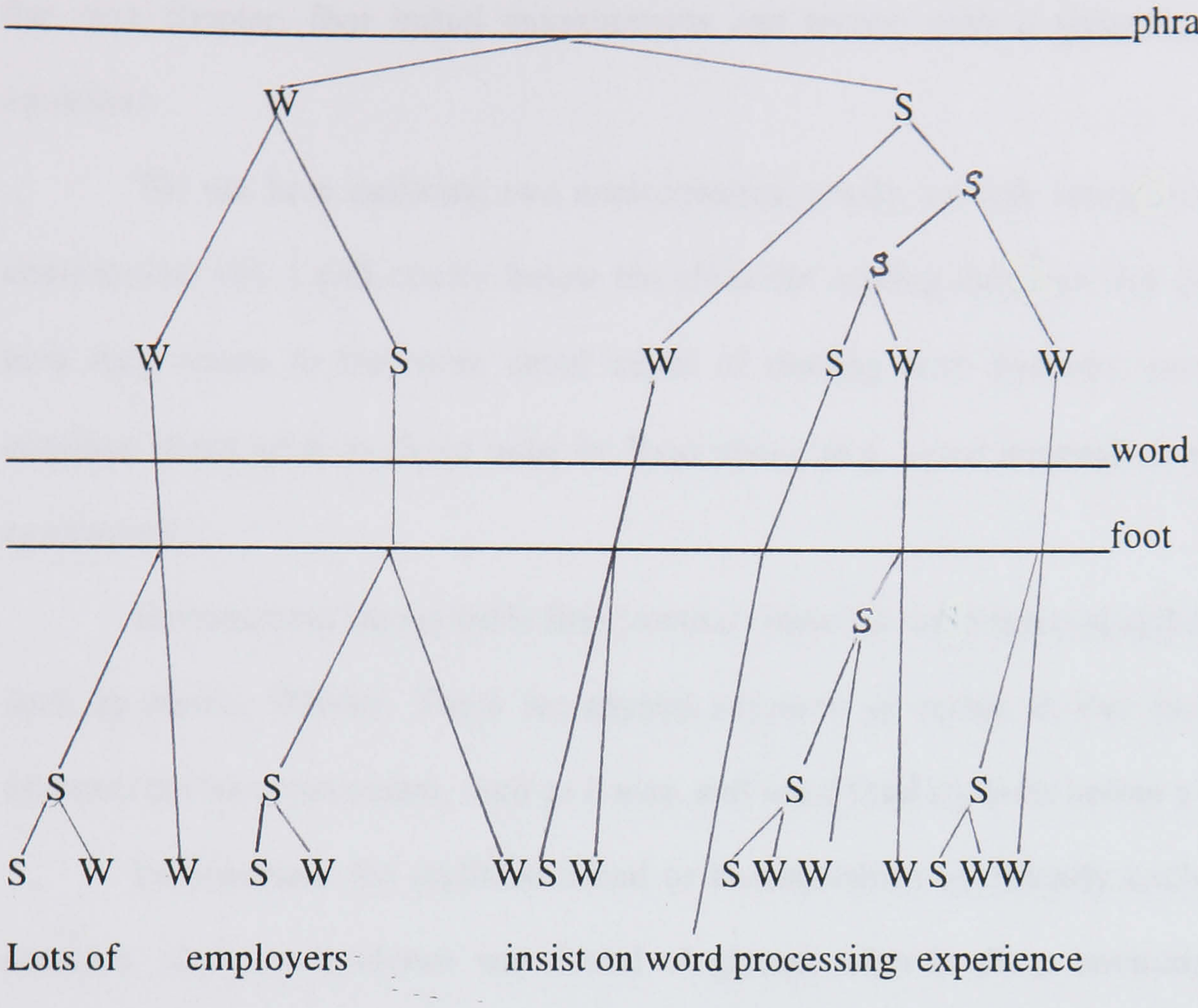
/oʊ p/

It is possible to move from this fairly simple representation to much more complex representations of polysyllabic words and of syllable, foot and word levels. Giegerich gives the following example:



Adapted from Giegerich 1992:194

We can see here how the levels relate to the simple facts of the syllable: each node up to the syllable level dominates or is dominated by another part of the syllable. However, it is possible to extend the structure up to the level of the phonological word, and indeed the phrase. Giegerich gives the following example, which he analyses in depth.



Giegerich (1992:267)

We can see here how patterns of dominance go up to phrase level. Giegerich goes on to outline (1992:268ff) how in some cases the demands of the foot will, in terms of phonology, take precedence over the word. Examples he uses include *want to* > *wanna; cup of* > *cuppa.* These are similar words to those which in Tyneside English are subject to glottalisation in environments which might appear to be word initial (as in *to*). It would appear, therefore, that the foot is a useful concept in explaining the patterns of glottalisation found in Tyneside English.

To give an example, reflexes of /p/, /t/ and /k/ which are foot internal onsets (as in *interesting, hamper, go to, Walker*) can be glottally reinforced or replaced. Foot initial onsets (as in *Peter, terrible, kick*) must be realised as bilabial, alveolar and velar stops respectively. The work 'kicking' illustrates this: it will very often be realised as [kɪʔɪŋ], or [kɪʔkɪŋ] but never as [ʔɪʔɪŋ].

Another constraint on this feature is that even foot internally, a stop will not be realised as a glottal variant if it is preceded by an obstruent. In the quantification described in

the next chapter, foot initial environments and tokens with a preceding obstruent were excluded.

We are here outlining two environments, which we will label environment (a) and environment (b). I will clarify below the elements making up these two environments, and how they relate to the more usual mode of dealing with phonetic environment, which employs terms such as those used by Reid above (e.g. *word internal*, *word final before a consonant)*, .

Environment (a) (syllable final context) includes word internal syllable final contexts such as *Metro*, *Whitley*. These are rhymal adjuncts, or codas. It also includes word final contexts before a consonant, such as *it was*, and word final contexts before a pause.

Environment (b) (syllable initial or ambisyllabic) specifically excludes word initial contexts, since no evidence was found of glottalisation in these environments. However, word internal syllable initial contexts are very characteristic of Tyneside speech: the first [t] in *interesting*, for example, is often realised as a glottal by Tynesiders, and the word appears to be stressed differently (containing four syllables) as a result: ['ɪn ˌʔə rɛs tɪŋ]. Another example is the word *sometimes*, which is often realised with a glottal stop [sʌmʔaɪmz] or [sʌ mʔtaɪmz]. Neither of these contexts are reported elsewhere in discussions of glottal replacement (e.g. Wells 1982, Harris 1994). Equally, ambisyllabic contexts provide another word internal context for glottalisations. These seem to operate in a similar way to syllable initial contexts, and so were analysed together. While the notion of ambisyllabicity is not accepted by all phonologists (e.g. Harris 1994), the theory does appear to be useful in explaining simply and tidily the phenomena we find in Tyneside English, so we have adopted it here. Adherents of alternative phonological theories would be able to handle the phenomenon in a different descriptive framework, such as that outlined by Harris.

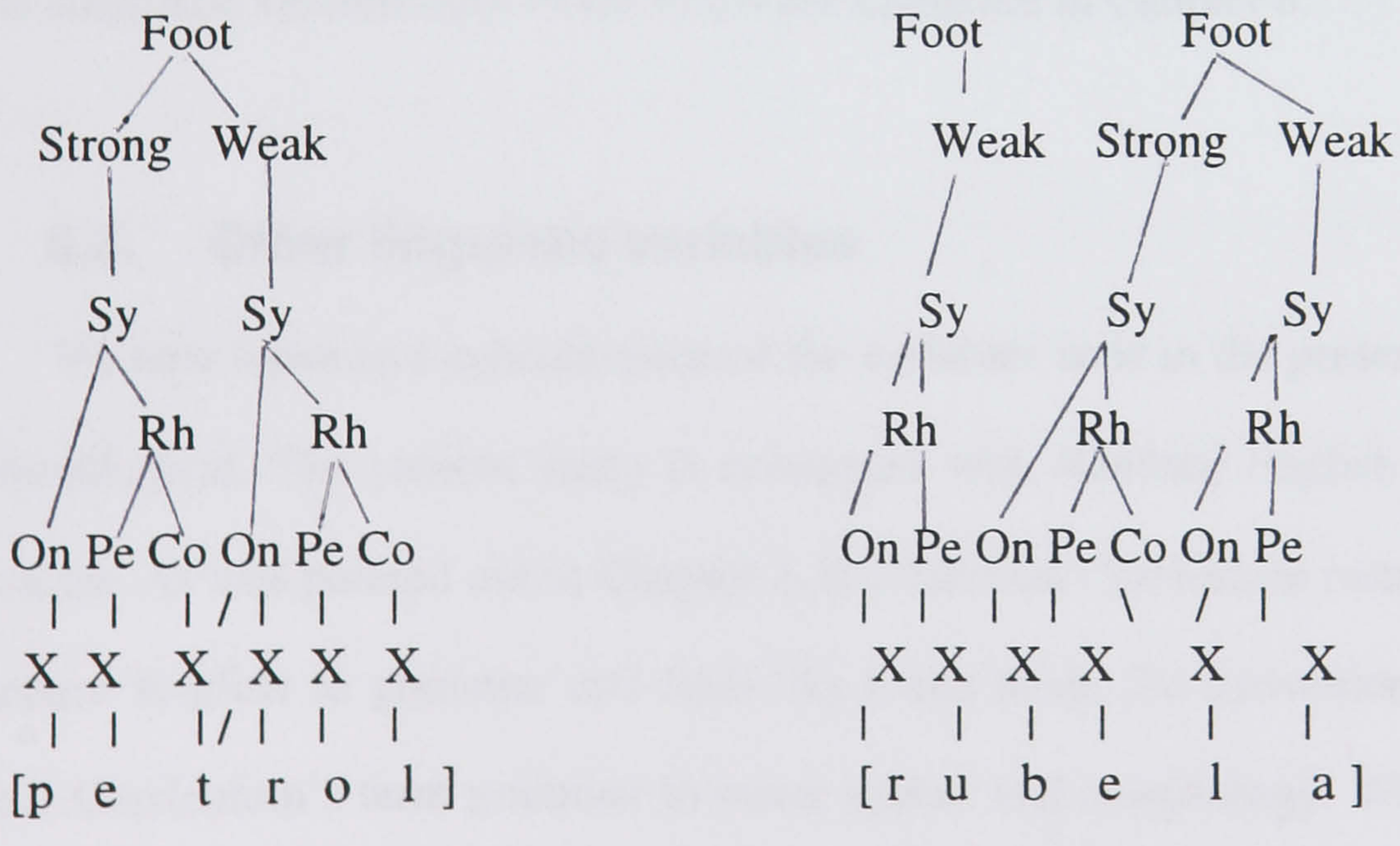
The items we handle here as ambisyllabic are dealt with according to the definition given by Giegerich :

> In what contexts, then, are consonants ambisyllabic? They are ambisyllabic only when the principles of syllabification require them to belong both to the preceding and the following syllable. This is the case when the Syllable Boundary Rule (52)

requires them to be part of an onset and the preceding syllable is stressed, and would, without such a consonant, have a single-X rhyme. In brief:

(56) A consonant is ambisyllabic if it is (part of) a permissible onset (cluster) and if it immediately follows a stressed lax vowel.
[Rule (52) is as follows:] Syllable-Boundary Rule: Within words, syllable boundaries are placed in such a way that onsets are maximal (in accordance with the constraints of the language). (1992: 172, 171)

This means that onsets are maximised unless this leaves a rime with only one X-position. Within Giegerich's approach, syllables such as /pɪ/ which have only one X-position are not well formed. Syllables such as /pi:/ which have tense vowels are given two X-positions. Each rime under this theory must have at least two X-positions. Thus the /e/ in words such as *petrol* and *rubella* are not well formed rimes, and so attract the following consonant, which constitutes at the same time a coda to the stressed syllable, and an onset for the subsequent syllable. Giegerich argues further that the ambisyllabic approach is intuitively plausible: if speakers are called on to repeat syllables such as *petrol, apple* they repeat the syllable with the ambisyllabic consonant attached to both syllables: thus *pet-pet trol-trol; ap-ap ple-ple*. Giegerich gives the following fully analysed examples. Notice how the ambisyllabic consonant is analysed on the X-tier.



Adapted from Giegerich (1992: 172)

The word *petrol* in fact did occur in the data for the present study, and the /t/ often appeared as a glottalised variant [pɛʔrəl].

The quantification procedures adopted in the present study do not distinguish between syllable internal onsets such as /t/ in *water*, and ambisyllabic consonants such as /t/ in *petrol*: each is assigned to the category environment (b). However, informal analysis of randomly selected items from the data suggested that both these items behave in similar ways in terms of the amount to which individual speakers use glottalised variants.

One final issue relates to the category of word final contexts before a vowel, such as *got a*, *hot April*. These would be assigned to the category (a) or to the present category depending on the foot structure, as outlined above. Thus the /t/ in *got a* would be considered as syllable initial or ambisyllabic since it appears in the middle of a foot. The /t/ in *hot April* would on the other hand be considered as syllable final, since it appears as the final syllable of a foot, and the stressed /a/ of *April* begins another foot. It therefore occupies coda position in the syllable.

These two environments together exhaust the possibilities for glottalisation in Tyneside English. As mentioned above, the categories were analysed using a standard Labovian quantification technique, the precise nature of which is detailed in the next chapter (7.3). The results of this analysis, tabulated separately for the different environments and for the non-linguistic variables discussed in 6.4 are discussed in Chapter 8.

6.3. Other linguistic variables

We now move to a consideration of the variables used in the present study which are non-phonological. The present study is concerned with standard English and the National Curriculum. As was pointed out in Chapter 2, the National Curriculum restricts the definition of standard English to grammar and lexis. As noted there, for convenience we follow the National Curriculum's term grammar to cover syntax and morphology. While this may give rise to some ambiguity, the term is accepted by lay people, and in the context of the present study refers to those grammatical items discussed in chapter 4.

I have suggest in 4.5 that the 'folk linguistic' understanding of standard English subscribed to by many politicians and the general public includes not only phonology but discourse markers, and other pragmatic features.

We therefore need to consider the widest range possible of features which might be considered standard. This section discusses the problems involved in the analysis of grammatical, lexical and discourse features.

6.3.1. Grammatical and lexical features

While many of the most well known sociolinguistic studies have analysed phonology, much work has also been carried out on grammatical features. Examples of significant studies in this area are Labov (1972a) Romaine (1984), Cheshire (1982), Sankoff (1980). Many of these studies, however, dealt with grammatical variables in a similar way to that described for phonological variables. Labov (1972a), for example, looked at copula deletion in Black English Vernacular, and compared actual to possible occurrences of the copula among different speakers. Procedures such as this have been subject to criticism by, for example Dines (1980), suggesting that these procedures lead to problems of exact equivalence. She proposes a looser approach: see Milroy (1987a) for a full discussion. There are also problems in collecting enough tokens of even more common syntactic forms such as relatives (Romaine 1984) or French *ne* (Sankoff 1980).

In the present study the aim has been to establish the extent to which individuals use standard English in situations where their speech might reasonably be considered to be careful. The National Curriculum expects that pupils from about 13 years of age should be able, where appropriate, to speak standard English (with no non-standard tokens present). The approach to the collection of non-grammatical data could therefore be different, and less complex, than some of the studies above. For the present purposes it is not necessary to establish whether individuals used standard or non-standard variants of a particular grammatical form, but simply whether they used any at all. This was also the approach used by Hudson and Holmes discussed below.

Items were considered to be non-standard if they occurred in the various accounts of Tyneside English discussed in 4.8, particularly Beal (1993), Macdonald (1981), as described

in 4.10, or if they came into any of the categories suggested in the National Curriculum for English (see 2.10). They were then counted, and the results tabulated according to the non-linguistic variables discussed below. Items which were counted according to this procedure are discussed in 8.4.

A similar approach was adopted for lexical items. As Kerswill (1987) comments, there are difficulties in deciding whether items are phonological or lexical. Kerswill's solution is this:

> Our main criterion for phonological variables will be that the variants should represent intra-phonemic differences, that is allophones of a single phoneme. (1987:36)

Clearly by this definition the phonological variables in the present study are indeed phonological, since [p] and [ʔ] are allophones of the phoneme /p/. I have adopted Kerswill's definition for the present study, although, as he indicates, there are certain variables which occupy a grey area. Kerswill's work was carried out in County Durham, which is geographically close to North Tyneside, and many of the lexical items he discusses occur in North Tyneside also: the positive and negative particles *aye* and *na,* for example. While *aye* is clearly different from *yes*, *no* and *na* are clearly much closer. Kerswill's view is that 'the alteration is unpredictable because it is restricted to a small lexical set' (1987:47), in this case a set of one. Section 8.5.1 lists some of the lexical items which occurred in the present study. As well as the above criterion, borderline cases were checked with local linguistically naive speakers as to whether they would consider a word as standard or not. This last resort was in fact rarely necessary. 8.5 discusses in some detail non-standard lexical items in the study and the procedures adopted for classifying them as lexical or phonological, using tests such as the above, and other considerations.

A further issue which needs to be raised relates to the fact that the same speaker will use different forms (SE and non-standard) even on the same occasion, but certainly on different occasions and in differing stylistic contexts. We would claim that non-standard English is governed by rules in the same way as is standard English. These have been for

Tyneside carefully laid out by Beal (1993), and for other dialects see Trudgill (1983a, 1986, 1990) Cheshire (1982a) Edwards (1986), Milroy and Milroy (1993). These rules are used fairly categorically in informal contexts. However, in the more formal contexts in which the present study operates these rules are variably applied, perhaps because of the degree of speech monitoring (Labov 1972b) or for other reasons, such as interference from the standard (see for example Wolfson (1976) and Coupland (1990)). Crucially, in the present study the speech style is fairly formal, and non-standard grammar and lexis appear side by side with their SE equivalents. This creates a situation for the speaker where at certain points of speech production he/she has a choice of standard or non-standard grammar or lexis. Thus the same speaker may sometimes use 'aye' and sometimes 'yes'. Such variation may well be the source of the commonly held belief that non-standard items are not rule-governed but rather are errors.

This variation is of course in a sense the very basis for the variationist approach to sociolinguistics, and the reason for rejecting earlier views of dialect and standard as two discrete systems. However, it is extremely disconcerting for those who may seek to establish via testing whether an individual is bidialectal or not.

6.3.2. Discourse features

Discourse markers were added to the study because of the salience of these features in the speech of some of the respondents, and also because of the importance attached by politicians and the general public to certain kinds of discourse markers (see 4.5). Dines (1980) considers that these items may be considered as equivalent to each other because of 'common function in discourse' (1980:15). If we take this view, then it is possible to adopt the simple count technique which was used for grammatical and lexical variables. While this is in fact the approach we adopted, certain other procedures were considered, which are detailed below.

A number of approaches to the analysis of these variables was considered. Given that the interviews were between a teacher and a pupil, the discourse analysis approach adopted by Sinclair and Coulthard (1975), Sinclair and Brazil (1982), Mehan (1979), and others might have been adopted. However, the interview as it progressed soon lost the relatively structured

pattern (e.g. Initiation, Response Feedback (IRF)) pattern studied characteristically in this approach. Conversation analysis (e.g. Levinson Chapter 6, Schegloff and Sacks (1973] Schegloff 1976), Atkinson and Heritage (1984) provides another possible mode of analysis, and the tapes do reveal a good deal of insight when analysed according to these approaches. This approach has been borne in mind when considering the interviews as conversations, and in considering the nature of the interaction between participants (see 8.6 and 9.6) However, in order to be able to make comment on discourse markers in the same terms as other non-phonological variables a simple count technique was adopted. As Chapter 9 will show, this yielded surprisingly good results. Inevitably a good deal of very interesting analysis has not been carried out using notions devised by conversation analysts such as turn-taking, topic, and so on. This type of research would yield good results with this data, and would give rise to interesting conclusions as to the relationship between participants in formal, 'interview-like' conversations. However, it would not have yielded the kind of comparative information that the present study was seeking about whether or not different social groupings choose to use forms which other groups may stigmatise.

The discourse markers considered were classified according to Schiffrin (1987) as *vague completers, fillers and emphatic markers,* and *information and participation markers.* Section 8.6 defines and exemplifies these in turn. Here we discuss the notion of discourse markers in general. Schiffrin's study defines discourse markers as 'sequentially dependent elements which bracket units of talk' (p31).They are, as Schiffrin herself comments (1987:310) stigmatised by the general public as vague and incoherent, or as making the hearer do too much work. The term 'discourse markers' is deliberately vague in order to reflect the fact that at the discourse level demarcation could be of a number of types of utterance, from one word to a number of sentences. However, what is significant is that extra-sentential elements such as *y'know, kind of,* and *like,* do have a crucial role in marking exchange structures, and in managing the pragmatic aspects of an interaction, including such matters as the information state (who knows what about the topic, and who knows who knows what about the topic) and the ideational structure, which relates to propositions.

Dines (1980) considers similar items, which she considers as equivalent to each other because of 'common function in discourse' (1980:15). She herself studied phrases such as *and things like that, and that, and everything, and stuff like that, and things, or something like that, or anything like that.* Her conclusions were that working class speakers used more of these tags than middle class speakers (in both cases women). She posits that, in contrast to what is commonly suggested, these tags do have a meaning, which is *to cue the listener to interpret the preceding element as an illustrative example of some more general case* (1980:22). She claims that

> ...there is nothing to suggest that the occurrence of set-marking tags marks 'vague and inexplicit speech'. Indeed it may turn out that the value accorded 'explicitness and precision' in language by some social groups is based on a stereotype that is mythical. (1980:30)

Both these researchers are clear that these discourse markers are not empty of semantic content. Equally, Dines (and see also Brotherton (1976) and Macaulay (1991)) are clear that these items vary according to extra-linguistic variables such as sex and social class.

The important point to bear in mind at this point is that the discourse markers are clearly delineated and have been found by other researchers to have sociolinguistic salience, both in terms of the general public's definition of non-standard speech, and in terms of non-linguistic variables. They can therefore, like glottalisation, stand as a representation of their linguistic level, and enable us to consider the nature of standard English in broader terms than has normally been the case.

6.4. Non-linguistic variables

Sociolinguistic studies which operate in the variationist paradigm tend to concern themselves with the interaction between sociolinguistic variables such as those described above, and non-linguistic variables. The chief ones are age, sex, and social class. The present study added to this list a measure of academic attainment.

6.4.1. Age

The present study does not focus directly on age. A comparison could have been drawn between older and younger pupils, or between adolescents and adults (see for example Romaine 1978, Macaulay 1978). This comparison was made during the recordings which made up the pilot study for this project (see 7.2). However, it was felt to be important for educational reasons to focus attention on the 15 - 16 year olds, who are in the last year of compulsory schooling. As outlined in Chapter 2, if these individuals are able to use standard English in more formal situations at the end of their school careers, then there is little need to teach it to younger children.

Another relevant factor which emerged from the pilot study was that the results from these preliminary studies seemed to confirm the intuitions of teachers and linguists that use of the vernacular increases to a high point in late adolescence (Labov (1972a) Romaine (1975), Macaulay (1977) Mees (1990) Cheshire (1978, 1982a 1982b) Eckert (1988)). Labov argues (1972a) that children go through stages in their development of the vernacular, and that they become sensitive to the standard and to relations between dialects over the age of about 13, where previously their speech has been dominated by the preadolescent peer group (1972a 138). Other studies (notably Mees (1990) and Romaine (1978) have argued that awareness of differences and ability to shift styles occurs with much younger children. Recent Newcastle studies (e.g. Hartley 1992, Cowhig 1986) also appear to suggest that quite young children acquire control over quite subtle aspects of the local dialect. Despite these findings, Eckert's 1988 study of two groups - Jocks (associated with middle class values) and Burnouts (associated with lower class values) has shown that difference between social groups in late adolescence is very great, and that this is reflected in their use of the vernacular. It was thus decided to focus exclusively on the 15 to 16 year old age group (Y11 in the English National Curriculum) For this reason the present study cannot produce direct evidence of differences between age groups in the use of standard English. The study by Hudson and Holmes (1995) discussed below, does find such differences. These differences seem to confirm the working hypothesis of the present study: that the most non-standard language is used by the 15 year olds. Hudson and Holmes comment thus:

> The difference between 11 and 15-year olds in their use or non-use of NSE is highly significant ($p<0.001$)...What is really unexpected is the direction of the difference, with the 15-year-olds producing fewer speakers of SSE than the 11-year-olds. (1995:10)

However this is what would be predicted by much of the research referred to earlier. Macaulay (1977) suggests that working class speech has favourable connotations for young males. He infers this from his finding that Class 1 (upper middle class) girls were closer to Class 1 women than Class 1 boys were to Class 1 men. He considers this to be evidence of the attraction of working class speech for older adolescents. Romaine (1978:150) working with younger children also identifies the attraction of working class male adult speech especially for boys (Romaine 1984). It may be that Hudson and Holmes's finding is eminently predictable from what one might term home circumstances, although educationally it may seem strange given that pupils had received more years of schooling. Reynolds (1992) comments that although schools do make a difference to a child's educational attainment, the effects of home are much greater. While more schooling might appear to make individuals more at home with standard English (and even more competent in using its written form), the effects of home and peer group may be overwhelming this as regards speech.

6.4.2. Social class

Social class is the first of the variables we have treated here. Social class is of course used extensively by sociologists and market researchers, and the first sociolinguistic studies (e.g. Labov 1966 1972a, Trudgill 1974, 1978) tended to use stratified samples based on social class. Various criticisms have been made by linguists and by sociologists of the acceptance by many sociolinguistic studies of an implicitly stratificationist model of societal differences (Milroy 1992, Giddens 1991, 1993). Researchers mainly interested in sex differences in speech have re-evaluated earlier studies where social class was the starting point, and found that sex is at least as explanatory of linguistic differences as social class (see Horvath's reworking of Labov 1985, Milroy 1989, Milroy Milroy and Hartley 1994 Freed and

Greenwood 1996). Criticisms have also been made of the use of systems such as the Registrar-General's classification as regards women not in paid employment, where they are assigned to their partner's classification. Equally it is difficult to use these classifications in a straightforward way with children.

Social network theory (Milroy 1987b,) is one solution to this problem, since it deals not with occupation but with relationships, and with the density of these relationships amongst individuals. Another similar approach is to focus on close knit research sites which have definable boundaries and clear contrasts. Milroy (1987b) used this approach as well as that of social network, in choosing residential areas of Belfast which were sharply differentiated along the religious divide, and between richer and poorer areas. While the present study did not use the notion of social network in any quantitative way, data was collected during the course of the interview on the individual's degree of embeddedness in his or her community. This information could have been quantified according to the principles set out in Milroy (1987a 1987b). However, it was felt that this information was more valuable in informing qualitative aspects of the study: see discussion throughout chapter 9.

Following the practice of Eckert (1988), school sites were chosen as offering a sharp contrast in the socio-economic circumstances of individuals. The precise details of these two research sites have been set out in 5.4, as have the socio-economic data involved in choosing the sites in the first place. While the use of these two contrasting schools does not iron out all the problems associated with social class, they do reflect differences accepted by politicians, teachers, inspectors and the general public. Schools are funded differently on the basis of their relative position on proxy indicators such as free school meals, and are judged differently by inspectors on children's achievement against national norms. Thus, if the present study is attempting to investigate the effects of educational disadvantage on linguistic behaviour, contrasting schools give a more tangible operationalisation of the notion of social class than measures such as father's occupation.

6.4.3. Sex

In the social sciences in general it is customary to make a distinction between *sex* (a biological characteristic) and *gender* (a culturally determined set of values): see for example Giddens (1993, Haralambos 1981). However, in linguistics, it is conventional to use the word *sex* to mean both of these concepts, since the work *gender* is already used in morphology (see Milroy (1989) Coates (1986). This is the approach adopted by the present study, but see below.

The variable of sex does not present the same problems of definition as, for example social class or attainment. However, it is only now moving into centre stage as a sociolinguistic variable, since, as Horvath (1985) points out, earlier stratificationist approaches tended to prejudge the relative importance of sex and social class. Horvath's study, which used a statistical technique known as principle component analysis, allows speakers with similar profiles in terms of linguistic use to be clustered together. She found that sex was a more important variable than social class in terms of her sample. This finding has been repeated in other studies (e.g. Milroy (1987b, Milroy et al 1994, 1995, Coates 1986, Rigg 1987, Gal 1979), using a variety of different procedures: see especially the discussion of work ongoing in Newcastle discussed above (6.2, and in Milroy et al 1995, Docherty 1994).

Earlier sociolinguistic studies found regular differences between the speech of males and that of females. These differences were generally interpreted by suggesting that females used more prestige variants than males (see for example Labov's work in New York City, collected in 1972a). Researchers tended to explain these differences by using the notion of prestige (e.g. Trudgill (1974). This suggests that females are more aware of status than males and therefore move more readily towards high status linguistic forms. Milroy (1989) points out that if this is the case why do women not adopt the speech patterns of their husbands, who often have higher status jobs? If instead one considers the behaviour of women as simply different from that of men, it becomes possible to see the speech of women as reflecting different social realities and practices (Milroy Milroy and Hartley 1994, and see also Gordon 1977, who relates this to issues of sexual availability).

In the present study sex was one of the non-linguistic factors allowed for (12 boys and 12 girls were selected, as outlined in 7.4). It was hypothesised that some variables at some linguistic levels might be more 'female' variables and some 'male' variables, as had been shown for example by Milroy (1987a). This in fact did prove to be the case, as we discuss in Chapter 9.2, and 10.1.

This does not mean, however, that we regard gender as fixed at birth, but rather as a social construct, societally determined. The findings of this study very much back up the views of, for example Eckert (1989), Freed and Greenwood (1996), who consider that views of sex and gender in sociolinguistics have tended to be overly deterministic. We do not subscribe to the view that there is 'men's conversation' and 'women's conversation', but rather that individuals position themselves differently in differing conversational situations. Clearly an individual's gender will be a factor in this equation, but equally important will be the relations between interlocutors, education, age, topic, and so on. This is not to suggest that differences will not occur between women and men, as between old and young or between rich and poor. But this is best explained in terms of individuals positioning themselves in terms of the linguistic currency open to them. If in fact many females adopt a certain speech feature (such as glottalisation or discourse markers) more than do men, this has more to do with 'acts of identity' (see discussion of Le Page below). An individual woman's gender is an important factor in her make-up, and she may well wish to use language which signals this. But this is very different from work such as earlier decades (e.g. Hirschmann (1973), West and Zimmerman (1983), and see also Edelsky (1981) Holmes (1986)), which tended to imply that 'women ask more questions', or 'men use fewer backchannels'. More recent work (e.g. Coates 1994, 1996 Eckert 1989 Holmes 1993 Freed and Greenwood 1996) using same sex studies, and looking at women and men in non-western contexts, has concluded that earlier studies had made over generalised claims for male and female speech styles. Freed and Greenwood, for used same sex dyads and created, within one interview, three different contexts within which to look at use of *you know* and use of questions. The contexts were labelled spontaneous talk, considered talk, and collaborative talk. They found that 'women

and men use questions in almost identical ways' (1996:19). Equally, with regard to use of *you know*, they conclude that:

> It is the task at hand, the imposed face-to-face encounter - and perhaps the nature of the subject itself, a discussion of friendship - which best explains the frequent occurrence and the function of *you know* in these conversations. (1996:10)

These are interesting findings, and one would not wish to underplay the importance of context in creating the kinds of talk which occur. However, Freed and Greenwood claim that 'it is the specific requirements associated with the talk situation that are responsible for eliciting or suppressing specific discourse forms, not the sex or gender of the speakers' (Freed and Greenwood (1996:21). The evidence of the present study is that this somewhat overstates the case. We may have a methodological problem here, where different approaches give rise to different conclusions. We return to this issue in the conclusion.

In conclusion, we have adopted a relatively straightforward approach to the notion of sex/gender, in order to see whether the sex of the speaker has an effect on their ability to speak standard English. The interview setting involved same-sex pairs and an environment and interview technique which was common to all (see further 7.6). Thus any variation in relation to use of any of the variables discussed above might reasonably be assigned to sex differences. As will be discussed in chapters 9 and 10, differences did occur which are difficult to explain in any other way than by reference to the sex of the speaker

6.4.4. Attainment

The variable of attainment is a variable which is more used in educational research than in linguistic research. However, since the teaching of spoken standard English is in fact part of the National Curriculum, it was reasonable to ask whether the attainment level of the individual might be a determining factor in whether or not the individual was able to use standard English in careful speech. The next chapter deals with the method of arriving at the attainment levels for the children (7.5.3). It is worth indicating that attainment, like social class, and unlike sex or age, is a problematical variable to determine. Discussion continues in

educational and psychological circles as to whether intelligence is a unitary phenomenon and can be measured by Intelligence Quotient (IQ) tests such as the Wechsler test and the Stanford-Binet test used by educational psychologists (Wechsler 1974, Thorndike et al (1985) see also Kline, 1991, and Dean (ed) 1987, Rattan and Rattan (1987). Theorists such as Gardner (1985) propose a theory of multiple intelligences including, as well as the more familiar linguistic and mathematical intelligences, intelligences such as musical intelligence and interpersonal intelligence. It is also currently being proposed that IQ is not as fixed as teachers have traditionally thought, but can be improved through cognitive enrichment programmes (e.g. Feuerstein 1979). McCall, Appelbaum and Hogarty (1973) found that I.Q span may *increase* during childhood and indeed into middle age for those without neurological difficulties. The Worlds Apart report (Reynolds et al 1996) points to the difference in belief systems between Pacific Rim countries such as Taiwan and the West as one possible reason for the suggested poor performance in especially mathematics of English schoolchildren. Reynolds comments (TES 27/7/96) 'the absence of the western belief that there will always be some children who are bound to fail: instead all (in the East) are expected to reach a reasonable standard'. This debate leaves us with a problem defining intelligence in the present study. Ability, equally, implies a measure of something innate, which is an assumption which the present study does not need to make.

We have therefore adopted an approach which uses a generally accepted measure, that of predicted GCSE results. This is a measure of attainment, and a GCSE grade represents something tangible: offers of jobs, university places etc. are made taking these into account. No assumptions are made about the innate ability of the individuals, but rather about their actual educational attainment at the time the interviews were conducted. This approach matches the approach to social class adopted by choosing school site as an indicator of social difference (see 6.3.2 above). The intention in each case was to move away from abstract claims, and to find measures which relate to the perceptions of the participants themselves (the children), and to the general public.

For attainment, individuals were selected at the middle and the two extremes of the spectrum, in the hope that this would yield a view of differences, should they exist. As we

will indicate in the conclusion (10..3), this decision, though providing the contrasts sought, may have cause some difficulties in the interpretation of this variable, because of the decision to select at the extreme ends of the spectrum.

6.5. Speech style

We now move on to consider three crucial issues which impact on the linguistic and non-linguistic variables, and which inform the orientation of the study. The first area to be considered is that of speech style. The study concerns itself with more careful styles of speech. In this it differs from many other sociolinguistic studies. Many studies approach their young interviewees on their own ground. Labov (1972b) for example, used black researchers, who conducted their research with 9 to 14 year old gang members on home ground for the children: on the streets. One purpose of conducting this research on children's own ground was to question the findings of Bernstein (1970, 1971, 1973, 1975), whose own research had given rise to the suggestion that working class individuals spoke a restricted code. (See 3.2.2 for a full discussion of Bernstein and of work on language deficit). Labov's co-workers tended to interview the subjects in larger groups, accepting the groupings in which the children were found on the street. This approach was also adopted by Cheshire (1982a, 1982c, 1982d), whose young people in Reading were interviewed in an adventure playground, again by a researcher who might be considered sympathetic to them because she was young and rode a motor bike. Interestingly, Cheshire also interviewed some of the individuals in school later in the study when she knew them. There was a teacher present at this time. What she found was that some moved significantly towards the standard, but others adopted a version of the vernacular more extreme than that used in the street. This reaction correlated strongly with positive scores on an index Cheshire constructed which measured the degree to which the individual was part of the vernacular culture (1982a:156). Clearly this shift both towards and away from the interviewer has resonance for the present study, where this phenomenon also occurred. Communication Accommodation Theory (discussed below 6.2.1) explains this phenomenon very effectively, where the terms *convergence* and

divergence are used. V. Edwards (1986) W Edwards (1992) Salami (1991) Bortoni-Ricardo (1985) Eckert (1988, 1989) Gal (1979) Milroy (1987b) amongst others have also carried out research using similar techniques in, respectively, England, USA, Nigeria, South America, USA, Austria and N. Ireland. All of this work has a methodology which aims to uncover the best approximation to the speech individuals use when completely relaxed with their friends.

Other studies look at environments other than 'home ground', and clearly schools are interesting from this point of view. Researchers working in this area have attempted to capture a wider range of speech style (examples are Reid 1978, Romaine 1978, Macaulay 1977). Reid (1978), like many others, adopted the approach outlined by Labov (1972) of identifying a range of styles. Reid used the following:

> 1 Reading aloud in a passage specially prepared to concentrate a number of linguistic v variables: RP style
> 2 in a one to one interview with the investigator, intended to be fairly formal: IV style
> 3 talking with two classmates about topics of mutual interest with minimal participation by the investigator:GP style
> 4 in playground interaction, where the boys wore a radio-microphone and transmitter while playing with friends between school lessons, and was recorded via a receiver inside the school: PG style (1978:163)

Labov's list is similar:

> Style A - Casual style: outside the interview situation, with friends, before the interview proper begins;
> Style B - Careful style: interview style
> Style C - Reading: reading a passage
> Style D - Word list
> Style D[1]- Minimal Pairs

(Adapted from Labov (1972a:79 - 99)

The aim here is to capture more formal styles as well as the vernacular. Reid uses radio microphones in an attempt to capture playground talk. Macaulay also attempted to obtain a range of styles, and indeed he comments (1977:33) that his (school based) interviews cannot claim to represent the vernacular, though his work still shows important differences

between social groups. In contrast, the present study seeks to access only the more careful speech which takes place in school. It takes cognizance of the approaches of the above researchers by being aware of the context of the interview, but manipulates the parameters of these in order to obtain careful speech.

We need to consider more carefully the distinction made by Labov between vernacular and other styles of speech. Labov (1972b) refers to the vernacular in these terms:

> We must then understand the way in which the vernacular culture uses language and how verbal skills develop in this culture....We find no connection between linguistic skill in the vernacular culture and success in reading. Our research is outside of school or any other adult-dominated, institutional setting; but we did gain some insight into why these verbal skills could not be used in school. (1972b:xiv-xv).

The vernacular is a crucial term in the work of sociolinguists working in Labov's tradition. And while, as we have seen above, some of Labov's earlier work did include 'careful style', meaning a formal interview, more and more after the (1969) publication of the article the 'Logic of Non-standard English' reprinted as chapter 5 of *Language in the Inner City* (Labov 1972b), attention shifted to informal speech. More formal speech is either not considered, as in Labov (1972b), and Milroy (1987), Edwards (1986) or is represented by word list style (e.g. Romaine (1975, 1978), Reid (1978). As has been pointed out by Milroy (1987a:179) and also (Bell 1984:197) it is arguable that an item on a read word list cannot be adduced as formal speech: it is read, and reading aloud can be shown to relate only to reading aloud, and not necessarily to formal speech. The vernacular has been accessed by talking to children out of school (in Cheshire's case many of them were actually truanting). The present study, in focusing on more careful speech, has inverted these, in the hope that this would show children using standard English, or as close to this as they were able to wished to approximate. Therefore, the research was carried out by a researcher resembling a teacher, who clearly was on good terms with the teachers in the school; it was carried out in school; and it was carried out in small groups (twos, and normally not close friends). Chapter 7 gives full details of the procedures.

In other words, a situation was created which would give a relatively authentic situation which would access careful speech, in the same way as Labov, Cheshire, or Milroy attempted to create a relatively authentic setting for vernacular speech. This gave rise to some problems, which a reading passage or word list style might have circumvented. Two working class subjects were willing to come and talk to me, but found it difficult to conduct an 'interview-type' conversation. I have no doubt that if I had got to know these boys (as did Milroy in Belfast), I would have been able to have found situations and topics which would have enabled them to open up to me. However, the significant thing was that despite the relative formality of the occasion, most of the individuals, of both sexes, and regardless of social class or attainment, were able to participate successfully in an interview. Thus, one might conclude that the school system manages to enable the majority of pupils to overcome their difficulties with the school discourse system.

The only study of which I am aware which deals with careful speech in young people in a broadly similar fashion to the present one is the paper prepared by Hudson and Holmes (1995) for the School Curriculum and Assessment Authority (SCAA). This paper uses tapes produced in 1988 by the National Foundation for Educational Research (NFER) as part of a national survey of children's use of language. The tapes, some of which were recorded in North Tyneside where the present study also was carried out, were intended to assess children's spoken language, in the light of a move in the then new National Curriculum for more emphasis on talk activities (see 3.3 above). The tapes are comparable in many ways to the present study since they were carried out by an unknown researcher, in school. The pupils were grouped in twos or sometimes fours, and were given a language task to carry out which would enable them to talk. The interviewers were known to be teachers. The children were 11 and 15, the older group therefore being directly comparable with individuals in the present study.

The study does differ from the present one in one or two respects. The activity was a classroom talk activity, not an interview, and was part of an assessment procedure. The time taken was approximately half an hour, as opposed to the present study where interviews lasted between 45 minutes and one hour. And (because of the original purpose of the tapes)

no information is available on social class, and it is not known whether the individuals were locally born.

Finally Hudson and Holmes focus exclusively on grammar, and not any of the other levels considered in the present study. They found that 32% of speakers used no non-standard grammatical forms at all. Girls were generally found to use fewer non-standard forms than boys. 11 year olds used fewer non-standard forms than 15 year olds, though they add the rider that this may be because the individuals spoke less. They comment (1995:10) that the difference 'might reflect the sheer quantity and complexity of the speech produced by the two age groups...a real user of NSE (non-standard English) can be misclassified as a non-user if they say so little that the occasion for using a non-standard form never arises.' Another finding was that in the case of each non-standard form, speakers would use both the non-standard and the standard form in the same passage of speech, indicating a choice, rather than ignorance (this phenomenon is discussed above, 6.3.1). Certain clusters of non-standard forms were generally used across the whole country, while others related only to one region. Tyneside was one of the regions with most region-specific non-standard English. The number of distinct non-standard forms per speaker is (for those who used non-standard forms at all) probably between two and five.

Many of these findings will be confirmed in the present study, though some will not. Chapter 9 relates the findings, and Chapter 10 considers many of the issues raised by the Hudson and Holmes study in the light of the present study and others. At this point I would wish to reiterate that the study of careful speech is in its infancy in terms of creating realistic contexts in which to optimize chances of obtaining speech which lies towards the more formal end of the spectrum..

6.6. Linguistic identity

The next issue is one which is crucial to the present study, and was hinted at in the reference to the work of Cheshire (above). While the interviews Cheshire conducted in school tended to elicit fewer non-standard grammatical forms, some actually elicited more. A

central question is why should some children use more vernacular items in a formal situation, when the vast majority use fewer? This question is difficult to answer within the classic variationist paradigm, since it tends to be assumed that individuals will behave according to their social grouping, gender, or other broad social category. Implicitly, this is a functionalist view of society. Clearly, within similar social groupings there are individuals who behave in ways which differ considerably. The next body of work to be reviewed attempts to explain this by regarding linguistic behaviour as a part of more general social behaviour, and to consider these from the point of view of the individual symbolising allegiances through language.

Three major theoretical strands seek to deal with these issues, and all of them have resonance for the present study, since here too there was a relationship between the degree of allegiance to the institution (in this case the school) and the conformity or otherwise to school speech norms (see discussion in 5.4). The three strands are represented by:

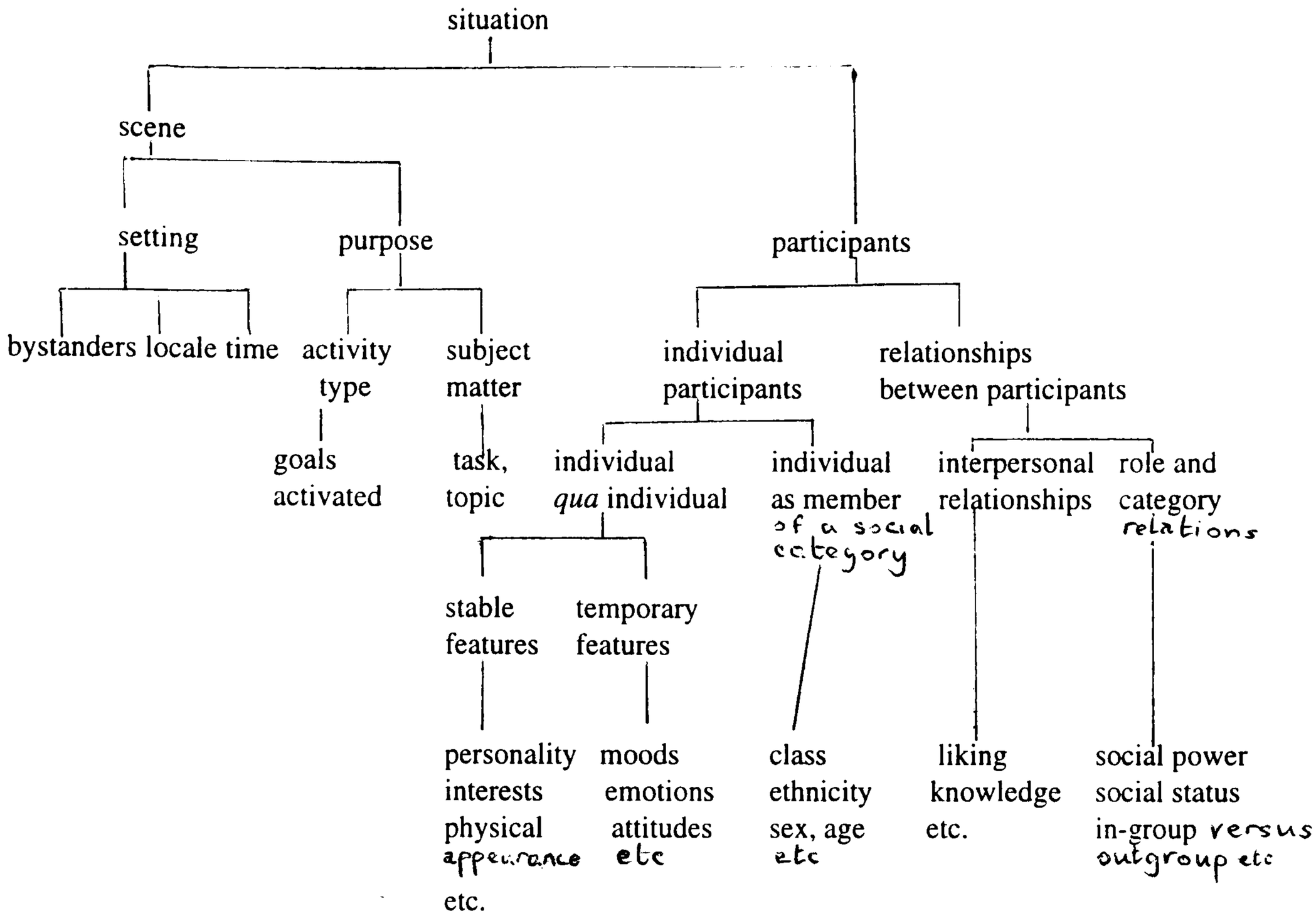
i)Communication Accommodation Theory (CAT), within which key works are (Bourhis and Giles (1971), Lambert (1975) Giles and Powesland (1975) Giles and StClair (1979) Giles and Coupland (1991) , Scotton (1985) Coupland (1980, 1985, 1988)),

ii) the work of John Gumperz (Gumperz and Hymes (1972), Gumperz (1971) (1982a) (1982b) Blom and Gumperz (1971)),

iii) the work of Robert Le Page (1985).

To set the above work in context, let us consider in more depth the sociolinguistic interview as exemplified by the interviews conducted in the present study. The interview has often been regarded as simply a means to an end. Yet if we consider it as a speech event, it becomes clear that it is a very different experience for different participants. Having considered the interview and its parameters in depth, we then go on to consider the above theories, which attempt to provide theoretical frameworks for differing individual responses to situations.

Brown and Fraser's (1979) diagram (reproduced below) outlines the components of any situation.



Source Brown and Fraser (1979)

We need to bear in mind that while the situation has elements in common for the interviewer and the interviewee, in one or two crucial ways it is very different. I will discuss the diagram in the light of the interviews conducted for the present study.

In the set of headings under *scene*, many factors are the same: there were no bystanders, the locale remained constant (restricted to two locales, which constituted one of the extra-linguistic variables in the research design), and the time remained relatively constant, in that all the interviews took place during school time (i.e. between 9.00 and 1500 hours)

Under the heading of *goals* however, we have a number of interesting contrasts. The researcher has clear enough goals, but what of the pupils? One might guess that some of the individuals would wish to practice their skills in an interview situation similar to GCSE-type presentations and university or job interviews. The lower attaining pupils, whose inability or unwillingness to sustain this type of conversation has been alluded to previously, may well

not wish to practise such skills, and therefore for them the best that might be said about the goals associated with the speech situation would be that it excused them some lessons.

Again, if we consider the heading *roles*, some of the pupils may be less willing or able to adopt the role of interviewee, school pupil talking to teacher, or similar. It is well established in educational research that role is a problem for pupils as they get older (see Measor and Woods (1984), and Eckert (1988) and see 3.5 above). Those who appeared to find the interview difficult could well have been those who for a number of years had rejected the values of school, and for whom passive resistance and non-communication were the preferred approach. The small number of pupils to whom this applied made comments to this effect later in the interview. One lower-attaining girl in Greenbelt said that she had found the move to High School (at 13) very difficult, and had never felt at home in her new school. This had caused her to start non-attending. In this case she had started the interview in a non-communicative mood, but as she had realised that the content of the interview would be confidential and that the interviewer was not connected with the school, she began to discuss her dissatisfaction. This individual's attitude to the speech situation affected her performance in the interview.

Thus the roles involved in the interview varied enormously. On the other hand were those who were very much at ease talking to teachers and officials, and who were happy to take on the role of the interviewee. How these pupils had come to these different orientations towards this kind of formal interaction is a separate question, but one which is crucial to possible success in school and in interviews for some young people.

Let us now consider the issue of the *subject matter* covered in the interview. The possible range of topics which the speech situation would allow were finite, and the two boys who were the least communicative had little to say about any of them. Very probably a different setting, possibly a different researcher, and a different method more closely associated with participant observation procedures may have elicited more talk from these pupils, as did Labov (1972b), discussed in 6.2 above. The majority of the pupils however found something to talk about, and given that the researcher's questions focused on the pupils themselves, their homes and their local area, this is not altogether surprising. Nevertheless, it

is significant that the biggest barrier to carrying out an effective interview on the part of a small minority might have been aspects of the speech situation such as role and subject matter, rather than any intrinsic inability to communicate.

Moving on to the aspect of the diagram relating to *participants*, the first section of the diagram relates to *individual participants*. Here both the stable and the temporary features will impact on the interaction. Extrovert characters will find interviews easier to cope with in general, as will those who have extensive interests and can talk about them. The more temporary aspects of the situation will also have an effect: issues here are whether the participants were in a good mood, and whether they wanted to be in the interview (although they were technically volunteers, school itself for under 16 year olds in England is compulsory).

The individual's *membership of social groups* is bound to have an effect on the interaction. The interviewer, like most teachers, is clearly middle class, and has attitudes and values which reflect this. The respondents who were most forthcoming tended to be the more middle class ones, or the higher attaining working class pupils who clearly aspired to higher education, and in one case wanted to be a teacher. This problem is not unique to this research, but is a problem faced by teachers all over the world who teach pupils who are different culturally from themselves: whites teaching black and Asian pupils, middle class teachers working in overwhelmingly working class environments. Sex could be a factor, since no doubt the fact of having a male interviewer would affect the behaviour of both boys and girls in the sample. Ethnicity was not an issue here, because there were no pupils who were from a different ethnic group: compared with other urban centres Tyneside has relatively few ethnic minorities, and these tend to be clustered elsewhere in Tyneside.

Finally we need to consider the *relationships between participants*. Here again we can see considerable differences. With some (perhaps most) of the pupils it was possible in the time available to establish reasonably cordial relationships, but one or two of the pupils kept a distance and restricted themselves to answering the questions. Clearly the interview as constructed was an asymmetrical situation, with the interviewer adopting much of the role of the teacher, and thus a higher social status than the pupils, as emphasised by the fact that the

interviewer was introduced to them first by their teacher, and given a room to work in by the school. Rules of teacher pupil interaction (see Sinclair and Coulthard (1975) Mehan (1979) Sinclair and Brazil (1981) would apply to some extent, as would other interview-type situations: doctor/patient etc. The conversation was initially controlled by the interviewer, though as time went on the respondents realised that they could relax and speak at greater length. However, aspects of power and status would impact on some pupils more than others, and especially similarity or lack of similarity of class background, accent, and interests between the interviewer and the respondents is likely to make for a more or less felicitous encounter.

In the foregoing I have tried to outline some of the pragmatic constraints on the talk produced by the pupils in the study emphasising the importance of these considerations for the outcome of the research. We move on in the light of this to consider kinds of research which relate to the individual's orientation towards the social groupings and institutions in which he or she is located.

6.6.1. Communication Accommodation Theory (CAT)

Communication accommodation theory has been introduced earlier in relation to education (see above 3.3.5). Further information can be found in, for example, Bourhis and Giles (1971) Giles (1973), Lambert (1975) Giles and Powesland (1975) Giles and Smith (1979) Giles and StClair (1979) Giles and Coupland (1991) Bourhis et al (1979), Scotton (1985) Coupland (1980, 1985, 1988). In the context of the present discussion of linguistic identity, this body of work enables us to understand the nature of the interaction between interviewer and interviewee in the present study.

Broadly, the theory states that individuals will modify their speech to converge with those whom they wish to influence. Thus a speaker at a job interview who wished to impress an employer who spoke English with an RP accent would accommodate their speech in the direction of RP. A speaker, on the other hand, who wished to reject the values of an individual might well diverge, in terms of accent and dialect, from that person. This phenomenon, well attested in the literature listed above, has been borne out by work in a

number of different countries. The work has been reported in association with 'matched guise' studies, which measure perception of speakers through their accent and dialect (or sometimes language). Thus, a single individual is asked to read out a passage in, say a Welsh accent, and an RP accent. Respondents are then asked to rate the speaker in terms of characteristics such as honesty, intelligence, reliability. Similar studies have been carried out in Canadian French and English. It appears that the more standard guise appears to be generally rated as more intelligent and reliable though it does not always score as highly on more personal qualities such as honesty (see for example Giles and Powesland 1975).

This social psychological approach to accent and dialect has obvious value in the present study. As outlined above, those individuals who are in general positively motivated towards school and towards middle class values will be more likely to accommodate towards a teacher-interviewer. Equally, those who do not enjoy school or subscribe to more middle class values will be less likely to accommodate, and indeed, as Cheshire reports (1982), may become increasingly divergent. In terms of the arguments about education and standard language, this research suggests that differences in the way children talk may be as much to do with the individual's attitude to the interview and to the speech situation as to the individual's control over his or her repertoire. (Though I will suggest below that elements of repertoire are relevant, and more so at some linguistic levels than others).

6.6.2. Gumperz

John Gumperz' work (1982, 1971, Gumperz and Hymes 1970) is in a completely different vein from the above, but again is relevant to a consideration of linguistic identity. Gumperz' work is closely tied to the 'ethnography of speaking' approach also associated with Dell Hymes (e.g. 1974). Gumperz' work attempts to build a careful a picture of the community. An article very relevant to the present study is his work with Blom in the Norwegian town of Hemnes (Blom and Gumperz (1971). Hemnes is a small community where the fishing industry predominates. There is a local dialect: Ranamal, and a standard, taught in schools and universities: Bokmal. Blom and Gumperz make a distinction between

those residents who are 'local team': i.e. they are strongly embedded in the community through ties of kin, work and friendship, and those who have ties elsewhere. Those residents who are local team tend to use the non-standard variety for preference. There is also in the study a group of students who have ties with universities elsewhere. These tend to use the standard more commonly, and to use the local dialect for effect. This has an effect on their relationship with the community. Middle class people who live locally but who often trained elsewhere, such as doctors and teachers, use the dialect similarly sparingly. Somewhere in between are young people, who will choose their use of dialect or standard according to their loyalties to local team or parent/middle class values, showing their allegiances by their usage.

Very similar attitudes were seen in the pilot study for the present research, where schoolchildren quoted their parents as stigmatising certain usages (see appendix). Equally, the school itself seems to provide a linguistic hegemony, to which the individual pupil will attach him/herself, or intentionally diverge from it (see 5.4). This approach was in many respects the forerunner of work by Eckert (1988, 1989), whose work in schools is equally precise ethnographically, and which relates language use very carefully the kinds of linguistic allegiances chosen by the pupil.

6.6.3. Le Page

Finally in this section we consider the work of Robert Le Page (Le Page and Tabouret-Keller (1985). Le Page has worked for many years in the field of Creole studies, especially in the West Indies. He is concerned with language as an 'act of identity'. He uses the analogy of a cinema projector to outline his view of how language works.

> a metaphor drawn...from cinema projection and focusing on a screen. As the individual speaks he is seen as always using language with reference to the inner models of the universe he has constructed for himself; he projects in words images of that universe (or, of those universes) on to the social screen, and these images may be more or less sharply focused, or more or less diffuse, in relation to each other, or in relation to those projected by others in their interaction with him. As he speaks, he is inviting others to share his view of the universe (even if that means agreeing to keep

out of it!), and the feedback he gets may lead him to focus his own images more sharply, and may also lead him to bring his own universes more into focus with those projected by others. A fresh contact, a fresh point of view, may on the other hand for a time at least make his projection more diffuse. The individual is thus seen as the locus of his language, envisaged as a repertoire of socially marked systems. Each system is a property with which he has endowed a group which he himself perceives; neither systems nor groups, in the way in which we are talking of them here, are objective properties of the 'real world', but percepts of each individual. Such systems are all more or less fragmentary and overlapping. A group is any perceived cluster of two or more individuals. Language, however, in use by individuals, is the instrument through which, by means of individual adjustments in response to feedback, both 'languages' and 'groups' may become more highly focused in the sense that the behaviour of members of a group may become more alike. The concepts are intended to apply to all language acquisition; no distinction is made (and it is evident from long study of multilingual societies that no sharp distinction can be made) between 'first' and 'other' language acquisition. (1985 115:116)

There is a good deal of useful material here for the present study. The idea of focusing and projecting, and the phenomenological notion of groups only existing as they are perceived by the individual, are very relevant to the idea of a school as a community. Le Page and Tabouret-Keller (1985) comment that in 'tightly knit and closely interactive communities - those which we shall refer to as focused - the sharing of rules, and the regularity of rules, can be considerable.'(p5). I would propose that schools, as 'tightly knit and closely interactive communities' create their own way of speaking, in this kind of way. Pupils who are keen on the school and feel at home there will be more focused. However other dialects will also be available, namely the vernacular of the street culture outside; the standard English of the staff; and possibly the standard Tyneside of their parents. These will compete for the pupil to identify with, and for the pupil to demonstrate when he or she meets new people. These issues as they relate to individual schools are discussed in 5.4. In a similar way Le Page and Tabouret-Keller give an example of one of the women who told a story for them.

> She began by using her most standard English; that was because she was talking directly to two visitors whom she knew were not Creole, and whom she assumed to be English. She started telling the story in what was more or less Creole English, and at a particular point where she related some crucial dialogue she switched to Spanish, finally reverting to Creole to finish the story off...But her most standard English was not the same as ours; her Creole was not exactly that of Belize City on the coast; her Spanish was not exactly that of Guatemala City, or Mexico City, or Castile. (1985:13)

This is the same type of behaviour (though apparently more linguistically heterogeneous) as the pupils in Tyneside studied in the present research. And they, like the people of Belize, are creating identity in the language they use.

> Here we introduce the concept which is the theme of this book, that of linguistic behaviour as a series of acts of identity in which people reveal both their personal identity and their search for social roles. In the case of Belize it seems that the coastal Creoles, have made their act of identity; they are waiting for this old lady and her neighbours to throw in their lot - politically, culturally and linguistically - with them. (1985:14)

The Tyneside children are similar. They have found a variety which fits an identity: in one case Creole, in another Tyneside vernacular. In both cases, however, there is an element of selection of key features which can be used to symbolise affiliation to a particular group. Le Page also puts forward a case for ethnicity as operating in a similar way to the linguistic focusing he discussed earlier. Identifying the ethnic group you belong to, like the language(s) or dialect(s) you speak, turns out to be more a matter of how you see yourself than of observable fact. To understand this is to grasp the complexity of demanding bidialectalism or the use of a standard amongst children. Children in school are unlikely to wish to make an act of identity which goes against their view of who they are, especially at an age where identity is very much in the melting pot.

The previous section has considered three different but related ways of dealing with the notion of linguistic identity. A final area of methodological procedure is the question of the selection of speakers, and it is to this that we now turn.

6.7. Selection of speakers

It is fair to say that there has been a move away from standard survey techniques in sociolinguistics, and towards in-depth, semi-structured interviews. This gives rise to a need for a different kind of methodology and a different kind of validity for data elicited through interviews.

Traditional dialectology used older, often male speakers (see e.g. Viereck (1966) Gregg (1964) Sivertsen (1960, and the Leeds survey (e.g. Orton (1962) on the basis that these people were the most reliable informants of the local dialect. When linguists became interested in urban dialects and in social dialects, the focus moved. Sampling techniques derived from social science methodology were used, including postal, and later telephone surveys of individuals. They have largely given way to interview based techniques. Milroy (1987b Chapter 2) provides a clear account of this process.

Labov's early studies (reported in 1972a) used stratified sampling techniques derived from standard social research. Trudgill (1974) used a stratified sample where individuals were chosen by a randomising technique from the ten yearly census. He arrived at 60 individuals from four contrasting areas of the city. These were then given a social index score based on occupation, income, education, housing, locality, father's occupation.

While this approach has its merits, it has been found to have drawbacks also. First, although the randomised sample is more respectable in social survey research, it does not take into account the special circumstances of sociolinguistic research: a large number of tokens come from each individual, and this gives rise a great deal of data; the data which emerges is generally below the level of conscious attention, and so is generally reliable; a random sample of strangers gives problems in the collection of data, especially if one is attempting to collect the vernacular.

There has been a move towards more ethnographic methods, influenced by the work of Gumperz (1970, 1971: see 6.6.2 above). The work of Labov, on the Lower East Side (reported in 1972b) and referred to above in 6.3 achieved access to a version of B.E.V. (Black English Vernacular) which would have been impossible to access through approaches to strangers. In each case the research questions dictate the method. Labov's brief in his studies of Black English Vernacular was to consider causes for reading and educational failure in (especially) lower class black males. Thus he needed access to the vernacular, and to the people who speak it, in an informal setting. A very precise stratified sample would not have been of great benefit, because the formal mode of approach, and the isolation of the speakers from each other would not have elicited the type of speech he required.

Bortoni-Ricardo's (1985) research in Brazil used a similar approach. After an initial approach through the city authorities which gave rise to slightly unsatisfactory results, Bortoni-Ricardo approached a few houses at random, and in this way made contact with a young woman who belonged to a large extended family. This family put the researcher in touch with a number of other families, all friends of this one contact. This contact gave rise to a number of other groups loosely connected with the Society of St Vincent de Paul. Ultimately Bortoni-Ricardo contacted a group of 53 men and 65 women. This group, though not statistically representative, was considerably more useful for sociolinguistic research.

Milroy (1987b) in Belfast, approached her contacts through 'friends of friends': what Boissevain (1974) calls second order contacts. People known to the researcher were contacted, but Milroy was careful not to do this through authority figures such as priests or teachers, for reasons outlined above, and made worse by the extreme political circumstances obtaining at that time in Northern Ireland. As she was able to introduce herself as a friend of X, she was accorded the status of a second order contact. The importance of these kinds of networks is emphasised in an episode recounted by one of Milroy's respondents, who met a gunman on his way home. The ability to name second order contacts known mutually to the respondent and a gunman saved them at least from a very frightening encounter. (1980:55).

Milroy's respondents were assembled through these networks. The research design required the ability to contrast geographically also, and across the religious/political divide which characterises Belfast. Therefore, Milroy arrived at three research sites, with respondents in each contacted through social networks. The method of obtaining these respondents in the first place enabled participant observation to take place, and a large quantity of data was collected through informal talk in relatively large groups. Obtaining data like this would have been very difficult via more conventional survey methods.

To summarise, there are many good reasons for using these methods, and indeed ethnographic methods are common enough in sociology. Additionally, the use of significance testing will allow some measure of check on the validity and generalisability of the conclusions, and this enables researchers to be less concerned with the stratified samples of market research.

The aims of the present study were not to obtain samples of more vernacular speech, but to obtain samples of more formal speech. In fact, the pilot study shows that teachers interviewing larger groups (four or five) of children they know well can elicit reasonably non-standard talk in informal settings. Recordings carried out by myself and by a secondary colleague in the schools in which we taught at the time gave rise to a much less formal style of speech. (See appendix). Research on teacher talk (e.g. Edwards and Westgate (1993), Mehan (1979), Sinclair and Coulthard (1975) Sinclair and Brazil (1982)) has focused most on formal talk in classrooms, where the managing of the channel of communication has been the most complex task. Likewise research on small group talk (e.g. Barnes and Todd (1977)) has concentrated mostly on talk without the continuous presence of the teacher. In fact, in informal settings (e.g. on field studies, in the dinner hall, taking games practices), teachers tend to use a fairly informal style, and even to use pupils' nicknames (personal observation). This all contributes to the 'school vernacular' discussed at more length in 5.4 and 6.4.3.

The elicitation of formal talk required a formal setting (described in 6.5), and specifically made it impossible for me to use a school or children whom I already knew. Equally the nature of the extralinguistic variables demanded a design which picked individuals according to attributes such as sex or attainment. Thus no use was made of networks within the school for obtaining information (as has been carried out by for example Ball (1981), and see 3.5 in the present study). Informal networks therefore might have led to more informal talk. This formal approach (via teachers) and formal design ensured that I was perceived as 'official', and I clearly knew the teachers. However, once I had access to the respondents I used some of the social network methods in trying to find out something about the communities in which the pupils lived by asking about the 20 closest contacts (see Milroy 1987b). This gave me an impression of the pupils' communities and I found a contrast between the way of life amongst pupils at the less privileged school (Townhead) as opposed to that of those in Greenbelt (reported fully in 5.4).

6.8. Summary

Chapter 6 has attempted to sketch in the sociolinguistic and linguistic background to the study. Sections 6.2 - 6.4 considered the variables in the study: phonological, non-phonological, and non-linguistic. 6.2 outlined the standard Labovian procedures, and linked this with work on glottalised fortis stops on Tyneside which has been carried out or is ongoing. The method of identifying possible phonological variables, and the procedure adopted in the present study using syllables and feet as opposed to words was explained and exemplified. Potential sites for glottalisation were also identified, as well as those which were excluded. 6.2.1 discusses grammatical, and lexical features which occurred in the study, and which were classified as non-standard. 6.2.2 dealt with the discourse features found in the study. 6.3 provided background to the variables of age, social class, sex and attainment. 6.4.3 discussed sex and gender issues with regard to sociolinguistics and to the present study. Changes in sociolinguistic practice with regard to sex were outlined, and the complexities regarding possible 'female variables' were discussed. 6.4.4 considered the variable of attainment, and the related notions of intelligence and ability. The issue of speech style (considered in 6.5) was one where the current emphasis has been on gaining access to the vernacular. The approach in the present study was characterised as attempting to provide a realistic context for formal talk similar to those obtained by scholars seeking access to the vernacular. 6.6 looked at attempts to deal with the question of linguistic identity, and presented three bodies of work all of which have useful inputs to the present study. An outline was first made of the components of the interview situation, following Brown and Fraser. Then we considered (6.6.1) Communication Accommodation Theory (CAT), which emphasises the role of the individual speaker in actively converging towards or diverging from his or her interlocutor. 6.6.2 dealt with the work of Gumperz, and in particular the work on 'local team'. 6.6.3 deals with the work of Le Page, whose notion of linguistic focusing is very potent with regard to the school as a speech community, and to the behaviour of the individuals within it. Finally 6.7 deals with the selection of speakers, and the ways in which researchers have dealt with the options facing them.

7. Method: data collection procedures

7.1. Introduction

Chapter 7 is concerned with the collection of the data which forms the substance of this study, including an account of the pilot study which preceded it. Chapter 8 is concerned with the linguistic and statistical methods employed in the analysis of this data.

The data for this study were collected in 1990 and 1991 in the Tyneside area of the North East of England (see chapter 5 for geographical industrial and cultural background). A pilot study had previously been carried out with reference to a small number of pupils of different ages and from different parts of the region. The purpose of this preliminary study was to identify aspects of language which might be significant in studying the extent to which children controlled structures which might be seen as characteristic of standard English. Additionally it was hoped that the pilot study might identify which age group(s) might be most beneficially studied. A full account of the pilot study can be found in 7.2

The remainder of the chapter (7.3 - 7.8) concerns the main study, detailing the procedures adopted for selecting subjects, and the physical circumstances in which the recordings were carried out.

7.2. The Pilot Project

As outlined in chapter 6 the study was designed to reveal the extent to which pupils would use standard English if they were able to. It was therefore considered useful to conduct a small pilot project to discover possible linguistic variables, and to see if the project would in fact yield the sort of contrasts which I was seeking.

I made tape recordings in 3 schools in the Tyneside area, and had access to good quality recordings from a fourth school (Townhead). I sampled different age groups (9-10, 11-12, , and 15-16) in different areas of Tyneside. The recordings were carried out with groups of a number of different sizes, ranging from two to six. The recordings were then transcribed, and a preliminary pass through the data was made to identify likely linguistic

variables of the types discussed in 6.2 and 6.3. Although no systematic analysis was carried out to confirm this observation, it was obvious that the larger groups, especially if they represented a natural friendship group, were more likely to talk in a relaxed fashion, overriding the constraints of the interview situation. This observation is corroborated by other studies, such as Milroy (1987a), Labov (1972a). Conversely the group of two used more formal speech. Rather than initiating topics they more often answered the questions and waited for the next one. It was clear too that the vernacular (or perhaps more precisely a speech style to which some kind of covert prestige seemed to accrue) emerged from the larger groups. One of these discussions with larger groups was carried out by the group's English teacher. This recording contains even more non-standard lexis than the larger group conducted by myself, a stranger (see appendix 1).

The aim of the pilot project was twofold. One was to look for possible sociolinguistic variables. This proved relatively easy, and the variables isolated are discussed more fully in Chapter Six. The other aim was to decide on the extralinguistic variables, and the design of the fieldwork.

The pilot study led me to the following conclusions.

7.2.1.1.chosen age group

It was decided to focus on the older children. The various groups did not appear to differ greatly in use of the vernacular, but certainly some of the most non-standard language was produced by a group of 15 year olds from Townhead. As has been indicated in 6.4.1, it appears unlikely that younger children do not have access to the vernacular. Equally, however, the pilot study did suggest that certain items (such as *geet, aye*: see below 8.5) are adopted by older adolescents, and are less used by younger adolescents. It was interesting to see whether some of these more unusual locutions appeared in the setting of more careful speech. Finally however, the argument was an educational one. If, at the end point of formal education (Year11) the majority of children from both types of background can style-shift if they wish towards standard English, using few if any non-standard morphosyntactic or lexical features, then there is little value in teaching spoken standard English at seven (Year 2), as is

currently proposed (Department for Education (1994)). See 2.10 for a discussion of the proposals from the DfE as outlined in the Dearing review, and the possible implications for teachers of these age groups.

7.2.1.2.composition of groups

The composition of groups emerged as important. The larger groups, especially when they were friendship groups, did tend to use very much more of the vernacular, as discussed above. The recording where the pupil's own teacher was present (from Townhead) shows clearly that the children there can style-shift towards a highly stigmatised form of Tyneside, as one of the children comments herself.

> Mi mam's always gettin at us for sayin stuff like deyn dey that [di:ndiθat] (don't do that) and ah deyn naa [ɑ:di:nɑ:] (I don't know).
> (see appendix for full transcript)

The context of this remark was a discussion about language, and the teacher had a very open and unthreatening approach to the children. However, it shows that these pupils had access to a very non-standard version of Tyneside English. The lexical items *dey* and *deyn't*, (*do* and *don't*) which are localised to North Shields and which other Tynesiders use rarely if at all, are used regularly by this larger group of Townhead children with the teacher present. They did not appear once in the tapes in the main study. Thus, in addition to the inclusion of a stranger (myself), it was important that the groupings were small to ensure that group solidarity did not encourage shifting towards a stronger vernacular.

7.2.1.3.contrasting social background

It was decided to sample children from two sharply differing social backgrounds. As noted in Chapter Three, a series of government reports and pamphlets from government-allied think tanks (e.g. Cox (1989) Marenbon (1990), NCC (1993) Honey (1989)) had criticised the state education system for doing too little to equip children with standard English, and specifically used the argument that this failure caused pupils from less privileged backgrounds to benefit less from their education than might be expected. The alternative viewpoint, expressed e.g. in Jones and West (1988), Carter (1990) is that pupils

can style-shift if the circumstances demand they do so, and that if they choose not to do so it is because of choice, not inability (see 3.3 for a fuller examination of these issues). It was therefore felt that two schools contrasting in the way described in Chapter 5 would produce data where such differences in attainment to handle standard English would reveal themselves.

The choice of school was made according to two criteria. First, the recordings made during the pilot study which contrasted most came from Townhead (highly stigmatised vernacular usage), and a feeder school for Greenbelt (a very careful mode of speech, as discussed further below, section iv). Secondly, the Local Education Authority figures which allocate funding (discussed in 5.4), allocate most funds to Townhead, and fewest to Greenbelt. The figures for 1991 were £287.00 extra social factor and special needs funding per child for Townhead, and £41.00 extra social factor and special needs funding per child for Greenbelt. This translates into 55% free school meals entitlement for Townhead and 9% free school meals entitlement for Greenbelt. Thus, in both financial and linguistic terms, the contrast between the two schools was a great as could be achieved in North Tyneside.

7.2.1.4.linguistic differences within different social backgrounds

Clear linguistic differences did emerge between the areas of North Tyneside which I proposed to study in the main research project. Perhaps predictably, recordings made in three North Shields schools where, according to the Local Education Authority's figures (see 5.3) there was a high index of deprivation, were always characterised by a high degree of non-standard speech, in informal groups of four or five. However similar recordings made in more privileged areas (3 schools) were very different. As touched on above, the interviews were much more polite and formal, despite similar research methods, including the adoption of relatively large (4-6) friendship-based groupings. Standard English was almost always used, and accents were fairly close to R.P., with one or two high-prestige Tyneside variants. This difference might be attributed to school culture, which can be a very powerful influence on all aspects of children's behaviour (see 3.5). Alternatively it may be that these children

always used the same speech style, and that there were fewer linguistic differences between home and school. Certainly the North Shields children were more open and it was easier to obtain unrestricted conversation: there was very little of what one might call formal interview style in any of the North Shields interviews, whereas the children at more privileged schools all maintained an interview-like approach throughout. Thus it was not possible to allow a free ranging discussion with little intervention from the researcher (as was achieved by Gal (1979) or Milroy (1987), and to a certain extent by myself with children in the North Shields schools. In the main project this issue became less crucial, since in pairs and in a relatively formal context, both groups used relatively careful speech, and both needed encouragement in order to produce longer lengths of uninterrupted talk. In fact the most forthcoming individuals under these circumstances were in both schools the higher attaining pupils.

7.2.1.5.multiple linguistic levels

The pilot study made clear that any characterisation of standard English in the broad terms outlined in Chapter 2 and Chapter 3 would have to consider more than one linguistic level. The tapes in the pilot study were played (with transcriptions) to groups of primary and secondary school teachers, who were then asked to underline features which made the speech standard or non-standard, dialect or standard English. Even with this relatively sophisticated (but not necessarily linguistically aware) group, confusions emerged about linguistic levels, and phonological and discourse features were identified as non-standard, alongside grammatical and lexical features.

Thus it became obvious that no one linguistic level would give access to both the folk-linguistic notion of speaking 'correctly', and also the more official definitions of spoken standard English (see further 6.6.1, and 2.7 - 9). It was therefore decided to adopt a methodology which would allow some quantification of phonological, grammatical, lexical and discoursal features, as well as some qualitative discussion of the interviews and their outcomes. Thus the pilot study gave rise to some of the more unusual features of the research design of the present study.

7.2.1.6.non-linguistic variables

The non-linguistic variables selected were also determined in the light of the experience gained with the pilot study: these are fully discussed from a sociolinguistic point of view in 6.3. They are as follows:

- **sex**: half of the sample were boys and half girls.
- **school**: one school serves a privileged area and one an underprivileged area, as defined through the school's free school meals entitlement, as discussed in 5.4. This variable is an indicator of social class, providing a broad contrast between very different residential areas.
- **social network**: material for this to be used as a variable was collected, but was not used in a formal way. Rather the information gained has informed the qualitative aspects of the study.
- **attainment**: individuals were to be chosen representing high, middle and low attainment levels in each school, as described in 6.4.4. This variable, while not commonly used in sociolinguistic research, is familiar in educational research, and was considered relevant for two reasons. One was that the teachers themselves assumed that attainment would be a variable in accessing standard English. Secondly, by stratifying the subjects by attainment, it was hoped that the data would be more varied, and this did appear to be the case in the pilot study.

The pilot study enabled me to consider a wide range of factors which impact on the notion of standard English, and gave rise to some unusual aspects of research design. It also enabled me to try out some of the preliminary findings on classroom teachers, and thus to gain an understanding of their notion of standard English.

7.3. Main study

The design and theoretical perspectives of the main study owe much to the pilot study. In general the research design was intended to make use of contrasts: between research sites, between different levels of attainment, and between males and females. It was felt that in this way differences between groups would show up clearly. Conversely, if individuals

were able to style-shift and if differences were minimised in these contexts, it is arguable that there would be no necessity to address the direct teaching of spoken standard English. This is not to say that there are not differences in competence in spoken standard English, and that direct teaching of the skills of discussion, argument and presentation should not be carried out. Rather that if issues of lexis and phonology can be put on one side, more curriculum time becomes available for these things.

The sections below address procedures adopted for selecting subjects in terms of social class, sex, and attainment. The methods adopted in data collection, making recordings, and the length of recordings are all addressed.

7.4. Selection of individual subjects

The subjects were selected to achieve maximum contrast with respect to the extra-linguistic-variables, as indicated by the pilot project. The schools contrasted sharply in that Townhead High has approximately 55% of pupils in receipt of free school meals (thus in receipt of income support, and having no, or a very low income from paid employment), whereas in Greenbelt High the number is only 9% of the school population (see 5.4 for a full discussion of free school meal data).

The subjects were chosen by the staff of the school concerned. The staff (though not the pupils) were told that the researcher wanted to investigate accent and dialect, and wanted to study pupils spanning a range of attainment. This was done according to predicted GCSE grades in English. This gave 24 children, 12 male and 12 female. There were in each gender group 4 children of above average attainment, 4 children of average attainment and 4 children of below average attainment. GCSE (General Certificate of Secondary Education) is graded A*, A, B, C, (defined as 'good' grades), D,E,F,G and U (unclassified). The high attaining pupils were predicted A*, A or B, middle attaining pupils were predicted C or D, and low attaining pupils were predicted E or below. Thus four boys were chosen who were predicted A*, A, or B, and these were then interviewed in two pairs. This procedure was adopted for each level of attainment, and for each school. Table 7.1 summarises the selection of subjects.

Table 7-1 Subjects from the two schools

School		**Greenbelt**				**Townhead**	
Social Class		12 pupils				12 pupils	
Sex	6 boys	6 girls			6 boys	6 girls	
Attainment	4 high	4 middle	4 low		4 high	4 middle	4 low

These individuals were interviewed in pairs: as referred to above, keeping the groups small seemed from the evidence of the pilot study as a factor in eliciting careful speech. The pairs were same sex pairs, and were in the same attainment band. In general the pairs knew each other quite well, though may or may not have been friends. This was a variable which the researcher could not control, since the pupils were chosen by the teacher, and the teacher was also constrained by the research design. It is of course relevant to the interpersonal nature of the interaction, as discussed in 6.5., and is one of the factors which means that despite the research design, it cannot be claimed that each interview was exactly the same kind of interaction. The researcher was introduced as being interested in the local area, and the children were told to treat the situation as good practice for GCSE oral examinations. Although the interviews themselves were not overly formal the situation was accepted by the students as being of a formal nature. The pupils were not told that the research was specifically to do with their own use of accent and dialect, since experience with the pilot project suggested that this might have changed their performance in the interview. If the question of language came up, and it did in one or two interviews, it was indicated that language too would be interesting as a topic relating to the local area. Having discussed this issue later with some of the pupils at Greenbelt they themselves felt that this approach was justifiable, and that they might well have spoken differently if they had known the true object of the study.

7.5. Non-linguistic variables

7.5.1. school

Twelve of the pupils attend Townhead, and twelve attend Greenbelt, giving a sharp contrast in access to material resources which amounted to a sharp social class contrast. This approach was preferred to more conventional approaches to the collection of data on social class as discussed in 6.4.2 above. The present study used sharply contrasting research sites, and attempted to obtain variety within these sites using the variables of sex and attainment. Several advantages emerge through this approach. First, it is possible to use an index of social difference/deprivation (free school meals eligibility) which is used and accepted by a large number of people, and upon which decisions involving allocation of resources are made. Secondly, it gives a more tangible research site with its own culture, which itself can be studied. Thirdly, it gives an account of social class which is in tune with the perceptions of local people: the area round Greenbelt was described by the subjects in the study as a 'nice' area, or a 'posh' area, and conversely some of the areas near Townhead were described as 'a bit rough'.

Table 5.6 is reproduced here as 7.2 to indicate some of the social differences between different schools in the area.

Table 7-2: Sample funding profiles for a range of North Tyneside Schools: extra social factor funding (£)

School	pupil nos	clothing grant funding	weighting (social factor)	Total social factor	Total per pupil	free meal equivalent (%)
1 Townhead	616	154906	21714	176620	287	55
2 Greenbelt	1113	45297	0	45297	41	9
3 Secondary School: privileged area	847	59265	0	59265	70	15
4 Primary School: deprived area	220	86151	26567	112718	512	86
5 Large Primary School: deprived area	325	104271	32155	136426	420	71
6 Small semi-rural First School	129	20860	2924	23784	184	36
7 Primary School: privileged area	416	32651	0	32651	78	17
8 Secondary School: deprived area	688	91588	12838	104426	152	29

–

Adapted from information from North Tyneside Council (1993)

It will be seen that contrasts between primary schools (3 - 9 or 3 - 11) are greater than those for secondary schools. One primary school in the same area as Greenbelt has 86 % of children in receipt of free school meals, as opposed to 55% at Greenbelt. There are two reasons for this. One is that the primary school serves a much smaller geographical area, and may therefore serve only one kind of housing. This is less the case with High Schools, since the wider catchment area necessarily gives greater variation in relative deprivation of the population. However larger differences clearly still exist, and may become larger as open enrolment means that parents can select schools anywhere in an urban area. The second

reason is that older pupils tend not to want their parents to claim free school meals, since they become more aware of the stigma of this as they become older. Local authorities have to weight their figure to compensate for this factor. Thus the differences between Greenbelt and Townhead might actually be greater than they appear in this table. Research similar to the present research could usefully be carried out in primary schools, where, as I have mentioned, differences between schools are even greater.

7.5.2. sex

A second extra-linguistic variable is that of sex, half of the pupils from each school being girls, and half boys. This gives twelve boys and twelve girls in the sample again providing a variable likely to account for possible differences in use of standard English. Researchers using quantitative sociolinguistic methods have regularly found such differences (see Labov, (1966, 1972a 1972b) Milroy and Milroy (1987) V Edwards (1986) Romaine (1978) Edwards (1982) Milroy Milroy and Hartley (1994) Docherty, Foulkes, Milroy J, Milroy L, Walshaw D (forthcoming); section 6.3.3 above discusses this issue in detail. The individuals were interviewed in same sex pairs. There may be some effect of having a male researcher talking to females, and it is important to remain sensitive to the interview as a speech situation, as discussed in 6.5 However, the individuals who found the speech situation difficult were in fact boys, not girls, and while I cannot claim that a female interviewer would not have obtained different kinds of talk, certainly there was no difficulty in conducting a satisfactory interview.

7.5.3. attainment

The final variable in this study is that of attainment. Staff in each school were asked to provide pupils at either end of the attainment range (based on predicted GCSE grades) and pupils in the middle, as outlined in 7.5 above. Although these predictions refer only to English GCSE and do not take into account attainment across a range of subjects, they do provide a contrast, and certainly the transcripts show a marked difference in the way pupils of different attainment handled the interview situation. Some of the lower-attaining individuals

had greater difficulty in coping with the interview, and in sustaining a satisfactory conversation with a stranger. The extract below gives a feel of this: this is a question about the kinds of social activities he enjoys:

> Not really...go to my sisters...Blyth...just the family...she comes down for we.

However, each of the gaps represents a prompt by the interviewer to go on, or for further information.

It may be that in the context of the slightly artificial nature of the interview, some lower attaining pupils found it more demanding to do more than simply answer questions. It may be that lower attaining pupils had had in general a less satisfactory view of school, and therefore were not as willing to participated in what was intentionally perceived as a school organised activity. Finally it may be that lower attaining pupils are less intellectually well equipped to sustain a conversation such as this one with a stranger, and that this is something that pupils need to experience more often in order to cope better with its demands. Two lower attaining pairs in particular, one from Greenbelt (girls) and one from Townhead (boys) were very monosyllabic until well into the conversation, and even then were reluctant to speak for extended periods of time.

On the other hand, the lower-attaining female pair, also from Townhead, conducted a very satisfactory conversation, as can be seen from the extract below, where the girls are discussing work experience. There were no prompts from the interviewer in this extract: the question was to her friend, who nodded assent.

> You had to put like what one you wanted to go first...like if you wanted to do hairdressing first you'd put hairdressing first...and then your second choice would be typist and then whatever you wanted to do last....whatever was the best one...you can do hairdressing at the college...and they just learn you, don't they?...like what you do... and then you can do typist at college as well... that if you wanna learn it, or you can go straight into the job...yeah

The extract below, from a higher-attaining pupil from Greenbelt, shows the difference at least in confidence, and perhaps also in control over topic, that the higher-

attaining pupil is able to produce. She is talking about the difficulty her little brother had in his primary school because he was too articulate:

> He went to school and got accused of trying to be like Shakespeare and so I thought God we're trying to teach these people and they're sort of accusing him of being too well-spoken sort of thing...which sort of...we couldn't believe...we were only there because there was no other school we could have gone to easily, we definitely wouldn't have gone if there'd been another school cos it was just a joke really... it was just... it wasn't a school at all...he was in..er either first or second year, six or seven I suppose.

Here is one of the higher-attaining boys from Townhead discussing his future prospects:

> I want to like if I don't get an 'O' level pass in German I wanna resit that and then do my 'A' level German. There's a sixth form college in Shields, and I'll probably go there...well I live nearer there...two languages is difficult... I'm doing that at the moment...it's really hard work especially two lots of languages.. and you're doing the same topic each...you know one word for one of them and you say the wrong word when you speak...

Although the conversation was not analysed structurally according to principles such as those proposed by Conversation Analysis it is clear that there are differences between these individuals in the ways they coped with the interview, and that a more structured analysis would afford some interesting insights. My impression is that the higher-attaining individuals were more able in general to sustain a topic, and to be aware of the needs of their interlocutor (note for example the last speaker explaining that there was a sixth form college in North Shields: he could not be certain that I would be aware of this). However, as was mentioned in 6.6.2, further analysis was not carried out, since it was decided that the outcomes would probably not shed light directly on the issue of standard English.

In Chapter 10 we will discuss the pedagogical implications of the present study, and amongst them would certainly be to develop our understanding of the challenges of this kind of interview for children of differing abilities, and to discover what skills are required of individuals to carry out a successful interview.

7.6. Data collection

In the present study I attempted to approach the selection of subjects by using a simple quota sample from the two different schools, as outlined in 7.4 above. In a sense the taped interviews were a balancing act: it was necessary to obtain relatively careful speech, but it was also important to ensure that the respondents relaxed enough to provide satisfactory data. Equally, however, the problem of putting interviewees at their ease is one faced by those conducting formal interviews in whatever field of life: the interviewer genuinely wants to get a picture of the individual.

Thus, by approaching the students through teaching staff I was likely to be presented as a 'teacher-type' However, by interviewing the individuals in twos I attempted to ensure enough talk to have the quantity of speech required. In many ways the approach adopted to the individual interviews was similar to that of Macaulay (1991), where the interview was not a 'participant' type interview, but where the interview's duration and setting (in the case of the present study 45 to 60 minutes, in a fairly relaxed library area in schools) led for the most part to pleasant and reasonably frank discussion. Towards the end of the interviews some of the subjects discussed with me such things as option choices for advanced study, choice of school for further study, and difficulties with parents regarding homework. While representing a fairly formal speech style, these tapes are thus representative of one part of the linguistic repertoire of these young people. As a person with good knowledge of the local speech patterns (I was born in the North East, and have lived in Tyneside for 17 years). I am confident that these interviews are fairly typical representations of the range of linguistic performance in formal situations. Macaulay makes similar claims for his interviews, which despite imbalances in age and sex, are, he feels, reliable in that they 'cover a wide stretch of the spectrum of linguistic variation in the community for this age group'. Macaulay (1991) intends his study to inform future work in the following ways:

1 To demonstrate that tape-recorded individual interviews with strangers can provide a wide range of linguistic information for comparative analysis
2 To show how the speakers make effective use of the rules of speaking in such speech events

3 To illustrate the use of quantitative methods to examine phonological, morphological, syntactic, lexical, and discourse features in the context of the total interview
4 To identify the linguistic features that display variation according to social class
5 To provide a description of Ayr speech that will serve for comparative purposes with other dialects or future studies (1991:8-9)

In a similar way, I have attempted to provide an account of the speech produced in one type of social setting which is likely to be similar to speech produced elsewhere by similar children in similar circumstances.

The interview technique generally worked well, since the level of formality did not prevent conversation from taking place. The exceptions to this have been mentioned above in 7.5.3, in that one or two interviews with low-attaining subjects elicited only answers to questions, at least initially. These individuals might have said more if they had been supported by a number of friends. This does confirm some of the findings of the National Oracy Project on the importance of group size in obtaining high quality talk (see 3.3 for a discussion, and Norman (1992) for an example of some of the work which emerged from this project).

In conducting the interview my aims were to obtain reasonable sequences of uninterrupted speech, while still attempting to obtain speech which was as careful as the respondent chose to be in the interview. After explaining that I was interested in the local area, and that the data would be anonymous and confidential, I began by asking each pair what they liked and disliked about living in either North Shields or Whitley Bay. In general in framing the questions, I followed the interests of the individual. One interviewee was a talented ballet dancer (male), and I found myself so interested in the things this 16-year-old had done that some time was devoted to finding out about this. The most successful questions tended to be about future plans. All were either leaving school, going to college, or staying on into the sixth form for advanced study. Other useful topics were work experience and leisure activities. I also asked the '20 closest contacts' question of all individuals, so that I could get a reasonable basis for a social network score, if I decided to use this (see discussion 6.4). With the earliest interviews I asked Labov's 'danger of death' question. This is a question Labov

used in the Lower East Side study (1972b:93), which he felt enabled his researchers to access the vernacular more effectively because of its tendency to re-engage a speaker in an emotional crisis, and so take attention away from speech. (The issue of attention to speech leading to a more vernacular style has been questioned on the basis that the degree of attention paid to speech does not necessarily lead to more careful styles (Bell 1984. Dressler and Wodak, 1982 Wolfson 1982). In any case, like Trudgill in Norwich (Trudgill 1974), the question for most of the early interviewees elicited mostly blank looks, and I had to discontinue the question. Another question I had hoped would be effective was to ask for memories of primary school, first day at school, and so on. While this brought about a good deal of speech from some respondent (such as the girl quoted in 7.5.3 above, where the memory of what the primary school had done to her brother was intensely remembered) some had very little to report about primary school. Questions about holidays were very effective for some individuals, but mostly for the Greenbelt children, most of whom had had holidays in England and abroad. However, for one pair this was not a fruitful topic, for while one boy had been on a large number of holidays, the other boy had clearly not been on holiday anywhere, and was uncomfortable about it. I therefore moved away from this topic. None of the Townhead children I interviewed had been on a conventional family holiday. The holiday question tended to elicit responses about school camps and other kinds of visits. Similarly, while in general Greenbelt children talked about sports clubs and activities outside of school, Townhead children tended to talk about sporting and drama activities within school. Certainly these interviews emphasised the essential job schools do in less privileged areas in providing opportunities for children which in more privileged areas would be provided by community facilities such as sports clubs, or which would be purchased by parents. At the same time, it is important in carrying out these kinds of interviews to be aware of the socially sensitive nature of seemingly innocent questions: to appear to be poor in a more privileged school may not be something that a 15 year old may wish to do.

Each pupil was in academic Year 11 (15/16) at the time of the interviews. The interviews took place between October 1990 and March 1991.

7.7. Recording procedure

The recordings all took place in a room away from the main classroom. The researcher had never met any of the subjects before the interview. The pupils were interviewed in same-sex pairs of students of similar attainment. All the interviews took place in a side room, so that only the two students and the researcher were present, and there was little background noise. The researcher, who is a professional school teacher, was older than the pupils, and was dressed like the school teaching staff. The recording was carried out on a Sony Professional TC D3 tape recorder and was transcribed and analysed by the researcher according to the principles in the next chapter. A significant proportion of each interview was transcribed orthographically in order to facilitate the analysis of the non-phonological variables. The transcription was also used as the basis for the phonological study, and then phrases containing the variables in question were transcribed phonetically onto a separate matrix. A sample of recordings were considered by other researchers (Lesley Milroy and Ron Beresford) to check my analysis.

7.8. Duration of recording

Recordings lasted approximately 40 to 50 minutes and were uninterrupted. The students mainly seemed to move towards a less formal model of discourse as the interview proceeded (c.f. Douglas-Cowie, (1978)). One or two pairs did not noticeably change their speech style, however.

Non-phonological data were collected from the first 30 minutes of each tape. This includes non-standard lexical items, non standard verb forms and pronoun usage, and discourse markers. These are discussed in 6.2 to 6.4. The phonological data were collected from 100 units on the tape counter, in each case approximately 20 minutes into the tape. The same tape recorder was used in each case, giving a constant amount of time, taken from a similar stage in the interview.

7.9. Summary

This chapter has been concerned with the procedures adopted to collect the data in the study. 7.2 discusses the pilot project and the conclusions which that gave rise to: to work with 15 year olds rather than younger children; to interview the children in pairs rather than larger groups; to use two schools of sharply contrasting social composition; to consider a number of linguistic levels, and to use the non-linguistic variables of sex, school and attainment, with data on social network to be collected and used if required.

7.2 discusses how the subjects were selected. In 7.3 we considered the non-linguistic variables in more detail. Social class was considered in terms of sharply differentiated research sites, using the local education authority's data. Half the subjects in each research site were male, and half female. Finally attainment was also used, based on predicted GCSE grades. Some consideration was made of the differences between speakers of differing attainment. In 7.6 we looked at the approaches adopted to collecting the sample, in the light of methods adopted by other researchers. The emphasis on formal talk necessitated a different approach from the participant observer methods adopted by many of the most recent researchers in the field. The pupils were grouped in pairs, rather than larger and more informal groups, and were interviewed by a stranger who had clear connections with the teaching staff. Despite this most pupils were able to sustain conversation and relax, though still within the confines of a formal situation. In 7.7 there is an account of the procedures for conducting the interviews and of the use made of the tape recordings.

We move on now (Chapter 8) to consider the linguistic procedures used to analyse the data, before presenting the results in Chapter 9.

8. Procedures for data analysis

8.1. Introduction

The data were analysed at the four levels mentioned in chapter six: phonology, grammar, lexis and discourse. This was done in order to see if all four levels were equally sensitive to the speaker variables of sex, class and attainment in revealing comparable patterns of variation. It might be for example that phonological variables could be relatively unaffected by the style of speech used in this interview-type talk situation, while lexical variables might be very much affected. It might also be that these levels might be differently affected by different speaker variables such as sex, attainment, or social class. As far as I am aware this is an issue which has so far not been considered systematically by sociolinguistic studies of children's speech.

In the present study standard English is considered in relation to a set of attitudes (see 4.5) and can in an empirical study of this kind most usefully be approached by considering what people say about it, and what people do in situations judged to be those requiring the standard. The intention here is to approach this issue by comparing the speech used at different linguistic levels, and to focus on what the young speakers themselves considered to be appropriate to a formal situation.

8.2. A multi-level analysis

The analysis of a corpus such as the one examined in the present study can be approached in a number of different ways. Since the intention was to consider the data in terms of different linguistic levels, consideration had to be given to methodology: it is by no means the case that methods of analysis appropriate for phonology can be transferred to grammar, for example.

8.3. The present study: phonology

The present study analyses the phenomenon of the variable realisation of the phonemes /p/, /t/, and /k/ either as bilabial, alveolar and velar stops respectively, or as glottal [ʔ] or glottalised [ʔt] variants, as discussed in 6.2. The main purpose of the present study is

to consider the careful speech of Tyneside adolescents, with particular regard to differences according to sex, school, and attainment. The purpose of the phonological investigation was to provide information enabling the phonological level to be related to other linguistic levels. Thus it was decided to consider all glottalised realisations as non-standard for the purposes of this study. Embedded within the raw data are much finer distinctions which could be made about the relative nature of glottal reinforcement and glottal replacement by boys and girls, and by different social classes and levels of attainment (see discussion in 6.2). However, this level of detail is not required in the present study, focusing as it does on an attempt to characterise standard English at a range of linguistic levels.

The following discussion of the procedures adopted uses examples taken from the present study. As outlined in 6.2, the present study analyses the variables (p), (t) and (k) according to two contexts:

environment a) syllable final position: *it, yet, like, great, situation, Whitley, stop.*

environment b) syllable initial (foot internal) or ambisyllabic: *getting, presenters, drunken, America, happened, couple, Italy, photocopying,Ryton.*

It will be noted here that the basis for this distinction is at the syllable and the foot level, not, as is more common, at the level of the word. 6.2 outlines the reasons for this approach, and provides some examples of how this works. The important thing to emphasise here is that this approach was adopted because of the nature of the phonology of Tyneside English. Here certain contexts which would normally not permit glottal realisations (as for example word initial contexts which are foot internal such as *go to*, and word internal contexts such as *sometimes*) can be realised as glottal variants. This appears to be because Tyneside permits glottalisation foot internally.

Certain contexts were excluded because the pilot study and other studies seemed to indicate that glottalisation did not occur in these contexts. These were:

i) foot initial contexts (including word initial), but also including word internal foot initial contexts such as *between, Newcastle, photocopying* (including as in the last example, a foot which bears only secondary stress). 6.2 above provides an explanation of the approach

adopted here using the foot and the syllable as the main axes within which the analysis takes place.

ii) reflexes of /p/, /t/ and /k/ which were preceded by an obstruent :

- space is always [speːs], not [sʔeːs]
- **t** in post office is always [t], not [ʔ]
- *actually* is always realised as [aktjuːli], not *[aʔtjuːli]or *[akʔjuːli]
- *school* would always be realised as [skʊːl], never [sʔʊːl];

iii) flaps, taps etc. also occurred, especially in syllable final position before a following vowel, as in *get off* [gɛɾɔf]. These were excluded also.

Permissible occurrences of the variables under scrutiny were then totalled for each individual respondent, and classified either as a glottalised or a non-glottalised variant. From a tabulation of these it was then possible to arrive at figure which expressed the number of actual items realised as glottalised variants as a percentage of the total possible occurrences of the variable. These were then tabulated according to linguistic variable (p), (t) or (k), according to non-linguistic variable, and according to environment (a) or (b) above. These analyses can be seen in 9.2.

There were a few borderline cases not covered by the exceptions above. One or two isolated speakers on one or two occasions appeared to produce no audible stop of any kind. This could have been the zero realisation which Mees (1987, 1990) used as a variable in Wales. However, this was such a rare occurrence that the best procedure seemed to be to exclude it: a zero realisation is not a normally accepted allophone of the stops under consideration in Tyneside English, and so these were considered to be some kind of miscue on the part of the speaker.

The distinction referred to above between glottalised and glottal variants also needed some consideration. As was discussed in 6.2, it was decided not to deal separately with these items, since they are both considered non-standard and are overtly stigmatised by the general population (though it appears for very different reasons: Milroy et al 1995). Therefore, a stop was considered to be glottalised if there was any kind of glottal component in the stop, whether or not it was accompanied by a supra-laryngeal gesture also. This presented few

problems in assigning individual cases to the category of glottalised or non-glottalised variant. If no glottal component was heard, then the stop was assigned to the non-glottalised variant. Zero variants, and flaps, taps etc., were excluded. See Docherty, Foulkes. Milroy J. Milroy L, and Walshaw (forthcoming) for a full discussion of the complexity of glottalisation from a phonological point of view.

We now consider the other linguistic levels.

8.4. Grammatical analysis

The grammatical data (grammatical) were collected at the same time as the lexical data, and individual items were transferred onto a matrix. I will now give a short account of the items which were classified as non-standard.

Following the approach outlined in 6.3.1 various grammatical forms were classified as non-standard. Some of these relate to grammatical forms which are peculiar to Tyneside, and some relate to non-standard forms which are features of non-standard English throughout the country. A fuller discussion of Tyneside grammar is to be found in 4.10 above.

8.4.1. The verb phrase

Various non-standard verb phrase items appeared in the corpus as follows:

8.4.1.1.divvent

This form [dɪvn] represents the auxiliary verb *do* in its negative form. Thus *divvent knaa* [dɪvnʔ nɑ:] (don't know). There is also the North Shields variant *deyn'(t)* [di:nt] as in *I just deynt like it*. This is highly localised, and people from the North Shields area are sometimes referred to by other Tynesiders as *deyners*. This locution is one which the pupils themselves referred to in the pilot project as the kind of speech their parents objected to. Both of these occurred in the corpus, but were rare.

8.4.1.2.come

This form occurred in the data as a non-standard simple past, as in

(8) when I come home (last night)

It was very common, and for many of the Townhead speakers it was the categorical form of this part of the verb.

8.4.1.3.went

Went occurs in the form of a non-standard past participle:

(9) I'd went to Moorhouse

(10) I've went out a couple of times.

Again use of this was categorical with many speakers, while others used both forms. The Greenbelt children in general did not use this form.

8.4.1.4.had've went

This consists of had have +past participle:

(11) If I had've went into the other class

This only occurred on one occasion in the data, but clearly it is a relatively rare verb form, and its use may well be categorical for many Townhead speakers.

8.4.2. The noun phrase

The noun phrase is also characterised by a number of non-standard grammatical features, as follows: zero plurals, pronouns, double comparatives, replacive 'one', relative pronouns, and demonstrative adjectives, as outlined in 4.10. We will look at these in turn.

8.4.2.1.Zero plurals

The discussion of zero plurals in 4.10.4 points out the fact that this phenomenon exists in standard English, but affects a wider range of plurals in Tyneside English. Townhead speakers make categorical use of the zero plurals described in 4.10.4. Examples are:

(12) they've had one for the past two year

(13) I've been going for a couple of year

(14) three year ago

8.4.2.2.*Pronouns*

Pronouns differ considerably in Tyneside (see further 4.10.4 for the standard English system contrasted paradigmatically with the Tyneside system). In the current corpus the following occurred:

(15) they took *we* on different trips

(16) to help *we* read

(17) smashed *us* (St E *me*) in the head

8.4.2.3.*Double comparatives*

Double comparatives were stigmatised by grammarians in the 18th century, although they were perfectly acceptable before then (Strang 1970:138). They are still very common in many non-standard dialects. Example from the present corpus:

(16) that teacher was more friendlier.

8.4.2.4.Demonstrative adjectives

Demonstrative adjectives appeared in the corpus in their non-standard form. Examples include:

(18) all them ships

8.4.3. The prepositional phrase

The prepositional phrase can be non-standard in Tyneside, and various examples were used by speakers in the study. Examples include:

(19) going up New York

(20) on a Sunday

(21) we just went day trips

All of the above were classified as non-standard items, and were totalled for each speaker. A glance at the tables in chapter 9 will indicate that the numbers of non-standard items obtained was very small. Some speakers used none at all, and others one or two. The largest for any speaker was 22 items in a 30 minute section of conversation. It was therefore impossible to analyse these items in any other way than by employing a simple count technique. Although we have necessarily counted here items which are highly disparate (non-standard prepositional use alongside non-standard past participles), the procedure is satisfactory in terms of the aims of the study, which is to establish use of standard English. Indeed, it is difficult to imagine a different approach, given the definition of standard English in the National Curriculum (see 2.1.7 - 2.1.9), and indeed the other study which looks at this issue (Hudson and Holmes (1995) adopts a similar technique.

It will be seen that many of the items referred to in 4.10 do not occur in the above account. This could be viewed as an indication of the success of the interview procedure in eliciting more careful styles of speech, since tapes made during the pilot study indicate that many of the more vernacular features itemised in 4.10 are used in more relaxed situations.

8.5. Lexical analysis

Using a similar procedure to that outlined above for the grammatical analysis, approximately 30 minutes of tape for each pair of subjects was examined, the procedure

being to count occurrences of non-standard lexical items. The incidence of use of such non-standard lexical items in fact varied widely from no items at all to over forty per individual speaker. The difficulty of calculating percentages for non-phonological items has been alluded to previously: see discussion of these issues above in 6.3.1. Therefore, as for grammar, these items were counted. Group scores were then constructed according to the non-linguistic variables of sex, social class and attainment, and the results of these procedures can be seen in 9.5. The decision as to whether an item was counted as a Tyneside lexical item is a complex one, and was discussed in detail in 6.3 above. More specific decisions based on individual items are explained below.

8.5.1. Main lexical items found in the data

I will give some examples of the kinds of non-standard lexis which were found, taken from the corpus. It is important to note that these items were distributed very unevenly through the total corpus. Very few items at all were used by Greenbelt speakers: only 15 items were used throughout the corpus (see 9.4 for details). There was a particularly strong difference between the boys, where Greenbelt boys used only 3 non-standard lexical items, and Townhead boys who used over 60. Thus the items referred to below were mainly used by Townhead boys.

8.5.1.1.Non-standard verbs

Various non-standard verbs are characteristic of Tyneside English. Those found in the present study were *gan* (go) 'we gan up to Hexham'; *learn* (teach) 'they learn you', *stop* (meaning stay) 'stop at home'.

8.5.1.2.intensifiers

The intensifier *geet*, as in 'a geet big phone bill' is in very common use amongst young people on Tyneside, and appeared in the pilot study. It was rare in the main study, however. Another intensifier, *dead*, (as in *dead canny* - extremely nice) was also common, and actually occurred more than *geet*. There were also a few occurrences of *all* used as an intensifying adjective: 'all loads of assignments', 'we had all loads of stuff to do'. Another

intensifier is *that*, as in 'not that much'. Beal (1993:209) also has identified this. *Geet* is also used in a different context, as in 'you geet tell them'. This appears to occupy a similar position to profane words: *bloody* and *fucking* could be placed in this same slot, with a similar emphatic function. Perhaps *geet* fills this slot on occasions where stronger words would be inappropriate: no-one swore during the recordings, which is another indicator of the relative formality of these recordings, since Cheshire (1982a) and Labov (1972b) relate considerable use of such profane language in their more informal recordings.

8.5.1.3.*Affirmative and negative expressions*

The affirmative and negative expressions *Aye* and *na* ('yes' and 'no') only occurred in the speech of lower attaining pupils in Townhead. These are heavily stigmatised by parents and to a slightly lesser extent teachers, and most pupils chose not to use them. *Aye* is commonly used throughout the North of England and Scotland. A related item is *nae* as in 'nae friends'. This is similar to Scots.

8.5.1.4.Other significant lexical items

Next I will discuss some items which occurred frequently in the data and which pose problems of one kind or another.

The phrase *aal reet* (all right) phonemically /ɑriːt/ is somewhere on the borderline between a lexical and a phonological variable, with *nae* ('no', 'none'), and *owwer* ('over'). Items such as this were classified as lexical if they met certain criteria. Two of these are criteria drawn from the principle behind this study, which is to characterise the general public's understanding of non-standard English. The third is a more technical approach, which derives from Kerswill (1987), and which is based on allophones. The criteria are as follows:

1) Does the item pose significant problems of comprehension to a non-Tynesider?

2) Is the item salient in some way within the Tyneside speech community?

3) Is the word part of a larger lexical set; are the differences part of a larger allophonic pattern in the variety of English?

As far as the first criterion is concerned, I tested the words on two English teaching contacts who are based elsewhere in the country, who are not familiar with the Tyneside dialect. For the second, I tried out some of the items on (Tyneside speaking) parents at the school where I currently work, and asked if they would discourage their children from saying the item in question. If the answer was positive, I considered the item salient. If they looked blank, I assumed it was not. This technique, while clearly not in any way statistically valid, does give a rough guide to the way these items are regarded. The third technique is discussed in more detail below. In general all three techniques identified an item as either lexical or phonological, and few problems emerged.

Some of the more obvious items are *gan* (go) and *howway* (roughly 'come on then'). These are regarded by speakers as test cases of Tyneside dialect speech: Tyneside speakers themselves give these words a distinct place in the dialect. Equally, they are difficult for outsiders to understand, especially out of context. Finally, [an] is not a possible allophone of /o/, and *howway* is a long way from the nearest standard English equivalent, which is said (Dobson 1969) to be 'have way'. These are therefore easily classed as distinct lexical items. The lower-attaining boys in Townhead repeatedly said something was [ɑriːt] when asked if they liked something. They meant it was satisfactory, though no more. It is also a greeting which is often combined, especially among older speakers, with *hinny* (friend) [ɑriːtʔni]. Clearly /ɑriːt/ is closer to *all right* than is *howway*. Again, however, it is difficult for an outsider, and is stigmatised by native speakers. We then consider the third criterion, that of allophonic variation. [ɑ] is a permissible allophone of [ɔ] in Tyneside in the THOUGHT lexical set. Wells comments on this set as regards Tyneside:

> Certain THOUGHT words (roughly those spelt with *a*) have broad Geordie pronunciation with [aː] (phonetically just front of central) rather than [ɔː]. Examples are *all, talk, walk, war*, so also *know, cold*. Thus, [wɔːk] which in most accents of English can only be *walk*, is *work* in broad Geordie (Tyneside), while *walk* has the unambiguous form [waːk]. (1982:375)

Having considered the rest of the speech of the individuals who use /ɑriːt/, however, it does seem that they do not use the rest of Wells' set, but pronounce words like *talk* as [tɔːk]. The

[wa:k] pronunciation is recessive among the young, at least in North Tyneside. Equally, the words *all* and *right* occur elsewhere (and separately) pronounced as [ɔ:l] and [reɪt]. This would seem to point to the view that /ɑri:t/ is a lexical item, rather than a member of a larger set. Also, it will be noted that Wells uses [a], whereas I have transcribed my auditory impression as a more back low vowel [ɑ]. The evidence from this would suggest that /ɑri:t/ is an isolated lexical item.

Moving onto the second vowel, [i:] is not a permissible allophone for [aɪ] in the PRICE lexical set, although it is for a subset of these items (e.g. *night* [ni:t]) . Also, the /l/ is categorically omitted in [ɑri:t] Therefore, [ɑri:t] on balance is considered to be a lexical item, rather than Tyneside pronunciation of *all right.*

Another problematical variable is *knaa* (know) [na:], found in the present study in the form [dna:] (*don't know*). This locution is salient locally, and is stigmatised by parents. It also presented comprehension problems to my non-Tyneside speakers. Wells defines *know* as part of the GOAT set (1982:147). For Tyneside Wells characterises GOAT vowels as:

> either monophthongs or centring diphthongs [o(:) ~ e(:)] or [ʊə ~ ɵə]. The diphthongs are nowadays perhaps rather old-fashioned; but the central rounded monophthong [ɵ(:)] remains a very characteristic GOAT quality both for Tyneside itself and for all Northumberland. (1982: 375)

However *knaa* does not fit into the GOAT pattern, and there are no other equivalent words. Thus this would also appear to be best classified this as a lexically distinct item.

The word *I* in Tyneside is often pronounced as [ɑ]. On balance this would seem more to be the result of stress features, so that I becomes [ɑ] in unstressed environments. While some parents objected to this, most did not. Thus *I* has not been included in the list of non-standard lexical items. Again *my,* though generally pronounced [mi(:)] in any environment, is not part of any general lexical set, and has therefore been treated as a grammatical variant, along with *we* and *us*: though it differs from these in having a distinct phonological shape from standard English words (see paradigm in 4.10.4).

This somewhat lengthy discussion points to the surprisingly complex issues surrounding the definition of non-standard lexical items. Although some are clear, many of the most commonly used items lie on the borderline between phonology and lexis. Given that the National Curriculum defines a speaker of standard English as one who uses no non-standard grammar or lexis, but who may or may not use Tyneside or any other phonology to speak standard English, the complexity of this borderline between the two makes the definition of a speaker of non-standard English difficult to achieve. One might even argue that a speaker of the more stigmatised versions of Tyneside phonology (and this would apply also to Scouse (Knowles 1978) and Cockney (Sivertsen 1960) equally) would have difficulty in producing lexical items which were in any sense recognisable as standard. This despite the fact that in strict terms they were definable as phonological because they belonged to a categorically defined lexical set. This issue is further developed in the conclusion.

8.6. Discourse and pragmatic markers: some methodological issues

The final type of item counted belonged to the class of item which have been called *discourse markers*. Theoretical perspectives on these are discussed in 6.3.2, and reference is made to the thinking of Schiffrin (1987), whose work is drawn upon for the distinctions made here. The important fact is that some of the respondents used far more of these discourse marker tokens than others. In Chapter 9 the quantitative results of the analysis will be described. As with the foregoing remarks on grammatical items and lexical items, discourse markers were simply counted. The count was restricted, however, to items identified by Schiffrin, and detailed below. The field of discourse markers is wider than the items discussed. However, these are the items identified by 'folk linguistics' as non-standard, and 'sloppy' (see 4.5), and so the count was restricted to these.

Brown and Fraser's account of the communicative context discussed in detail in 6.5 is especially relevant to this area of the investigation, as is Communication Accommodation Theory (see 6.6.1). The important point is that the individual's perception of the interview

will have encouraged some individuals to use discourse markers, and will have discouraged others. This is because these items are very much associated with the relationship between speakers. These markers generally have a meta-function which relates to the communication frame between the two speakers.

The behaviour of the higher attaining pupils in Townhead is a case in point. Initially they adopted a very formal interview-type style which reflected their accommodation to the researcher and their positive view of school. As the researcher indicated his orientation to the situation by downward convergence such as using relatively informal phrases, smiling, and adopting a more anecdotal, chatty style, the interviewees adjusted their level of convergence, adopting a procedure described by Coupland et al (1988) as 'discourse attuning'. It was at this point during the interview that discourse markers appeared. This pattern contrasted with the Greenbelt higher attaining pupils who were perhaps more confident in talking under these conditions, or in talking to teachers in a similar setting. Certainly the latter group of pupils began immediately to use discourse markers, and other phenomena such as laughter and anecdotal talk suggested that they were relatively relaxed in this context.

In contrast the lower attaining Townhead boys did not in general use discourse markers at all. Rather they signalled their orientation to the interview by divergence. Later they showed more signs of accommodation, but the gap was perhaps in that situation too great for the interview to bridge by using convergent approaches. Ethnolinguistic identity theory (Giles and Coupland (1991:105) where people attempt to 'achieve a positive distinctiveness' can explain a good deal of the behaviour of these young men and others like them. They use certain phonological, lexical and syntactic markers to mark their in-group characteristics and to contrast them sharply with other norms. The associated qualities would be toughness, within-group solidarity, and loyalty to the local area and its norms. If these individuals chose to emphasise the qualities and their associated linguistic markers, then communication would be more difficult to achieve. Certainly the kinds of hearer-oriented behaviour which the discourse markers generally reflect would not be generally part of the linguistic behaviour of these individuals.

We can classify the markers found under three headings: *vague completers*, *fillers and emphatic markers*, and *information and participation markers*. In the following sections I shall consider these three types in turn.

8.6.1. Vague completers

This class of discourse marker includes a number of markers used to end sentences and clauses. The main ones are *and that, and all that, and stuff, or something like that, and stuff like that, or something.*

(7) we just walked around and that.

I use the term 'vague completer' to capture the fact that these are always used at the end of a statement, and are usually accompanied by a fall/rise prosodic pattern. Sentences or clauses which end in this way have a strong Tyneside flavour to them, since they use the Tyneside prosody which Wells refers to as 'a low to high rise with a high level tail' (1983:376).

Vague completers are much more characteristic of adolescents than of younger children: they were relatively rare in recordings of younger children made in the pilot project, and other researchers who have dealt with an adult corpus (e.g. Macaulay 1991, Milroy and Milroy 1987, Schiffrin 1987) do not comment on this aspect of their respondent's conversation. Equally, it does not appear in their cited data. Dines (1980) does comment on these items amongst adult speakers, though interestingly found them more in working class than in middle class speakers. (See further 6.3.2 above). Such vague completers seem to be associated with the speech of Tyneside (and possibly other) teenagers, and may mark tentativeness, or function to indicate that the speaker has completed a turn at talk. They appear to be associated in the present data mainly with more economically privileged pupils as discussed above.

8.6.2. Fillers and emphatic markers

This class of items include *like*, *sort of, kind of, sort of like*. An example from the corpus is:

(8) and like there's just shops for women

These are again stereotypical youth markers, often stigmatised by adults, and occur more frequently in the speech of the middle class group in the present study. They sometimes appear to fulfil a function similar to that of *um* or *er*: that of filler: it enables the speaker to hold the floor until he/she has organised the next unit of speech. The item *like* sometimes seems to function as an intensifier, as in:

(9) I wouldn't like buy any

Here the speaker seems to be emphasising that she will not *buy* the goods, but might look at them. Unlike vague completers, emphatic markers do not appear at the ends of phrases and clauses, but rather occupy slots within the noun or verb phrase.

8.6.3. Information and participation markers

This category includes the information marker *y'know*, and the participation marker *I mean*. (See Schiffrin 1987 Chapter 10 for a discussion of these). According to Schiffrin's analysis, *y' know* seeks to establish the degree of shared knowledge between dyadic participants. The following example is a response to a request about holidays. The respondent replies that instead of a week's holiday, they went on day trips.

(10) you know, just went day trips this year

In using *you know* here, she is asking for confirmation that the interviewer is aware of what is involved in day trips. Some kind of signal of assent, whether verbal, non-verbal, or backchannel is required; if it is withheld, the interlocutor will continue her explanation.

According to Schiffrin there are two functions for *I mean*. The first involves the use of *I mean* as a way of signalling that the speaker is about to deliver a conclusion or some other important aspect of the talk: it appears to constitute a signal that the hearer should take seriously the item which follows. Second, she suggests that *I mean* can be a repair, referring back to a previous statement for clarification. This analysis fits in well with the kinds of uses found in the present corpus. For example, a pupil was talking about his uncle and said:

(11) mainly for his health...I mean, that's where he lives now

The *I mean* here avoided the erroneous conclusion on my part that the uncle lived nearby.

Information and participation markers are less frequent in my data than the fillers and emphatic markers discussed above. Schiffrin comments that information and participation markers are stigmatised (1987:310) by 'pop grammarians' as common in the speech of teenagers and football players, and my own observations in England would support this. However, in my data, fillers and emphatic markers were much more frequent. It may be that in Tyneside English the fillers and emphatic markers *like, sort of* and *sort of like* take the place of *y'know* and *I mea*n, fulfilling many of the same functions and stigmatised for the same reasons. Schiffrin comments:

> ...*sort of* and *y'know* could run counter to standard beliefs about the appropriate division of labour in conversation: use of *y'know* can be interpreted as over dependence on the hearer, and use of *I mean* can be interpreted as over involvement with the self. And it could be for these reasons that these markers are stigmatised. (1987:311)

Similar comments could be made about the vague completers and the fillers and emphatic markers. It could be for similar reasons that these are stigmatised, and equally why they are used by young people.

It will be evident that the discourse markers necessarily require a very different kind of treatment from the phonological variable with which we began this chapter. It is not intended to suggest that these are in any way the same kind of item. However, the difference in use of these items between different groups is very striking, and in fact they lend themselves surprisingly well to quantification, provided we are not seeking strict equivalence between markers, as would be appropriate with phonological variables (see discussion 6.3.1 and see also Lavandera (1978).

Certain scholars have questioned the validity of this type of quantification of discourse markers, and this kind of crude distinction between especially men and women (Freed and Greenwood 1996). However, when one considers the fact that the physical setting, questions/topic, and interviewer remained constant, as did many of the other constraints on the interview, the fact that significant differences did occur (see 9.6) appears worthy of comment. It would always be possible to argue that a slightly different type of conversation on another day might have given rise to more use of discourse markers from lower-attaining boys and fewer from higher-attaining girls, but the present evidence suggests that quantification of these variables is worthwhile. We discuss this matter further in Chapter 10.

8.7. Statistical analysis

Finally, a word about the use of statistics in analysing these data. The data were input into MINITAB, a computer statistical package, and a number of different procedures were used. For phonological data, means and standard deviations were calculated to discover whether the data approximated to the normal distribution. Since this was the case, each pair of means (dependent and independent variables) were analysed using General Linear Modelling (GLM), a kind of ANOVA (analysis of variance), which is a procedure designed to elicit significant differences between mean scores. The results of this analysis are presented in Chapter 9. The non-phonological data do not approximate to the normal distribution, and in this case it is more appropriate to use non-parametric statistics, where it is not necessary to make assumptions of normality about the data. The Kruskal-Wallace test was used for this purpose, and again the data were tested for statistical significance. Finally,

where the data seemed to warrant further explanation, they were tested for significant interactions between variables. The results of the statistical analysis are included in the general analysis of data in Chapter 9.

8.8. Summary and conclusion

In this chapter I have considered the procedure adopted in analysing the data, and discussed some relevant methodological issues. 8.2 emphasised the importance of analysis at more than one linguistic level when considering standard English. 8.3 describes the phonological items quantified in the study, emphasising the phonetic complexities involved in identifying and coding glottalised and non-glottalised variants of stops. 8.4 considers the grammatical data in the study. Non-standard grammatical forms were counted, and large differences were found between different groups within the study. Non-standard items within the verb phrase, noun phrase and prepositional phrase are all exemplified. 8.5 discusses the lexical items found in the data Items such as non-standard verbs, intensifiers, and certain individual lexical items are all discussed and exemplified. This procedure showed up great differences between different speakers. The examples of non-standard lexis which are given tend to be from the speech of those who continued to use non-standard lexis in the interviews: principally Townhead boys. 8.6 discusses discourse markers and aspects of the study which arise from the context of the speech event: i.e. a relatively formal interview. Certain discourse markers appeared a good deal in the speech of some of the participants, and yet hardly at all in that of others. These markers pattern very differently from the grammatical and phonological aspects of the speech of the young people studied, being broadly more common in the speech of females than males, and more common in higher attaining middle class individuals. In 8.7 the statistical procedures adopted are outlined. The next chapter sets out the results of the above procedures.

9. Results of quantitative analysis

9.1. Introduction

The results of the analysis described in Chapters 7 and 8 will be presented according to linguistic levels. First we will consider the social distribution of results of glottalised stop consonants in two different linguistic environments. After that we will consider the results of the analysis of non-standard syntax and grammar, then non-standard lexis, and finally the results of the study of discourse markers. In each case the data will be considered according to the variables of sex, school, and attainment. Tests of statistical significance will be referred to where appropriate.

9.2. Phonological data: general

The phonological data in general is expressed in percentages, as outlined in 8.2. Thus, a percentage of 71% indicates that members of a particular group of individuals used the non-standard token 71% of the time (on average) and the standard token (in this case a stop realised without glottalisation) 29% of the time. All of these figures are means. In general the number of tokens per individual was between 15 and 50. For (p) in syllable final position, however, the number of tokens was very small. Thus figures for (p) in this context have been excluded. Figures for (p) in ambisyllabic context are interesting, however, and are reported.

9.3. Phonological data

9.3.1. The variable of sex

We will first consider this variable as it occurs in environment (a): syllable final position, as in *it, yet, like, great, situation, Whitley, stop.* The following table shows distribution of variants of the fortis stops /t/, and /k/ according to the sex of the speaker.

Table 9-1 Percentage of glottal realisations of (t) and (k) in environment (a) (syllable final position) according to sex.

sex	**(t)**	**(k)***
male	65.83 (N=223)	48.63 (N=115)
female	80.06 (N=235)	78.46 (N=139)
all	72.94	64.19

* significant at the $p < 0.01$ level

There are a number of interesting things to note here. First of all, girls used glottal realisations of (t) and (k) more than boys. In the case of (k) the figures are significant at the 5% level ($p=0.015$) using G.L.M. However in the case of (t) the difference is also large and in the same direction, though not quite large enough to achieve statistical significance. This pattern is the opposite of that reported in the earlier literature (e.g. Romaine (1978), Reid (1978), which appears however to confirm the findings of Milroy Milroy and Hartley (1994) Milroy Milroy Hartley and Walshaw (1984) and Mees (1987, 1990), that females may be leading the way with aspects of glottalisation.

Second, the results for the means aggregated for both sexes show a level of glottal realisation between 64% and 73%. This is lower than in other studies carried out in more informal settings. In earlier Newcastle studies, Rigg (1987), Cowhig (1986), Hartley (1992) figures for 'conversational style' were almost 100% for glottalised realisations of (t), for boys, and around 60 to 70 % for girls. Although the present study does not provide comparative data relating to different styles, work done in the pilot study (7.2, see also appendix) would suggest that the Rigg and Cowhig figures are similar to those the individuals in the present study would produce also, in less formal situations: here there seems to be more homogeneity between males and females.

Table 9-2 Percentage of glottal realisations of (p) (t) and (k) in environment (b) (ambisyllabic and foot internal syllable initial) according to sex.

sex	(p)	(t)	(k)
male	64.14 (N=55)	81.09 (N=103)	53.49(N=34)
female	41.88(N=40)	74.39(N=119)	55.56(N=38)
all	52.01	77.74	54.57

We consider now the same variable in environment (b): syllable initial (foot internal) or ambisyllabic, as in *getting, presenters, drunken.* The overall means in this context are at about the same level as for environment (a). In this context, however, males use the glottal variant more than girls, or in the case of (k) about the same. None of these results are statistically significant, however, and the general conclusion must be that while again the overall use of the glottalised variant is lower than with less formal talk, there is, at most, only a small difference between the sexes. The significant difference for the variable (k) is not repeated in environment (b). Apart from the behaviour of (k), where the variables are similar, the expected pattern of heavier usage by males seems to be the case for this context. This is in contrast with the finding (in one case significant) for environment (a), where girls use more of the glottalised variant than boys. We will see later that there is an interaction effect complicating this issue. However, this finding illustrates the importance of specifying linguistic contexts: while girls appear more willing than boys to use glottalised variants in environment (a), they are less willing to use them in environment (b). This finding is very similar to that of Mees (1987, 1990), who also found that intervocalic glottalisations were favoured by males and disfavoured by females.

9.3.2. The variable of school (social class)

Recall that this variable is represented by two schools located in sharply contrasting socio-economic catchment areas, as described in Chapter 5.

Table 9-3 Percentage of glottal realisations of (t) and (k) in environment (a) (syllable final position) according to school (social class).

social class	(t)	(k)
more privileged	72.77(N=271)	54.46(N=137)
less privileged	73.12(N=187)	74.81(N=117)
all	72.94	64.19

Here there appear to be differences between variables. While for (t) the means are almost identical, there is a large (though not quite statistically significant) difference for (k). Thus syllable final (t) would appear to be, with respect to social class, a different kind of indicator to (k). Furthermore, the means for (t) are higher than the means for the other variable. The differences for (k) are in the expected direction, i.e. that speakers from lower social classes use more of a glottalised variant than speakers from higher social classes.

Table 9-4 Percentage of glottal realisations of (p) (t) and (k) in environment (b) (ambisyllabic and foot internal syllable initial position) according to social class.

social class	(p)	(t)	(k)
more privileged	41.96 (N=61)	69.87(N=135)	49.72(N=38)
less privileged	64.07(N=34)	85.61(N=87)	59.85(N=34)
all	52.01	77.74	54.57

The findings for environment (b) show the expected difference in usage, where less privileged pupils use more of a glottalised variant than more privileged pupils. The differences between these group means are similar. They are in the case of (t) 15.7 percentage points apart, and in the case of (p) 22.1 percentage points apart. This is a large difference, though still a little short of statistical significance at the 5% level. The means for (k) are closer, but still some 10 points apart. Thus *all* the results for social class, for both phonological environments, are in the expected direction of more usage of glottal variants by lower social class (less privileged) speakers. However, the difference for (t) (environment (a) syllable final) is only one percentage point different. The higher level of (t) is again worthy of comment. This is similar to the finding for syllable final (t): it is glottalised much more than other stops, and seems to be less subject to variation. This may point to this variable having a different social significance, relating more to the age of the speaker than to use of Tyneside variants. A relevant point here is that my data include both glottalised and glottal stops in the two environments, and this distinction is especially important with regard to (t), where use of glottal stop in Tyneside is almost categorical (see Milroy et al (1994 (a) and (b)). Thus it might be possible to explore further this result for (t) using this finer distinction. However, as was mentioned in Chapter 8, the aim of the present study was to arrive at relatively broad distinctions which would point up differences between non-linguistic

variables and allow for comparison between levels. So in the present study we leave these further distinctions unexplored.

9.3.3. The variable of attainment

We now consider the variable of attainment with regard to syllable final position. Table 9.5 shows the results for this variable.

Table 9-5 Percentage of glottal realisations of (t) and (k) in environment (a) (syllable final position) according to attainment.

attainment	(t)	(k)
high	68.97(N=162)	64.95(N=76)
mid	82.52(N=146)	71.23(N=88)
low	67.34(N=150)	55.27(N=90)
all	72.94	64.19

The means for (t) are higher than for (k), as is the case with respect to all the data discussed so far. It is interesting that for (k) the lowest frequencies were scored by low attaining pupils, and this is also true for (t), although the difference is much smaller. The general tendency is for low attaining pupils use fewer glottalised variants than high attaining pupils, and considerably fewer than middle attaining pupils, who, without exception, scored the highest.

Table 9-6 Percentage of glottal realisations of (p) (t) and (k) in environment (b) (ambisyllabic and syllable initial foot internal position) according to attainment.

attainment	(p)	(t)	(k)
high	50.99 (N=36)	75.42 (N=64)	35.00 (N=27)
mid	60.27 (N=31)	83.83 (N=80)	69.79 (N=20)
low	44.52 (N=28)	73.98 (N=78)	59.52 (N=25)
all	52.01	77.74	54.57

A similar pattern is displayed for tokens in environment (b), with lower attaining pupils using fewer of the glottalised variant than their higher attaining peers. Again the highest scores come from middle-attaining pupils. Testing for significance using Analysis of Variance does not reveal statistically significant results, for either environment, though the variable (k) approaches statistical significance. The difference between high attaining pupils and the rest is striking with this variable, in both contexts.

In the next section we will look in greater detail at one or two variables where significant or near significant results are reported, and we will consider the effects of more than one independent variable.

9.3.4. Interaction of sex and social class

The first pair of variables to be considered together are sex and social class. These variables have already been discussed above separately, and in general we found that for sex, in environment (a), girls used glottalised variants of both (t) and (k) more than boys, though only the latter was statistically significant. In environment (b), however, this inversion of the normal pattern (heavier usage by boys) does not occur, and males use more of the glottalised variants than females. For social class, the differences are in the expected direction, with more privileged children using fewer glottalised variants than were used by less privileged children. We noted also that the overall figures in respect to both non-linguistic variables

were lower than in many similar studies, suggesting that the subjects may have been style-shifting in response to the more formal context. We consider first table 9.7, which shows separately the means produced for environment (a) (syllable final position) for these two variables.

Table 9-7 Percentage of glottal realisations of (t), and (k) in environment (a) (syllable final position) according to sex and social class

	Greenbelt	Townhead	All
Males: (t)	62.18 (N=141)	69.47 (N=82)	65.83
Males: (k)	40.88 (N=69)	57.93 (N=46)	48.63
females: (t)	83.35 (N=130)	77.76 (N=88)	80.06
females: (k)	68.04 (N=68)	88.88 (N=68)	78.46
All (t)	72.76	73.12	72.94
All (k)	54.46	74.81	64.19

The first variable to look at is (k). This produced a highly significant result for sex. It is therefore interesting to look at this variable according to social class also. We find that it produces complex results when this interaction effect is examined. There is a very clear gradient. Males in Greenbelt (more privileged) used fewest glottalised variants of this variable. Females in Townhead (less privileged) used the most. But the males in Townhead used fewer of the variable than the females in Greenbelt. Thus the social stratification is most clear here for sex (this could be construed as a 'female variable'). Within this, however, the usual differences apply: for each variable, more is used by pupils of a lower social class. Most salient here, however, is the 'within school' variation, where in both schools differences in usage of this variable are very high. If we consider this variable in environment (b) (ambisyllabic and syllable initial foot internal position) (Table 9.8), we can see that the

pattern is slightly different. Here girls in Townhead still use more of the glottalised variant than anyone else. However the girls in Greenbelt use considerable fewer tokens of the glottalised variant in environment (b) than they did in environment (a) (41.67% as opposed to 68.04%). For the boys in Greenbelt this variable is considerably more frequently used in environment (b) than in environment (a), whereas for the boys in Townhead the opposite obtains.

Table 9-8 Percentage of glottal realisations of (p), (t), and (k) in environment (b) (ambisyllabic and syllable initial foot internal position) according to sex and social class

	Greenbelt	Townhead	All
Males: (p)	44.64	83.14	62.14
Males: (t)	65.12	97.02	81.09
Males: (k)	57.78	48.33	53.49
females: (p)	39.29	45.00	41.88
females: (t)	74.61	74.17	74.39
females: (k)	41.67	69.44	55.55
All (p)	41.96	64.07	52.01
All (t)	69.87	85.61	77.74
All (k)	49.72	59.85	54.57

The variable (t) behaves in the most straightforward way. First, for both contexts, (t) is realised as a glottalised variant much more often than (k). (t) has a mean of 78%, where (k) has a mean of 52.% for environment (b). In syllable final contexts the means are (t) 73% and (k) 64%. This difference indicates that (t) glottalisation is much more widespread than for glottalisation of (k). Within these means, however, a high degree of homogeneity exists. The range for these means is restricted: excluding the two highest figures, to be discussed shortly, the range of means is from 65% to 85%. This contrasts with a range for (k) from 42% up to

89%, and an even greater range for (p): 44% to 83%. Excluding the result for boys in ambisyllabic contexts, all the other results appear within the range mentioned above, and the values are often quite close together: notice for example (t) in ambisyllabic context : 74.61% for girls in Greenbelt, and 74.17% for girls in Townhead. Similar results can be seen for syllable final position: only 5% or so separating the figures for schools. For the boys in ambisyllabic contexts there is an interesting interaction effect. While the group mean for boys is similar to the means for girls and to the means for syllable final contexts, a look at how these figures are composed shows that the figure of 81.09% is a mean of 62.19% from Greenbelt, and 97.06 from Townhead. Thus the boys in Townhead use this variant almost categorically, whereas the boys from Greenbelt use it much less than the overall mean of 77.74%. This adds to a picture which is emerging of the boys in the more privileged school (Greenbelt) being in many ways different from boys in the less privileged school (Townhead), as well as different from the girls in either school. This is borne out by findings from (k), where they are the lowest scoring group, but also by other findings, such as the finding for grammar (see 9.3 below).

A look at (p) will confirm this hypothesis. The figure for (p) is extremely low for Greenbelt boys, and very high indeed for Townhead boys. For ambisyllabic contexts the figures are 44.64% (Greenbelt) and 83.14% for Townhead.

Turning now to the figures for girls for the variable (p) we can see that they are much more consistent across the two schools. For ambisyllabic contexts, girls scored 39.29% for Greenbelt, and 45.00% for Townhead. The alternation between glottalised and non-glottalised variants of (p) is finely graded, so that (p) is a rather sensitive indicator. In all contexts, boys in Greenbelt use the least of it, girls in either school a little more, with boys in Townhead using it a great deal, with figures of around 83% and 100%. (p), in Tyneside could be a male variable. However this is a strongly non-standard locution, and is therefore perhaps stigmatised in more affluent areas.

In conclusion, when we break down the figures for sex and social class further into their component parts we find:

1 In some cases, and especially for boys, the means presented in Tables 9.1 - 9.4 hide a considerable interaction effect, where conclusions about boys' usage are obscured by the effect of low frequencies of glottalisation from Greenbelt and high frequencies of glottalisation from Townhead making up the overall figure.

2 All three variables behave in very different ways, with most consistency for (t) and the least for (p). There is great variation in usage of glottalised variants of (p) from categorical usage to virtually none, with a very high usage for lower class boys. For (t) usage is reasonably high overall, and less subject to fluctuation. Figures for (k) resemble most closely the variation found most commonly in this kind of study, where generally boys use more than girls, and higher social classes use more than lower social classes.

3 Frequencies are lower in general than those reported in other studies of Tyneside glottalisation (e.g. Rigg, (1987) Cowhig (1986) Hartley (1992) Milroy Milroy and Hartley (1994), Milroy Milroy Hartley and Walshaw (1995): see discussion in 6.1 above.

9.3.5. Interaction of sex and attainment

We turn now to a consideration of the two variables of sex and attainment, and again we consider the two variables separated from each other to see how the overall means are composed. Tables 9.9 and 9.10 display the results broken down in this way.

Table 9-9 Percentage of glottal realisations of (p), (t), and (k) in environment (a) (syllable final position) according to sex and attainment

	high-attaining	middle-attaining	low-attaining	all
males: (t)	71.56 (N=103)	81.44 (N=96)	44.48 (N=69)	65.82
males: (k)	45.90 (N=45)	56.16 (N=43)	42.22 (N=30)	48.63
females: (t)	66.38 (N=75)	83.59 (N=61)	90.20 (N=54)	80.06
females: (k)	84.01 (N=54)	86.31 (N=44)	65.05 (N=38)	78.46
All (t)	68.97	82.52	67.34	72.94
All (k)	64.95	71.23	55.27	64.19

We begin, as above, with the variable (k). We consider this variable in syllable final position first of all. The variable showed a significant result for sex, and we can also see that this finding does appear to hold true for all attainment levels: the differences in the norms for males are much lower at all levels of attainment than those for females. There is some variation with this overall group mean, however, and for both groups this seems to be towards lower mean scores for lower attainment groups. Although in the case of (k) this is not large, a similar pattern appears more than once in the data (see especially 9.3.2), and so it is worth noticing here. Looking at the overall means for the various attainment levels (the bottom row of Table 9.9) we can see that for (k) overall the highest scores appear for middle-attaining children. In ambisyllabic contexts the picture is very different. Here we have overall means which are very similar to each other: 53.49% for males and 55.56% for females. However these figures are made up of greatly differing values. For males we have the classic stratificational pattern, where high-attaining pupils use the glottalised variant only a little (20%) and low-attaining pupils use it a great deal (88.89%). For females, however, the mean

is made up of less dramatic figures, with higher frequency of use of the glottalised variant by middle-attaining pupils, and rather less by low-attaining pupils.

Table 9-10 Percentage of glottal realisations of (p), (t), and (k) in environment (b) (ambisyllabic and syllable initial foot internal position) according to sex and attainment

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	high-attaining	**middle-attaining**	**low-attaining**	**all**
males: (p)	63.89 (N=27)	58.93 (N=22)	64.05 (N=20)	62.14
males: (t)	79.33 (N=40)	87.46 (N=48)	76.48 (N=29)	81.09
males: (k)	20.00 (N=13)	60.42 (N=11)	88.89 (N=14)	53.49
females: (p)	38.10 (N=13)	61.61 (N=18)	25.00 (N=15)	41.88
females: (t)	71.52 (N=44)	80.19 (N=32)	71.47 (N=29)	74.39
females: (k)	50.00 (N=11)	79.17 (N=13)	37.50 (N=10)	55.56
All (p)	50.99	60.27	44.52	52.01
All (t)	75.42	83.83	73.97	77.74
All (k)	35.00	69.79	59.52	54.57

Moving onto the results for (t), we can see that the group means are much higher than they were for (k): more speakers use the glottalised variant of (t), however the data are considered. Here, as above, usage with some groups approaches categorical, with one figure for low-attaining females at 90%. However, and in marked contrast to (k), usage of (t) in both contexts is much more consistent. In ambisyllabic contexts the variation in means is very small indeed: the figures range within less than 10%, with a lowest of 71.47%, and a highest of 80.19%. Within this the lowest figures in both cases were with the lowest-attaining group, and the highest with middle-attaining groups. Although these are small differences, they are in the same direction as the figures for (k). In syllable final position there is slightly greater variation, with by far the lowest score (44.48%) being that of low-attaining males. Excluding

these, the means are much more consistent than for (k), and are consistently high for almost all groups. Low-attaining males score about 50% for use of the glottalised variant, as opposed to above 70% for all other groups in both contexts for (t). This contrast is a particularly clear example of a trend which I have already referred to, and which occurs throughout the data.

Proportional use of glottalised variants of (p) is again lower than is the case for (t): mean scores are just above 50%, whereas for (t) means are at 77%. This finding applies to every cell in the data: glottalised variants of (p) are less frequent, often by around 20%. For ambisyllabic contexts the pattern I referred to for the other variables is present, with middle attaining girls using glottalised variants more frequently than others. For boys, the scores are clustered tightly round the mean of 62.14, with a lowest figure of 58.93 and a highest of 64.05. Note also that the girls' means are considerably lower than those of boys. This has been a finding for (p) throughout: boys tend to use more glottalised variants of (p) than do girls.

9.3.6. Interaction of school and attainment

The tables 9.11 and 9.12 show the results for school and attainment. Clearly there are many similarities to the patterns reported above, and these need not be described in detail again: levels of (t) are higher overall in both environments, and in general, middle-attaining pupils appear to be the highest users of glottalised variants of all three fortis stops.

Table 9-11 Percentage of glottal realisations of (p), (t), and (k) in environment (a) (syllable final position) according to school and attainment

	high-attaining	middle-attaining	low-attaining	all
Greenbelt: (t)	66.55 (N=86)	81.54 (N=93)	70.22 (N=78)	72.77
Greenbelt: (k)	62.01 (N=41)	55.06 (N=46)	46.30 (N=57)	54.48
Townhead: (t)	71.39 (N=92)	83.49 (N=64)	64.46 (N=45)	73.12
Townhead: (k)	67.90 (N=58)	87.41 (N=41)	67.22 (N=11)	74.81
All (t)	68.97	82.52	67.34	72.94
All (k)	64.95	71.23	55.27	64.19

We now look more closely at the relationship between schools. We can see that in ambisyllabic contexts means are higher for Townhead, (serving the less privileged area) than for Greenbelt (serving the more privileged area). The means are 41.96% 69.87% and 49.72% for Greenbelt, and 64.07%, 85.61% and 59.85% for Townhead. These findings are in the expected direction, with differences between the means of between 10% and 20%. In the case of syllable final context these results are similar. We can see that a general trend is towards lower scores for Greenbelt: the means are 14.58%, 72.77% and 54.48% for Greenbelt, as opposed to 52.22% 73.12% and 74.81% for Townhead: all either very similar, or between 20 and 30% difference in the direction of a larger score for the less privileged group.

Looking further at these conclusions in relation additionally to attainment, it is clear that patterns of use fluctuate according to this variable. In ambisyllabic contexts, a consideration of the variable (k) shows us that the least frequent use of the glottalised variant is by higher attaining pupils, from either school. For Greenbelt, the middle attaining pupils use considerably more of the glottalised variant than lower attaining pupils. For Townhead the levels of usage are similar for middle and lower attaining pupils, but in the region of 35% higher than the scores for high attaining pupils. For ambisyllabic contexts it would seem that we have a fairly predictable pattern, where higher attaining pupils use less of the stigmatised

variable than other pupils. This conclusion does not hold true in syllable final context. Here (For Greenbelt) the usage of glottalised variants of (k) is higher for higher-attaining pupils, and the lowest frequencies are associated with low-attaining pupils. For Townhead a slightly different result occurs, where the highest score is by middle-attaining pupils, and the lower score is registered to a similar degree for high and low attaining pupils.

Table 9-12 Percentage of glottal realisations of (p), (t), and (k) in environment (b) (ambisyllabic and syllable initial foot internal position) according to school and attainment

	high-attaining	middle-attaining	low-attaining	all
Greenbelt: (p)	26.49 (N=16)	67.86 (N=21)	31.55 (N=28)	41.96
Greenbelt: (t)	67.51 (N=38)	91.88 (N=35)	50.22 (N=49)	69.88
Greenbelt: (k)	32.50 (N=8)	66.67 (N=13)	50.00 (N=19)	49.72
Townhead: (p)	100.00 (N=9)	52.68 (N=46)	57.50 (N=19)	64.07
Townhead: (t)	83.33 (N=19)	75.78 (N=45)	97.93 (N=11)	85.61
Townhead: (k)	37.50 (N=7)	72.92 (N=21)	72.22 (N=5)	59.85
All (p)	50.99	60.27	44.52	52.01
All (t)	75.42	83.83	73.97	77.74
All (k)	35.00	69.79	59.52	54.57

Levels for (t) appear to follow the latter pattern, where in general the highest scores are registered by middle attaining pupils. This is true for ambisyllabic contexts for Greenbelt, and for syllable final contexts for both Greenbelt and Townhead. As has been mentioned, overall means are considerably higher for (t) than for other variables in both contexts; thus we see that scores in these contexts are high: between 83% and 92% (figures have been rounded in each case). The exception to this is ambisyllabic contexts for Townhead, where the highest scores were registered by lower attaining pupils.

Turning to ambisyllabic (p), we see a different pattern, where a high difference between means (42.96% for Greenbelt as against 64.07% for Townhead) masks some interesting results. The figures for Greenbelt follow the most common pattern for attainment, with higher scores being registered for middle-attaining pupils, and lower scores for high- and low-attaining pupils. The figures for Townhead are very different. (p) is glottalised approximately 50% of the time for low and middle attaining pupils. For high attaining pupils the figure is 100%. Recall in previous discussions that (p) is a variable used much more by boys than girls, and seems to be sensitive to social class also. Some caution needs to be exercised with one or two of these figures, since the overall N becomes in some cases rather small. This is a result of dividing attainment into three areas, giving only four children in each cell.

9.4. Grammatical data

We now move on to a consideration of data relating to grammar. As has already been noted in 9.3 above, these data are not expressed in terms of percentages, of standard as a proportion of non-standard usage, because of problems associated with the notion of equivalence. Each table will show a number which is the number of non-standard items used by that group within a given period of time, which is held roughly constant across groups. At the same time there will also be a mean score, which will be the mean number of non-standard items used by individuals in that group. This will give a figure which provides a reasonable basis for comparison across groups.

9.4.1. Grammatical data for sex and for school

Table 9-13 Frequency of non-standard grammatical features per 30 minutes of conversation, for sex and for school (social class).

	Greenbelt		**Townhead**		**All**	
	N	Mean	N	Mean	N	Mean
male	4	0.67	27	4.50	28	2.58
female	4	0.67	15	2.50	19	1.58
all	8	0.67	42	3.50	47	2.08

Table 9.13 reports frequencies of non-standard grammatical features for the pupils whose phonological results have already been discussed. It can readily be seen that very little non-standard grammar was used by pupils in Greenbelt (the more privileged pupils). In fact these results contrast much more sharply with respect to social class than any of the phonological data; recall that the most powerful contrasts emerged with regard to sex for (k) in syllable final position. However, in table 9.13 the differences between males and females are not as strong as the differences for social class. Put simply, the children from the middle class school use virtually no non-standard grammar, at least in situations giving rise to more careful speech, which form the basis of this analysis. This result is found to be highly significant using analysis of variance ($p<0.01$). However the data are not normally distributed, and so the non-parametric Mann-Whitney test was also used. The results would not lead us to be absolutely confident of rejecting the null hypothesis at the 0.05 level. However, it is clear that in this sample, and in the specific situational contexts recorded, these pupils do use very variable frequencies of non-standard grammar. Clearly the most significant contrast is between the total for Greenbelt of 8 tokens overall, or 0.67 tokens per individual, as opposed to the total of 42 tokens (3.5 tokens per individual) for Townhead.

However, this difference is not the end of the story. These numbers tell us that in formal situations more privileged individuals use almost no non-standard grammar. Nevertheless, the figure of 3.5 tokens per individual over 30 minutes of talk recorded by Townhead pupils is still very small. Informal sampling of more informal talk (still in a school context) from Townhead shows much higher levels of usage: closer to 8 or 9 per individual (see appendix). Thus, though the difference between the two schools is important, the overall low frequencies of non-standard syntactic and grammatical items in this relatively formal context is also important. An interesting individual case concerns the figure for males at Greenbelt of 4 non-standard tokens. These all in fact came from one boy, who had a Saturday job in a local market, and who had had opportunity to acquire the local vernacular. No other boy from Greenbelt used any non-standard grammar at all. At the other end of the scale, 10 of the 27 tokens at Townhead came from one speaker. The figures for the girls were less subject to variation of this sort.

The other issue which needs to be considered is that of sex. We can see that the mean for males is 2.58, and that for females is 1.58. This difference is in the expected direction, with females using fewer non-standard grammatical items than males. Within the Townhead group we can see a large difference between males and females, and the largest figure of all comes from the Townhead males. This finding is in line with most other sociolinguistic research, but is in contrast with the variation we observe between variables and between groups with respect to the phonological data in the present study. It contrasts also with the findings for discourse variables below. Thus there seems to be great differences in usage of non-standard variants at differing linguistic levels.

9.4.2. Grammatical data for sex and for attainment

Table 9-14 Frequency of non-standard grammatical features per 30 minutes of conversation, for sex and for attainment .

	Male		**Female**		**All**	
	N	Mean	N	Mean	N	Mean
high	1	0.25	2	0.5	3	0.38
middle	15	4.50	9	2.25	24	3.38
low	12	3.00	8	2	20	2.5
all	28	2.58	19	2.5	47	2.08

We now consider the data for sex and attainment. The table above shows numbers and means for sex and for differing levels of attainment. As has been shown earlier, the figures do show a significant variation between the sexes, although the overall number of tokens is relatively small for all groups. We can see the same type of pattern here as we found for attainment with the phonological data, which is that in general high attaining pupils use very few non-standard syntactic and grammatical forms, while more are used by lower attaining groups. Although the differences are small, it is interesting that, as for phonology, middle attaining groups appear to use more non-standard forms than do low attaining groups, whereas one might have thought that low attaining groups would use more. The mean for both sexes for middle attaining groups is 3.38 tokens per person, where for low attainment it is 2.25. The most marked difference would seem to be the near absence of non-standard items in the speech of high attaining groups.

9.4.3. Grammatical data for attainment and for school (social class)

Table 9-15 Frequency of non-standard grammatical features per 30 minutes of conversation, for attainment and for school (social class).

	Greenbelt		Townhead		All	
	N	Mean	N	Mean	N	Mean
high	0	0.00	3	0.75	3	0.38
middle	5	2.00	19	4.75	24	3.38
low	0	0.00	18	5.00	18	2.5
all	5	0.67	40	2.5	40	2.08

Here we present the same data, but this time considered for social class. Again we see the large contrast between the two schools: very few pupils in Greenbelt (relatively privileged) use non-standard grammatical or syntactic forms at all. An interesting finding here is that the high attaining pupils in Townhead (less privileged) use similar frequencies of non-standard forms to the pupils in Greenbelt: i.e. virtually none. The lower attaining pupils, however, do use significant amounts of non-standard grammar. Thus we can see an interesting interaction effect. The relatively high figure for school 2 conceals an interesting statistic, namely that high attaining pupils appear to avoid using non-standard syntactic and lexical forms in formal situations, whatever their background.

9.5. Lexical data

9.5.1. Lexical data for sex and for school (social class)

Table 9-16 Frequency of non-standard lexis per 30 minutes of tape, for sex and for school (social class).

	Greenbelt		Townhead		All	
	N	Mean	N	Mean	N	Mean
male	3	0.5	62	10.33	65	5.42
female	12	1.83	15	2.83	27	2.33
all	15	1.17	77	6.58	92	3.88

Turning now to use of non-standard lexical items, we can see that patterns which emerged above in our discussion of morphosyntactic data are repeated here. Males in Greenbelt use very few non-standard lexical items (an average of less than one token), whereas males in Townhead use a great deal. In contrast, females use considerably fewer than the males in Townhead, and females in both schools are fairly close to each other, with more being used by females in the less privileged school by an average of one token. The differences between schools and sexes are very large, and overwhelmingly the most important finding here is that non-standard lexical items are used by boys from Townhead far more than by anyone else.

However, if we for a moment remove the very large contributions from two boys who scored 26 and 18 non-standard lexical items each, we are left even for this group with a total of 18 for those who remain. This is still higher than the total for the other groups, but clearly these two individuals are skewing the data greatly. Thus, the low-attaining boys in this sample were using much more non-standard lexis than anyone else. The mean usage for groups other than for this pair of boys is in the region of two non-standard lexical items per

interview (30 minutes). If these individuals are included the number increases to something near four. Thus, in general, few non-standard lexical items are used by the majority of the individuals in the sample: in the case of boys in Greenbelt virtually none. For a small minority non-standard lexical items continue to be used in formal talk situations at a much higher level. This highly differing pattern may be best explained in terms of CAT (see 6.6.1) where the conversational tactic adopted by these individuals would be explained in terms of diverging from the interviewer, and signalling this in the choice of lexical item.

9.5.2. Lexical data for sex and for attainment

Table 9-17 Frequency of non-standard lexical items per 30 minutes of conversation, for sex and for attainment.

	Male		**Female**		**All**	
	N	Mean	N	Mean	N	Mean
high	8	2.00	3	0.75	11	1.38
middle	13	3.25	17	4.25	30	3.75
low	44	11.00	8	2.00	52	6.5
all	65	5.42	28	2.33	93	3.88

Considering the data now according to sex and attainment it becomes clear that the highest users of non-standard lexical items are low-attaining boys. This group used a mean 11 tokens per interview, which is nearly 3 times larger than the next nearest, or indeed the overall mean of 3.88. Equally, the figure for females is less than half that for males.

9.5.3. Lexical data for attainment and for school (social class)

Table 9-18 Frequency of non-standard lexis per 30 minutes of tape, for school and for attainment

	Greenbelt		**Townhead**		**All**	
	N	Mean	N	Mean	N	Mean
high	0	0.00	11	2.75	11	1.38
middle	11	2.75	19	4.75	30	3.75
low	3	0.75	49	12.25	52	6.50
all	14	1.17	79	6.58	93	3.88

Turning now to data for school and attainment, it is clear that the social factor is quite strong in determining use of non-standard lexical items. The figure for Townhead is 5 times as large as the figure for Greenbelt. Within this there is strong evidence for differences according to attainment. High attaining groups in Townhead use similar (small) amounts to those in Greenbelt generally. High attaining pupils do not use non-standard lexical items, just as they did not use non-standard syntactic and grammatical items. Low attaining pupils used 4 times the overall mean score.

It cannot be emphasised enough that different linguistic levels reveal different patterns of use. Differences in attainment are associated particularly with differences in use of non-standard lexical items, and to a lesser extent with differences in use of non-standard syntactic and grammatical items. Sex is also associated with different levels of syntactic and grammatical usage. These findings contrast strongly with those for phonology, where for many linguistic variables the differences were not great, and where there were differences they were (for example in the case of (k) in quite the opposite direction to that found in these non-phonological variables.

9.6. Discourse level data

We move now to a discussion of discourse level data. This data was not part of the original research design. It was included (as discussed in 6/7) partly because it was salient in the data, and partly because the kind of tokens covered by this heading (*sort of, like*) are alluded to constantly in folk-linguistic definitions of non-standard speech (see further 4.5). I therefore decided to look at these items also, to assess whether they patterned in similar or different ways to the items described above. We will consider these in the same ways as the other items, in relation to the three independent variables of sex, school, and attainment.

9.6.1. Discourse level data for sex and for school (social class)

Table 9-19 Frequency of non-standard discourse features per 30 minutes of conversation, for sex and for school (social class).

	Greenbelt		**Townhead**		**All**	
	N	Mean	N	Mean	N	Mean
male	135	22.5	57	9.83	192	16.17
female	125	20.83	91	15.17	216	18.00
all	270	21.67	148	12.50	418	17.08

We see from table 7.19 that the patterns here are very different from those reported earlier. The figures for Greenbelt are nearly double those for Townhead, and it would seem here that school is a much more significant variable than is sex, since the means are much more similar for boys and girls than they are for the two schools. The variables for school are, however, in a different direction to those for other variables, where in general the differences are towards more usage of stigmatised items by less privileged children, lower attaining children, or boys. Here the main users of these items appear to be more privileged children, and among these an even higher number of girls than boys. Mees (1987, 1990), Milroy et al (1995,1995) seem to have identified a similar feature in the use of glottal, as opposed to

glottalised variants of (t), where girls use the glottal variant ('young RP'?)and boys the glottalised (local to Tyneside) variant. These discourse phenomena appear to pattern in the same way, emphasising again the way in which sociolinguistic features represent 'acts of identity' (Le Page and Tabouret Keller 1985)

Another important factor is the number of tokens, again collected over 30 minutes. In contrast to the number of non-standard syntactic and lexical items (around two or three per session) the number of discourse markers is for the overall mean, 17.08. Given that some of the grammatical items might well be tokens which many hearers might not notice (e.g. *I've getten* is often heard as *I'm getting*), it would appear that these tokens are much more numerous than other markers of stigmatised speech. They may actually be, like glottalised stops in phonology, much more salient in making up stigmatised speech than grammatical and lexical items, which appear at much lower frequencies.

It is perhaps necessary to consider the issue of the amount of talk, on the basis that this may give rise to more discourse markers. A consideration of the transcriptions shows, however, that similar numbers of words emerged from all speakers, except the two low attaining boys referred to above. While the number of questions asked by the interviewer varied (mostly in the direction of more questions for lower attaining individuals), the actual amount of words was broadly similar. Thus we might say that a different kind of conversation was taking place: more or less of a question and answer session. To give a rough idea of the number of tokens involved, from a random sample of the same amount of tape, a high attaining pair (female) from Greenbelt produced 412 words, a middle attaining male pair from Townhead produced 350 words, and a low attaining (female) pair from Greenbelt produced 280 words. While there is a downward trend here, it is not sufficient to explain the differences which occurred.

9.6.2. Discourse level data for sex and for attainment

Table 9-20 Frequency of non-standard discourse features per 30 minutes of conversation, for sex and for attainment.

	Male		**Female**		**All**	
	N	Mean	N	Mean	N	Mean
high	41	10.25	114	28.50	155	19.38
middle	121	30.25	72	18.00	193	24.13
low	32	8.00	30	7.50	63	7.75
all	194	16.17	216	18.00	411	17.08

Turning now to data for sex and attainment, it is clear that these tokens pattern very differently from all the others considered so far. We have already considered the fact that scores for males and for females are similar, and that social class appears to be a big distinguishing factor. Attainment also, however, would seem to be significant. As has been referred to in 9.5.1, these data pattern in a way which is almost diametrically opposite to the pattern visible in other data. This applies also to attainment. The highest users would appear to be high-attaining females, and middle-attaining males. Low-attaining females and males seem equally to use very few non-standard discourse markers (a mean of 7.75 tokens per session), and high-attaining boys and middle-attaining girls use rather more. Looking at means for high-attaining and middle-attaining pupils taken together, they are approximately 19 and 24 tokens per session respectively. These numbers are much higher than those for the low-attaining pupils. Incidentally, they add some weight to the suggestion made earlier that at more than one linguistic level, middle-attaining pupils are the highest users of vernacular items.

9.6.3. Discourse level data for school and for attainment

Table 9-21 Frequency of non-standard discourse features per 30 minutes of tape, for school and for attainment

	Greenbelt		Townhead		All	
	N	Mean	N	Mean	N	Mean
high	86	21.5	69	17.25	155	19.37
middle	121	30.25	72	18.00	193	24.13
low	53	13.25	9	2.25	62	7.75
all	260	21.67	150	12.50	410	17.08

Finally we consider the variables of attainment and school. Table 9.21 shows the results for these variables. As has been noted before, Greenbelt pupils use nearly twice the number of discourse markers as Townhead pupils. Within this it seems to be the middle-attaining pupils who use the most. However, the most significant figure is that at Townhead the low attaining group (and this includes boys and girls) use virtually no discourse markers at all. Low attainers in Greenbelt use a fewer also, but this is a less striking difference.

Generally it appears that the use of discourse markers is much more the prerogative of more privileged children, and within this girls more so than boys. However, pupils from the less privileged school who are more able also use some discourse markers. Low-attaining pupils use fewest of all, and this is true of both sexes.

10. Main findings and implications for classroom practice

10.1. Introduction

The final two chapters of this study seek to bring together a number of strands which have been outlined during the course of the preceding chapters. In this section we consider the two main issues in the study as a whole: the nature of standard English, and whether young people in formal interview situations style-shift towards a more careful mode of speech. Section 10.2 considers the second of these issues in the light of the linguistic levels and 10.3 the non-linguistic variables which lie at the heart of the study. Section 10.4 considers whether it is possible or useful to think about school lects. Section 10.5 deals with implications for the classroom and for future versions of the English National Curriculum. Chapter 11 moves on the consider the contribution of the present study, and implications for future work in the field. We turn first to a consideration of what we have learned about standard English.

Clearly standard English is many different things to different people. To the writers of the National Curriculum standard English 'is distinguished from other forms of English by its vocabulary and by rules and conventions of grammar, spelling, and punctuation...spoken standard English is not the same as Received Pronunciation and can be expressed in a variety of accents'. (Department for Education 1995:3). We have seen however that to others, acceptable standards of spoken English may include, in the Briscoe case (4.5.2) pragmatics ('It's yer wife') and phonology ('norrin', meaning *not in*). Eminent British figures such as Prince Charles, Lord Tebbit and Gillian Shephard (4.5.2) have equally appeared not to separate phonology and pragmatics from vocabulary and grammar when talking about desirable kinds of speech. Similarly we have seen that from a linguistic point of view it is difficult to disentangle phonology from lexis in deciding whether words in Tyneside dialect should be classified as lexical items (and therefore part of the National Curriculum's definition of standard English) or phonological items (and therefore outside the scope of the National Curriculum (6..1). Further, we have seen that many linguists include the

phonological level in their discussions of standard English (see for example Edwards (1992) discussed in 6.2). And finally there are folk-linguistic concepts of 'well-spoken', 'talks beautifully', and 'communication by grunt', which have a real bearing on how individuals are perceived. As we saw in the Briscoe case, being 'well-spoken' or the reverse can cost a worker her job, or in the case of a job interview, she may not be offered the job in the first place. In a collection edited by Bain (1994), a number of employers were quoted as saying that the criterion of 'well-spokenness' would be a factor when deciding on equally qualified candidates for a position, especially if the person were dealing with the public.

We return therefore to standard English. It is clear that the National Curriculum definition, though tidy enough, is not unproblematical. And equally, if the National Curriculum were to achieve its aim, and expunge all non-standard lexis and grammar from the speech of young people, there would probably still be linguistic prejudice against certain ways of speaking. Thus, we must accept that standard English is different things to different people: it will be what the speaker chooses to find acceptable, and not to be what the speaker finds unacceptable. This conclusion is not as pessimistic as it sounds. The present study has attempted in a number of different ways to disentangle the historical, political, cultural and linguistic implications carried by the term 'standard English'. The task of the educator is to do the same. Standard English, and indeed all the notion of the standard in all standard languages is not simply a technical term. It is surrounded by all sorts of beliefs and value systems. Some of these are justified, some less so, as we saw in chapter 4. It is the task of educators to open up for young people all the issues surrounding standard English, accent and dialect, in a way similar to attempts made to open up issues of race and gender. Linguistic prejudice is no less pernicious than any other, and of course often goes hand in hand with other forms of prejudice. The present study has attempted to contribute to this task by opening up the issues.

The second major point is the question asked in the introduction to this study. Can school pupils speak standard English when they want to? The foregoing discussion indicates that partly the answer to this is determined by what we mean by standard English. If some of the widest definitions are allowed, then almost no-one ever speaks standard English, since

most of us use glottal stops and say 'you know'. However, in terms of the narrow definition of the National Curriculum, most of the children in the present study can use standard English to a very great extent, in situations where they choose to. There are however qualifications to be made. Many individuals in the study, and particularly those from a less privileged background, appeared to modify their speech in comparison with the speech they produced in less formal circumstances, as evidenced by the pilot study and in comparison with findings of other researchers, as reported in Chapter 6. Very few pupils produced large amounts of non-standard speech at any linguistic level. Many pupils used no non-standard grammar or lexis whatsoever, and although it may be that these individuals never used non-standard English at any time, the evidence suggests that some at least do use it in less formal circumstances. The individuals who did produce non-standard lexical or grammatical items in fact produced low frequencies of these, with the exception of the two boys discussed above (5.5, 9.4.2).

The remainder of this chapter attempts to be as precise as possible about the extent to which pupils used standard or non-standard features, in order to be able to make sensible recommendations to teachers, curriculum developers and others concerned with the development of the pedagogy of standard English.

10.2. Linguistic levels

The first major conclusion I want to highlight is that in terms of standard English different kinds of phenomena occur at different linguistic levels. Between the syntactic, grammatical and lexical levels quite large differences exist, but the absolute number of non-standard tokens for the vast majority of pupils is very small indeed. Differences exist between each linguistic level, and the levels can contrast quite sharply. For example, there was a statistically significant difference in use of (k) in environment (a), (syllable final position), where girls used considerably more glottalised variants of (k) than boys. Yet at the level of grammar, the mean use of non-standard grammatical variables for boys was nearly twice that scored by girls. Discourse markers appear to be used much more by girls than by boys. Despite these findings, a very important outcome from this study is that there are fewer large

differences between the two groups of children from the two schools than might have been predicted.

10.2.1. Phonological variables

Broadly speaking the differences between groups are relatively small in respect of the phonological variables. Only one of the phonological variables (k) achieved statistical significance, and this only in environment (a) (syllable final) positions, for sex. Additionally, this finding was where girls scored higher for glottalised variants than boys. This is in contrast to many of the classic Labovian studies, (e.g. Trudgill 1974, Romaine 1978) where many of the results achieved statistical significance. Given that the schools contrasted socially as sharply as was possible in North Tyneside (see table in 5.4), the fact that the differences are not more stark is evidence of style-shifting amongst the Townhead children. Although this study cannot categorically state that Townhead children were style-shifting, the evidence points to this: mean scores were lower than for similar studies on Tyneside where a less formal approach was adopted (see 8.2) and the evidence from the pilot study shows that the Townhead pupils normally adopt a much more stigmatised version of the vernacular in larger groups and with a teacher they know (see 7.2), and this does not take into account the mode of speech they might employ at home or on the street.

We must bear the above point in mind when considering other outcomes from the study. Since the differences between groups are smaller than expected, the following conclusions are not so much firm conclusions as pointers for further study.

It appears that (k) is sensitive to social class variation as well as variation according to sex, since a relatively large difference occurred here between children of different schools, but this time in the expected direction, where children from the less privileged school used more of the variable.

On the other hand, (t) appears to be less sensitive to variation. Usage of glottalised variants of (t) is higher than with other variables, often by around 20%. This appears to apply across all the non-linguistic variables, and in both environments. This might mean that (t) as a variable approaches categorical use with this age group. Another explanation, however,

could be that in conflating both forms of glottalisation (see 7.5.2) we are masking a deeper pattern. Milroy et al (1994) found differences between glottal reinforcement (favoured by males and a feature of the local vernacular used by older Tynesiders) and glottal replacement (a new phenomenon found in the speech of the young everywhere in England and Wales, and favoured by girls). It may well be that these two are combining to give the high score for glottalised variants of (t). While this study is unable to arrive at a conclusion on this issue, it does appear that all the young people in the study used higher levels of glottalised (t) than they did other variables. In this sense all the pupils used a stigmatised variant a good deal (though again lower than the almost categorical findings in some other studies which took place in less formal circumstances).

Another point which emerges clearly from the phonological data is that different variables, in different environments, are used more by different groups. (k) in general seems to be used more by girls than boys, and though the difference is not significant in environment (b) (intervocalic), it is significant in environment (a) (syllable final). In contrast, both (t) and (p) are used more by boys in environment (b). In general terms glottal variants appear to be more frequent with less privileged individuals in environment (b) (intervocalic), while in environment (a) (syllable final), at least for (t), there is virtually no difference. One may tentatively conclude therefore that environment (a) is considered potentially an appropriate site for glottalisation for girls and for more privileged children, while environment (b) is more salient for boys and with less privileged children.

10.2.2. Grammatical variables

With regard to the level of non-standard grammar the picture is quite different. The children in Greenbelt used virtually no non-standard grammar, whereas girls in Townhead used some and the boys quite a lot. This is a far greater contrast than the contrast for phonology. Despite this, it would be wrong to say that the children used a good deal of non-standard grammar. The figures do contrast sharply, but the means show that the level is extremely low. Townhead boys used the most, with a mean of 4.5 non-standard items per 30

minutes of tape. Townhead girls used 2.5 per 30 minutes of tape, and both boys and girls at Greenbelt used 0.67: just over half a word. As was outlined in Chapter 7, the 4 tokens used by Greenbelt boys were actually all used by one individual, who had a Saturday job on Blyth market, and therefore had presumably more access to the vernacular, since markets, at least in England, are places where the vernacular flourishes. So it would be a reasonably accurate description of the situation for Greenbelt pupils to say that they used virtually no non-standard English. But the Townhead pupils are using only between 2.5 and 4.5 tokens per individual. This contrasts with data from the pilot study at Townhead which gave figures of more like 8 to 9 per individual. As a comparison, Hudson and Holmes (1995:23) found a mean per speaker of 1.7, with a range of between 1 and 6.1. Equally, the overall figure of 28 tokens for boys and 19 tokens for girls is not large.

We can say fairly confidently then that the frequency of use of non-standard grammar is low in careful speech. This level of non-standard grammar is highly unlikely to impair communication, since all of the items detailed in Chapter 8 are related to English usage. We might therefore conclude that in communicative terms there is no need to teach spoken standard English. The issue of stigma is of course more complex, and will be developed further in 10.5.

10.2.3. Lexical variables

The results for lexical variables are different again, but in the same direction as the results for grammar. The mean for males in Greenbelt is 0.5 non-standard lexical items per 30 minutes, or 3 in total. While this is extremely small, the mean for females in Greenbelt (1.83) and Townhead (2.83) are similarly small: these are totals of 12 and 15 for six individuals over 3 hours of tape. This would not seem to be a matter of concern in terms of the ability to produce standard English. The figure for males in Townhead is very different: a mean of 10.33 over 30 minutes of tape, or 62 items in three hours. This figure is very salient. It can be explained in a number of ways. First of all, the two low attaining individuals discussed in chapter 5 and chapter 7 produced 26 and 18 items respectively. This leaves only 18 for the other 4 boys. This still gives a mean of 6 items per 30 minutes of tape, which is more than

double anyone else. However, it is considerably smaller that the original figure of ten. It is still the case that the boys from Townhead use more non-standard lexis in formal situations than anyone else.

A further general remark concerning non-standard lexis is that the range of non-standard lexical items used in the present study was very small. It was small compared even to the relatively restricted inventory of non-standard lexis which individuals produced in the pilot study, in more relaxed surroundings. Clearly it is relatively easy for speakers who wish to do so to avoid non-standard lexis, but equally, the number of items which are now available to speakers is very small, and cannot be seen as a major impediment to communication.

10.2.4. Discourse markers

The findings for discourse markers are completely different, with the girls using a higher frequency than boys, and with Greenbelt pupils using considerably more than Townhead pupils.

Discourse markers occurred much more frequently in the speech of some speakers than any grammatical or lexical item occurred in the speech of any speaker: a mean of 17.08 tokens per 30 minutes, and within this Greenbelt speakers had a mean of 21.67 tokens, as opposed to 12.5 tokens for Townhead. Given that the markers are stigmatised (see discussion in 6.3.2, and also Schiffrin 1987b:311), their high frequency suggests that they may be a factor in the negative perception which exists of young peoples' speech. We might point out also here that school (social class) is a more important variable than sex, for this linguistic variable.

Discourse markers seemed to relate also to how much the speaker was able to accommodate to the interviewer and to the situation. Individuals who did not feel as at home used fewer discourse markers, as a general rule. The question of why this should be is a complex matter. Perhaps it is related to the nature of adolescence in general, and that children of this age, if relaxed, will present themselves as more tentative than adults: recall that

Schiffrin (1987b:311) identified *you know* as possibly interpreted by older speakers as over-dependence on the hearer, and *I mean* as over-involvement with the self.

An alternative explanation is that the higher-attaining and more privileged may be using discourse markers as a form of linguistic territory marking: while working class pupils may use dialect, pupils from a more privileged background will use another item which is stigmatised by the older generation, such as items such as *sort of* and *you know*. More research, possibly of a completely different kind from the present study, would be required to resolve this question. It remains a salient and very interesting finding.

A final conclusion relating to discourse markers concerns the complete absence of these in the speech of the lower attaining boys at Townhead. If we associate discourse markers with orientation towards the hearer, and with checking an individual's grasp of the background to a topic before proceeding, then the Townhead boys are distinctly lacking in such hearer-oriented behaviour. While this may be as a result of divergence, (see C.A.T: 6.6.1) it is nevertheless worth considering whether these individuals are <u>able</u> to use speech which is hearer-oriented, and if not, whether they might benefit in some way from being taught it. We return to this point in the next chapter.

10.3. Non-linguistic variables

We now turn to a summary of the conclusions we have reached regarding the non-linguistic variables as they affect children's ability to use careful speech in formal talk situations. As with the different linguistic levels, a complex picture emerges, with different variables having more relevance at different linguistic levels, and all three being relevant to an understanding of the more careful speech of Tyneside adolescents and its relationship with standard English. For example, lower levels of attainment are associated strongly with differences in the use of non-standard lexical items, and to a certain extent with differences in the use of non-standard grammatical items. For phonological variables, however, the variable of attainment did not show as great a variation. The same is true of the variable of sex, which was less important than social class in explaining grammatical and lexical differences, but

much more useful in explaining phonological and discoursal variation. The complexity of the picture which emerges reflects the complexity of the discussion on the nature of standard English: different individuals use language in different ways even when they have a compelling opportunity to use careful speech. As we consider the findings for each of the variables in turn we will be considering how careful speech translates or does not translate into standard English for different ways of grouping individuals. A final thought on this is that use of non-standard lexis might be related to what I have called school lects: see further 11.5.

10.3.1. Sex

There appears to be a difference between males and females in the results of the present study. This of course reflects the conclusions of over 20 years of sociolinguistic research, and the details of this have been discussed above, 6.2. Various explanations have been produced for these differences by different sociolinguists, including the notion of 'covert prestige' (Trudgill, 1972), 'solidarity' (Milroy 1987a) and 'face' (Deuchar 1988), and see also Chambers (1992) and Gordon (1997). However, these explanations are predicated on female speakers using fewer non-standard tokens than males. In the present study, while this occurred for some variables, it did not occur for others, and in fact, as was mentioned above, the only statistically significant result was for a difference in the mean use of glottalised variants of (k), where females used more of the non-standard variant than did males. Therefore we need to consider the kinds of difference more carefully. The results of the present study would seem to suggest that females are becoming more willing, for whatever reason, to use linguistic features which have traditionally been stigmatised: certain glottalised variants and discourse markers are the most obvious. However, females are still less likely than males to use dialect phonology, lexis, or grammar. Thus, within the two schools under consideration, females used fewer of what might be termed typically dialect features such as glottalised (p), and features which occur in environment (b) (intervocalic). However, they used more of features which may be seen as more generally a young person's variable. This phenomenon also applies to discourse markers, which are another variable not restricted to

one particular dialect or mode of speech. We might hypothesise a new confidence in young females, and an intention to identify with other young females elsewhere in the country, and to avoid what may be perceived by them as a backward looking vernacular culture embraced by the boys.

A further point which requires some consideration relates to discourse markers. It has already been shown that more discourse markers appear in the speech of females in the study than in the speech of males. One current area of discussion (see e.g. Freed and Greenwood 1996, Eckert and McConnell Ginet 1992) is to question the validity of differences between men and women obtained in this way. They would argue that the differences stem rather from differences in the type of talk taking place. Thus, in Freed and Greenwood's study, both male and female same sex dyads produced similar numbers of *you know* in types of talk which facilitated collaboration, but fewer in situations where collaboration was not required (1996:20).

The conclusions of the present study however, would seem to suggest that there are female variables. The present study used same sex dyads, the same interviewer, and the same questions. Freed and Greenwood's conclusions may amount to a sensible warning against overstating the case on gender and language. However, the present study (and other similar studies, such as Milroy et al 1994) provides convincing evidence that the kinds of behaviour described above where a linguistic item can acquire a cultural significance for a particular subgroup, can lead to different use of these items for males and for females. We would assert that there are variables which are overwhelmingly chosen by females, and equally those which are chosen by males. Girls position themselves differently from boys in the linguistic culture of schools and young people, and within this different kinds of alliances exist between higher-attaining and lower-attaining, and between individuals from different schools. Potentially this focusing could refine down to the individual speaker, who, as Le Page suggests, is projecting a version of him or herself, having regard to gender, age, sex and social class, as well as the exact identity of the person to whom he or she is speaking. This process will result cumulatively in macro- differences between boys and girls. However, we would agree with Freed and Greenwood that these kinds of differences cannot be used to

suggest, (e.g. Lakoff 1975) that for example females are more tentative, and males more assertive. These kinds of conclusions are not suggested by the present study, and I would suggest that the current state of our knowledge and methodology would not permit such conclusions.

10.3.2. Social Class/School

The variable of social class, here represented by two contrasting schools, is perhaps the most important variable with regard to the aims of the present study. The study attempts to explore whether less privileged children, who certainly in less formal circumstances use a more vernacular style of speech, can style-shift towards a more careful style of speech.

As we have suggested, the results are mixed. In general terms it does appear that at all linguistic levels other than that of discourse, pupils from Townhead use more of the non-standard variables than pupils from Greenbelt, though in some cases the differences are very small (as for example for most occurrences of (t)). In most of the phonological levels, there is approximately a 20% difference between the two schools, and none approached statistical significance. In grammar and lexis the differences are larger, and are significant using analysis of variance, though of borderline significance using the Kruskal-Wallace test (see 8.7). However, the frequency of occurrence of a non-standard variant at the grammatical or lexical level is very small throughout the sample and the number of tokens per individual in the less privileged school is still small, though larger than in the more privileged school.

We can say therefore, that the Greenbelt children use virtually no non-standard grammar, and the Townhead children use some, though still a small amount. The differences are reversed for discourse, and for phonology the difference is small but generally in the expected direction. We conclude from this that Townhead children either cannot hear non-standard grammatical items in their speech, or maintain its use for cultural reasons. We return to this in the section on pedagogy.

10.3.3. The variable of attainment

This variable is not commonly used in linguistic research, but turns out to reveal some interesting patterns. While the higher attaining pupils (predicted A grades at GCSE) and the lower attaining pupils (predicted E grades or below at GCSE) appear to be in many ways peripheral to the school vernacular, middle attaining pupils seem to use more of the features which appeared to be typical of the school's lect. Glottalised variants of (k), for example, occurred less frequently in the speech of high and low attaining pupils from any school. In the case of Townhead, the frequency was 35% lower for high attaining pupils than for other pupils. This is also true of (t), though the differences are less striking, with a difference of between 10% and 15% for both environments. With the grammatical variables the same kind of pattern recurs, with middle attaining pupils scoring a mean usage of 4.5 for males and 2.25 for females, while low attainers score respectively 3 and 2, and high attainers of both sexes use .5 or below. A broadly similar pattern occurs with lexical items, with again a higher figure for middle attaining girls, and a lower figure for high and low attainers.

One area where this general conclusion is not the case is the very large amount of non-standard lexis used by low attainers in Townhead. However, given that this is restricted in large part to a small number of items, (*aye* and *na* in particular) from two individuals, we are perhaps better interpreting this as divergent behaviour, in terms of Communication Accommodation Theory. This argument is strengthened in that the other low-attaining individuals from both schools did not use such large amounts of non-standard lexis. In other words, these lexical items were not chosen as a way of representing identity, but rather of rejecting the talk situation in which they found themselves.

The corollary of this is that high attainers appear, in both schools, to use fewer non-standard phonological, grammatical and lexical items, whatever their background. Two explanations suggest themselves, and both would be testable through empirical work. The first is that higher attainers may be less involved in the school speech community, and less subject to the sort of social pressures to conform linguistically which Labov (1972b) and

Milroy (1987a) describe. Their aims may be to join the adult world and to escape the school and its adolescent norms, and they may be signalling this with their linguistic behaviour.

The second possible explanation is that a higher level of attainment (and therefore presumably of overall ability) enables high attainers to style-switch more effectively, since they have more linguistic ability (recall that the attainment scores were based on predicted GCSE English results). One or two of the higher attaining pupils talked about modern languages, and clearly were relatively higher attaining students of French or German. It may be that the kinds of style shifting we are investigating are affected by an individual's linguistic intelligence (see Gardner 1984, 1987). If this is the case then we need to consider whether low attainers are demonstrating not an unwillingness to co-operate, but an inability, and secondly whether such skills could be improved by direct teaching. Chambers (1992, 1995) discusses the function of innate abilities and predispositions. In my opinion currently it is not possible to choose between these two explanations.

10.4. School lects

The above conclusions suggest that Greenbelt and Townhead have very differing school linguistic cultures. We need to consider whether it is useful to posit the idea of a school-wide way of speaking, to which newcomers are asked to subscribe. The most obvious example of this is the highly distinctive vocabulary spoken by children in England attending independent boarding schools (fee-paying), such as Eton and Harrow. It is well attested (e.g. Honey, Scott 1975) that such schools have highly distinctive vocabulary which newcomers must acquire or suffer ridicule. It is likely that the schools also have characteristic phonology, and possibly discourse and intonation patterns.

I would propose that all schools have this in some measure. In less privileged areas the school lect will have a strong input from the local dialect, but even here items will be used which would be rare in the speech of local people, because they are unusual or stigmatised: (*deynt* for don't is the most obvious example: see 7.2 and also appendix). In more privileged areas the school lect may be less obvious, but still perceptible to local people

(for example, the comments made to me during the pilot study about the way children from Greenbelt had a certain way of talking).

Support for this notion comes from the work of Eckert (1988, 1989). Eckert shows clearly that her groups of youngsters within one school (Jocks, Burnouts and In-betweens) use different speech patterns. She also points out that certain usages pioneered by one group, may become adopted over time by another group:

> As variants move beyond burnout groups, they become somewhat dissociated from that category and associated, within the school context, with broader values that certain In-betweens share with Burnouts. At that point, they may become attractive and acceptable symbols for Jocks to use to express their own autonomy, and, at the same time lose their value to Burnouts as symbols of urban identity. ...Jock-Burnout differentiation decreases with the age of the sound change. (1988:204)

Interestingly Eckert also looked at another school in contrast with the one in which most of the study was carried out. She found large differences between the two schools in a way which suggests that the notion of a school lect may exist in American schools also. In a recent article Eckert and McConnell-Ginet (1992) develop this idea by emphasising the notion of practice: that we must look at speech as situated in a 'community of practice':

> People's access and exposure to, need for, and interest in different communities of practice are related to such things as their class, age and ethnicity, as well as to their sex. Working class people are more likely than middle class people to be members of unions, bowling teams, and close-knit neighbourhoods. Upper middle class people are more likely than working-class people to be members of tennis clubs, orchestras, and professional organisations. 1992:472

For young people, school is the obvious community of practice. However, unlike the examples given here by Eckert and McConnell-Ginet, membership of this community of practice is compulsory. Therefore some members will be more willing to indicate their membership of the community than others, and this indicating takes place partly in the field of language. Equally it takes place in terms of dress codes, hairstyle and many other things, and in all these ways individuals can signal their belonging or their distance from the organisation. This gives rise to the arguments about tie-knots and haircuts which occur in schools (as in Britain) where there are uniforms. The notion of practice is useful here,

because it enables us to think about the experience of school as a collection of practices, of which linguistic features are only one.

No linguistic study of which I am aware exists in Britain on the lines of Eckert. However, it would be interesting highlight linguistic differences between different groupings holding different values within schools in Britain, and such work would be most valuable given the admittedly greater influence of social class over young people in Britain (Eckert (1989, Trudgill 1975). However, it is clear that the school in Britain, like those in Eckert's study, is the main locus for adolescent self determination. The care with which adolescents monitor their own and others' speech ensures that school lects are monitored and 'policed'. Variation is permitted, but between the parameters determined within the school. These parameters will be laid down differently in different schools. Thus a school like Townhead, where many of the pupils come from working class families, will set out a set of options for a school lect which will reflect much more working class speech. Thus, even the more higher-attaining individuals in Townhead will occasionally use non-standard lexis, and the comparatively more distinctively Tyneside glottalised variant of (p). On the other hand, those in Greenbelt downplay more extreme vernacular items (including most grammatical and lexical items), and aim for a more generalised 'youth' pattern of speech, including glottalised variants of (t) and a large number of discourse markers. It may be that in different schools different linguistic parameters are set: goal posts are positioned between different points on the field of potential variants in an area. The variables within this are the local vernacular, the local standard (in areas like Tyneside and Glasgow), RP and standard English, and a media-influenced 'youth speech' itself influenced strongly by West Indian and Cockney vernaculars. To be able to tease all of these out will be a long and complex task. However, for any one pair of schools, usage of appropriate linguistic variables will enable a researcher to highlight clear and systematic differences.

The feature referred to above, where middle-attaining pupils seem to be using more of the variables than other attainment groups would seem to bolster the argument for school lects. In choosing individuals at the extremes of the attainment grouping and in the middle, one might argue that the research design of the current project makes it less likely to identify

school lects. A sample of pupils which reflected the normal curve of distribution would have had a larger number of middle-attaining pupils, and under these circumstances the features of a school lect would have shown up more clearly. By sampling numerically atypical pupils (high and low attainers), it is less possible to claim with confidence that there is a school-wide way of speaking. The fact that middle-attaining pupils in fact scored highly on many of the variables does suggest that a more representative sample of pupils would bear out this hypothesis.

10.5. Implications for pedagogy and for future versions of the National Curriculum

We now turn to the question of what sort of pedagogy (if any) should be adopted in order to deal most effectively with spoken standard English in the classroom, and whether the National Curriculum for English as it is currently written provides for the best practice to take place.

It should be clear from the foregoing that in formal situations many middle class individuals use no non-standard grammar and lexis. We need to ask whether these children need to spend time learning to speak standard English, when by the definition of the National Curriculum they can do so. I would argue that middle class children still need to spend time on these issues. If the next generation is to be less prejudiced than the business people, lawyers and journalists in the Mrs Briscoe case, they need to study some of the issues outlined in chapter four, including a consideration of the difference between different linguistic levels, and a study of the regularity of dialect usage. I am arguing here for a more linguistically aware generation of children, at home with the nature of linguistic prejudice, and at home with paradigms, syntax, and language variation and change. The list below is an attempt to outline what such a curriculum might be like.

Do the Townhead pupils, who do sometimes use non-standard grammar and lexis, need a different curriculum from their more middle class peers? Clearly they require to be made aware of the vernacular in their area, and to be made aware of any ways in which they

currently use non-standard grammar, at least so that they do not write it, but also so that they can, if they wish choose to avoid in certain talk situations. However, this is provided for in the suggested curriculum below.

In fact, there is little in either my own suggestions below, or in the National Curriculum which could not form the basis for a sensible course of study on standard English. Teachers in England and Wales have already made progress in beginning to teach this material (partly due to the impetus of the LINC project). However there is still some distance to go before teachers have the knowledge to deal with all of these issues, and there is concern in both primary and secondary schools that language study might be dull and boring. My view is that certain aspects of syntax, morphology and clause structure need to be taught carefully, in the same way as we teach letter formation and arithmetic. Once these have been covered (and there is no need for it to be dull), then a world of fascinating study awaits the children. A number of books are now available (e.g. Bain 1996) which make this kind of work accessible. The important thing is that teachers begin to see this work as a central aspect of the English curriculum, and that we thus attempt to educate future generations into the pitfalls and dangers of linguistic prejudice.

It is important to emphasise, however, that what is being proposed is not a matter of 'correcting' individuals who say 'he's went', and making it more difficult for them to express themselves in more formal contexts. The evidence of the present study is that individuals who want to participate in a formal talk situation can do so with only very small amounts of non-standard lexis, grammar, and with a phonology very much modified to meet the needs of the hearer. No native English speaker would have had difficulty understanding any of the individuals in the present study except the two boys from Townhead discussed above, who clearly did not want to participate. Thus the curriculum would not be in any way an attempt to 'improve' the children's speech, since they can cope well in formal situations. The aim would be to equip them with the knowledge to style-shift more effectively if they so wished.

What then would a curriculum in standard English, accent and dialect look like?

1 Some understanding of the nature of standard English, its history, and how standard languages themselves come to be, with reference not only to English, but to French, Latin, Arabic and other standard languages.

2 Some understanding of their local dialect, and the ways in which it differs from standard English. This would include study of the characteristic phonology as well as looking at paradigms such as shown in Chapter 4. It would also include dialect songs, stories and poems, and collections of dialect vocabulary.

3 An understanding of the relationship between local accents and dialect and the standard language in the media, including an understanding of the changing nature of R.P. Pupils might look at soaps, old documentaries, adverts, news readers and documentary narrators, and where local accents and dialects are found in the media. This opens up the debate and shows ways in which local speech is still stigmatised by the majority.

4 Some consideration of written standard English, and the way in which spelling is influenced by vernacular phonology. The pupils would become aware of grammatical items which might cause them trouble in the written form (such as *have went*). However, such variation would be discussed in terms of variation rather than error.

5 A historical view on language change. Pupils could look at variable spelling in old texts, and in the way conventions of written standard English changes over time. This would include work with dictionaries and etymology.

6 Work on linguistic prejudice. Study of matched-guise material, and preparation of matched-guise materials of their own would bring home the fact that we all make judgements on the basis of the way someone speaks. While pupils would thus become aware of the lack of rationality behind such judgements, they would be aware that they could themselves become the object of such prejudice, and if they wished could take steps to avoid it.

7 Work on the difference between speech and written language, emphasising that different rules apply to the two forms. Pupils could transcribe their own conversations, and invent their own systems of representing talk.

8 Work on conversation analysis, considering presupposition, adjacency pairs in formalised situations such as telephone calls, and how to develop what might be called 'appropriacy': the

study of how to respond in an appropriate way. This type of work might have helped the two boys from Townhead learn how to be more 'hearer-oriented'.

9 Practice at formal speech with a range of audiences, from known peers and adults to larger audiences. These could be taped or videotaped, and playbacks analysed and discussed.

10 All of this implies a great deal more linguistic awareness amongst pupils, which must begin in the primary school, and indeed some of the above can be done in the primary school. It can be done in an interesting and challenging way for children, exploring what they already have before them: adverts, shop signs, surnames. They need also to acquire basic concepts such as word, noun, plural, past tense. If this linguistic awareness is not present, much of the above will be difficult for secondary teachers to introduce.

It might be argued that the best approach to this would be to educate the general population linguistically so that negative judgements about accent and dialect are less common. Certainly I would support this, and indeed this is what is being proposed above for the Greenbelt children. However this is a long term aim (and was when Trudgill (1975) discussed this issue: see 3.4.4 above). One might argue that irrational discrimination on the basis of speech is as difficult to eradicate as discrimination on the basis of race, and indeed the two are intimately connected. If this is the case, more pragmatic approaches are also needed, and it has always been argued that the best way to counter discrimination is with knowledge. This is what has been proposed here.

11. Contribution and limitations of the present study, with notes on further research

11.1. Introduction

This final chapter will outline briefly what the main contribution of the present study has been, in the light of the linguistic, educational and historical literature outlined in earlier chapters of the study. It seeks to set the present study in context, and to point to areas where progress needs to be made to shed further light on the subject.

11.2. The nature of standard English

The present study has endeavoured to clarify what is meant by standard English, in the light of a consideration of the wide range of views which exist. The variety of approaches to the notion has been adumbrated in 10.1. We have identified a small number of key issues, which may provide a basis for future consideration of the matter. First, the folk linguistic notion of 'talking properly' is actually the view of most people who deal with this issue, and this includes politicians, lawyers, and media managers, as well as parent and children connected with schools. This must be borne in mind when giving thought to how this issue should be developed in schools with children. The view propounded by this study is that there is a huge chasm between what individuals think about language and what linguists think, and it can be compared with the ignorance of say 50 years ago of gender and race issues. This study has attempted to outline the linguistic facts as they appear within one dialect, and also to highlight the kinds of information (linguistic social and historical) which will be required to change the status quo. Legislating from within the National Curriculum will not achieve the stated goal of the National Curriculum for spoken standard English, namely 'To develop effective speaking and listening pupils should be taught to use the vocabulary and grammar of standard English...'. (1995:2)

Secondly, we have established empirical evidence for the capability of individuals to use standard English in more formal situations. Even in the light of necessary caution because of a small sample in one small urban area, the evidence is strong that individuals from deprived backgrounds are capable of producing reasonably standard speech: in contrast to other studies which used a less formal approach, the differences between the two groups were smaller than might have been thought. If we wish to help less privileged children to be as effective as possible in speaking standard English, it would appear that they require detailed information about language, accent and dialect. The present study provides this. In particular we would like to suggest that individuals require information concerning non-standard grammar, since this study reveals that this is the part which appears to be least modifiable by the individual (see 10.1.2). The individual would then be able to consider whether it was in his/her interests to modify speech in the direction of the standard form. However, in time we would hope (perhaps in vain) that education would remove the necessity of this.

We would also wish to suggest that few people are 'standard English speakers' all the time: there is no binary opposition between those who are and those who are not. The present study has examples of individuals who mostly spoke standard English, but who used one or two non-standard grammatical items when talking about, for example, a job on a local market, or an interest in football, or when they relaxed a little and felt more at home in the interview. In Le Page's terms, these individuals had moved focus, and had therefore adjusted their speech also.

11.3. The competence of adolescents in using standard English

The present study enables us to be more precise about what adolescents can do in situations requiring careful speech. Teachers such as the individual referred to in 1.0 have claimed for some time that their pupils are capable of modifying their speech when required to do so by the demands of the situation. The present study provides empirical evidence for this view, albeit for a small sample in one part of England. The individuals in the present study who came from the less privileged school were able to speak standard English to a

much greater degree than many people might have thought possible. With the exception of certain grammatical patterns which were very resistant to the modification procedure which appears to occur with other linguistic levels, the children considerably changed their mode of speech when compared with the way they had spoken during investigations for the pilot study.

A second point here is that as a result of these findings, one can be fairly confident that these speakers (of one of the most divergent dialects in the British Isles - see Milroy and Milroy 1994) would not have serious communication problems in talking to anyone from the English speaking world. This would apply only if they wished to accommodate to the person with whom they were speaking: as noted in 5.5 some of the subjects were unwilling to accommodate to the demands of the interview, and their use of non-standard items increased greatly as a result. Clearly some of the emphasis on being understood is misplaced in the light of the present study. This does not mean that communication will be straightforward at all times, but that the difficulties might well lie in the field of pragmatics, non-verbal communication etc, as outlined for example in Gumperz and Cook Gumperz (1982).

A third contribution made by the present study to this area of interest relates to the work of Gordon Wells. He found (see 3.3.6) that with the children in his study, there were no significant differences between more and less privileged children in their modes of speech.

> For the vast majority of the sample - representing about 90% of the population - there was no clear relationship between family background and level of (spoken) language development attained. There is therefore little justification for continuing to appeal to simple class stereotypes when thinking about the oral language abilities of children at the point of entry to school. (Wells 1987:134)

The present study would suggest that it is equally the case that at 16 there is no justification for appealing to simple class stereotypes. Such differences as do appear to exist are better explained by differences in speaker attitudes to the speech situation, rather than in differences in competence in language. We return again to the centrality of the notion of context and of speaker attitudes to speech situations. Pedagogically speaking we return to the insights of the National Oracy Project and the notion of contexts purposes and audiences: young people require new audiences, a variety of contexts and a variety of real or imagined purposes for

talk in order to become fully rounded speakers. The present study contributes towards providing empirical support for this notion.

A final point is that while the present study does provide some evidence for speakers adopting small amounts of non-standard grammar even in formal contexts, those who wished to do so appeared to be able to suppress non-standard lexis altogether. It would appear to be a reasonable conclusion therefore that it would be unnecessary to intervene in any way with children's use of lexis, on the basis that they will naturally select appropriate lexical items at the age of 16, and this will have been achieved by maturation. While an individual teacher may wish to consider lexis historically or from a dialectological point of view and would be well justified in doing so, this procedure would seem not to be necessary if the purpose is to enable children to avoid non-standard lexical items in formal speech.

11.3.1. The speech repertoire of less privileged children

One paradoxical point which emerges from the present study is that most of the less privileged children appeared to have a wider speech repertoire than their middle class peers. With the exception of the point relating to grammar mentioned above, the less privileged individuals appeared to be reasonably successful in using spoken standard English. We know from the pilot study that these individuals could also speak in a highly vernacular fashion. The present study thus leads us to the conclusion that in general terms the less privileged children had achieved a degree of bidialectalism, as advocated by Trudgill (1975). The more privileged children on the other hand, at least on the evidence of the pilot study, appeared to talk much more similarly whatever the speech situation.

The present study also contributes to the developing literature on speech accommodation in suggesting that in a formal interview situation the most powerful determining factor is between those who were willing and able to talk to the interviewer, and those who (for whatever reason, were not so willing).

11.4. Enabling children to have the widest possible speech repertoire

From a pedagogical point of view, the main contribution of the present study will be to establish what might be the most economical way of enabling children to acquire a wide speech repertoire. As was shown in 2.10, the National Curriculum envisages teaching of spoken standard English at an early age. The present study shows that this may not be the most economical use of a scarce resource: curriculum time. It is clear that time does need to be spent on learning how to use written standard English (which is a separate issue, and beyond the scope of the present study), and on providing a range of contexts purposes and audiences for talk. However it is suggested here that time spent on 'correcting' or practising spoken standard English may be unnecessary, since children will naturally separate out most aspects of the two dialects by the time they leave school.

Her Majesty's Inspectorate of Schools (HMI) in a recent report on English (HMSO 1995) comment that collaborative talk activities are too rarely seen in classrooms. The present study confirms that greater use of collaborative activities would develop the talk skills of our young people.

The present study provides empirical support also for the approach outlined in Language in Use (Doughty et al. 1971), in developing activities which develop the social and pragmatic aspects of language. These seem to be where the gaps exist in the competence of at least some of our young people.

It does appear that there may be a relationship between attainment and flexibility in dealing with speech situations: the higher-attaining pupils from both schools coped better with the formal context than lower-attaining pupils, and this finding clearly does not relate to social class, since this finding applied to higher-attaining individuals from both schools. Perhaps lower-attaining individuals from any social background might benefit from practice in deploying the social and pragmatic aspects of language, as suggested by Language in Use, the National Oracy Project, and the LINC project.

11.5. The school lect

The present study has developed the notion of a school way of speaking, which we have called a lect. While much more work would be required to establish whether this was a useful idea, it does seem that the most typical members of a school do appear to have a common mode of speech, which does not apply as much to more peripheral members. We seek here to make a link with the work of Labov (1972), where 'lames' speak in a less focused way (to use Le Page's term again) than the main gang members. We are claiming that schools have a majority of speakers who conform to the school's linguistic norms, and some who do not: these will always be in some way peripheral, either by being alienated socially or by being on the margins, either intellectually or in some other way. The suggestion would be that if high attainment was seen to marginalise an individual, then one would seek to avoid being perceived as a high-attainer. An individual's speech would be one marker which would delineate this. The suggestions here provide some material for sociologists, sociolinguists, and students of school effectiveness and school improvement. It may be that the linguistic climate is an indicator of a climate of high achievement, or the opposite.

11.6. Contribution to sociolinguistic methodology

We turn now to the contribution of the present study to sociolinguistic methodology. I have identified areas where the study appears to provide a new or different perspective or tool for other researchers to consider.

11.6.1. Schools as research sites

The first area would be that of using schools as research sites. While using schools is not a new idea (Macaulay 1978, for example, used contrasting schools), it is now possible to be very precise about the socioeconomic situation of schools. The Schools' Curriculum and Assessment Authority (1997) has produced benchmark data for schools which relates to percentage of free school meals: this material means that numerical characteristics of schools are more and more available. Since schools still represent geographical locations, we are

given a measure of social class which is much more precise than any previous index based on Registrar General classification etc.

A further point is that schools are interesting sociological entities. A considerable research literature exists of ethnographic and similarly organised in depth qualitative studies of schools and their social organisation (see 3.5 for a discussion of this literature). This approach could also be used within linguistics, rather as Eckert did, using qualitative ethnographic techniques and supplementing these with quantitative data of the sort used in the present study also. In the case of the present study the use of school sites gave rise to very valuable contrasts and provided the basis for many of the insights discussed in Chapters 9 and 10. However, because of the emphasis on formal talk, it was not possible to penetrate the social organisation of the school as is being suggested here, since this would have undermined the position of the researcher as an 'official' stranger.

Increasing numbers of official statistics contain data on free school meals. A recent report (Jenson and Gray, reported in TES 31/1/97) shows that half of pupils in receipt of free school meals had low GCSE scores (under 15 points when A = 7 points), while only one in six not in receipt of free school meals scored as low as this. Linguists have a contribution to make to this debate, since language appears to be one of the areas in which this low-attainment manifests itself.

11.6.2. Discourse markers as sociolinguistic variables

The present study attempts to highlight the value of discourse markers as sociolinguistic variables. While discourse markers have been extensively studied (see 6.2.2 for a discussion of this), they have not previously to my knowledge been used in a quantitative way. We would suggest that the present study shows that this is possible. Clearly future researchers will need to take account of the equivalence problem as outlined by Dines (1980) and discussed in 6.2.2, but the present study suggests that if the research design holds certain things constant (age, setting etc.), and if the research sites or other procedures provide adequate contrasts, then patterned data will emerge: between social classes, male and female.

and very possibly age, though clearly the present study does not provide direct evidence of this last.

11.6.3. New understandings in the effects of gender

The present study has taken the sex of the respondent as one of the variables. It would appear that one of the contributions is to support the view of Docherty et al (forthcoming) that females have their own variables and their own use of variables originally used by males, as outlined in Chapter 10. Further research would probably shed more light on this. We are suggesting that typical individuals who are well integrated into the school culture would adopt a set of linguistic procedures typical of that school, but within these procedures girls would use these differently from boys, in ways which would be intuitive to insiders, but would have no significance to outsiders.

11.6.4. Attainment as an extralinguistic variable

The present study would suggest that attainment is a possible extralinguistic variable which may be capable of providing new insights into differences in the speech of children and young people. Attainment, like social class, has the benefit of generally accepted national standards, which can be used to draw broad contrast between individuals. Often in the past finely graded tests such as I.Q scores have been used. While these do provide very precise information, they are questioned by educationalists, and have no 'public' acceptance. With SATs (Standardised Assessment Tasks and Tests) and GCSE we have a measure which is a) broadly accepted by the community, and b) generally confirmed by teacher judgement (teacher assessment or grade predictions). While this is certainly not to claim that these tests have a validity not assigned to other kinds of tests, we would suggest that the present study shows that the broad categories which GCSE gives us provide us with broad contrasts which are generally accepted: while we may lose out in precision by not using finely graded tests, we gain in the fact that universities, businesses and government all use these as measures of attainment. In fact, most of the criticism of SAT tests (for 7, 11, and 14 year olds) is that they constitute a lot of work to provide teachers with something they knew anyway. Few would contest that the broad levels are not reasonable indicators of attainment.

The present study has drawn some conclusions about attainment at 16 and its relationship to an individual's ability in using standard English. These suggest that low-attainers may have some difficulties which might be helped by the kinds of activities outlined in Chapter 10, perhaps adapted to their abilities in a way which is becoming increasingly common with the introduction of the Special Educational Needs Code of Practice (HMSO 1995), and see also comments in 11.6.1 above relating to free school meal data. They also suggest that perhaps higher-attainers may be less integrated into the school linguistic community, or that higher attainment enables more effective linguistic focussing. Further study could consider these issues further, or could consider whether either or both of these claims could be substantiated with younger children.

11.6.5. The study of formal speech

The present study suggests that the study of formal speech requires different procedures from the study of informal speech. We suggest that procedures such as word lists, though useful for linguistic purposes to establish variables, may not provide direct evidence of formal speech (see Milroy 1987b p 178ff for a discussion of the issues). We would suggest that a speech situation which is carefully constructed to maximise the opportunities for more formal types of talk will provide a more sound basis from which to discuss careful speech. We have also suggested that more formal talk is well worth studying for its own sake, since though it does not give access to the vernacular, effective formal speech is highly prized by the community at large. It would therefore be helpful for educators and others to establish whether certain individuals are more effective in the use of careful speech than others. The present study has contributed to this understanding, but other modes of analysis would also contribute greatly to our grasp of this issue. The work of Bell (1984, 1990, 1991) on media and audience design is relevant here, and his notion of audience design relates closely to the idea of focusing we have developed from Le Page. It may be that further work on formal talk will consider, as Bell does, the performance of professional talkers such as newscasters and interviewers, or indeed teachers and lecturers. It is clear that modes of analysis such as conversation analysis and pragmatic perspectives will be fruitful modes of enquiry here.

11.6.6. Importance of considering the interview as a speech event

A final consideration in this section is that we must begin to consider more carefully the social parameters of the interview as a factor influencing the outcome of sociolinguistic research. Milroy (1987) Chapter 8 gives a useful account of the variables at play here, but it would appear that often linguists take the interview as a given, rather than one of the variables which will create the context of the results obtained. Using the same interviewer does not necessarily mean that the interview situation itself may not vary according to the participants. The present study attempted to consider the impact of the speech situation on individuals involved in it, and how other factors such as gender and social class may have affected to kind of speech obtained. It may be that a quantitative study could provide a statistical context for this, in rating degree of relaxation, body language, smiling. A study using video equipment might be able to achieve further insight here.

11.7. Different linguistic levels

A further way in which the present study may have shed light on individuals' use of standard English is that we have suggested that different linguistic levels appear to be variably accessible to conscious control. While clearly the present study cannot provide any neurological evidence for this, it would seem that while semantic items are easily changed according to the context, grammatical structures will vary less. If a speaker is accustomed to saying 'they told we' (we as in unstressed [wə]: (S.E.) 'they told us') they are quite like to say this in formal contexts. Indeed it is quite usual to hear this and similar Tyneside grammatical features even in, for example, votes of thanks and after dinner speeches, from individuals who normally use a good deal of Tyneside grammar in their everyday speech. In a recent radio interview (BBC Radio 4, 11/8/97) Lord Dixon, a Labour peer from Jarrow used the non-standard participle 'he had went', in discussing a sensitive issue regarding a colleague who had recently committed suicide. In situations such as this it is of course impossible to decide whether individuals choose to use their 'native' grammar, or whether

they are unaware of it, and would not use it if they were so aware. I would suggest that this study points to the likelihood of individuals being unaware.

A surprising finding from the present study is that we found similar frequencies of glottallised variants of fortis stops in both schools, especially when comparing similar sex and attainment. This is in contrast with other studies of Tyneside English where sharper contrasts were found (see 6.1). We might extrapolate from this that individuals are more able to move towards R.P. or the local high status accent than might have been thought. While individuals do have difficulty in acquiring the finer points of a new accent (see Payne's work in Philadelphia: Labov 1980) it may be that exposure to R.P. and other high status accents in school and through the media makes this switch more possible. Clearly, more work would be required to establish this.

11.8. The phonology of Tyneside English

A good deal of interesting work has been carried out recently on Tyneside English phonology (see discussion in 6.1). The present study has contributed towards this in attempting to disentangle some of the more idiosyncratic features of Tyneside English which came to light during the present study. As outlined in 6.1 it would seem that the foot rather than the word may be the most useful unit in predicting the use of glottal stops both within and between words, explaining phenomena such as the glottalisation of the first [t] of *interesting* which is excluded as a possible site for glottalisiation by theoretical perspectives such as that of Harris (1994). However, as Milroy et al point out (1995) none of these phenomena appear to be categorical in their use, and it may prove more productive in the long run to work in terms of probability. Nevertheless, it would seem that a theory based on the foot which emphasises a word's stress features may be more effective in predicting the behaviour of glottal stops (and possibly other phenomena) in Tyneside English.

11.9. Combating linguistic prejudice

While we would not claim that the present study is in any way the first to do this, any systematic study of standard English in school which attempts to look rationally at the detail will reveal confusion, irrationality and prejudice in public attitudes to non-standard varieties of English. The present study has shown with regard to Tyneside English that non-standard dialects have structures and patterns which are the same as those in synecdochic dialects such as standard English. We have also attempted to present a historical perspective which shows that the changes which happen within dialects are 'natural', in the sense that they are subject to processes which cannot really be influenced by humans to any great extent. No-one can create a living language, and it is arguable that no-one can prevent a language from fossilisation and death.

We would hope that the present study would make clearer that the structural and historical influences on languages and on the speakers of these languages are not result of superiority of one group of speakers or one dialect against another, but rather a result of forces which are not open to control. Again, like race or sex, one's language is in good part the result of accident. This being the case, we would suggest that to make a judgement about a person on the basis of speech may eventually be seen as quite as indefensible as slavery does now. Perhaps the present study may have a small part to play in this process.

12. Bibliography

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13. Appendix 1

Transcript from pilot study

The following are two extracts from the pilot study to give a flavour of the kinds of talk obtained in less formal contexts, with larger groups of children.

Extract 1: Townhead

There are four samples, from different parts of the tape.

1

[a discussion of a text they had recently read]

A It wasn't set out properly 'cos it was just in a line, and you could hardly

B it was too

A it was geet thin

C it was canny hard to read... and that... like some people were geet reading it like...geordie

2

A I think they made it harder with making it like...

B and sir every time you had to speak geordie she was speaking scottish

T sorry

B every time you had to speak geordie she was geet speaking scottish and every time she had to speak scottish it was geordie

3

D sir I used to go...when I ....I was geet gettin a film and I just noticed yesterday cos I was watching a film with mi auntie jennie and I used to geet go and I was callin mi cousin and I was geet gannen [extreme R.P. accent] Andrew, Andrew...I used to geet talk like that

4

E we talk lazy but we're just not bothered

T why do you think you talk lazy

E well we're not really bothered what we say... like we are bothered what we say but I mean...[adopts Tyneside phonology] Ah'm not really bothered and other people go [R.P.] I'm not really bothered

B we talk geet fast I reckon

C sir mi mam's bothered... like...like for me to speak like...I'm gaan oot... like she would like us [i.e.*me*] to say I'm goin not gaan

D Ah knaa [*I know*]

C and deyn't dey that [don't do that] and cos she thinks it's like slang... it's horrible...and its lazy.