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Paul Kerswill

1 Dialect formation and dialect change in the Industrial Revolution: British vernacular English in the nineteenth century

1 Historical sociolinguistics and sociohistorical approaches to language change

The Late Modern period (c. 1700–1900) is usually described as having been a particularly stable time for the English language, belying the social upheavals of the age (Romaine 1998: 7). However, the main thrust of existing linguistic research on that period deals with printed materials, which by this time were abundant. Printing was pretty much standardised in form, and this means that direct evidence of the type of variation that might occur in spoken language will be masked more than it is for earlier periods, when even formal writing was not fully standardised. For the reconstruction of non-standardised phonology, lexis and morphosyntax, this is problematic, a fact which can to some extent be alleviated by focusing on personal and private writings. The extensive analyses of grammar provided, for example, in Kytö, Rydén & Smitterberg (2006), based on large-scale corpora containing a range of written genres, show us the broad sweep of changes in British English in a way that is barely possible using the survey methods of variationist sociolinguistics. Yet, those studies deal with only one (broadly defined) variety: Standard English in England (Kytö et al. 2006: 4). Indirect data on *spoken* language can be gleaned from a corpus such as *The Proceedings of the Old Bailey, 1674–1913* (oldbaileyonline.org; Huber 2007), though its usefulness for sociolinguistic work is severely hampered by the sporadic nature of the attestations of the spoken forms which occur in the corpus. Notwithstanding this, a good deal of historical sociolinguistic and dialectological work on the Early Modern period is based on a range of written genres, including personal letters, and this allows some access to socially and regionally marked varieties (e.g. Ihalainen 1994, and Meurman-Solin 2012 on the *Corpus of Scottish Correspondence*). For the Late Modern Period, a continuation of the Helsinki corpus-based approach of Nevalainen and colleagues allows for an improvement in sociolinguistic detail – but only up to 1800 (Nevalainen et al. 2013). Taking advantage of the emergence of academic dialectology towards the end of the nineteenth century, Wagner (2012) shows that Ellis's *The existing phonology of English dialects, compared with that of West Saxon speech* (1889) can be used to demonstrate clear

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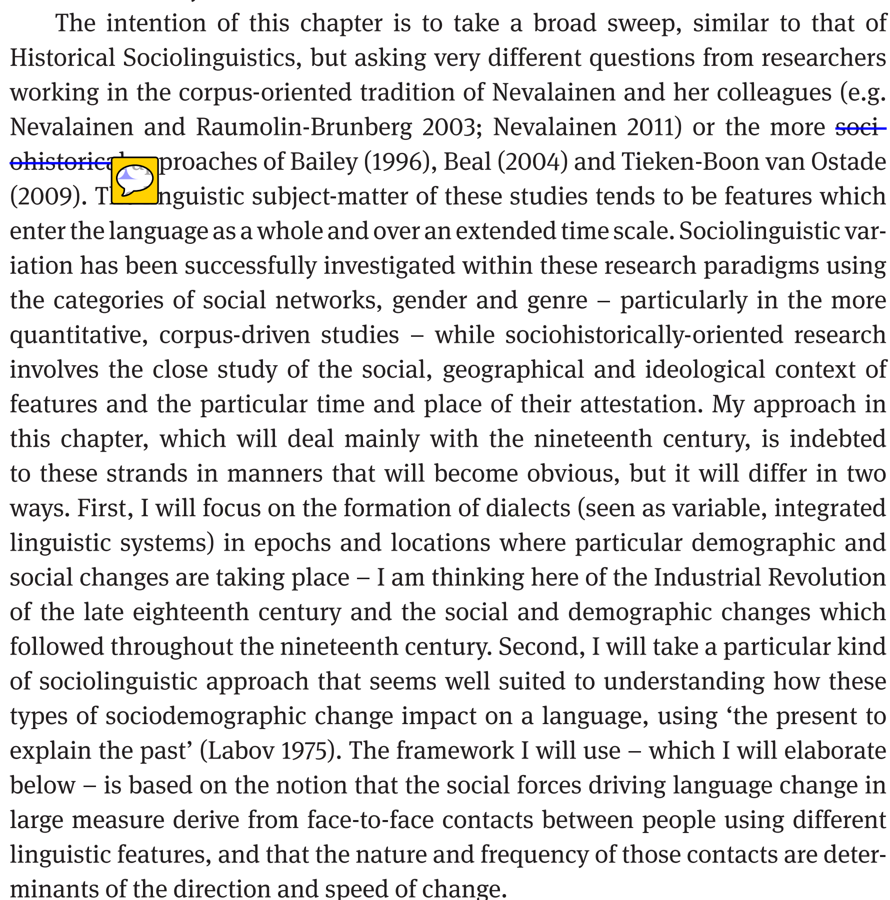
regional trends for morphosyntactic features, and that these analyses can be compared to dialect data collected for the *Survey of English Dialects* (Orton et al. 1962–71) and the later *Freiburg English Dialect Corpus* (Kortmann 2000; https://fred.ub.uni-freiburg.de/) to show patterns of change. Ellis's work will be drawn on later in this chapter, but for now we need to recognise that, in order to know *exactly* how English regional varieties sounded, or how the phonological, grammatical and discourse features of English were deployed in real speech situations and how they varied within and across communities, we would need extensive recorded samples, collected using sociolinguistically-informed methods such as are available only for the 1960s onwards.

The intention of this chapter is to take a broad sweep, similar to that of Historical Sociolinguistics, but asking very different questions from researchers working in the corpus-oriented tradition of Nevalainen and her colleagues (e.g. Nevalainen and Raumolin-Brunberg 2003; Nevalainen 2011) or the more sociohistorical approaches of Bailey (1996), Beal (2004) and Tieken-Boon van Ostade (2009). The linguistic subject-matter of these studies tends to be features which enter the language as a whole and over an extended time scale. Sociolinguistic variation has been successfully investigated within these research paradigms using the categories of social networks, gender and genre – particularly in the more quantitative, corpus-driven studies – while sociohistorically-oriented research involves the close study of the social, geographical and ideological context of features and the particular time and place of their attestation. My approach in this chapter, which will deal mainly with the nineteenth century, is indebted to these strands in manners that will become obvious, but it will differ in two ways. First, I will focus on the formation of dialects (seen as variable, integrated linguistic systems) in epochs and locations where particular demographic and social changes are taking place – I am thinking here of the Industrial Revolution of the late eighteenth century and the social and demographic changes which followed throughout the nineteenth century. Second, I will take a particular kind of sociolinguistic approach that seems well suited to understanding how these types of sociodemographic change impact on a language, using 'the present to explain the past' (Labov 1975). The framework I will use – which I will elaborate below – is based on the notion that the social forces driving language change in large measure derive from face-to-face contacts between people using different linguistic features, and that the nature and frequency of those contacts are determinants of the direction and speed of change.



In my discussion, I will focus on the whole of Britain. When dealing with the first part of the nineteenth century, the case studies will be from northern England, primarily because industrialisation in its most all-encompassing form took place there. For the second half of the century, my focus will move gradually to the

south, particularly London and the counties surrounding it. There will, however, be relatively little linguistic data. In part this is due to the general paucity of good dialect data for most of this period. What I am proposing, rather, is a framework to be used in further investigations, and it will be illustrated with linguistic data in small ways that are intended to test the concepts I am presenting.

2 How much can we find out about the development of dialects in Late Modern English?

For a long time, the English language was seen by some mainstream scholars as moving in a single sweep from Old English, through Middle English, to the 'perfection' of Standard English in the eighteenth century and the dignity of Received Pronunciation in the nineteenth (see Crystal 2005, Mugglestone 2007). Thus, Wyld (1927: 17) saw dialects from the end of the fourteenth century onwards as of little interest to the study of the history of English, because they were not 'the vehicle of literary expression'. This reinforced the 'standard ideology' that pervaded the work of historians of English until the mid-twentieth century (Crystal 2005: 5) and which continues to be the 'normal', common-sense ideology in British society at large today (Milroy 1999: 175). But as Cooper (2013: 261) points out, there was a growing amount of dialect literature (literature written in dialect) during this period, accompanied by well-observed amateur dialect descriptions such as Bywater (1839, Sheffield) and Robinson (1862, Leeds). None of these works was intended to be 'scientific'; instead, they were written for entertainment or instruction (Cooper 2013) or political campaigning (Langton 1984; 1986). It was not until the final quarter of the century that we find descriptive dialect studies of a type we recognise today as the precursor of modern variationist sociolinguistics, providing accounts that go beyond dialect words and isolated sounds. These began with the publications of the English Dialect Society, which existed from 1873 to 1896 (notably Wright 1892 and Skeat 1896). By some way the most significant of the early dialect publications was the 900-page survey, already mentioned, by A. J. Ellis (1889), which contains phonetic transcriptions of model texts rendered into dialects throughout England and Scotland, as well as parts of Wales and Ireland. Ellis had a network of collaborators, who prepared the texts on the basis of often very detailed knowledge of local speech (see Maguire 2012; Wagner 2012).

Given this backdrop of nineteenth-century dialect studies, we need to consider how much we can reliably discern of the significant changes in British English (BrE) vernacular speech which must have been taking place from the

beginning of the Industrial Revolution in the 1770s and continuing through the rapid expansion of industrial towns and cities throughout the century that followed. Did the dialects really plough a furrow separate from that of Standard English as Wyld implies? In answer to this question: clearly there were changes 'from below', such as the loss of rhoticity in London (Beal 2010: 15–6), while nonstandard pronoun and verb forms gradually gave way to standard ones. Of particular relevance for us is whether the conditions were right for 'new-dialect formation' in Trudgill's (2004) sense to take place, of the kind attested much later in the New Town of Milton Keynes (Kerswill & Williams 2000).

The question is whether we can observe dialect changes, including koineisation (new-dialect formation is the clearest example – Kerswill 2013), or else infer it from linguistic descriptions and social information from the period. This is a big challenge in the face of selective, non-quantitative data and a different intellectual view of the social world from our own. However, if we can marshal information from the period in such a way that we can apply our own interpretations to it, then we might arrive at an analysis which is compatible with later sociolinguistic work. This chapter is an attempt to do that. In order to refine our search for relevant information it is useful to have a model to guide us. The work of Henning Andersen (Section 3.1), Peter Trudgill (Section 3.2), and Salikoko Mufwene (Section 5) appears *prima facie* to fulfil this need.

3 Establishing a workable sociolinguistic model for change in the past: contact, community type and subjectivities

The sociolinguistic model I want to develop relies, as already suggested, on the presence of face-to-face contact between speakers, along with the types of social relations between the speakers and the relative size of the different populations the speakers are part of. The contact can be between, for instance, neighbours in a small community, between migrants and a settled population, or between residents and visiting relatives (Kerswill 2006; Britain 2011). Of considerable importance is the contact arising from people's mobility, for example as daily commuters or as long-distance migrants who have relocated: as we will see, this was already a powerful factor in the London area in the nineteenth century (and had been so from medieval times [Baugh & Cable 1993]). Sometimes social relations allow for close contacts, while in other cases class or ethnic differences constrain the contacts. In a minority of cases, with migration, the proportion of

incomers becomes so great that the original dialect (or language) is overwhelmed through force of numbers, leading to rapid change. This is known as *swamping* (Lass 1990; 2004: 367–8). The relative rarity of swamping is a result of the effect of the *Founder Principle* (a term adopted from population genetics), by which a founding population presents a powerful model for later versions of speech in the particular locality (Mufwene 1996).

This general approach to the sociolinguistics of language change is, of course, not new and much of it belongs to the mainstream (see Britain 2016 for a critique). The way I want to implement it for nineteenth-century English is, however, novel, in one particular way. It does not take 'the language' as a single, albeit variable, entity as its object of investigation, and in this respect it differs from historical sociolinguistic approaches. Instead, it focuses on a 'dialect landscape' consisting of a series of geographically distributed but interlinked communities across which a continuum of language varieties is spoken. This contrasts with the historical sociolinguistic tendency to deal with single linguistic items and their distribution across time, space and social factors. I am particularly interested in how people in a particular community come to use the linguistic features they do. I will generally avoid the term '*speech* community', because of the difficulty of definition; for instance, I would not espouse the narrow definition offered by Labov of a group of people who adhere to a single set of speech norms (*pace* Labov 1989) – except insofar as any such agreement is a phenomenon to be explained. Communities are in flux, composed as they are of individuals with overlapping and changing social networks, and boundaries are diffuse. For our limited purposes, namely the actuation and spread of linguistic change, it is useful to see the community as reflecting concentrations of people who are potentially in contact with each other. This is consistent with Gumperz's (1968: 219) definition of a speech community as 'any human aggregate characterized by regular and frequent interaction by means of a shared body of verbal signs and set off from similar aggregates by significant differences in language usage'. In addition, there may be a subjective component related to social norms of behaviour, including the use of language. Communities can be viewed at different levels of social analysis – in particular, overarching groups vs. smaller clusters, defined by locally salient factors, including class and ethnicity.

In turn, groups overlap and change over time. People belong, in unique ways, more or less strongly to different groups (defined by family, work, ethnicity, etc.), and their salience for the speaker varies from moment to moment. However, because of their personal histories and preferences, people will associate and identify more with some groups than with others. These are likely to be smaller-scale groups or clusters involving face-to-face contacts (communities of practice [Meyerhoff 2012] are a particular instantiation, but families and school

friendship groups are salient examples, too). Crucially for us, these are likely to be geographically focused. It is the degree of social stability that this type of localness implies that enables locality-based speech patterns to emerge and to be maintained.

However, seen from an individual's point of view, a community is mainly experienced through her or his social network – through everyday personal contacts. Within a social network, weak ties are thought to be the channels along which changes are spread (Milroy & Milroy 1985). All of these social structures – communities, groups and networks – have correlates in linguistic behaviour (Milroy & Milroy 1985; Kerswill 1993). It is changes in these patterns I want to explore specifically at the *community* level.

The approach I will be using to achieve this is derived in part from work by Andersen (1988), Trudgill (2004; 2011) and Mufwene (1996; 2001). As with the ideas just outlined, their approaches to language change are broadly socio-demographic, in a way that has received advocacy in studies of creolisation (e.g., van den Berg & Selbach 2009; Mufwene 1996). In this chapter, we will test the limits of this approach to establishing the changing states of a 'dialect landscape' in the relatively distant past, without the possibility of modern survey and recording techniques.

3.1 Evolutive vs. adaptive changes (Andersen 1988)

Andersen's (1988) paper is a study of the spread of changes across a dialect continuum, with examples taken from Europe. He differentiates between evolutive and adaptive changes. *Evolutive changes* are language-internally motivated and triggered during language acquisition, while *adaptive changes* involve the adoption of a linguistic feature (a word or a sound) from another community which speakers have come into contact with (McMahon 1994: 95–6; Andersen 1996: 17). These two types of change are aligned with what Labov (2007) calls transmission and diffusion – the former referring to the intergenerational passing on of language/dialect, the latter the adoption, through contact, of forms which have diffused across geographical space. All of these will become important for our discussion; however, Andersen finds that not all of the cases he discusses can be accounted for by them. To deal with this he introduces a two-part model of change, involving degree of contact and degree of subjective orientation towards or away from one's own community, the latter being independent of the change mechanism itself.

I will deal with the contact part of the model first. Andersen proposes that an important predictive dimension for language change is the degree to which

members of a community have contacts with people from elsewhere. High-contact communities are expected to undergo rapid change, with the change involving what Andersen refers to as the adoption of norms. Thus, '[t]he bearers of one set of norms adopt aspects of the others' norms as theirs and adjust their usage accordingly. As a consequence, the relevant aspects of the innovators' own traditional norms cease to be passed on in their area, and the difference which earlier marked the two speech areas as distinct is obliterated' (Andersen 1988: 40). Andersen sees this mechanism as leading to simplification: referring to morphology, he states that, in *open* communities (with a high degree of external contact), there is a 'decrease in irregularity ... There is typically a marked difference in this regard between open and closed communities ... the greater potential for variability of usage in open communities favors a more active leveling of irregularities' (1988: 60–1). On the other hand, in *closed* communities, which are relatively cut off, we see the opposite happening. Evolutive (internally-driven) changes have a freer rein here: 'Closed communities ... may offer the ideal context for a high-fidelity transmission of phonetic detail and thus favor the establishment of incipient rules ... As a consequence, ... the amount of phonetic change may be greater in relatively closed communities – to the point of being exorbitant' (1988: 71). By 'exorbitant', Andersen is referring to unusual sound changes, though complexity in morphology and even syntax may arise.

The second part of Andersen's social model is to do with the attitudes of the community towards outsiders and their linguistic norms. He introduces the notions of *endocentricity* and *exocentricity*, which refer to the relative positivity of attitudes towards outside linguistic and social norms – the community's subjective orientation. His explanation is as follows: '... appeal must be made to the tighter or looser bonds of linguistic solidarity that bind its [an open community's] members together, that is, to the attitudes they collectively hold towards their own norms vis-à-vis those of others' (1988: 71–2). Endocentric communities (and dialects) resist external norms. This allows us to set up a four-way classification, in which the same categories are co-opted as descriptors for both communities and dialects (the numbering is mine):

– *Endocentric closed* (Type 1): geographically peripheral and self-contained, and allowing 'exorbitant' phonetic changes (see above). They appear to be rare today in the west (Røyneland 2005: 86).
– *Endocentric open* (Type 2): urban, innovative in the context of a 'great or fair amount of interdialectal communication' (Andersen 1988: 60). And: 'Endocentric open dialects may retain their individuality in the face of relatively extensive exposure to other speech forms' (p. 74). Because of their high degree of external contact, there is by implication scope for innovative features to diffuse outwards.

– *Exocentric closed* (Type 3): linguistic norms have become pervious to outside influence, but contact is actually slight. '[O]ne can expect exocentric closed dialects to accept diffused innovations just like exocentric open dialects, but at a rate which is slower in proportion to the lower density of their inter-dialectal communicative networks' (p. 74).
– *Exocentric open* (Type 4): unlike Type 2, communities are not especially protective of local norms. Instead, they are strongly affected by incoming features, diffusing from local urban centres. Thus: 'It may be primarily an attitudinal shift from endocentric to exocentric which changes the course of development of a local dialect when it becomes part of a wider socio-spatial grouping' (p. 74). This is, I would argue, the mechanism for the *loss* of dialect.

In Andersen (1988), this framework is drawn in bold outline, and as a result it is a blunt instrument – even if one allows for gradations between the extremes of the two dimensions. Criteria for what constitutes 'contact' are not clearly set out, nor is it easy to determine how differences in amount of contact can be measured. Within any community, individuals vary greatly in the degree to which they themselves have high or low amounts of contact, or are exocentric or endocentric in their orientations. Even if one takes some kind of 'average' amount of contact or of endo-/exocentricity as the measure, this does not allow us to evaluate the qualitative differences (such as differences in multiplexity) between the contacts which an individual, or the community for that matter, contracts. Endo-/exocentricity is very vaguely defined, and even with questionnaire-based and experimental methods for ascertaining social orientation (Llamas 1999; Llamas & Watt 2015), it is unlikely that it corresponds to a single, measurable dimension.

3.2 Sociolinguistic typology: simplification vs. complexification processes (Trudgill 2002; 2010a; b; 2011)

Nevertheless, both 'contact' and 'social orientation' are useful primes for an initial exploration of types of speech community. This brings us to the second sociolinguistic model: this is Trudgill's contention that *sociolinguistic typology* can help explain different kinds of language change (Trudgill 2002; 2010a; b; 2011). Trudgill discusses a range of attested changes for which sociolinguistic details exist. He is concerned to explain why, in cases of language or dialect contact, *both* simplification *and* complexification can occur (2011: 31) – where

simplification refers (mainly) to a reduction in morphological irregularity, while complexification is *additive*, that is, of a kind that involves the addition of forms or categories from the language that is the source of the contact, such as new phonemes. He concludes as follows:

> Simplification will occur in sociolinguistic contact situations only to the extent that untutored, especially short-term, *adult* second-language learning occurs, and not only occurs but dominates. (2011: 40)

and:

> We can expect to see additive complexity developing in long-term, co-territorial contact situations which involve childhood – and therefore pre-[critical] threshold and proficient – bilingualism. (2011: 42)

Phonological and morphological changes in standard forms of English in the period since 1750 have been relatively minor, but since the research focus has been largely on the standard, the considerable changes in non-standard varieties over the same period have largely been masked. We will return to these in the context of simplification vs. complexification shortly.

This goes some way to providing a more fine-grained description of 'contact' than that which Andersen gives. In addition, Trudgill also talks about isolation – the lack of contact – and here he too finds the kind of 'exorbitant' changes noted by Andersen (Trudgill 2011: 98). Isolation forms part of Trudgill's further typology, as follows; the relevance of these different parameters will become clear as we begin to present data:

1. small vs. large community size
2. dense vs. loose social networks
3. social stability vs. instability
4. high vs. low degree of shared information
5. degree of contact vs. isolation

(Trudgill 2010a: 300)

At the start of the Late Modern period, English-speaking communities in Britain were beginning to experience the upheavals of the Industrial Revolution. Communities diversified rapidly, with the expansion of existing towns increasingly based on a single industry and with a highly stratified capitalist structure. We will return to the effects of the Industrial Revolution shortly, but suffice it to say that these developments entailed changes in the values of the five factors above. This will presumably have impacted language in ways that have been explored in modern communities (e.g. Milroy & Milroy 1985; Millar 2016): small

communities with dense social networks, local employment and stability gave way to larger, more diverse units with greater contact, and we would expect a levelling of dialect differences across a larger region. A further factor, migration, is not explicitly mentioned, but is of course crucial. We turn to this now, again using work by Trudgill as a springboard.

The sociolinguistic typology approach deals mainly with the explanation of simplification and complexification – processes which, it turns out, are of relatively little importance in British English in the period since 1800 – which means that we might instead look, for example, for *rate* of linguistic change. That said, we will see an example of complexity in a small community at the end of the chapter. In the model, communities are the independent (or explanatory) variable. They are a given, and so the model has little to say about the formation of new communities and, hence, new dialects. It also has little to say about the *transition* from one community type to another, and this it shares with Andersen's model. New-dialect formation is the focus of Trudgill's deterministic model of contact-driven change, by which any role for identity and ideology is backgrounded in favour of seeing change as an automatic outcome of the proportions of speakers of different dialects in a new community (2004; 2008). In its most straightforward form, a 'new dialect' emerges when speakers of different mutually intelligible language varieties migrate to a new location where there is no existing population, or a population speaking a different language and with whom there is little social integration. The result is a dialect in which the features that win out are those which were in a majority among the incoming speakers. This is a matter of frequencies, and hence deterministic. Trudgill's example is New Zealand – a place where English speakers migrated in relatively large numbers from around 1850.

However, in late eighteenth/early nineteenth century Britain, this type of 'tabula rasa' did not exist, and any new dialect that emerged remained in contact with other varieties of English, especially in its own hinterland – as seems to have been very much the case during the Industrial Revolution. In New Zealand, a new variety emerged, cut off from the dialect continua of the countries of origin. In Britain, there are, either historically or in the present day, few examples of dialects which are sufficiently distinct from surrounding dialects to be considered separate in the same way: the major exception is Liverpool (Honeybone 2007): 'Liverpool English stands outside of [sic] dialect continuum, as a relatively new variety' (Honeybone 2007: 110). In this period, it also appears that only one town of significance was established as a new, planned settlement on unoccupied land, Middlesbrough (Llamas 2015). We will discuss the demographic evidence relating to Middlesbrough later in this chapter. This being the case, the question presents itself to what extent we can speak of 'new dialects' emerging during the

Industrial Revolution at all. We will turn to this question in Sections 5, 6 and 7, and in doing so we will find the approach of Mufwene to be of crucial importance; I will present his model there.

So far, I have attempted to draw up a set of sociodemographic factors which have explanatory value in terms of the association between community type and language change. In addition, however, we have to be able to operationalise these factors for use with communities in the past for which we have relatively sparse information, but for which, because of the considerable time depth, we can relatively easily see *major* social and demographic changes. My appeal to the 'traditional' sociolinguistic factors of gender, class, age and ethnicity will therefore be minimal, because at this temporal distance and without actual samples of speech it is not really possible to work at the individual level. Historical sociolinguists have been successful in analysing language data from named, literate individuals. Although recently attention has been given to the language of lower-status individuals, such as nineteenth-century pauper and less schooled letter writers (Laitinen 2015), we still cannot gain access to the population at large.

4 Britain and its communities in 1800

By 1800, Britain was already well on the way to being transformed by the Industrial Revolution – the massive changes in social and economic structure which were driven by innovations in technology, the harnessing of water and coal power, the invention of the factory system and the development of capitalism. Manufacturing, such as cloth-making, had existed in the rural areas prior to industrialisation; these industries now became mechanised while remaining close to the source of water power. Although some have argued that the 'revolutionary' side of the Industrial Revolution is doubtful because of the long period of time involved and because both traditional and new industries were affected (Daunton 1995: 125–127), the fact was that the new economy required large movements of people into the industrialising towns and cities. It appears that most of the migration was relatively local, with continued contacts between the towns and their hinterlands, though the system of apprenticeships, as well as the practice of migrant labour, often required men, women and children to travel long distances to find work (Higginbotham nd; Worship 2000). During the nineteenth century, there was also large-scale migration from Ireland to many English towns and cities. Complex population movements such as these clearly helped determine the outcome of any dialect changes that took place.

5 The Founder Principle, demographic change and scenarios for dialect change in the nineteenth century, 1801–1900

In order to uncover the mechanisms of dialect formation and change during this period, knowing where the migrants came from is not enough. We need to know the proportions of people from different places as well as to have some knowledge about the local dialects, on the basis that, as Trudgill's determinism model predicts, the outcome of dialect contact depends on the relative frequencies of the linguistic features that were brought in.

The determinism model fails, however, to take account of the precise dynamics of dialect or language formation resulting from migration, nor does it easily handle the diverse contexts in which it occurs. It is here that Mufwene's (1996; 2001) adaptation of the Founder Principle comes into its own. Mufwene discusses his model in the context, not of dialect contact, but of the development of African American English and Caribbean creoles out of specific types of multilingual contact. This approach allows Mufwene to argue that the features of a creole depend on input from mostly non-standard varieties of the lexifier, including grammatical structures, and subsequently on grammatical transfer from the languages of the enslaved Africans. He explains that, in the American colonies, the proportions of Africans to Europeans were at first low, and it was at this stage that African American English dialects were formed, essentially as contact varieties of English. Subsequently, newly-arrived Africans would acquire this established variety. On the Caribbean plantations, the proportions of Africans were much higher, leading to greater grammatical transfer from African languages, resulting in what are labelled 'creoles' (Mufwene argues that creole formation is not typologically distinct from other kinds of contact-based change). These creoles were acquired by later arrivals from Africa, children learning them accurately.

Although he discusses the relative proportions of Europeans and Africans in the new settlements, Mufwene does not go into detail about the process of dialect transmission. This seems to me to be crucial. The basic pattern is that children growing up acquire the community's specific accent and dialect features in childhood and adolescence (Labov 2007). For newcomers, the picture is more complex, in that a second language or second dialect is being acquired, with age-related restrictions on what kinds of features can be acquired beyond particular ages. Chambers (1992) posits a 'critical age' for dialect acquisition of between seven and fourteen, and this is supported by other studies (Kerswill 1996; Nycz 2015). I would argue that the critical age relates closely to whether the outcome of in-migration for an existing dialect is no change, some change or

swamping. Let us assume that, for a dialect to be changed, there needs to be, *at a given point in time*, a minimum proportion of in-migrant people who have not acquired the local dialect. In the absence of detailed information, we can set this number at 50%. I would also suggest that this figure should include a high proportion of adolescents and young adults, because they are more likely to integrate with local networks than are older adults, and would hence be linguistically more influential. I would also argue that the time over which this proportion persists should be around 10–12 years, this being roughly how long a preschool age child takes to accrue a social network beyond the household and family.

This figure of 50% is not entirely arbitrary: it is supported by at least two studies, both of which demonstrate phonological restructuring in places with a very high proportion of foreign-born residents. Looking at the origin and spread of the low-back merger (between words like *cot* and *caught*) in small towns in Pennsylvania, Herold (1997) finds that the merger is much more strongly present in towns that had a large, non-Anglophone immigrant population in 1920 than in those that did not. All the towns had a rapid migration-led population increase between 1890 and 1920, but the merger was largely present in mining towns, where the 'foreign-born' or 'first-generation Americans' (those with one foreign-born parent) represented 59% of the population, while it was largely absent in the non-mining towns, where the proportion was 24% (with the remaining migrants being of US origin). Secondly, a study of phonological and grammatical restructuring in British-born young people's language in London (Cheshire, Kerswill, Fox & Torgersen 2011) found greater changes in boroughs with relatively high proportions of non-British born residents. This is reflected in the proportions of school children who do not have English as a first language (NALDIC 2013): in 2013, these ranged from 33.1% to 76.1% in inner London boroughs (London as a whole having an average of 47.5%, the figure for England being 18.1%). Shortly, we will use nineteenth-century Census figures to look for evidence of the proportions of young people who are likely not to have acquired the local dialect.

Before we do so, we should consider whether the Founder Principle is at all applicable in the dialect contact ecologies (*language ecology*: 'the study of interactions between any given language and its environment' – Haugen 1972: 325) of nineteenth-century New Zealand and industrialising Britain. These ecologies differ from the cases Mufwene discusses in that the lexis of the incoming varieties is more or less shared, as are most of the grammatical and phonological structures. Perhaps more importantly, power structures were different: there were power differentials inherent in capitalism in Britain; even in egalitarian, *tabula rasa* New Zealand, power was asserted by the Anglican Church, which was able to exclude certain groups. What is shared across all the contact scenarios is that power differences affect the type and amount of contact between groups, as

well as the motivation one group has to accommodate to another. Because the Founder Principle is fundamentally a result of linguistic accommodation, there is every reason to suppose that its effect is universal.

In terms of new-dialect formation, Dollinger (2008: 129–132) has discussed the emergence of Canadian English using this framework, arguing that the American Loyalists in British North America in the early years of the nineteenth century constituted the founder population of Canadian English and that later incomers from Britain and Ireland had a minimal linguistic influence, despite their very large numbers.

6 Implementing the demographic framework in nineteenth-century Britain

Moving now to the industrialising British towns and cities, we should consider three possibilities: first, whether we are dealing with an original local dialect which, as a result of the Founder Principle, is relatively unaffected by waves of newcomers; second, whether the newcomers arrived in an existing community over a sufficiently short time period and in sufficiently large numbers to swamp the original dialect (or to radically restructure it); or, third, whether there were any settlements in 'virgin' territory in which new-dialect formation is likely to have taken place. In each case, we need minimally to know the following:

– the size of the original population relative to the incoming population
– the rapidity of any population increase (e.g., by decade)
– the contribution of natural increase (births minus deaths) to the overall increase

To these demographic data, we need to add the social dimensions of power, intergroup relations and attitudes.

Information about dialect speech in earlier times is sparse and, above all, unsystematic. Using Census data, we can, however, investigate whether any of the sociodemographic conditions and changes would predispose communities to the kinds of change we noted earlier. The first national census in Britain was conducted in 1801 (Vision of Britain nd(a)), and this has made countrywide calculations of demographic changes possible. For our purposes, Lawton (1986) and Lee (1986) provide invaluable information for the nineteenth century on two parameters relevant to dialect change: population growth and decrease, and natural growth vs. migration-based growth.

Figure 1 shows population densities across Great Britain at three stages during the long nineteenth century.

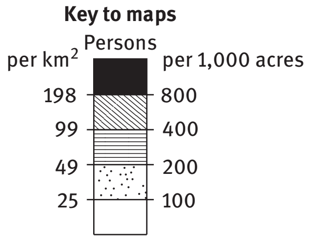


Figure 1: Population density in 1801, 1851 and 1911. (Lawton [1986: 11], Figs. 2.1–3).

At the beginning of the century, there were two large centres of population: an area across northern England encompassing Manchester and the industrial centres of the western part of Yorkshire and, in the south, London. As the century progressed, these areas grew in population, as did most of the rest of the country including rural areas. It is worth quoting Lawton at length (1986: 10):

> In England in 1801, areas of high density population were isolated and very small … Especially prominent were London and the industrial West Midlands, south Lancashire and west Yorkshire.
>
> [1851] … [A] growing, still labour-intensive agriculture supported by a substantial range of craft industry pushed rural population densities to their peak. The distribution was dominated, however, by towns and industry, especially coalfields, major ports and commercial centres. London's county with a population of 2.7m equalled that of the eleven biggest provincial centres put together, though expanding high density areas point to emerging conurbations around Birmingham, Manchester, Liverpool, Leeds and Glasgow.
>
> Between 1851 and 1911 rural populations declined throughout Britain … Densities fell severely in the marginal areas … In contrast, on the coalfields, especially northeast England, the east Midlands and south Wales, and the rural/suburban periphery of large towns and conurbations, densities increased rapidly. A century of growth and redistribution had created a very different map from that of 1801. On the coalfields and around London there were large densely populated areas. Suburban growth and conurbation were now … what was happening. The growth of older industrial areas … began to slacken, whilst that of Greater London, the southeast and the south and east Midlands quickened as populations began the twentieth-century drift to the new industries of southern Britain.

Lawton outlines two main trends: in the first half of the century, we witness the growth in population in the northern industrial and coalmining areas, while the second half sees the rise of the 'new industries of southern Britain', the emerging service industries which would become central to the twentieth-century economy.

Figure 2 shows overall population growth in the two halves of the nineteenth century.

Except for peripheral rural areas, there is growth across the board, with concentrations in Glasgow, on Tyneside, the banks of the Tees (Stockton and the new town of Middlesbrough, founded in 1830), in Liverpool, Manchester, West Yorkshire, Birmingham, South Wales and (particularly after 1851) London. Figure 3 shows the components of the population change after 1851, first, natural change (the difference between births and deaths, with the effect of migration removed) and, second, change due to migration (the figure after natural change has been subtracted). 'Sum of percentage net intercensal change' refers to the population change between censuses, summed across the six censuses from 1851 to 1911. The measures are relatively rough, with the highest rate being 100% or greater, which amounts to an average of 16.7% or more per decade: many individual

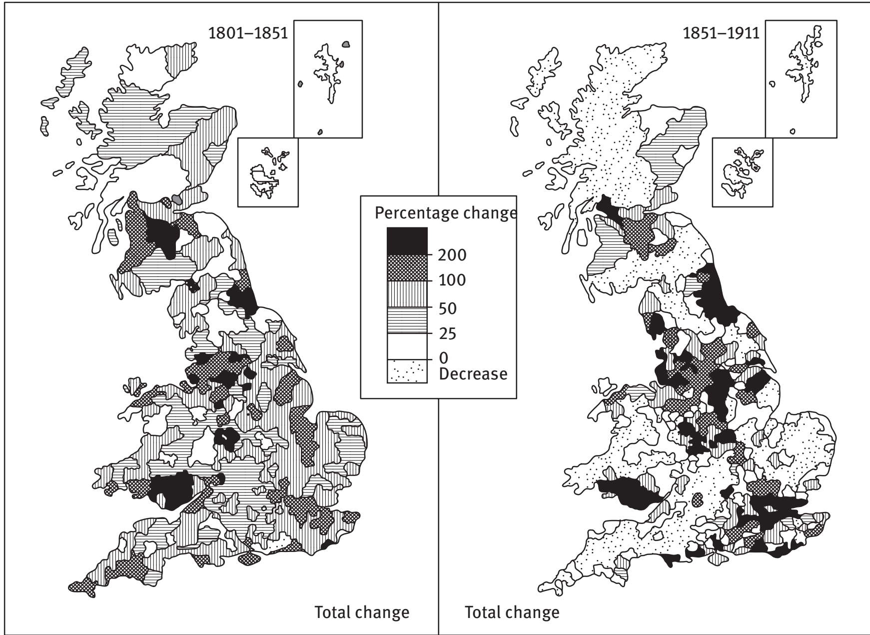


Figure 2: Population growth, 1801–1851 and 1851–1911 (Lawton [1986: 13], Figs. 2.5–6).

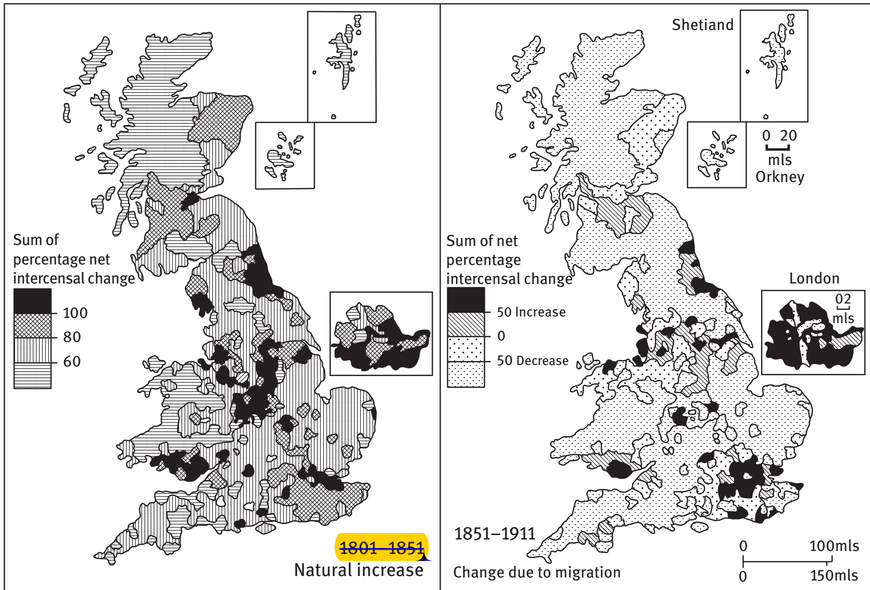


Figure 3: Components of population growth, 1851–1911 (Lawton [1986: 13], Figs. 2.7–8).

towns and cities had a much higher rate than this, at least in the earlier period, as we will see.

Figure 3 shows that, except for parts of Wales and the Highlands, natural increase is strong in almost all parts of the country, though Lawton comments that mortality and fertility rates both varied substantially. In many towns and cities, such as those in the West Midlands districts of the Black Country and the Potteries, both were high, keeping populations in balance, while in London mortality was so high that, across the century, the increase was largely due to migration. In almost all the rural parts of Britain, there were migration-led decreases; the effect this has on dialects is likely to be mixed, since the loss of child-bearing population would lead to older people and their dialects having a conservative influence; on the other hand, depopulation can lead to a small community being subsumed into a larger one. Whatever the case, as we shall see, one effect of the persistence of small, low-contact communities is the maintenance of dialect and, sometimes, the introduction of complex changes (cf. Trudgill 2011: 74). Towards the end of the period, according to Lawton (1986: 12), migration-led increases came to be confined mainly to London's suburbs and the larger cities, with the northern English industrial areas losing population.

The picture being portrayed does not lend itself to new-dialect formation of the kind described for New Zealand. There are, in fact, very few examples of the establishment of entirely new towns in the period – Middlesbrough being a notable exception. As we have already seen, industrialisation took place in areas where various kinds of labour-intensive crafts were already practised, as well as cloth and wool industries. Many of these had exploited water power to drive mills. Thus, even a town such as Blackburn, which grew at a rate of between 25% and 45% per decade in the first half of the nineteenth century from a base of 11,980 in 1801 (Taylor nd), had been a market town since the Middle Ages and a centre of the wool trade and weaving in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries with a population of 5,000 (Beattie 1992). Are these figures for Blackburn *prima facie* evidence that the dialect might have been restructured or swamped? We can take this town's population change as an example. For simplicity, let us say that the population was 10,000 in 1801. For 50% of the population to come from elsewhere 10 years later, there would have to have been a migration-based increase of somewhat more than 100% by 1811, if we accept that many of the incomers, who were mostly of child-bearing age, would have had children within the period, and these would have added to the locally-born population. We must also assume that some of the increase was natural. With the actual increases being much less than this, Blackburn's dialect could not have been more than mildly restructured by in-migration, and would have retained its local character (maintaining rhoticity to the present day). It was certainly not swamped.

We can briefly turn to Middlesbrough, the only nineteenth-century new town of any size. Here, we can see indications that new-dialect formation might have contributed to the characteristic features of the dialect. Middlesbrough grew from a population of just 40 in 1821 to 39,284 in 1871. Below are the figures for each census date in this period (Llamas 2015, quoting Census data):

1821	40
1831	154
1841	5,463
1851	7,631
1861	18,892
1871	39,284

In Middlesbrough, discounting the tiny populations in 1821 and 1831, there are three intercensal increases of greater than 100%, 1831–41 (344%), 1851–61 (148%) and 1861–71 (108%). The usual caveats apply with respect to the proportion of these figures representing natural increase, as well as the need to include the offspring of the incomers in the native population. The first period (1831–41), with the largest percentage increase, probably saw mainly local in-migration. During the second and third periods, it is known that there were well-established migrations from Ireland, Wales and elsewhere (Llamas 2015), with 16% of the population from outside the town (Wikipedia 'Middlesbrough'). By 1871, as many as 20% of adult males came from Ireland (Llamas 2015). The first period would have been the initial dialect formation stage – local migration would have meant only slight restructuring on the part of the new arrivals, preserving its North Yorkshire/Teesside character. For the second and third periods, the percentage population increases combined with the relatively modest proportions of the population born elsewhere (16–20%) suggest the possibility of some restructuring – though it would probably have been slight. However, Llamas (2015) takes a line that is consistent with new-dialect formation when she notes that 'the influence of the larger Irish migration [than the Welsh migration – PK] into Middlesbrough can perhaps be more keenly felt in the accent and dialect, particularly given the similarities of Middlesbrough English with Liverpool English'. Liverpool also received relatively high numbers of Irish people during this period and later, and Honeybone argues that this migration can account for some of the distinctive Liverpool features that place it outside the dialect continuum, but by no means all (Honeybone 2007: 136).

Despite the rapidity of the technological advances, it is clear that the process of urbanisation extended back some centuries before industrialisation began. In Europe, the main source of detailed linguistic information about dialect formation in new industrial centres is Norway, where, in the first two decades of

the twentieth century, small industrial towns were established to serve metal ore processing plants, exploiting hydroelectric power for the furnaces (see Kerswill 2010; 2013). In each case, the tiny original populations were vastly outnumbered by migrants from elsewhere in Norway, and also Sweden. New, mixed dialects of Norwegian were formed within two or three generations. Because of the recency of the new-dialect formation in these places, the stages of the process are relatively easy to establish and the origins of the dialect features can be traced with considerable certainty. Further research on Middlesbrough, as well as British towns which are not 'new', is likely to provide some answers to questions surrounding the origins of urban dialects in nineteenth-century Britain.

So far, we have dealt almost exclusively with demographic change, informed particularly by the work of Mufwene. In the next section, we will change the focus to a later time period. Focusing on the late nineteenth century, we will deal more with mobility, contact, stratification and 'centricity' in the communities in which dialect change took place. Andersen's and Trudgill's ideas will again come to the fore.

7 Community type, contact and 'centricity': the industrial cities

So far, our purely demographic treatment of towns like early and mid-nineteenth century Blackburn and Middlesbrough has not considered how these communities were structured, and what kinds of contacts they had with other places. With only circumstantial evidence (and without more detailed research), we can only make assumptions. As we have seen, Blackburn was an industrial town with traditions stretching back a good 100 years before the Industrial Revolution, and it became an industrial boom town. We can assume that there already existed a strong class distinction, and that this grew sharper in the late eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. As in other Lancashire towns, there was a good deal of immigration from Ireland (Taylor nd) – but not as much as in, for example, Middlesbrough. Much of the in-migration remained local, drawing on the neighbouring rural areas for both labour and also textiles produced at the nearby water-powered mills. It was not isolated, being at the centre of the Lancashire textile trade, but it was far from a port. It may well be that these characteristics led to a sense of civic pride as well as working-class solidarity, both factors which would promote the maintenance of a local dialect. In terms of Andersen's classification, Blackburn might have had an intermediate amount of contact (between open and closed), and it might have been towards the endocentric end of the attitude scale.

As a new town built on the Tees estuary to serve as a port for the export of coal as well as the site of a new iron works, Middlesbrough saw rapid in-migration from both the locality and farther afield, including Wales and especially Ireland. Llamas (2015) cites Chase (1995: 6), who argues that the Irish were 'perfectly assimilated into the dominant popular culture of the region, a culture that was unskilled, non-unionised, hard-drinking and hard-living'. Despite this, the Irish were less assimilated than the Welsh. As a port, it would have received sizable numbers of visiting seamen. All of this suggests a community with more outward facing contacts than Blackburn had a little earlier. Little can be said about local speech in the mid-nineteenth century, though in living memory it has lacked some of the markedly North-eastern features of Tyneside, such as *divven't* for 'don't' and *gan* for 'go'. However, it shares with the North-east the lack of the so-called reduced definite article, found in most of Yorkshire (the historical county where Middlesbrough is situated), as in *I went* [təʔ] *shops* for 'I went to the shops'. There is, however, some evidence that the area did originally have both definite article reduction and some of the morphosyntactic forms now restricted to Durham and Tyneside. Shortly, we will look more broadly at the evidence provided by Ellis (1889): for now, we can note that the southern part of the district of Cleveland (Middlesbrough formerly constituted part of Cleveland) contained forms such as:

[gɑŋz]	'goes'
[geɐd trʊf t jal θɪŋ]	'went through the whole thing' (with the definite article taking the form [t])

(Ellis 1889: 505)

A further comment by Ellis is highly significant for us. When staking out the 'North East Moors' dialect geographically, he writes that he is including only the southern part of Cleveland:

> South Cleveland, North Cleveland being spoiled for dialect by the iron works
>
> (Ellis 1889: 496)

– commenting that:

> North of Stokesley the dialect has been corrupted by the development of the ironworks, of which Middlesborough is the head.
>
> (Ellis 1889: 500)

Ellis's correspondent from the district is aware of dialect change in the iron town of Middlesbrough, and indicates that it has moved away from 'dialect'. We cannot say for sure what it had moved towards, but we can assume it was a form closer to Standard English. Today's dialect, with its general lack of strongly local features, would seem to bear this out. At the height of its expansion and prosperity,

Middlesbrough could have been categorised as fairly high contact (open) and fairly exocentric.

How exceptional was Middlesbrough? Figure 1 shows a rapid increase in density of population in the newly industrialised areas, and Figures 2 and 3 show how this density is reflected in population growth and its components. As we have seen, at least one older town, Blackburn, has a continuity of population that almost certainly precluded any major restructuring or new-dialect formation. From population statistics for other earlier industrial cities like Manchester or Leeds, it is clear that the populations rose steadily across the century. However, reliable figures are only available from 1801, and at that time Manchester already had a population of over 81,000 (visionofbritain.org.uk). We can therefore not exclude new-dialect formation at an earlier date. In Newcastle, which saw a rapid rise only in the second half of the nineteenth century, the peak intercensal increase (between 1881 and 1891) of 31% (visionofbritain.org.uk) is well below our 50% threshold (including as it does both natural and immigration-driven increases); even here, new-dialect formation is unlikely to have taken place – though, again, we cannot dismiss it for the pre-Census period (the population was already 34,000 in 1801 (visionofbritain.org.uk)).

8 Loss and maintenance of dialect: The South-east of England

Ellis (1889) makes many references to groups of people *not* speaking 'dialect', and here we can detect in him a strongly essentialist view, with a premium on the authentic. 'Dialect' is set against 'received speech' ('rs'), and this is done in four main ways. The first is to disparage certain people's efforts to speak it as symbolic striving for upward mobility. Thus, we are told that, 'The petty shopkeepers of Leeds speak a refined form of speech, which cannot properly be called a dialect, but is an attempt to speak rs., continually frustrated by dialectal tendencies and youthful habits' (Ellis 1889: 396). Second, rs is spoken by 'tradespeople and [the] best class of inhabitants of rural market towns' (Ellis 1889: 63); this does not signify any particular deprecation on Ellis part, while recognising a highly stratified social order. Third, the use of rs, or a variety that has moved towards it, is the result of dialect contact, as shown by Ellis's comments on Middlesbrough. The same is also true of North-west Cheshire, which 'is affected by Liverpool and Birkenhead influence, that is, it has no dialect proper' (Ellis 1889: 406).

The fourth way 'received speech' is contrasted with dialect appears to be more common in the south of England than in the north. For example, Ellis informs us

that, 'About Lymington and Christchurch [in Hampshire – PK] there is no dialect' (Ellis 1889: 37). The same is true of the Isle of Sheppey in Kent (pp. 136–7), as well as parts of Hertfordshire (p. 189). In all these places (as well as Middlesbrough and Liverpool), the implication is that this levelling (he doesn't use the term) towards the standard is the result of heavy migration.

But it is only in the context of London and the South-east that the migration origins of this 'vertical levelling' (i.e. towards the standard; Hinskens, Auer & Kerswill 2005: 11) is made explicit and discussed in depth. In this region, Ellis (1889: 119) notes, 'the composite nature of a very shifting population in this district renders the growth of any dialect proper impossible'. However, Ellis allows for ideological changes related to education having an influence, too: 'enormous congeries of persons from different parts of the kingdom and from different countries, and the generality of school education, render dialect nearly impossible' (p. 225).

As a case study, we will take Ellis's comments on the town of Bushey, on the Hertfordshire/Middlesex border about 18 miles from central London. Bushey's population grew following the opening of its railway station in 1841, on the main West Coast line, which was opened in 1837. Between 1801 and 1891, the population rose from 856 to 5,652 (Vision of Britain nd(b)). Although the population was small, Bushey formed part of a string of surburbs following the new railway lines and arterial roads. The account given by Ellis's correspondent is striking (p. 235):

> The Rector of Bushey: "This place offers no opportunity of assisting your work. The inhabitants come and go, from various places, and remain but a very short time, but chiefly from London. I will not call this place a *colluvies omnium gentium* [swarm of all nations – PK], but very much like it, and hence has no special language or dialect."

Ashford is a small town close to central London, some 28 miles south of Bushey. Here, Ellis reports that:

> The Vicar at Ashford says: "The inhabitants of this locality are *mainly* strangers from every corner of the country who have settled here for a brief space and never remain long. They represent *any* and *no* special pronunciation."

Ashford's history is similar to that of Bushey. Its station was opened in 1848 by the Windsor Staines and South Western Railway Company, and the town also became part of London's suburbanisation. Another similar place is South Mimms:

> As South Myms (3 [miles] nnw. Barnet) lies in a corner of Mi[ddlesex], projecting into H[ertfordshire], I hoped to find more of a rural character, but no perceptible differences from Enfield were found. The Vicar, however, noted that the village being on the old high road to the north, "the population has a large proportion of families originally from a distance".

What of the linguistic forms used in these and other similar suburbs? They include the following:

> *I are, we am, am you, I knows* (Rickmansworth)
>
> *I are, I am, I wur, we was, I loves, they loves, I seen* (Willesden; Ellis's comment: 'nothing distinctive, nothing rural')
>
> *I am, I loves, we says, they gives, he do* (Enfield; Ellis's comment: 'Hence this has fully the London SE [southeastern] character, with no distinctive rurality')

Today, some of these forms have not been in use in London or the suburbs for many decades (the only ones that survive are probably *I seen* and *we was*). Forms with the present tense –*s* suffix regardless of person and number are now only found considerably further to the west, and *we am* is restricted to the West Midlands.

However, it is clear from Ellis's data that a number of these nonstandard features were shared by all these locations on London's periphery, and this could be the result of regional dialect levelling. Another possibility is that they represent the preservation of older London features, showing the effect of the Founder Principle in London, with features diffused to the suburbs by people moving out from the city. Whatever is the case, they stand in sharp contrast to forms that were certainly rural southeastern dialect at the time, such as the following from Preston Bissett in Buckinghamshire in the 1920s (Harman 1929):

> A. Hullo! Wheeur be ya a-gooin?
> B. I beeant a-gooin anywheeur.
> A. That ye be!
> B. No, I beeant; I be a-gooin back.

This dialogue contains the participial prefix *a*–, as well as indicative *be*. In Hampstead Norreys, Berkshire (near Reading), Lowsley (1888) notes the following:

> *Gie I a apple* 'Give me an apple' (with 'pronoun exchange' – use of a form resembling the Standard subject form as an object)
>
> *Hast a bin to verm this marnin*? 'Have you been to the farm this morning?' (with a distinct 2nd person singular verbal and pronominal form, absence of the definite article for familiar/predictable contexts, the preservation of Anglo-Norman /e/ in *farm*, and /v/ for initial /f/).

These forms, too, no longer exist in Berkshire. Importantly, when compared to the forms given for the London suburban varieties, all of these forms are both more remote from Standard English and more localised. It is worth noting that the forms of the copula given for the suburban locations – viz. *are* and *am* – are Northern in origin and are part of both London dialect and Standard English

(albeit with different person/number agreement), while the *be* forms, which are given for the two rural dialects, occur in south-western dialects.

According to Trudgill's typological model, conservative, often complex features can be maintained in small, close-knit communities, as well as new features being generated. For instance, Hampstead Norreys preserves distinct second-person morphology, and the use of the participial *a–* as a grammatical marker shows greater complexity on this point than most other varieties of English, which do not have it. A striking example of the generation of a new category is the omission of the definite article for familiar and/or predictable contexts vs. its retention elsewhere. Following Trudgill, we can say this is because there is much shared knowledge in such communities. Lowsley (1888: 5) explains this as follows: 'The article *the* is omitted in cases where there is no doubt as to what place, &c., may be referred to'. This new category probably represents a spontaneous complexification in a local, low-contact dialect (though we would need to investigate its geographical spread before asserting this more strongly).

We are now in a position to attempt to assign openness/closedness and exocentricity/endocentricity to the final speech communities we have discussed, as follows. Below, I have repeated the proposed categorisation for the two northern towns we discussed earlier:

> Blackburn: medium contact (between open and closed), somewhat endocentric (orientation towards the community).
>
> Middlesbrough: fairly high contact (open), fairly exocentric (orientation outside the community).
>
> Bushey, Ashford, Willesden and Enfield: high contact (open), high exocentricity
>
> Preston Bissett and Hampstead Norreys: low contact (closed) and largely endocentric.

9 Conclusion

The model I have presented is a composite one, calling principally on demographics and, within that, arguing for a detailed understanding of children's and adults' acquisition of dialect, especially in the context of migration between dialect areas. This in turn affects the degree to which migration into an area can lead to restructuring of a local dialect. The Founder Principle is central to this mechanism. At its core is demography, with the linguistic outcomes of the contact process being predictable from the proportions of people speaking different dialects. The mechanism is primarily automatic, involving accommodation (Trudgill 2008). These proportions are not fixed, but change through time

as a function of natural increase/decrease and in- vs. out-migration. This in turn determines whether an existing dialect will remain unchanged, be restructured or be swamped. I have argued that, by looking at carefully at population figures for a given town over several decades, it is possible to infer the type of change that most likely took place, even in the near-absence of linguistic data. Key to this is to find a workable method of calculating the proportions of incomers (particularly young people) to existing residents at any one time, taking into account children's sociolinguistic development (Kerswill 1996). Although there is not (yet) enough data to determine what the calculation should be for change to be induced, its parameters are clear, namely, the proportion of incomers should be higher than a certain value, and the duration over which that proportion persists should be greater than a certain time. I have argued that the proportion is roughly 50%, and that the duration is around 10–12 years. The upshot of this is that we can assert that new-dialect formation in the way described for New Zealand (Trudgill 2004) or Milton Keynes (Kerswill & Williams 2000) is absent in the English of the British Industrial Revolution – with one or two exceptions. Out of the three alternatives – new dialect formation, restructuring, and swamping – restructuring probably accounts for most of the industrialised urban dialects.

The Founder Principle, as adapted for language change by Mufwene, also deals with the types of relationships between the linguistic groups in contact. Mainly these involve power disparities, ranging from the master/slave relationship to (in the case considered in this chapter) social class in an early capitalist society. This restricts certain kinds of intergroup and interpersonal contacts, and promotes others. The implication is that, even here, it is the automatic effect of face-to-face accommodation that is central (at least at the time we are dealing with).

The model of change I am presenting adds a subjective element, that of endo/exocentricity (Anderson 1988). We have not seen direct evidence of the workings of this in this chapter; Ellis (1889) does contain occasional references to speakers having 'pride' in their dialect, but these are few. What Andersen provides in introducing this dimension is the possibility of looking more closely at agency and intentionality; however, dealing with change in the past makes it difficult to operationalise these concepts.

When considering whether new-dialect formation, restructuring or swamping took place, there is a tendency for us to imagine these as discrete 'events'. Although this is the stance we have taken in this chapter, it is an idealisation. As mentioned at the beginning, we should not see (speech) communities as discrete, static units, but as changeable, multidimensional human groupings which do not have fixed boundaries and which interact with other similar groupings; this is very close to Gumperz's view of the speech community (1968). We should not risk projecting further back into the past than we have good evidence for.

However, by taking a longer time span than is available to variationist sociolinguists, as well as considerable geographical breadth, we can reach beyond the study of present-day dialect variation to gain insights about the social and demographic conditions of language change in a way that would otherwise not be possible for us.

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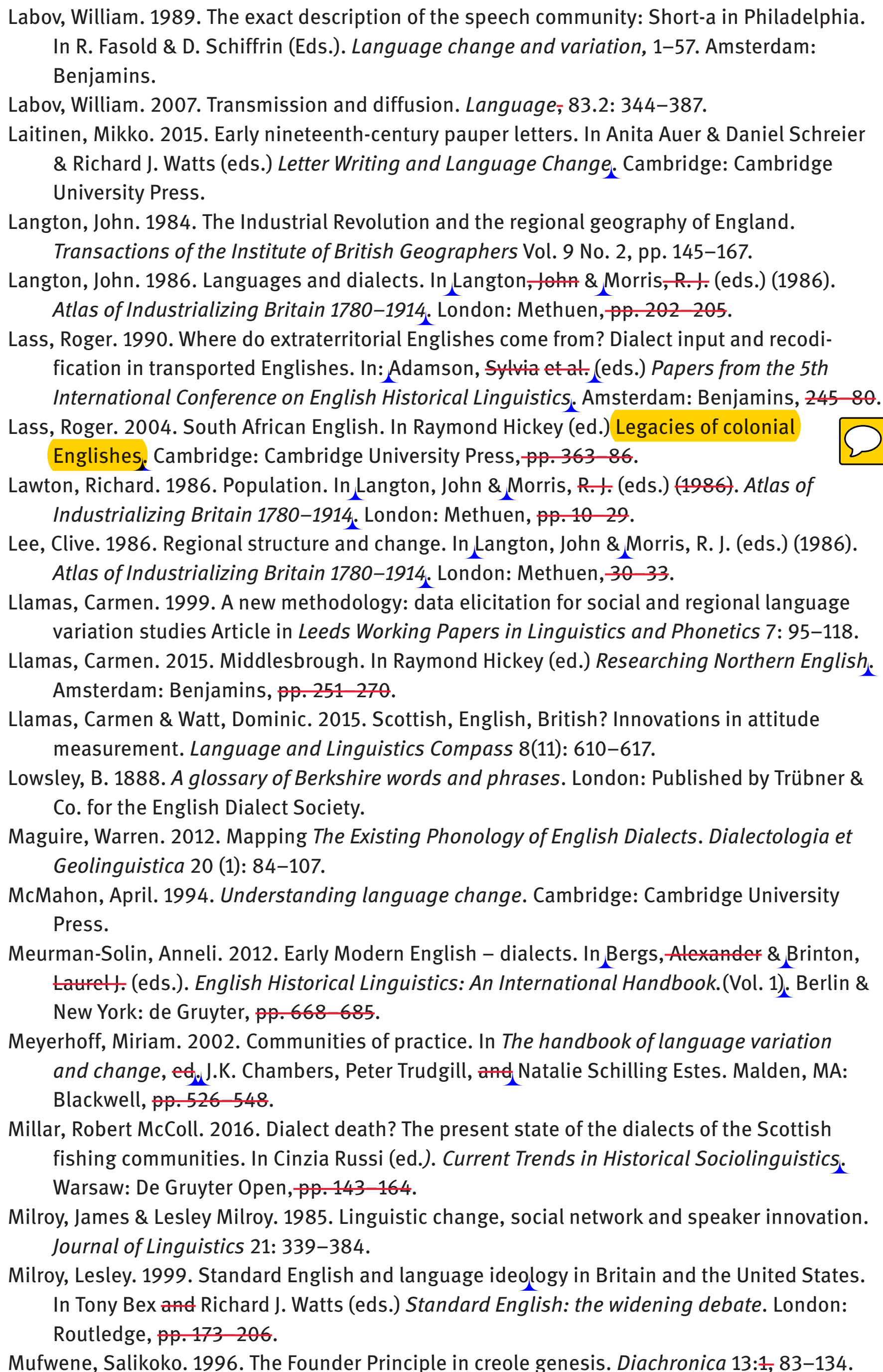

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