

THE PHONOLOGY AND GRAMMAR OF THE
DIALECT OF SOUTH ZEAL, DEVONSHIRE.

[being a thesis submitted for the
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of London, September, 1967.]

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ABSTRACT

This work aims to describe the phonology, morphology and syntax of the dialect of South Zeal in Devonshire, largely from a taped corpus. It aims to be structural in approach, but points of interest have not been omitted simply because they may seem largely anecdotal in nature. It is mainly contrastive, developing most those points which differ from S(tandard)E(nglish). No attempt has been made at either a lexical or a semantic analysis.

The first two chapters deal with the segmental and suprasegmental phonology respectively. The presence of retroflex [r̥] and the consequent absence of unconditioned centring diphthongs is the most marked segmental feature, whereas the occurrence of pause in informal speech forms the most interesting section of Chapter 3.

The personal pronouns, apart from /aj, mi: /, show an opposition of stressed:unstressed, while the demonstratives show a three-term series in the singular /öi:z, öat, öi-ki: /, and also a 'joint system' with the personal pronouns, whereby /it/ and /em/ are always unstressed, and /öat/ and /öej/ are always stressed.

With the prepositional phrase, interest is centred on relationships of place, the 'to:at' opposition being lost and replaced by a series 'up:down, out:in, over', relating to direction or

position, normally vis-à-vis Zeal.

In Chapter 8, we find that the verb 'be' has a double paradigm, usually /m/ unstressed and /bi:/ stressed. The verb in general does not show any passive-continuous forms of the 'being killed' type.

After a discussion of the uses of certain modals, and of the use of 'of' after an '-ing' (/--in/) form, it is suggested that only three categories of 'phrasal verb' are necessary for English, one of which, the prepositional verb, is very rare in the dialect. The thesis concludes with an analysis of the restricted possibilities of subordination found in the dialect, and of the three-term system of relatives, 'what', 'that' and zero.

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excessive formalism which would render less readable such a descriptive work as hers is, and as mine hopes to be.

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CHAPTER I

General Introduction

GENERAL INTRODUCTION

The purpose of this thesis is to describe in some detail the phonology, morphology and syntax of the Devonshire dialect spoken in the village of South Zeal, situated on the main A30 Okehampton to Exeter road on the northern edge of Dartmoor. Although I have talked to a number of people in the village, the principal body of material (the corpus) on which I have based my analysis is drawn from interviews with two men, George Cooper and the late Thomas Wright.

Thomas Wright, who unfortunately died earlier this year, was born and reared in the village of South Zeal some 79 years ago, and has lived in the village all his life except for a spell of five years in the army in the First World War. This, of course, has had a considerable effect on his speech, and it is interesting to note that while the phonology of his idiolect has apparently been very little affected, there is a considerable tendency for the morphology and, more particularly, the syntax of his speech to be closer to S.E. than that of the second informant.

The principal informant on whose speech the following analysis is based is George Cooper, born and reared at Lovaton (in the same parish, some three miles N.E. of Zeal village) some 84 years ago. Mr. Cooper has lived in the parish all his life, and has left the County of Devon for only

one night in his life, a night spent in London some twelve years ago. He has spent short periods away from home, mostly at horse and pony shows in Devon. After working as a farm-labourer on the 'outlying' farms in his youth, he moved into Ramsley (a part of South Zeal village) when he married over 60 years ago. Since that time, Mr. Cooper has worked as a farm-labourer, a cart-driver, a crane-operator in Merrivale Quarry and, for the later part of his working life, as a Council roadman. His wife came from Torquay, and his parents -- who had thirteen other surviving children besides George, who was the eldest -- lived at Lovaton all their lives so far as Mr. Cooper is aware.

It is generally accepted in the village that Mr. Cooper's speech is the 'broadest' in the area and that he speaks most like 'the old fellows, our grandfathers'. He was educated at the village school until the age of twelve, by a local woman who spoke the village dialect, and his parents were illiterate. His own son, who lives in the village, has a speech which shows features of Devonshire, but much less so than his father's.

The first part of the corpus, on which the analysis of the segmental phonology is based, consists largely of conversations between the two informants, the field-worker needing to say very little. However, as the grammatical

differences between the two speakers become more apparent, more and more attention was paid to the speech of Mr. Cooper and the syntactic analysis, above all, is based almost entirely on his speech. Where 'the informant' is cited as a singular, the reference is to Mr. Cooper.

The field-worker has relied very heavily on tape-recordings collected either in the informant's own cottage or, by means of a battery-operated machine, in the garden or adjacent outbuildings. It was not found difficult to persuade the informant to talk freely, and very little prompting was necessary. After the first few visits, no attempt was made to emphasize the 'broad' features of his speech, and the informant was clearly speaking exactly as he usually did. Not surprisingly, the topics discussed are limited, principally to descriptions of life 'back in they days', of pony-shows and of the problems of Dartmoor and the whole area.

A striking feature of the informant's speech is that a story repeated twelve months after the field-worker first heard it will be couched very often in identical terms, and will show the same grammatical construction. This is particularly true of events like the 'night in London', and this has led to the suggestion that the informant has narrated this particular episode so often that it has attained almost a 'set' form, rather in the

way that folk--stories have been handed down from generation to generation. This seems to me to be a far more plausible explanation than to ascribe it to restricted grammatical and/or lexical possibilities.

The corpus collected in this way totals approximately 20 hours, about half of which is speech by Mr. Cooper alone and the rest in the form of a duologue. Other speakers were recorded and have at times been used as 'supporting evidence', but these recordings do not form part of the corpus referred to in the body of the thesis. In general, points made are based on the entire corpus; where this is not so, (particularly with actual frequency counts) the size of the restricted sample is clearly stated.

Throughout the thesis, examples are given both in a phonemic script (as discussed in Chapter 2) and in what approximates to a traditional S.E. orthography. In the early part of the thesis, this orthographic representation approximates more closely to the dialect forms, e.g. /jy bi:/ is 'glossed' as 'you be' /i: dɔwn dɪ ne-θɪŋ/ as 'he don't do nothing' and /zi:d/ as 'seed'. In the later part of the thesis, however, I have tried as far as possible to use the normal S.E. orthography except where this might obscure the point being discussed. This inconsistency has no theoretical justification; it is

designed simply to assist the reader.

Two points need to be made about the phonemic transcription. Firstly, since a 'syllable boundary' phoneme is necessary to account for the realizations of /l/, /r/ and contiguous vowels, I have included it every-where on the basis of 'once a phoneme, always a phoneme'. However, the inclusion of syllable-divisions does have one obvious advantage: it does enable the reader to differentiate between 'green house' /gri:n aws/ and 'greenhouse' /gri:-naws/ without the necessity of including any further superfixes.*

Despite the necessity for syllable-division markers in one case and the advantage in another, nevertheless I have not been consistent in their use, in that I have allowed word divisions (indicated by a space) to over-ride syllable divisions (indicated by a hyphen). I know there is no phonetic justification for this, and plead only the greater ease with which the examples can be read. I might add also that /tɔ:l ejdʒ/ ('tall hedge') can be thought of as /tɔ:-lejɔʒ/ by those who are interested in the details of the phonetic realization. (For a discussion of the

* This implies a relationship between stress and syllable-division only in cases of this kind, i.e. at a level above the single word but below the level of sentence-stress.

importance of syllable-division in an example such as the above, c.f. /l/ and /r/ in Chapter 2 below.)

The second important point concerning the phonemic transcription is that the symbol " has been used to indicate the prominent and nuclear stressed[⌘] syllables, and these markings often allow the tune pattern to be deduced, although this has been indicated only when it is grammatically relevant. Prominence, of course, defined as 'distinctive stress', is always semantically relevant and often grammatically also, far more so in the dialect than in S.E. (c.f. particularly the discussion of the personal pronouns and the morphology of 'be'.)

Finally, a word needs to be said about the general intentions of this thesis. I have taken it as a fundamental premise that language is a set of mutually inter-acting systems and that no item can be described except in relation to the other items in the system. However, this does lead to difficulties. I have naturally tried to centre interest on those features of the dialect which differ most from S.E., and have thus often been faced with the choice of either describing

⌘ See Chapter 3 below for the distinction between 'prominent' and 'nuclear stressed' syllables and the reasons for the indication of the latter.

only part of a particular system or of repeating a lot which is already familiar to those who have read any modern description of British English. Where I have chosen the latter course, it will be painfully obvious, and I apologise in particular for parts of Chapter 8; the alternative would be patchy incompleteness. Where I have chosen to omit, the reader may assume that either the item in question is very similar to S.E. or, more frequently, that although there are differences it is extremely difficult to present these in a structured or systematic way.

Since this work is primarily descriptive, I have tried to concentrate on the dialect material itself rather than on the linguistic framework within which it is presented, my approach being, I hope, fairly non-controversial and based on that of Hockett. Where a specific point could not be discussed without first establishing a framework, I have tried to do this within the body of the thesis. I have attempted to be as systematic as possible in my approach, but I have not excluded remarks I felt to be interesting simply because the feature concerned could not be adequately discussed in structural terms. The syntactic approach of Chomsky, I feel, is not yet sufficiently developed to discuss in a non-controversial way the syntax of the dialect, the dialect itself being, after all, my principal interest.

This work, then, is mainly descriptive but it is also partly contrastive, and a disproportionate number of examples are given of those sections where the differences between S.E. and the dialect are most marked. No attempt has been made at a diachronic study, both for theoretical reasons and also because the writer has no knowledge of Germanic Philology. There is a discussion in Section D of Chapter 8 of the problems connected with the divergence between the 'competence' and the 'performance' of a dialect speaker, and the approach outlined at that point is generally reflected throughout the thesis. The reader will certainly find inconsistencies and possibly errors also; I hope, however, that these will not invalidate the general points I have made or the conclusions I have drawn.

CHAPTER II

The Segmental Phonology

THE SEGMENTAL PHONOLOGY

General Features. In addition to a number of minor differences between the inventory of phonemes and allophones of the dialect, and that of R.P. as presented by Daniel Jones ("An Outline of English Phonetics"), there are two major differentiatory features which are at once apparent. The first is the absence of any close back rounded vowel, whether long or short, except as an allophone of /l/ in certain positions: instead, we find two close front rounded vowels, but with a distribution differing from that of D. J. /u:/ and /u/, in that the occurrence of the dialect phoneme /y:/ is very restricted. The second major feature is the presence of retroflex [ɻ], which has far-reaching effects on the system. Not only are centring diphthongs necessary in R.P. not found in the dialect, the [ə] element being always conditioned by a following /r/, but also a whole series of additional retroflex consonantal allophones are needed.

We should also mention the non-presence of /h/ as a linear phoneme; it is, however, found as an attack feature in certain cases, e.g. /ə "hej-kr ə dej/ 'an acre a day'. In non-emphatic positions, the normal form is simply /ə ej-kr/, with a glide between the atonic article and the following diphthong.

We may now look more closely at the phonemes of the dialect, examining in turn the monophthongs, the diphthongs, the semi-vowels, the liquids and the consonants.

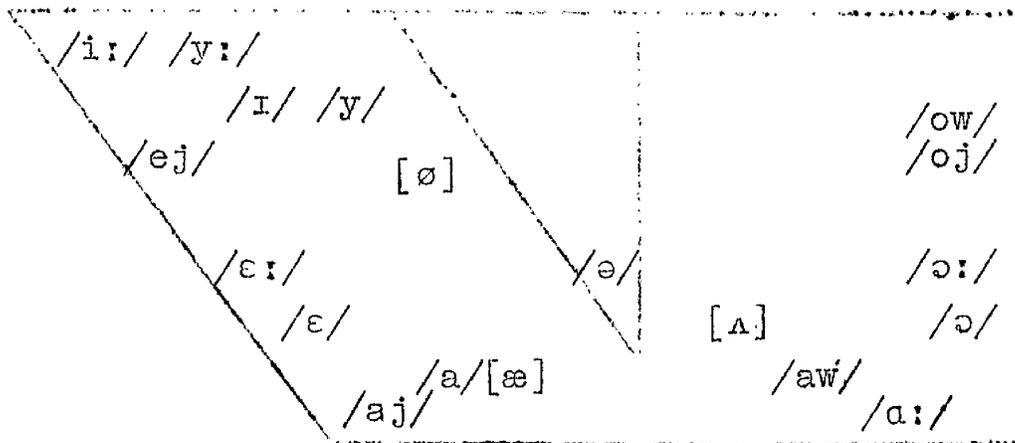
A number of general points need to be made before the individual vowel phonemes of the dialect are separately treated. Firstly, the system -- or the apparent system -- is extremely untidy; not only are there no close back vowels, and two additional spread close front vowels, but there are also two phonemes, /ɛ:/ and /ɑ:/, whose occurrence is extremely restricted -- in the latter case apparently to three lexical items -- but which are apparently essential in these limited items.

The two phonemes /ʌ/ and /ə/ established by Jones for R.P. have been 'amalgamated' in the dialect, [ʌ] being considered an allophone of /ə/ occurring in stressed position.

It will become apparent below why it has been felt desirable to treat the diphthongs together as a separate group and to symbolize them all with their second element as one of the two semi-vowels /j/ and /w/, even though the allophonic variants of these two in these environments vary considerably. The principal reason is that a [ə] element occurring after a diphthong will normally produce a disyllabic structure, whereas after a monophthong it will normally be induced by a subsequent /r/ and not produce a syllable-boundary.

Below, I have given a table of the vowel phonemes of the dialect, both monophthongal and diphthongal, in a form which approximates to that of the I.P.A. chart. The vowel phonemes are then dealt with in approximately the order in which they appear on the chart.

Table of Vowel Phonemes



Section A - The Monophthongs

1. SYMBOLISATION /i:/

Phonetic Description. This phoneme has no unexpected allophonic variants, appearing in all contexts as a fairly long front close vowel.

Examples. /tri:/ tree, /si:/ see, /i:n/ in.

Notes. It would have been possible to symbolize this phoneme /ij/, the latter element then being indicative of length as is often the case with /ej/. However, when this phoneme is followed by a weak central vowel [ə], the semi-vowel element [j], which is most noticeable in the case of /aj/, /ej/, /oj/, is not sufficiently prominent in the case of /i:/ to warrant the establishment of a second syllable. Hence 'beer' can be represented phonetically as [bi:əɹ], whereas 'sprayer' would be [sprej-əɹ]. (cf. section B.) Acoustically, one judges this disyllabification to occur after /aj, ej, oj, aw, ow/ but not after /i:/, /ɔ:/ . (It is not found after /ɛ:/.) Hence, since the semi-vowel element is prominent in the group of diphthongs, but less so with /i:/, /ɔ:/, the symbolization adopted here can be justified on the grounds of two differently patterning sub-groups of the vowel system.

2. SYMBOLISATION /ɪ/

Phonetic Description. A vowel between close and half close, not quite front, I.P.A. [ɪ] (cf. D. J. phoneme /i/.) There appear to be no unusual allophonic variants.

Examples. /fɪt/, /rɪtʃ/, /kɪŋ/, /kɪlz/
fit rich king kills

Notes. nil.

3. SYMBOLISATION /y:/

Phonetic Description. A front close vowel with lips rounded, in contrast with vowel 1., where the lips are spread. The realisation is fairly long.

Examples. /fy:l/ [fy:u], /py:l/ [py:u]
fool pool
/ky:d/, /tʃy:z/
ceed choose

Notes. At first sight, it might appear that the opposition /y:/ to /y/ parallels that in R.P. between /u:/ and /u/. This is not quite true, however, since the occurrence of our phoneme 3 is fairly restricted and occurs in by no means all of the words symbolised with /u:/ by D. J. Many oppositions are neutralized, for example 'suit' and 'soot', both /syt/ in our transcription. However, a number of oppositions are maintained, especially when the informant is presented with the two forms

in close contact. Hence 'could' and 'cooed' are respectively /kyd/ and /ky:d/. A number of words which seem consistently to have a long rather than a short vowel will be symbolised with this phoneme, for example /tʃy:z/. For the reasons for not adopting a symbolization /yw/, cf. notes on Phoneme 1 and the first part of Section B (Diphthongs).

4. SYMBOLISATION /y/

Phonetic Description. A front close vowel with the lips rounded, in contrast with vowel 2, where the lips are spread. The parallel between /i:/ and /y:/ is almost exactly matched by that between /ɪ/ and /y/, the position of these being between close and half close, and considerably more retracted than either cardinal vowel 1 or cardinal vowel 2.

Examples.

/rym/,	/tym/,	/fyl/,	/pyl/
room	tomb	full	pull
/pyʃ/,	/kyd/,	/gyd/,	/syʔ/
push	could	good	suit, soot

Notes. So far as I have observed, most words which show D. J. /u/ in R.P. normally have this short vowel, and so also do a number which D. J. would symbolise /u:/. It seems preferable acoustically to classify the majority as short and the minority as long

rather than the other way round. This is because the vowel of 'full', 'pull' is very close in length to that of 'hook', 'room', 'suit', 'soot' etc. and it is 'fool', 'pool' which have the vowel which is exceptional by reason of its length. Hence, by symbolising a majority with /y/ and a minority with /y:/, we are remaining phonetically as accurate as possible while not apparently overlooking any distinctive oppositions.

5. SYMBOLISATION /ɛ:/

Phonetic Description. Closer than phoneme 6 /ɛ/ but not as close as the first element in our diphthong /ej/.

Examples. Only the following have occurred:-

/mɛ:-ri:/,	/vɛ:-ri:/,	/vɛ:-rjɛs/
Mary	vary	various

Notes. It seems impossible acoustically to regard this phoneme as a diphthong. Furthermore, if it were so, it would disrupt the whole pattern of the dialect, since the /r/ is syllable-initial of the following syllable - and could not therefore condition the centring, which would in such a case become independent of [r], uniquely so. The fact that /ɛ:/ is in fact monophthongal may thus be taken as one indication that the close linking of central [ə] with retroflexion and the /r/

phoneme is essentially correct in terms of the structure of the dialect.

Although this phoneme appears to have an extremely restricted distribution, there seems to be no satisfactory alternative to its establishment.

6. SYMBOLISATION /ɛ/

Phonetic Description. Almost exactly cardinal vowel 3. Occasionally, the realisations of our phoneme 7 are so close as to be indistinguishable from /ɛ/, but in the context of a minimal pair, the distinction is maintained, except in positions of strong stress, where /a/ is relatively very close. (e.g. 'they was had' - /ðej wəz "ɛd/.)

Examples. /gɛt/, /rɛd/, /fɛd/, /ɛ-rɛs/,
get red fed arrest
/mɛ-ri:/, /dɛt/
merry debt

Notes. nil.

7. SYMBOLISATION /a/

Phonetic Description. In all contexts except a. and b. below, it is realised as [a] or, more accurately perhaps, as [ɶ]. It is even more close than is D. J. phoneme /æ/.

ALLOPHONES a. realised [ɹ] in env. /--l/
 b. realised [ɹ] in env. /--r/
 c. appropriate allophones in
 the diphthongs /aj/ and /aw/ (q.v.)

Examples. /staf/, /klas/, /pas/, /grant/
 staff class pass grant
 /af-tr/ [æf-ter], /ka-sl/ [kæ-sɪ],
 after castle
 /ask/
 ask

All these examples are realised phonetically
 by [æ]

ALLOPHONES a. /kalm/ [kɑm]
 b. /arm/ [ɑr]

Notes. At times, this phoneme is so close
 that it overlaps realisations of phoneme /ɛ/.
 e.g. 'bag' [bæg]. However, when presented
 with minimal pairs of the type bag:beg, both
 informants differentiate clearly and decidedly
 [bæg]:[bæg]. Since the two phonemes are
 clearly felt to be distinct, and since "over-
 lapping" is by no means constant, it is
 necessary to establish these two phonemes
 independently of each other.

Should
 have a
 tone
 ...
 ...
 ...

8. SYMBOLISATION /ɑ:/

Phonetic Description. Longer and backer than the equivalent vowel in R.P. although not quite as far back as cardinal 5. Decidedly longer than the allophone [ɶ] of /a/ found before /r/ and /l/.

Examples. /kɑ:n/, /ʃɑ:n/, /wɑ:n/
can't shan't won't

as opposed to

/kən/, /ʃəl/
can shall (and will)

Notes. This phoneme is only attested in three words, but although these can easily be categorised grammatically, there is no apparent way to establish /ɑ:/ as a phonetically conditioned allophone of /a/, since /kən:kɑ:n/, at least, is a minimal pair. It could be argued that the back allophone [ɶ] of /a/ should be regarded rather as an allophone of /ɑ:/, but this is unnecessary, both because in the case of [ɶ] before /r/, the tendency towards centring shown by the replacement of [æ] with [ɶ] in that context is one of the most marked features of the dialect, and also because before both /r/ and /l/, [ɶ] is much shorter than /ɑ:/.

9. SYMBOLISATION /ɔ/

Phonetic Description. Slightly closer than D. J. cardinal vowel 6, perhaps not quite as short as in R.P. There are apparently no unusual allophonic variants.

Examples. /ɔn/, /frɔst/, /nɔk/, /sɔŋ/,
on frost knock song
/pɔ-ket/, /dɔk-tr/, /stɔp-kɔk/
pocket doctor stop-cock
/sɔ-lɪd/, /sɔ-ri:/
solid sorry

Notes. Although in full-stressed "isolated utterance" position, a diphthong [ɔə] seems to be present in certain monosyllables e.g. ["dɔəg], I feel justified in ignoring this because it seems never to be found in connected discourse.

10. SYMBOLISATION /ɔ:/

Phonetic Description. Closer than D. J. cardinal vowel 6 but not as close as his cardinal vowel 7, longer than in R.P. especially before /r/, in which environment it is also closer, nearly cardinal 7 [o].

Examples. /sɔ:/, /lɔ:n/, /nɔ:t/, /rɔ:d/
saw lawn naught road

Notes. For the reasons for not symbolising this as /ɔw/ or anything similar, see notes on phoneme 1.

11. SYMBOLISATION /ə/

Phonetic Description.

- i. realised as a weak central vowel [ə] in all unstressed syllables. It is not found preceding /r/ in the same unstressed syllable, where the centring [ə]-element is regarded as a feature of the /r/ phoneme (q.v.)
- ii. realised as [ɚ] (a retracted, lowered [ʌ]) in all tonic syllables except in env. --r or --rC.
- iii. realised as [ɜ] in tonic syllables when in env. --r or --rC.

Examples.

- i. /tʃaɪ-ne/, /tɒm-bow-le/, /fɔ-rəd/
China tombola forward
- ii. /kɛp/ [kɛp], /mɛ-dn/ [mɛ-dn], /kɛm/
cup mutton come

/ə-ri:/
hurry
- iii. /pɜr/ [pɜr], /tɜrn/ [tɜrn]
purr turn

Notes. It follows from our description that certain words such as 'her' will be phonemized differently according to the presence or absence of sentence stress.

stressed /ɜr/ [ɜr] unstressed /r/ [ər]

(Syllabic /r/ by definition induces a preceding centring element [ə].) For a fuller explanation cf. the notes on /r/.

Section B -- The Diphthongs

General notes. There are five diphthongs in this dialect, namely /aj, ej, oj, aw, ow/. The only problems concern /aw/ which is discussed below. The desire to maintain diphthongs as a unitary class (formally distinguished by having a semi-vowel as the second element) is that, unlike monophthongs, they are always in a separate syllable from any following vocoid. This means, in effect, that in the env. [V_w^jV], the /j/ and /w/ indicate that they "straddle" a syllabic boundary. (Although the vocal organs complete their movement in the first syllable, part at least of the release of the consonantal element occurs in the second syllable). This is why /i:/ /y:/ and /ɔ:/ are not symbolized as /ij/, /yw/ or /ɔw/, because they can be followed by a vocoid without the implication of a di-syllable. Hence, for example, column A is disyllabic, whereas column B is monosyllabic.*

A	B
layered ...[ej-ə]:::	beard ...[i:ə]...
fired ...[aj-ə]:::	manured ...[y(:)ə]...
scoured ...[aɪ-ə]...	glared ...[ɛə]...
blowers ...[ow-ə],...	board ...[ɔ:ə]...

* For a fuller set of examples, cf. the table on page 45 below.

This division accords with ones perception, since group A are more markedly disyllabic and contain a semi-vowel, whereas group B are normally monosyllabic with no semi-vowel. Thus this seems the best point on what is really a cline to make our division between monosyllables and disyllables, since the two classes of monophthongs and diphthongs can be easily formally defined as above.

This factor leads to the desire to symbolise diphthong 15 with one or other of the semi-vowels as its second element. The appropriate semi-vowel would be [ɥ], but since this is not used elsewhere, and since there is no contrast with [w] in the env. [a—], it seems acceptable to write /aw/. It must be emphasised that this is a matter of symbolisation for convenience of reading; its allophones are [ɥy] and [ɥɥ] NEVER [ɥw]. There can be no objection to symbolising the diphthongs as a whole with a semi-vowel (rather than [i̯] or [u̯]) as the second element, since it adds so much to the overall simplicity of syllable-patterning.

All the diphthongs are considered as sequences of linear phonemes, and appropriate allophonic rules are included under /a/, /j/ and /w/. This involves the establishment of two phonemes, /e/ and /o/, not found except in diphthongs, but the alternative would, of course, necessitate five additional phonemes. There are no intra-syllable sequences [VV] except those discussed here where

the second element is a semi-vowel, and those containing a [ə] element conditioned by /r/. In most respects, indeed, the diphthongs pattern structurally as monophthongs; the principal exception to this has been discussed above.

12. SYMBOLISATION /aj/

Phonetic Description. Phonetically, the first element of this diphthong is slightly more close than cardinal 4 and very long. The second element [i̯] is very short indeed, except when followed by another vowel, when it is realised as a frictionless continuant [j]. The acoustic effect is markedly different from D. J. diphthong /ai/.

Examples. /taj/, /kajnd/, /aj-r/, /faj-nr/
tie kind higher finer

Notes. nil.

13. SYMBOLISATION /ej/

Phonetic Description. The first element is very close to D. J. cardinal vowel 2 [e]. The second element is normally [i̯], but this is frequently replaced by a lengthening of the first element when the syllable is closed or when the next syllable begins with a consonant. Where the next syllable starts with a vocoid, the realisation of the second element is [j].

Examples. /sej/ [zei], /rejn/ [rejn],
 say reign
 /lejn/ [lein], /kejp--tawn/[ke:p-]
 lane Cape Town
 /ej-dʒɪz ə-gow/ [e:-dʒɪz-],
 ages ago
 /rejd/ [re:d], /ejt/, /sejt/ etc.
 raid eat seat

Notes. It seems impossible to be more specific on this than to say that [e:] and [ei] are apparently in free variation in the env. —C. Many words are attested with both forms, and there is no apparent connection with stress. If two separate phonemes were established, then most of the relevant lexical items would be attested with both forms.

No
mark
Always
(mark)
mark
mark
mark
mark
mark

14. SYMBOLISATION /oj/

Phonetic Description. Realised as [oi] in final or pre-consonantal position, and as [oj], with a friction-less continuant, in the pre-vocoid position. The first element is very close to D. J. cardinal 7 [o].

Examples. /pojnt/, /toj/, /boj/
 point toy boy

Notes. nil.

15. SYMBOLISATION /aw/

Phonetic Description. The normal realisation is [ɔy], a diphthong moving from an advanced cardinal 5 in the direction of, and almost to, secondary cardinal 1. It is realised [ɔʏ] (i.e. with a labio-palatal semi-vowel) when the next syllable has an initial vocoid.

Examples. /paʊnd/, /naʊ/, /e--raʊnd/,
 pound now around
 /flaʊ-r/, /taʊ-r/, /e-law-in/
 flower tower allowing

Notes. The symbolisation /aw/ has been chosen for two reasons. Firstly, the second element had to be a semi-vowel to maintain the integrity of the sub-class 'diphthongs'. Secondly, the alternative /aʊ/ introduces an extra symbol unnecessarily; allophonic rules can easily handle the realisations of /w/ in the env. /a--/. Thus /aw/ has been adopted even though the second element is never in fact a labio-velar semi-vowel.

16. SYMBOLISATION /ow/

Phonetic Description. A close variety of cardinal 7 [o] followed by a very short semi-vowel [ʊ]. The semi-vowel is present in varying degrees but is apparently never completely absent. Before a syllable

starting with a vocoid (i.e. including [ə] conditioned by /r/), it is realised [ow].

Examples. /ow/, /rowm/, /lown/, /nowt/,
hoe roam loan note
/low-r/
lower

Notes. nil.

Section C - The Semi-vowels

1. SYMBOLISATION /j/

Phonetic Description.

- a. palatal frictionless continuant in syllable-initial position, and also as the second element of diphthongs when followed by a vocoid. It is not found in the environment CjV... (cf. /fy/ = few)
- b. short vowel [i̯] as the second element of diphthongs in other envs.

Examples. a. /ji:rd/, /faj-rd/ [faj-erɹd]
heard fired
b. /boj/, /taj/, etc.
boy tie

Notes. It might seem possible, in order to simplify the allophonic rules by omitting the second half of a. above, to segment 'buying' as /ba-jɪn/ or 'buy in' as /ba-ji:n/.

This would, however, imply that the vowel in the first syllable is realized as a simple monophthong, which is not, of course, the case. It would also separate the two elements of the symbolisation of what is essentially one unit, and lead to representations such as those above, intuitively felt to be wrong. The same problem arises with intervocalic [w], and a related one with intervocalic /l/ and /r/. These, however, must be considered syllable-final or syllable-initial according to their actual phonetic realisation.

2. SYMBOLISATION /w/

Phonetic Description.

- a. labio-velar frictionless continuant in syllable-initial position and also as the second element of the diphthong /ow/ when immediately followed by a vocoid; also as the second element of consonant clusters.
- b. short vowel [u] as the second element of the diphthong /ow/ in envs. other than [ow-V].
- c. [y] as the second element of the diphthong /aw/ when not in env. [aw-V].
- d. [ɥ] as the second element of the diphthong /aw/ when in the env. [aw-V].

- Examples.
- a. /wɛl/, /dʰwɛl/, /low-r/[low-ər]
 well dwell lower
 - b. /low/ [lou]
 low ^ː
 - c. /kaw/ [kɑː]
 cow ^ː
 - d. /taw-r/ [tɑː-ər]
 tower

Notes. For the reasons for the second part of a. above, see notes on /j/. It seems important to consider the diphthongs as entities in all environments.

Section D - The Liquids

1. SYMBOLISATION /l/

Phonetic Description.

- a. fairly clear continuant in syllable-initial position, or as the second element of consonant clusters in pre-vocoid position.
- b. as syllabic, either alone or immediately after a consonant in the same syllable, the realisation is very dark [ɫ].
- c. as syllable final immediately after a vowel, or as the first element in a consonant cluster, the realisation is vocalic [ɰ].

d. when following [r̥] in the same syllable,
a retroflex [ɭ] is found.

- Examples.
- a. /lɪp/, /slɪp/, /blɪŋk/
lip slip blink
- b. /kɑ-sɪ/ [kæ-sɪ̥],
castle
/teɪ-bl/ [te:-bɪ̥]
table
- c. /ʃəl/ [ʃæɹ̥], /geɪl/ [geɹ̥],
shall gale
/fɪl/ [fɪɹ̥], /kɑlm/ [kɑɹ̥m],
full calm +
/kɪlz/ [kɪɹ̥z] etc.
kills
- d. /ɜrl/ [ɜr̥ɭ]
hurl

Notes. Back rounded vowels occur only as allophones of /l/, since although the actual realisation of phoneme 4 /y/ varies, it is never retracted beyond a central position. The opposition 'full': 'fool' is thus symbolised as /fɪl/:/fɪ:l/, phonetically [fɪɹ̥]:[fɪ:ɹ̥], the latter being extremely long. Both of these are in effect diphthongal, and induce a glide of the labio-palatal type in slow speech. Phonemically, however, they are considered monosyllabic, since otherwise the symbol /l/ could not be used. This is because after a syllable boundary (i.e. as initial or syllabic), /l/ would not be realised as [ɹ̥]. (see allophonic notes.)

2. SYMBOLISATION /r/

Phonetic Description.

- i. as syllable-initial, realised as [ɹ] or [r].
- ii. as second or third element of consonant clusters, realised as [ɹ] or [r].
- iii. a. in position Vr— when V is /a/ or /ə/, realised as [r]. (/ə/ occurs in this position only in tonic syllables — cf. notes to Vowel 11.)
b. in position Vr— when V is any other vowel phoneme, realised as [ər].
- iv. a. in position VrC— when V is /a/ or /ə/ or /ɔ:/, realised as [r].
b. in position VrC— when V is any other vowel phoneme, realised as [ər].
- v. in env. -r- or -Cr-/-CrC-, i.e. when syllable-nucleus, realised as [ər]

Examples. i. /rɛd/, /mɛ-ri:/
red merry

ii. /brɪŋ/, /strɪŋ/
bring string

iii. a. /kɑr/ [kɑr̩], /pər/ [pər̩]
car purr

b. /bi:r/ [bi:ər̩] etc. with other vowels.

iv. a. /ɑrm/ [ɑrm̩], /bɜrd/ [bɜrd̩]
arm bird

/dʒɔ:rdʒ/ [dʒɔ:rdʒ̩]
George

b. /bi:rd/ [bi:ər̩d̩] etc. with other vowels

v. /r/ [ər], /nəm-br/ [nəm-bər],
her, atonic number

/nəm-brd/
numbered.

Notes. It is apparent from an examination of the data that the retroflexion of this phoneme and the often concomitant centring effect [ə] are two of the most distinctive features of this dialect. It seemed preferable at first to set up two phonemes, differentiated not by the presence or absence of retroflexion which is clearly easily accounted for by allophonic rules, but rather by the presence or absence of a conditioned pre-occurring [ə] element. However, further examination of the material does show that, by fairly complex allophonic rules as listed on the previous page, it is possible to deduce from the phonetic environment whether or not such a phonetic element is present.

It is not surprising that the centring element is not present after the two central vowels /a/ [a] and /e/, or is, at least, not readily perceptible. What is interesting is that, in the env. VrC-, these are joined by the phoneme /ɔ:/. Thus in the environment Vr- there are two V- phonemes which are not followed by [ə], whereas in the env. VrC-, there are three. I cannot explain why /ɔ:/ should occupy this anomalous position, but

the data on this point is clearer than on most. Thus by examining the preceding vowel phoneme in the same syllable, it is possible to tell whether or not [ə] is present.

There now arises the problem of those syllables which I have chosen to symbolise with no vowel phoneme. It seemed logical that, since [ə] is to be regarded as a feature of /r/ in the previously mentioned contexts to avoid setting up a whole range of centring diphthongs which never occurred except in the environment [-r̥], it should also be regarded as a feature of /r/ wherever it occurred unstressed in the position [ər̥]. This feature is limited to atonic syllables since in tonic syllables the phonetic realisation is [-ər̥] and we have chosen to regard this [ə] as an allophone of vowel ll /e/ (q.v.) It would theoretically be possible, by complicating the allophonic rules still further by differentiating tonic and atonic syllables, to regard this stressed [ə] also as conditioned by /r/, but this seems most undesirable since the very essence of this [ə] element is that it is conditioned by the retroflexion and is totally unstressed.

Although in rule five (see previous page), I have listed -r- as well as -Cr- and -CrC- as the environments in question, -r- is attested, I think, only in the case of atonic 'her'. However, in words such as 'number', 'numbered', 'numbers', the suggested representation works well, what

D. J. would represent by [e] being represented here by /r/ with allophonic rules producing a realisation [er]. To use two symbols would be phonemically redundant since the [e] must occur in this environment.

One other vital point is this: in this particular section "v" in all cases must be taken to be referring only to monophthongs. The diphthongs /aj, ej, oj, aw, ow/, when followed by /r/, as when followed by any other vowel phoneme, do not yield a triphthong (see notes on 'diphthongs')*. Thus 'layer' is /lej-r/, whereas 'glare' is /glər/. This accords with ones perceptual impressions, in so far as it is possible to draw a line anywhere on the cline from definite monophthong to definite diphthong. Thus in the context [V_w^jV], there will always be a syllable boundary, thus: [V_w^j-V]. The second [V], it must be re-emphasised, may be /r/.

* In fact, the position of the syllable boundary in the transcription makes this quite clear.

Examples used, with transcriptions adopted.

MONOSYLLABIC

1. beer	beard	[bi:ər] /bi:r/	[bi:ərd] /bi:rd/
2. /ɪ/		[UNATTESTED]	
3. /y:/		[UNATTESTED]	
4. pure	endured	[pyər] /pyr/	[indyərd] /in-dyrd/
5. /ɛ:/		[UNATTESTED]	
6. glare	glared	[glɛər] /glɛr/	[glɛərd] /glɛrd/
7. car	card	[kɑr] /kɑr/	[kɑrd] /kɑrd/
8. /ɑ:/		[UNATTESTED]	
9. /ɔ/		[UNATTESTED]	
10. pour	poured	[pɔ:ər] /pɔ:r/	[pɔ:rd] [‡] /pɔ:rd/
11. burr	bird	[bɜr] /ber/	[bɜrd] /berd/

DISYLLABIC

12. fire	fired	[fa:jər] /faj-r/	[fa:jərd] /faj-rd/
13. layer	layered	[lejər] /lej-r/	[lejərd] /lej-rd/
14. employer	employers	[emplojər] /em-ploj-r/	[emplojərz] /em-ploj-rz/
15. flower	flowered	[flawər] /flaw-r/	[flawərd] /flaw-rd/
16. blower	blowers	[blower] /blow-r/	[blowerz] /blow-rz/

‡ Note the distinction between [pɔ:ər] and [pɔ:rd]

Section E -- The Consonants

The consonant phonemes of the dialect differ little in number and allophonic variants from their counterparts in R.P. There is one phoneme less, /h/, which is not attested as a segmental phoneme, although we have already noted certain uses as a feature of pre-vocalic emphatic juncture. Bearing in mind that /j, w, l, r/ are dealt with elsewhere, we set up the following inventory of consonantal phonemes:--

/p b t d k g f v θ ð s z ʃ ʒ tʃ dʒ m n ŋ/ [19]

The following can be described phonetically in a similar fashion to their equivalents in R.P., and appear to have similar allophonic variants, where applicable.

/b/, /g/, /v/, /z/, /θ/, /ð/, /ʃ/, /ʒ/, /ŋ/

The following need brief notes on certain additional allophonic variants.

/p/, /k/, /m/,
/n/, /t/.

In syllable-final position, these are normally unreleased [p' k' m' n' t']. Syllable-final [k'] is often replaced by [ʔ], apparently in free variation. These phonemes are released -- i.e. these allophones are not found -- in positions of strong stress.

/n/, /t/, /d/,
/tʃ/, /dʒ/.

After [r] in the same syllable, these phonemes have a retroflex allophone, unreleased where appropriate (see above). In the case of /tʃ/, /dʒ/, of course, only the plosive element is retroflex. (See also allophone d. of /l/).

/f/, /s/.

The distribution of these phonemes differs between the two informants, in that Mr. Cooper tends not to use them at all in word-initial position. However, this is a difference in distribution not in inventory. (cf. Cooper [vi:l], [zi:] for 'feel' 'see'.)

CHAPTER III

The Supra-segmental Phonology

THE SUPRASEGMENTAL PHONOLOGY

The major suprasegmental features to be described for the dialect material, as for S.E., are stress, intonation and juncture. An exhaustive study of these would comprise a work complete in itself; I have accordingly limited myself to noting what seem to be the most significant points of contrast between the dialect and S.E., basing my observations principally on the works of O'Connor and Arnold¹, Kingdon² and Pike³. The observations on the incidence of pause in this type of informal speech are, I hope, slightly more original.

Stress and Intonation. It is generally accepted that the intonation patterns of English can most conveniently be described in terms of three finite sets (pre-head, head and nucleus), the members of which show various, but not unrestricted, combinatory possibilities. Not all linguists agree on the number of members in each set, but it is generally accepted

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1. J. D. O'Connor and G. F. Arnold "Intonation of Colloquial English".
 2. Roger Kingdon "The Groundwork of English Intonation".
 3. K. L. Pike "The Intonation of American English".

that the principal meaningful element of the tune is carried by the nucleus. (This does not exclude a 'meaning' of prominence elsewhere - see below). In order to contrast the system found in the dialect with that of S.E., we have examined the description of S.E. proposed by O'Connor and Arnold, which seemed the simplest and clearest for this purpose.

O'Connor and Arnold propose to establish, for a description of the intonation of S.E., six simple and two compound nuclei (the nucleus of an intonation pattern consists of its last prominent syllable), three heads (which run from the first prominent syllable to the start of the nucleus), and two preheads (which are composed of any syllables occurring before the first prominent syllable). Any syllables occurring after the nuclear syllable are referred to as the tail.

It is clear from the definitions above that intonation and stress are closely connected, and so, before proceeding further, we must examine our concept of stress. First, it must be emphasised that not all stressed syllables are prominent. Prominence is defined* as 'the attribute of words which are made to stand out in an utterance by being accented', and is thus more than the regular rhythmic occurrence of 'inherent' stress. All words of more than one syllable normally have at least one inherent stress, sometimes more. These, however, cannot by definition be syntactically governed and are

* op. cit. p.272

therefore not distinctive. Furthermore, although two degrees of stress are said to be contrastive in S.E. in pairs such as /'kɒndʌkt/ and /kɒn'dʌkt/ or /'ɛkspɔ:t/ /ɛk'spɔ:t/, no minimal pairs of this type have occurred spontaneously in the dialect and attempts at elicitation revealed only unfamiliarity with the lexical items in question, which are, as far as I know, all semi-learned words. Even the opposition between 'billow' and 'below', clearly less 'learned', was absent in the dialect, since 'below' is not found in the dialect (cf. section on prepositions) and 'billow' was not forthcoming. Hence it seems reasonable to conclude that stress, as such, is not distinctive at the word level in the dialect.

This does not mean, however, that inherent stress plays only an insignificant part in the dialect. Apart from its rhythmical functions, not dealt with here, it is important (by virtue of its presence in varying degrees) to differentiate 'green house' from 'greenhouse' and 'light housekeeper' from 'lighthouse keeper' etc. As these superfixes seem to be similar in the dialect to their S.E. counterparts, I have not treated them more fully here. In the transcription, 'word' divisions have been allowed to override syllable divisions for reasons given in the introduction. This does mean that a pair such as 'black bird' and 'blackbird' can be easily distinguished, being respectively /blak bɜrd/ and /blak-bɜrd/. Compare also /gri:n aws/ and /gri:-naws/. Thus inherent word stress, which is distinctive at the phrase level rather than at the word level, is normally clearly indicated in the transcription, at the expense

of an accurate indication of the phonetic syllable division, which is clearly of less importance grammatically.

Prominence, however, (called 'special stress' by Strang, p.57) is distinctive. It serves to focus attention on any syllable or syllables in a sentence, whether or not such syllables were already inherently stressed. The placing of this prominence, together with the resultant changes to the intonation patterns, can give a series of different meanings to a single series of morphemes, and these distinct meanings function as members of a set, every complete utterance necessarily bearing one "suprasegmental meaning" in addition to the combined meaning of the segmental units.

Prominence, says Strang*, is not distinguished from stress simply by being more intense - although it often is this - but by 'what determined the presence and absence of one and the same phoneme of stress'. This leads directly to a very real problem, not to my mind adequately discussed. Can a stressed syllable be distinguished from a prominent syllable without using as criteria the intonation patterns which have just been defined in terms of prominence? In other words, there seems to be a circularity, that a nucleus consists of the last prominent syllable and also that where the nucleus lies must be the last prominent syllable. In many cases, the prominent syllables are obvious, but in a number of utterances with what might be called 'ordinary' intonation, it seems implausible to call the nuclear syllable prominent except by virtue of the apparent circularity outlined above. Thus, in the case of the

* op. cit., p.57.

first two examples below, the prominent syllable is obvious in speech, whereas in the third, with 'ordinary' intonation, only the negative reason that there is no other prominent syllable, or the circular reason that that is where the nucleus lies, can tell us that 'try' is the prominent syllable*.

'He,seems to,try	('he' is prominent)
He`seems to,try	('seems' is prominent)
He,,seems to,try	('try' must be considered prominent)

It might thus be more accurate to say that the nucleus of a sentence comprises the last prominent syllable, except that where there is no prominent syllable it comprises the last stressed syllable. We thus avoid saying, as O'Connor and Arnold necessarily say, that all sentences contain a prominent syllable, which I feel to be counter-intuitive**. This in no way renders stress distinctive, since any differences of meaning are still conveyed by the type of nucleus occurring in such a position and the meaning of "prominence" is simply absent. We are then left with prominence, which is always distinctive in focusing the hearer's attention where it would not otherwise be drawn, and intonation, the nuclei of which carry a number of distinctive meanings which, although they are difficult to define and label briefly and adequately, nevertheless function contrastively within a finite set. Although these two features can thus be established separately, nevertheless they normally interact within very close relationships.

* The symbolisation used here and below is that of O'Connor and Arnold.

**However, in order always to indicate the nuclear

Having said that stress is not distinctive at the word level in the dialect even in the limited cases where it is so in S.E., and having said that virtually any syllable can be prominent in both dialect and S.E., we may now turn very briefly to the intonation patterns which occur in the dialect and see how they compare with those suggested for S.E.

A number of general points can be made at the outset. Firstly, the number of tunes (i.e. the number of nuclei) superfixed to an utterance of a given length is greater than is the case in S.E., to judge from the transcriptions of practice sentences given in the standard descriptions of English intonation. My own impression would confirm this and suggest that the dialect material is composed of a larger number of shorter tunes than is normally the case for S.E. In particular, virtually every adverb occurring after the verb has a separate tune; thus we find
 (I used to rent a little plat just a little way out from
 /aj ˈnjys tə ˈrent ə li-tl ˈplat dʒəs ə li-tl weɪ ˌawt frəm
 (this place here, about a ten minutes' walk.
 (ðis ˈpleɪs ˌhɪə ˌaʊt ə ˈten mi-nits ˌwɔ:k/

Here we find 'from this place' 'here' and 'about a ten minutes' walk' all showing independent Low Rise tunes after the compound High Fall + Low Rise of the principal tune of the sentence. This gives a far more 'disjointed' effect than in S.E. speech, since each tune is separated by at least a virtual pause (cf. also notes on juncture, below).

(cont.) syllable even when it is not prominent, I have throughout the thesis marked stressed syllables in the same way as prominent syllables where such stressed syllables are nuclear. This not only adds clarity but also conforms to the usage of my models for this section. Thus, in all the examples, the symbol" before a syllable indicates either a prominent syllable or a nuclear stressed syllable.

Secondly, while the dialect material can apparently be adequately described in terms of the six simple and two compound nuclei suggested by O'Connor and Arnold, it is much more difficult to categorise the pre-nuclear segments in terms of their three heads. This point is developed below, with tentative proposals for the establishment of two additional heads. I might note here also that it has proved extremely difficult to differentiate adequately between the simple Fall-Rise tune and the compound High Fall + Low Rise*. That there are two such distinct tunes, I am fairly certain, but to distinguish them with certainty at all times would need a full study of the 'tune meanings' conveyed by each of the tunes. This is something which I feel is exceptionally difficult for a native English speaker, simply because he can hardly avoid ascribing to a tune the 'meaning' normally associated with it in his own speech, whereas it is at least possible that the implications in Devonshire differ from those of S.E.

Thirdly, a brief tonetic point may be made, in the most general of terms. All of the nuclei referred to below include kinetic tones, the movement of which in S.E. can be either intra- or inter-syllabic. In the dialect material, it is very noticeable that intra-syllabic movement occurs only when the nuclear syllable is final in the tune; at other times, the nuclear syllable is almost invariably static, and the kinetic impression is conveyed by the relative position of the following unstressed

* cf. O'Connor and Arnold, p.27.

syllable or syllables. Thus whereas in S.E., a High-Fall realisation of 'push-bike' /[^]pyʃ-bajk/ might show either an inter-syllabic fall or, far more probably, a fall within the prominent syllable followed by an unstressed syllable level with, or just lower than, the end of the fall, in the dialect material, only the former is normally found. So too with, for example, a Low-Fall /ˌzəm-tajmz/, or a Low-Rise /ˌmɪ-sɪz/. The same feature is observed when the unstressed syllable is not within the same word or phrase. Thus

the better it was for you
/ðə ˈbe-tr ˈtwɛz fr i:/

where the fall is between /twɛz/ and /fr/ and not within /twɛz/, and also

.... a lot of pigs like
/e ˈlɒd ə ˈpɪgz laɪk/

where the fall is again between the nuclear syllable /pɪgz/ and the adjection /laɪk/. This feature adds very considerably to the 'jerky' effect created by the greater number of tunes. A superficial listening to the intonation of a spontaneous passage of Devonshire suggests that differences between it and S.E. are extremely marked; closer examination suggests that, with the possible exception of two additional heads discussed below, the basic units of the intonation are very similar to S.E., and that the very real acoustic differences between the dialect and S.E. are due to three principal factors: the greater number of shorter tunes, the inter-syllabic rather than intra-syllabic kinetic movement, and the different incidence of juncture, discussed below.

We may now proceed to look very briefly at the eight nuclei suggested by O'Connor and Arnold, all of which are found in the corpus quite frequently*.

LOW FALL

/ˈðat wez ˈwɒt jɪz tə əf tə ɡoʊ ˌdraɪ/
That was what used to have to go through...

HIGH FALL

/əj ɡɒt ˈdraɪ ət əɪl-rajt/
I got through it alright.

RISE FALL

/ðejl ˈweɪt fɔːr ðej ˈæv ˌlyksəʊ/
They'll wait (until) they have, looks so.

LOW RISE

/ˈzəm-tajm ˈaf-tr əj ˈlɒs mi ˌmi-sɪz/
Sometime after I lost my missus

HIGH RISE

/n ɪf ðej ˈnɑn ə-ˈfɪnɪʃt ˈkleɪ-nɪŋ ðɛr ˈbiːts/
If they haven't finished cleaning their boots ...

FALL RISE

/kɔːrs mi ˈbɔɪ wɛn ə-ˈweɪ ɪn ðə ˈɑr-miː/
Course, my boy went away in the army.

HIGH FALL + FALL RISE

/əj ˈwɜːkt ɒn ðə ˈrɔːdz fɔː ˈθɜːtiː ʒiːr/
I worked on the roads for thirty years.

HIGH FALL + LOW RISE

/wel ˈnaʊ ʒy ˌziː/
Well now you see

* In fact, the two compound tunes High Fall + Fall Rise, and High Fall + Low Rise always occur in environments where the phrasal boundary permits of the view that they are merely sequences of simple tunes. However, given that there is no discernible pause present in certain cases (contrast the usual situation between tunes in the dialect), I have chosen to regard these as compound tunes. Without a study of meaning, greater certainty on this point seems unattainable.

Many more examples could be adduced of each of these tunes and the passage containing the preceding examples and others is transcribed fully in an appendix, to illustrate both the segmental phonology and the intonation patterns. It is noted ~~that~~ that within the restricted corpus studied in detail, the most common tune was High, Fall, followed by Fall-Rise. I know of no statistical analysis of S.E. on these lines, but my impression would be that Low-Fall and Low-Rise are the most frequent in normal speech. This greater use of the tunes employing the widest voice range is probably another reason why the intonation patterns of the dialect seem, acoustically, to be so different from S.E.

It has been briefly mentioned above that description of the pre-nuclear segments does not seem to be adequately handled in terms of the normal realisations of the three heads suggested by O'Connor and Arnold, namely Low, Sliding and Stepping. Specifically, there seems to be a need for one or more Level Heads, particularly High Level. It might be that a full analysis of the heads in coordination with the nuclei would reveal that these level heads could be treated as "alloheads" in some way; the High Level Head, for example, occurs before Fall-Rise and High-Fall nuclei, as might be expected, and a Mid-Level Head before Low Fall. The difficulty with "alloheads" is that an ordinary rising Low Head* also occurs before the tunes just mentioned, and while there may well be tonetic

* Stepping and Sliding Heads also occur in these positions, though much less frequently than the Level Heads discussed here.

or other factors governing the occurrence of one or the other, it has not been possible to identify them. Accordingly, I have treated them provisionally as distinct heads and have adopted the symbolisation $\bar{\quad}$ for a stressed syllable in a High Level head and $-$ for a stressed syllable in a Mid-Level head, in accordance with the principles of O'Connor and Arnold's system.

We might note finally that the "rising" variety of the Low Head is extremely common in the dialect. O'Connor and Arnold imply (op. cit. p.17) that it is found only before a High-Fall. In the dialect, it is also found before Fall-Rise and the compound tunes, and, more significantly, before tunes starting at a lower level, such as Rise-Fall, thus necessitating a drop in pitch between the end of the head and the nuclear syllable. This, I feel, is not a feature of the Low Head in S.E. Thus, for example, we find

/n aj „jys „taf tē[^]rajd ,zəm-tajmz/
And I used to have to ride, sometimes ...

where the syllable /taf/ is noticeably higher than the initial point of the syllable /rajd/.

The unstressed syllables of the prehead seem to be described adequately in terms of the Low and High Pre-head suggested by O'Connor and Arnold for S.E.

Juncture and Pause

Juncture needs only very brief mention here. As all those who have treated this topic have noted, juncture is, even in S.E., a 'dispensable feature', that is, it is often lost in less formal conversation. In the dialect material, this tendency is strongly accentuated within a given tune pattern. Thus we find, for example, 'he sends'

and 'his ends' are normally realized the same, /i: zejndz/, in the dialect, (although in the first case the /z/ may be devoiced under S.E. influence). The often quoted examples of 'that scum' and 'that's come' were always realised identically when elicited, even when the informant was asked to speak slowly. We may also note that junctural oppositions made in S.E. principally by distinctions of length are normally not found in the dialect. Thus, to quote one spontaneous example, 'be for Christmas' and 'beef for Christmas' are realized identically in the dialect, /bi: fr kris-məs/ which I feel is most improbable in S.E., even in the quickest speech.

However, there is another factor tending to work in the opposite direction. There is always a juncture feature of some kind between the end of one intonation tune and the start of the next, whether or not there is actually a pause. Since there are generally more shorter tunes in the dialect than in S.E., the realisation of, for example, 'from this place here' /frəm ðis ,plejs ,ji:r/ with two Low-Rise patterns, ensures the presence of a juncture feature in this case where it is liable to be lost in rapid speech in S.E. We can thus say, briefly, that juncture is more likely to be dispensed with within a tune in the dialect, and less likely to be lost between tunes, of which there are a larger number in the informant's speech. Thus the total effect is often very different from S.E.

This last point leads directly to an examination of pause itself. In formal speech, pause tends to correlate with the boundaries of the tune patterns discussed above,

which in their turn tend to correlate with clause and sentence boundaries. In informal speech, two contrary processes seem to operate. On one hand, the number of pauses is reduced as intonation tunes often follow one another without any pause, while on the other hand pauses tend to occur where they do not occur in formal speech, within intonational and grammatical groups at points which allow maximum lexical choice. It is however possible to state, for the dialect speaker at least, the points at which such pauses may occur although it is not of course possible to predict whether or not a pause will occur in a specific instance. This section is descriptive rather than contrastive since I know of no general study of pause in informal Standard English.

We will first look briefly at the additional pauses occurring within intonational and grammatical groups at what I have called 'points of maximal lexical choice'. The three principal such points are (a) between determiner and nominal

Her was going give the /P/ tenants the first chance.
That's how far up my /P/ property come.
He got a /P/ decent firm around him like.

(b) between a preposition and a governed nominal

from /P/ this place here
for /P/ for months and months

(c) between a nominal and the verb of which it is the subject

If I seed there was something must be doed, I /P/
forget the sitting down.
When tis your home and that, you /P/ feel happy.
So I /P/ laid hold to this.

It is particularly interesting that such a pause when a compound tense is involved invariably occurs between the auxiliary and the lexical verb, not between subject and auxiliary. Further, in the case of the tenses with auxiliary 'have', the particle a- which often accompanies the auxiliary, also comes before the pause. This, taken with the fact that this a- is not found in the passive where the auxiliary is 'be', not 'have', suggests that the particle is inherently connected with the auxiliary in some way and not with the following lexical unit. However, no phonetic or supra-segmental factors emerge / which seem to govern its presence or absence, (cf. below, discussion of the perfect tense) so it has only been possible to note with which verbs it does or does not occur.

Stairs used to P to .er.. P go from over there.
 He'll P collar a lot of it now.
 I've a-P tilled it every year.
 I've a-P doed very well

In all the above examples the pause occurs at points other than the boundary of a tune and/or grammatical unit. However, it is not true to say, for the informant at least, that such pauses occur at random. In this respect, my experience is different from that of Smith and Quirk*. There are virtually no pauses at other points in the continuum (apart from those at tune boundaries discussed below) except when the informant was interrupted by another speaker in some way. I have deliberately excluded such situations from my analysis but even there, it is normally a pause which allows such an interruption to be

* Smith and Quirk "Some Problems of Verbal Communication".
 Transactions of the Yorkshire Dialect Society Part LIV,
 Vol.IX. pp.10-20

made and this is usually at one of the three points of structure mentioned above.

Let us now look at the other important trend, the non-presence of pause at tune boundaries. Here too a distinct pattern emerges on closer study. We may say that pause is present (a) between tunes whose boundaries correlate with those of independent or co-ordinate clauses or (b) between an utterance-initiator (e.g. so, anyhow, still, well) with its own tune and the body of the utterance.

We may say that pause is not present (a) between tunes which are intra-clausal (b) between a subordinate clause and any other clause (which may or may not itself be subordinate).

Perhaps surprisingly, over 95% of the tune boundaries examined either showed or failed to show a concomitant pause in accordance with these features of the grammatical structure of the utterance. An examination of the specimen passage provides the following examples, all of which are fully transcribed in the appendix.

PRESENT (a) I can tell you this much P I worked on the roads for 30 years P and I still had ...

(b) Well anyhow P that was what used to have to go through

ABSENT // = tune boundary (see appendix)

(a) I used to rent a little plot just a little way out // from P this place // here P

(b) More tiddies you growed // the better twas for you.

When he come home // I thought (to) myself now ...

In a few instances, a pause is present as expected at a tune boundary, and there is also an adjacent (predictable) intra-group pause of the type discussed above.

I shall proper (?) take it a bit easy // \boxed{P} ,
he'll \boxed{P} collar a lot of it now.

Similarly, when there is no pause at a tune boundary,
there is occasionally an intra-group pause nearby.

Sometime after I lost my missus // I \boxed{P} gived up
the plot.

These two possibilities clearly arise from the rules
governing the occurrence of pause discussed above.

Thus, in conclusion, we see that the occurrence of
pause shows a high degree of predictability at tune
boundaries, and that we can closely delimit those other
points of structure where it may occur, although its
presence or absence cannot be predicted in any given
utterance. The distinction between independent and
co-ordinate clauses on one hand and subordinate clauses
on the other hand might well help a definition of the
sentence; in those instances where a co-ordinate clause
shows no pause between itself and an adjacent clause,
no sentence boundary would be postulated. Fries has
said*: 'One cannot find in speech the signals that will
mark unmistakably the divisions of sentences ... The
sentence, as set off by punctuation in written materials,
(is not) a unit of the living language of speech'. It
is true that the informant's "sentences" would not
correspond to those of standard punctuation, and it is
also true that suprasegmental features will not mark off
sentences 'unmistakably'. Nevertheless, I feel that a
unit of structure marked off by a tune boundary correlated
with specific grammatical features and often with pause

* quoted by Smith and Quirk, op. cit. p.15.

does emerge in the informant's speech, and this unit is closely akin to the 'sentence' of written English. This is what is meant by the term 'sentence' throughout this thesis. Thus a form such as \boxed{P} // /-ej-di:n `læn-jard/ // \boxed{P} which satisfies all the criteria, is clearly both an independent clause and a sentence in terms of the structure of the spoken language. Of course, there are a number of occasions when not all the criteria are satisfied; in such cases a decision, if it is important to the grammatical analysis, may have to be made. Nevertheless, suprasegmental features including pause (far less random in the informant's speech than has often been suggested for informal speech in general) do help us very considerably to establish the units of co-ordinate and subordinate clause and sentence, which are extremely useful units for the syntactic analysis of the dialect.

CHAPTER IV

The Personal Pronouns and Adjectives

- morphology and syntax

MORPHOLOGY OF THE PERSONAL AND POSSESSIVE PRONOUNS,
THE POSSESSIVE ADJECTIVES AND THE
REFLEXIVE PRONOUNS

The Personal Pronouns

	STRESSED		UNSTRESSED	
	SUBJECT	NON-SUBJECT	SUBJECT	NON-SUBJECT
1st pers. singular	/aj/	/mi:/	/aj/	/mi:/
2nd pers. sing.& plur.	/jy/	/jy/	/jy/ /jə/ /i:/	/i:/
3rd pers. singular (concrete, non-female)	/i:/	/i:/	/i:/	/n/ /ɪm/
3rd pers. singular (female)	/ər/	/ər/	/r/	/r/
3rd pers. singular (abstract)	NOT FOUND	/ɪt/	/ɪt/ /t/	/ɪt/ /(ə)t/
1st pers. plural	/əs/	/əs/	/əs/	/əs/
3rd pers. plural	/ðej/	/ðej/	/ðej/ /əm/	/əm/

NOTES (a) Person and Number. The categories of person and number correspond to those of S.E. with one major exception, namely the third person singular. In S.E., the division of this person is basically threefold, male animate ('he'), female animate ('she'), any other singular subject ('it'). It is true that there are certain exceptions, notably pets, countries, cars, boats etc., but the selection of 'he' or 'she' for any of these categories is always optional. The system in the dialect, although also threefold, is rather different, in that 'he' has generalized very considerably at the expense of 'it'. The first dialect category includes almost every concrete (but not animate female) object, as for example, a cottage, a plat of ground, a crane, Big Ben, a radio etc. etc. (/i:/). The second, /ər/, is limited to women, and very occasionally to a mare, although here the usage is sporadic (see examples.) The third category (/it/) is limited to abstractions, and to the role of a 'dummy' subject in phrases such as 'it seems' 'it is raining' etc. Consequently, its occurrence is limited except in unstressed subject position. These distinctions are not completely maintained, however, as the examples will show.

(b) Stressed and Unstressed. The fundamental structural opposition in the personal pronoun system of S.E. is that between subject and non-subject, which are formally distinct except in the case of 'you'. In the dialect, however, this opposition is much less important, the most significant contrast being between stressed and unstressed forms. ('Stressed' is used here, as in the section on verb-morphology, in the sense of 'bearing primary-stress'). One set of forms, however, that of the 1st person singular, is exceptional in that it patterns exactly as in S.E., /aj/ occurring in subject position, stressed or unstressed, and

/mi:/ in non-subject position in either case. The remarks which follow do not therefore apply to this set of forms.

The position with these other forms is rather more complicated. Although the basic opposition is one of stress, there are divergences within this over-all system, in that the unstressed subject is formally the same as the stressed forms under certain (differing) circumstances in the case of each person.

Thus, in the case of 'her' 'it' and 'us', there are no formal distinctions, these being one-member systems; in the case of 'he', the unstressed subject is always formally the same as the stressed forms; and in the case of /jy/ and /ðej/, the unstressed subject is the same as the stressed forms except when inverted in a question (though here also the stressed form may be found when the pronoun bears emphatic stress, e.g. /aw bi: "jy/ 'how are you?'.) This is not surprising, since it appears from an examination of the verb-morphology that an auxiliary in an inverted question form is always a stressed form; we find /jym/ but /bi: i:/ ('you are' and 'are you?') It is thus possible to specify exactly when the unstressed subject is formally as the stressed forms, and when as the unstressed non-subject. The pronoun system may thus be represented polysystemically as:-

(a) one-term, no formal oppositions

/ (ə) r /

/ i t /

/ ə s /

(b) two-term, subject: non-subject opposition, as in S.E.

/ a j / : / m i : /

(c) two-term, stressed forms and unstressed subject:unstressed non-subject

/ i : / : / n / (or / i m /)

- (d) two-term, stressed forms and unstressed subject (except in inverted Q-forms): unstressed non-subject, and unstressed subject in inverted Q-forms.

/jy/ /i:/
/ðej/ /em/

The most important feature of the system is thus that, except for the first person singular, there is no subject: object opposition in stressed positions and only a limited subject:object opposition in unstressed positions. In the case of /ər/ and /əs/, it is the forms which S.E. uses as the non-subject form which are used in all stressed positions and there are thus no reflexes of 'she' or 'we'; in the case of /i:/ and /ðej/, it is the form used by S.E. as the subject form which is used in stressed position; and in the case of /ɪt/ and /jy/, and the subject:object opposition is neutralized in S.E. also. In the unstressed positions (except where an unstressed subject is formally the same as a stressed form), it is in all cases a form similar to that used in S.E. as a non-subject form which is used in the dialect, except that for /jy/ the normal unstressed form is /i:/. We may conclude that the over-riding structural opposition in the dialect, with the marginal exceptions listed above, is not case but stress; in this respect, the system is very different from S.E.

Non-structural variants are mentioned and exemplified below.

b. unstressed

In the unstressed position, there are three forms

i. /jy/, ii. /jə/ and iii. /i:/. The respective uses are:-
i. as normal uninverted subject-pronoun, except in phrases such as 'you know' and 'you see'; ii. as subject-pronoun in certain phrases, particularly /jə now/ ('you know'); and iii. in all non-subject positions, and in subject position in questions showing inversion, unless the pronoun is particularly stressed, see above.

i. /jy/

/jy məs bi: θiŋ-kin tə jr-"zɛl wɛl əjm ə "lə-ki: "man/
You must be thinking to yourself: 'Well, I'm a lucky man'.
/"ɛ-ni: n "ɛv-ri:-θiŋ jy wɔn-tɪd ty t jə now/
Any and everything you wanted to it, you know.
/əj daʊn naʊ wɔt əs ʃɪd "dy wɪ-awt ə bɪd ə spɔ:rt də "jy/
I don't know what we should do without a bit of sport,
do you ?

ii. /jə/

/ʊərz "ɔ:l-wɪz sə-mɪŋ tə bi: "dyd jə naʊ/
There's always something to be done, you know.

iii. /i:/

/wɔt əv i: bɪn "dy--ɪn əv/
What've you been doing of ?
/jy nə-vr "naʊ dy i:/
You never know, do you ?
/əj kyd tel i: ðə "deɪt/
I could tell you the date
/mɔ:r "tɪ-di:z jy grəʊd ðə bɛ-tr "twɛz fr i:/
More tiddies you grew, the better it was for you.
/sɔw "mɛ-ni: ɔ i: bɛn-dɪd əp bi:-"əɪn/
... so many of you bent up behind

3rd person singular, concrete, non-female

It is difficult to justify the definition of this category in the case of stressed forms, since those which occur tend to refer to persons or animals; where a stressed form refers to anything else, a demonstrative form, usually

'that', is normally used. Thus, to be strictly accurate, a rather different system, incorporating demonstratives, is often necessary for the stressed position, and the division of the person into 'male', 'female' and 'the rest' (/i:/, /ər/, /əat/) would be close to that of S,E. Since the demonstratives are treated elsewhere, however, we have based the divisions of this person on what seems to be the case for the unstressed positions. Thus /i:/ and /ər/, when stressed, normally refer to animate objects, while neither /i:/ nor /it/ is normally found stressed when referring to inanimate objects. Two exceptions are noted below, see under 'he' (stressed) and 'it' (stressed) .

We should also note that potential confusion between /i:/ 'he'/'him' and /i:/ 'you' does not arise except in one case, that of unstressed inverted question form /dy i:/ ('does he?' or 'do you?') . In stressed position, /i:/ is always 3rd person, in unstressed non-subject position, it is always 2nd person; and in unstressed subject position where there is no inversion, it is always 3rd person, /jy/ or /jə/ being used for the 2nd person (/i: dy/= he does; /jy dy/= you do.)

/n/ and /im/ are apparently in free variation but the latter is extremely rare, being outnumbered tenfold by /n/.

a. stressed

/"i: n "i:z mi-səz wen ep tə ðə wɛ-dɪŋ/
He and his missus went up to the wedding.

/aj ad ə kat n "i: daɪd/
I had a cat and he died.

/"ðej laɪk "i: n "i: laɪks "ðej/
They like him and he likes them.

/"i: nə:d "mi: n "aj nə:d "i:/
He knew me and I knew him.

/aj nə-vr aks "i: "nə-θɪŋ/
I never ask him nothing.

/n sow aj wɜ:kt "i:/
And so I worked him (a crane)

/aj ad "se-vn"ji:r lɔŋ wi "i:/
 I had seven year along with him. (a farmer)
 /now ʃim-ʃam wi "i:/
 no shim-sham with him. (a builder)
 /aj ʃeɪ af tɛ si: bawd "i:/
 I shall have to see about him. (the coalman)

b. unstressed

/i: wɛz əp tɛ "li-və-tn/
 He (a farm) was up to Lovaton.
 /i: wɛz "se-vn"majl wej frəm "ji:r/
 He (a quarry) was seven mile away from here.
 /i: wɛz ðə bɛst ə ðə "vow-r jɛ zi:/
 He (a cottage) was the best of the four, you see.
 /"now-bɔ-di: dɔwn now "dy i:/
 Nobody knows, does he? (or 'do you', cf. note)
 /aj ʃeɪ a" tɛ gi n "ɛp/
 I shall have to give it up. (a cottage)
 /aj maj-tn "av ɪm mɔ:r n θər-ti: deɪz n ajd ə "lɔst n/
 I mightn't have it more than 30 days, and I'd 've lost it.
 (a dog)
 /aj ɔ:l-wɪz lajk ki:p ɪm "fɔ:r-əd/
 I always like to keep him forward. (a clock)
 /aj jys tɛ kəl-tɛ-vejt "maj gar-dn lajk aj gɔt n "naw/
 I used to cultivate my garden like I got it now.
 /ajv livd i:n n "naw fr "fɔ:r-ti: ji:r/
 I've lived in it now for forty year.
 /aj ad ə ny"ryf pɛt ɔn n/
 I had a new roof put on it.

We could note one example of /n/ and /it/ apparently in free variation.

{ /aj zi:d n wɔt i: dɛn pɛt əp "ej-r tərnd n dri: tajmz
 { I saw it, what it did, put up a hare, turned it three times
 { n kɔ:t ɛt/
 { and caught it. (The subject is a dog.)

3rd person sing., female a. stressed

/"aj ad ðə "fɛs prajz n "ɛr ad ðə "ze-kænd/
 I had the first prize, and her had the second.
 /aj zi:d "ɛr ðər wi "i:/
 I saw her there with him.
 /aj nɛ-vr jys tɛ seɪ nɛ-θɪŋ ty "ɛr/
 I never used to say nothing to her.

b. unstressed

/wɛl nɑw r wɔnts ət ɔ:l "wɑjld/
Well now her wants it all wild.
/daʊn spɔjɪ r "ðət wej/
Don't spoil her that way.
/jy ki:pt r bæk "ðɛr awt ðə "wej/
You kept her back there out the way.

All the above examples refer to a woman. 'Her' is used at times for a mare, but inconsistently as the following example shows.

/ðə owl "mɛr əj jys tɔ fəʊ wɛz ə li-tl bit ɔt-"ɛj-dɪd ...
The old mare I used to show was a little bit hot-headed
wɛn r wɛz "mɑjnd ty r ɛd stɑrt bit ɛv ə "aŋ-ki:-"pɑŋ-ki:
when her was mind to, her'd start bit of a hanky-panky,
jə nɔw ri:r ɛp ɔn "ðejnd fr "pɑs-tajm jə nɔw zəm-tajmz
you know, rear up on the end for past-time, you know,
əjd ə gɔt pɛt "stɪk ty n fr tɔ lɛt n nɔw ðɛt wɛr i:
Sometimes I'd a-got put stick to him for to let him know
wɛz "ty wɛr i:z "plejs wɛz/
that ... where he was to, where his place was.

3rd sing., abstract a. stressed

This is not normally found stressed, for reasons which have already been stated (cf, notes on /i:/). There is one interesting example, however, where /ðət/ might be expected

/əj nɛ-vr sej "nə-θɪŋ ty n bawd "ɪt nr "nə-θɪŋ/
I never say nothing to him, about it nor nothing.

b. unstressed

/wɛrz ɪt "ty/
Where's it to ?
/si: wɔt ɪt-l kɔst jy tɔ-"deɪ wɔt ɪt dɪd ji:rz ə-"gɔw/
See what it'll cost you today, what it did years ago.
/əj dɛ-nɔw ðɛt əj ɛ-vr tyk ɛ-ni: "ɪn-tres ɪn ɪt tɔ "nɔw/
I don't know that I ever took any interest in it to know.
/gɔt "draɪ ət ɔ:l--raɪt/
Got through it alright.

It is true that /ɪt/ or /ət/ does occur in a number of places where the reference is a concrete object, but far less than /n/. Where /ɪt/ does occur, this may be due to the influence of S.E.

1st person plural a. stressed

/wɛn "ɛs wɛz plaw--in ajv ad "sɪks dɛjz ə wɪ:k/
When we were ploughing, I've had six days a week ...
/"maj pɔ:r owl mæ-ðr n far-ðr ri:rd "ɛs əp/
My poor old mother and father reared us up ...
/ə "land-lej-di: r wɛz fr "ɛs lajk ðɛn/
A landlady her was for us, like, then?

b. unstressed

/"prɔs-pɪks əs kɔ:l ət/
"Prospects", us call it.
/jys tɛ "majn ji:r dʒəs əp "bɛv əs/
Used to mine here, just up above us.

3rd person plural a. stressed

/"aj ad tɛ fɔw ðə pɔw--ni: bət "ðej wɪnd ðə kɛps/
I had to show the pony, but they won the cups.
/aj kyd tʃɛk "ðej ə-bawt/
I could chuck them about.
/ðats ɛpt "ðej ðej now wɔt ðej+n "bawt əv/
That's up to them, they know what they're about of ...

b. unstressed

In the subject position, there are two forms /ðej/ and /əm/, the latter occurring only in inverted questions where the pronoun is unstressed, as it usually is. (cf, the notes on /jy/ unstressed.)

/ðej spɛk tɛ av "nejm tɛ ðə awz daʊn əm/
They expect to have a name to the house, don't they ?
/ðat wɛz far əz ɛ-vr ðej "pejd əm/
That was far as ever they paid them.
/*wɛr dy əm gɛt ðə "ty:lz ty/
Where do they get the tools to?

In the non-subject unstressed position, only /əm/ is found.

/ðejd tejk əm bak əv jr "dɔ:r fr af ə kraʊn/
They'd take them back of your door for half-a-crown.
/aj stejd ðɛr lɔŋ wɪ əm fr "mɔ:r n ə ji:r/
I stayed there along with them for more than a year.

Relative order In both subject and non--subject positions, stressed and unstressed, a first person form comes first, followed by a second person, followed by a third person.

/dʒəs lajk "mi: n "jy n "i: ðən/
 just like me and you and him, then.
 /mi: n dʒak went "skɪ:l tə-ge-ðr/
 me and Jack went school together.
 /prəps "mi: n "jy məjt mejk ə "deɪl/
 perhaps me and you might make a deal.
 /mi: n ðej "went ðər wen nəjt/
 me and they went there one night

There are no examples with /əs/.

The Possessive Adjectives and Pronouns

	STRESSED		UNSTRESSED	
	ADJECTIVE	PRONOUN	ADJECTIVE	PRONOUN
1st.p.sg.	/maj/	* /majn/	/mɪ/ /mi:/	/majn/
2nd.p.sg.	/jə:r/	/jə:rz/	/jɪr/	* /jɪrz/
2nd.p.pl.				
3rd. sg.	/i:z/	/i:z/	/i:z/ /z/	* /i:z/
3rd. sg.	/ər/	/ərz/	/r/	* /rz/
3rd. sg.	NOT FOUND	NOT FOUND	/ɪts/	NOT FOUND
1st. pl.	/aw-r/	* /aw-rz/	/r/	* /rz/
3rd. pl.	/ðɛr/	/ðɛrz/	/ðɪr/	* /ðɪrz/

Forms marked * have been elicited, and are not spontaneously attested. By their nature, the possessive pronouns are rarely unstressed, and these forms proved difficult to elicit; hence column 4 should be regarded with caution

NOTES. As in S.E., the forms which we have called by the traditional name of 'possessive adjectives' belong to the set of determiners, and are in a mutually exclusive relationship to the articles, demonstratives etc. Interest centres mainly on their morphology, but the examples have been chosen to illustrate their syntax also.

As in more colloquial S.E., there is a double set for each of these categories, one stressed and the other unstressed. In most cases (i.e. except for /mi:/ and /i:z/) the unstressed form shows the loss of the vowel found in the stressed form, the syllabic then being /r/. (See phonology, under /r/). This results in the homonymy of unstressed 'her' and 'our' as /r/ ([ər]), and of 'hers' and 'ours' as /rz/. (The last two forms were elicited).

The most striking feature of the system is the aversion to 'its', as adjective or pronoun, even more than in S.E. There is only one example in the corpus:-

{ /ðej wy-dn "θɪŋk gow bawt tɛ-kin "ðat əp pe-tɪn
 { They wouldn't think go about taking that up, putting
 { /ɔ et ɪn ɪts "plejs/
 { of it in its place.

Elsewhere, /ɔ it/ is preferred, and this is what was elicited in the frame which produced /jrz/ /rz/ etc. Of course, since 'he' rather than 'it' is normally used for concrete objects in the dialect, it is not surprising that /i:z/ occurs frequently where S.E. would show 'its'. We do find, however, /ðe bran-ʃɪz ɔ ɪt/ for 'its branches', and /ðe ryf ɔv ɪt/ as well as /i:z ryf/ for 'its roof'.

As the system is basically the same as that of S.E., few examples are given.

STRESSED ADJECTIVE

/"ðej məst av "ðer wej bət "ðej məs dy wət ðej "majnd ty/
They must have their way, but they must do what they mind
to.

/"er lɔst "er prajz jy zi:/
Her lost her prize, you see.

/ðer wəz ə lɔt əv "aw-r pi:pl dəj-in awt/
There was a lot of our people dying out ...

/"jɔ:r nejmz "glə-vr/
Your name's Glover.

/aj jys tə kəl-tri-vejt "maj gar-dn lajk aj gət n "naw/
I used to cultivate my garden like I got him now.

STRESSED PRONOUN

/"i: kəm i:n əd "i:z/
He came in and had his.

/ajl av "majn mə-3rd fəs ɪf jy lajk/
I'll have mine measured first, if you like.

/blɛst ɪf r dɪ-dn əf tə gəʊ i:n wɪ "erz/
Blessed if her didn't have to go in with hers ...

UNSTRESSED ADJECTIVE

/r pri-ti: ni:r brək r "art ə-vr ət/
Her pretty near broke her heart over it.

/əs əd əv "tɜrv n "vɛgz n "ɔ:l r fəj-rɪn/
We'd have our turf and fags, and all our firing ...

/i:l brejk z "art ɪf aj gət tə gəʊ wej/
He'll break his heart if I got to go away.

/ə-kɔ:r-dɪn ty i:z grəʊnd i: gət "i:n-lənd/
... according to his ground he got inland.

/naw əjm lɛft ɔn mi: əʊn ə-"gejn/
Now I'm left on my own again.

/ləŋ wɪ mɪ "sɛn n "dɔ:tr-n-lɔ:r/
Along with my son and daughter-in-law ...

UNSTRESSED PRONOUN

None of the attestations of these forms is really spontaneous, so no examples are given.

REFLEXIVE PRONOUNS

The forms of the relative pronoun are rather different from S.E., the normal paradigm being:—

/mi:--'zɛl(f)/
/jr--'zɛl(f)/
/i:--'sɛl(f)/
/r--'zɛl(f)/
*/it--'sɛl/
/r--'zɛlvz/
/ðr--'zɛlf/

The singular forms present no problems, all taking /f/ final in positions of strong stress. /it--'sɛl/ is elicited. /r--'zɛlvz/ is very rare and is always attested with /z/ final, whereas /ðr--'zɛlf/ never has /s/ final, but always shows /f/. In the case of all but /r--'zɛlvz/, there are enough occurrences to think that these factors are not random. /jr--'zɛl/ is never attested with a final sibilant, since it nowhere occurs in a sentence where the subject is unambiguously plural. It seems strange that the 3rd plural form always shows /f/ and never /s/, but this is in fact the case.

Examples

/aj θɔ:t tɛ mi:zɛl wɛ--'tɛ--vrz ðə "ma--tr wɪ i:/
I thought to myself: 'Whatever's the matter with you?'
/lɛt r lyk ɔr--tr r--'zɛlf ðat wej/
Let her look after herself that way.
/i: mejd ə "mark fr i:--sɛl jə nɔw/
Her made a mark for himself, you know.
/i: majt sist fr sɛ--mɪŋ i:--'sɛlf/
He might insist for something himself,
/ðej spɔk lajk r--'zɛlvz/
They spoke like ourselves.
/'trejt əm z jɪ lajk bi: "trej--tɪd jr--zɛl/
Treat them as you like be treated yourself.
/ðejd zej dy ət jr--'zɛlf/
They'd say: 'Do it yourself!'

/gɪvð ɪt awt ɔr-"zɛlf dɪ-dn əm/
 Gave it out themselves, didn't they ?
 /tɪ-dn "nə-θɪŋ tə ɡoʊ dɹeɪ-ɪn "wɪd fr ɔr-zɛlf/
 Tisn't nothing to go draying wood for themselves.
 {/əs ad sɛm "faɪn jəŋ fɛ-lɛz dɛn vɛ-ri: "ɡɪd
 {Us had some fine young fellows ... did very well
 {/fr ɔr-zɛlf/
 {for themselves.

SECOND PERSON SINGULAR FORMS

Throughout the foregoing sections, reflexes of a second person singular form ('thee') have been ignored, as they form no part of the informant's regular usage. However, a paradigm /ðɪ:, ði:, ði:, —, ði:-zɛlf/ did emerge spontaneously, in certain cases when the informant was repeating utterances made to him by his parents. The clearest examples include:—

/mə-ɔr wəd zɛj ðɪ: kn wɑʃ ði:-"zɛlf ðɪ: ɛjɔʒ/
 Mother would say: 'Thee can wash theeself (at) thy age
 /fa-ɔr zɛjɔ n dɪd ðɪ: "ɛj-r stænd ɔn ðə ɛjnd dɪd-nɪt/
 Father said: 'And did thy hair stand on the end, didn't it?
 /ðɪ: dɪ:st ðæt dəs-nɪ:/
 Thee dost that, dostn't thee ?

It will be seen that no possessive pronoun form emerged spontaneously. When questioned on this point, the informant claimed with certainty that his parents' form was /ðəjɪn/. This, however, seems improbable, especially since he also claimed that the relevant possessive adjective form was /ðəj/, a statement contradicted by the examples above which are wholly spontaneous. It seems more probable that the pronoun form would have been /ðɪ:z/, and that in claiming /ðəj/ and /ðəjɪn/ to be the forms, the informant has been influenced by the usage of the church, which he attended regularly for many years.

The only phrases using reflexes of 'thee' which occur more generally in the informant's speech are

/dəs--ti: now/ * and /dəs--ni: now/ *
Dost thee know ? Dostn't thee know ?

However, this vestigial paradigm itself is less interesting than the information gained from the informant about the date of the loss of 'thee' from ordinary speech in the area. It was the normal mode of singular address between his parents and his brothers, at least when the informant was a child, and between his father and his contemporaries, whom the informant remembers using these forms regularly when he was a youth. At this time, too, he used the form personally when conversing with his elders and, to a lesser extent, with his own generation. The informant is quite clear in his own mind that his parents' generation was the last to use these forms regularly. He himself no longer uses the paradigm except in a few phrases (see above) and in the citation of remarks made by his parents.

We can thus say that the last generation to use these forms in normal speech was born about 100 years ago, that this generation used them decreasingly, and that the informant's generation, born about 80 years ago, has not used them regularly since the age of 25 or

* These are certainly reflexes of 'thee', as the informant himself claims. The equivalent forms reflecting 'you' are /dy i: now/ and /down i: now/ respectively.

30. It is thus some 50 years since 'thee' ceased to be frequently used; enquires in the village show that our informant is one of the few people alive who remember its more general use*, most people having never heard the forms except in church. The regular use of 'thee' nevertheless clearly survived, at least in places, until the start of this century.

* The fact that the informant's family lived on a farm 3 miles out from Zeal might suggest that the forms survived slightly longer in the outlying areas than in 'Zeal Town'.

CHAPTER V

The Demonstratives
- morphology and syntax

THE DEMONSTRATIVES

(a) Morphology

The basic paradigms of the demonstrative adjective and pronoun are as follows:-

SINGULAR

adjective

SIMPLE	/öi:z/ /öis/	/öat/	/öi-ki:/
1st COMPOUND	/öi:z ji:r/ /öis ji:r/	/öat öer/	/öi-ki: öer/
2nd COMPOUND			

pronoun

SIMPLE	/öis/ /öi:z/	/öat/	/öi-ki:/
1st COMPOUND	/öis ji:r/	/öat öer/	
2nd COMPOUND	/öis ji:r ji:r/	/öat öer öer/	

PLURAL

adjective

SIMPLE	/öejz/ /öi:z/	/öej/	/öi-ki:/*
1st COMPOUND	/öejz ji:r/ /öi:z ji:r/	/öej öer/	/öi-ki: öer/*

pronoun

SIMPLE		/öej/	
1st COMPOUND			

* For the status of /öi-ki:/ and /öi-ki: öer/ as 'plurals', cf. the syntactic section.

The paradigm as outlined above presents few morphological problems. The two pairs of forms /ði:z/ and /ðis/, and /ðejz/ and /ði:z/ do, however, need examination. In the singular of the adjective, the two forms /ði:z/ and /ðis/ are both frequent, being used mostly in unstressed and stressed position respectively. However, some 30% of the occurrences of each form do not follow this tendency, so it does not seem profitable to set up a stressed:unstressed opposition on the lines of the personal pronouns, particularly since such a division would serve no purpose in the case of /ðat/ and /ðɪ-ki:/. With the 'first compounds', the form /ði:z ji:r/ outnumbers /ðis ji:r/ in the ratio 4:1 in the adjective position.

When functioning as a pronoun, /ði:z/ is rare as a simple form and doesn't occur at all either within a first compound (although 'first compounds' are so rare as pronouns that no generalization can usefully be made) or within a 'second compound', where only /ðis ji:r ji:r/, never /ði:z ji:r ji:r/, is found. Thus /ðis/ seems to be more favoured as a pronoun, and /ði:z/ as an adjective; this, of course, is only a tendency.

In the plural, the position is more clear-cut. The normal adjective plurals are /ðejz/ and /ðejz/ ji:r/, which outnumber /ði:z/ and /ði:z ji:r/ by a large margin. (see below). Such cases of the latter as do occur may perhaps be ascribed to S.E. influence, since /ði:z/ is clearly used normally as a singular rather than a plural form. The absence of any reflex of /ðejz/ as a plural pronoun is discussed in the syntactic section.

The other forms present little morphological difficulty. There is only one occurrence of /ðr-ki:/ as a pronoun, although as an adjective it almost outnumbers /ði:z/ and /ðat/ together, so it seems to belong primarily to the adjectival system. The normal singular pronouns are either the simple forms or the 'second compounds', the 'first compounds' being most unusual.

In the plural of the adjective, the simple forms are much more frequent than their equivalent 'first compounds'. We might note also one example of 'those', a form which occurs nowhere else in the corpus, and which should presumably be considered to be due to S.E. influence.

{ /ɔ:l ðowz ðər "tʃaps ðət wəz awt ðər tə "wɜ:k
 { All those there chaps that was out there to work,
 { /ðej "əd tə/
 { they had to ...

In the plural of the pronoun, there is apparently only the one form /ðej/. For notes on its status, see the syntactic notes.

The following are examples of those demonstratives which are not further discussed below. The uses of /ðat/ as a singular adjective, of /ðr-ki:/ as a singular or plural adjective, and of all the pronouns are fully exemplified in the syntactic section, and thus no examples are given here.

/aj kəm daʊn "ji:r tə liv ɪn ði:z li-tl owl "strejt/
 I came down here to live in this little old street.
 /wəl "ði:z ji:r əj dən ə bɪt "ləj-tr/
 Well, this year, I did a bit lighter.
 /nəʊ "ðɪs si:-zn tɪz "o-vr/
 Now this season tis over.
 /"ðɪs wəz kə-mɪn "ði:z wej/
 This was coming this way.

/ðərz ə:l "ðis dʒi:r sɔ:rt ə dʒɔbz gwen ɔn tə-"deɪ/
 There's all this here sort of jobs going on today.
 /əɪ wəz daʊn "ðə wəz ði:z dʒi:r "plaw wəz əp "dʒi:r/
 I was down there where this here plough was up here.
 /ðejz pleɪ-sɪs bi: ə:l-"raɪt ɪf dʒi nɔw wəz dʒɪm "gwen tɪ/
 These places are alright if you know where you'm going to.
 /ðej gɔt tə peɪ ðe "weɪ-dʒɪz tə ðejz pi:-pl/
 They got to pay the wages to these people.
 /əɪ dɪ ə bɪt "gɑ:d-nɪn n laɪks əv ə:l "ði:z θɪŋz/
 I do a bit of gardening ... and likes of all these things.
 /wɔt meɪks ə:l ðej "ɪlz lyk sɔw wəl/
 What makes all they hills look so well?
 /wəz dʒɪm wəz sent tɪ ðej tɪ"mi:t/
 Where Jim was sent to, they two met.
 /"ðej wɑ:n əv ə:l "ðej sɔ:rt ə pi:-pl əp ðə r/
 They won't have all they sort of people up there.
 /təl "ky-pr tə "ʃɪft "ðej "stɔwnz "ðə r/
 Tell Cooper to shift they stones there.

(b) Frequency Table

adjectives

<u>Singular</u>	%	<u>Plural</u>	%
/ði:z/	13	/ðejz/	23
/ðis/	11	/ði:z/	2
/ði:z ji:r/	9	/ðejz ji:r/	7
/ðis ji:r/	2	/ði:z ji:r/	4*
/ðat/	15	/ðej/	49
/ðat ðer/	3	/ðej ðer/	2
/ði-ki:/	43	/ði-ki:/	10
/ði-ki: ðer/	4	/ði-ki: ðer/	3
	<hr/>		<hr/>
	100		100

pronouns

<u>Singular</u>	%	<u>Plural</u>	%
/ðis/	10		
/ði:z/	4		
/ðis ji:r/	2		
/ðis ji:r ji:r/	25	/ðej/	100**
/ðat/	22		
/ðat ðer/	2		
/ðat ðer ðer/	34		
/ði-ki:/	1		
	<hr/>		
	100		

* greatly inflated by the constant recurrence of the phrase 'in they days'.

** For the status of this form as a demonstrative, see notes on the syntax.

(c) Syntax

The most striking feature of the demonstrative system is that, in the singular adjective system at least, there is apparently a three-term opposition /ði:z : ðat : ði-ki:/ in contrast with the two-term system of S.E. It seems fair to say that the role of /ði:z/ is similar to that of 'this' in S.E. (but see note on /ði:z ji:r/ below), but any attempt to differentiate /ðat/ and /ði-ki:/ proves extremely difficult.

There are a number of sentences of the type:-

/if jy wɛz tɛ pɛt "ðat stɪk i:n krɔs "ði-ki: pɔw-ni:/
If you was to put that stick in across thicky pony ...

where the two forms seem to fill the same function.

The virtual absence of /ði-ki:/ from the pronoun system, together with the fact that /ði-ki:/ is three times as frequent as /ðat/ as an adjective, would suggest that /ði-ki:/ is the normal adjectival form in the dialect, and that /ðat/ has a greater range, having a function which is basically pronominal but in addition

adjectival at times. This is further supported by the fact that when presented with sentences of the type:-

/i: tɛrnd ðat "ɛj-r "dri: "tɛjnz n "i: kɔ:t n/
He turned that hare three times and he caught it.

the informant claimed that /ði-ki:/ would be equally acceptable and could indicate no distinction. Thus there are pairs of sentences such as:-

/aj jys tɛ wɔ:k ðat ðɛr "ty majl n "af/
I used to walk that there two mile and a half.
/jɪd wɔ:k ði-ki: "najn "majl/
You'd walk thicky nine mile.

or again

/ðat vi-niʃt "ðat dʒɔb/
That finished that job.
/aj wydn av "ðɪ-ki: dʒɔb/
I wouldn't have thicky job.

There are certain cases where either one form or the other seems to be required, notably that /ðat/ is used when actually indicating a size with the hands:-

/gow əp n zi: ðə stɔnz "ðat læŋθ "ðat θɪk-nəs/
Go up and see the stones that length, that thickness.

while /ðɪ-ki:/ is used in contrast with /tə-ðr/, where S.E. would normally use 'one' or 'the one'.

/syn əz ðej ɡɒt et "ðɪ-ki: and ðejd θrɛk et
Soon as they got it thicky hand, they'd thruck(?) it
ə-wej wɪ ðə "tə-ðr/
away with the other.

In the adjective plural, the contrast between /ðɪ-ki:/ and /ðej/ is not a real one, since /ðɪ-ki:/ is found only with numerals.

/aj ad "ðɪ-ki: "ej-ti:n "bɒb ə "wi:k/
I had thicky eighteen bob a week.
/aj ɪkspɛk ðɪ-ki: "najn wɛz ɔ:l "wɛn "mɒnz ʃi:p/
I expect thicky nine was all one man's sheep.

When presented with /ðɪ-ki:/ before plural nominals, the informant rejected them. It would therefore be preferable to re-define 'singular' and 'plural' in the dialect to account for this (as we have often done in the sections on the verb), rather than to consider /ðɪ-ki:/ as a plural form; this would accordingly neutralize in the plural any /ðɪ-ki:/ : /ðat/ opposition which may exist in the singular.

In the pronominal system, there is only one occurrence of /ðɪ-ki:/

/maj mi-sɛz bɔ:t "ðɪ-ki: fɔ:r r "dajd/
My missis bought thicky before her died.(a radio)

It is true that most of the occurrences of /ðat/ as a pronoun do not refer to a specific antecedent e.g.

/aj "ka:n ə"vɔ:rd tə dy "ðat/
I can't afford to do that.

but there are a number of cases where /ðat/ does play a role closely parallel to /ðɪ-ki:/ above.

/əz "aj wəz pa-sɪn "ðat n "ðat wəz pa-sɪn "mi:/
As I was passing that, and that was passing me.(a dog)

As there are no other examples of /ðɪ-ki:/ as a singular pronoun, either simply or as part of a 'first' or 'second compound', and no cases at all in the plural*, it seems fair to say that any /ðat/ : /ðɪ-ki:/ opposition is realized only in the singular adjective, and that here too it is difficult to see what the basis of any opposition might be. A list of representative examples of /ðat/, /ðat ðər/, /ðɪ-ki:/, and /ðɪ-ki: ðər/ is given below, in their function as singular adjectives, so that they can easily be compared.

/ðat/

/ɔ:l ðej gɔt tə "dy ɪz sti:r ðat lɪ-tl "wi:l ə bɪt/
All they got to do is steer that little wheel a bit.
/jɪd pət ɪ:n "daj-ne-maɪt tə blast ðat stɔwn"ɔf/
You'd put in dynamite to blast that stone off.
/es əd gɔw "ɪ:n ðat pəb n əv ə pajnt ə "bi:r/
We'd go in that pub and have a pint of beer.

/ðat ðər/

/aj jɪs tə wɔ:k ðat ðər "tu maɪl n "əf/
I used to walk that there two mile and a half.
/gɒd əz "gɔwld ðat ðər "θɪŋ wəz/
Good as gold, that there thing was.

/ðɪ-ki:/

/ɔ:l əv əs bi: ɪn "ðɪ-ki: bɔ:t jə si:/
All of us be in thicky boat, you see.

* There is one example of /ðɪ-ki:/ in the plural, but in a position where S.E. would show 'they':-
/əʊn-li: təɪm ðɪ-ki: gɔt tə kəm "əʊn wəz/
Only time they had to come home was

/ðɪ-ki: "dɔg i: sɛd bɪn ðɛr ɔ:l "deɪ/
 'Thicky dog', he said, 'been there all day?'
 /stɛrʒ wɛnt ɛp "ðɛr laɪk "ðɪ-ki: saɪd "ðɪ-ki:
 Stairs went up there, like, thicky side, thicky
 /ɛjnd ə ðə wɔ:l/
 end of the wall.
 /ðɪ-ki: pleɪs wəd bi: "blɛk wɪ pi:-pl/
 Thicky place would be black with people ...
 /əɪ trɛ-vɪd ðɪ-ki: ɔwld rɔ:d "vɔw-r "ɟi:r/
 I travelled thicky old road four year.
 /wɔts "ðɪ-ki: "lɪ-tl "pleɪs kɔ:ld fɔ:r ɟɪ get
 What's thicky little place called, before you get
 /ɛp "ɟɛl-vr-tɪn/
 up Yelverton?
 /ðɪ-ki: vi:ld ðeɪd "breɪk n ðeɪ kɔ:ld ɪt/
 Thicky field, they'd break it, they called it.
 /i: wɛz gwɛn tɛ pɛt mi: n dʒɛn "ɛp ðɪ-ki: naɪt/
 He was going to put me and Jan up thicky night.
 /"ne-vr bɪn drɪ ðɪ-ki: rɔ:d "zɪns/
 Never been through thicky road since.

/ðɪ-ki: ðɛr/

/dʒɪm kɔ-nɪ kɑ-tɪd ɔwm ðɪ-ki: ðɛr dʒɑr ə "zɑɪ-dr
 Jim Connell carted home thicky there jar of cyder
 /seɪm ɛz i: kɑ-tɪd n "ɛp/
 same as he carted it up.
 /ɛs gɔt i:n ðɪ-ki: ðɛr "vi:ld/
 We got in thicky there field ...

The morphological status of /ðɪ:z/ and /ðɪs/ as
 singulars, and of /ðeɪz/ and /ðɪ:z/ as plurals has
 already been discussed. Syntactically, their use
 seems to correspond to S.E. closely, except in one
 important respect: the 'first compound' forms are used
 in a way similar to a sub-standard usage which is
 fairly widespread, in the sense of 'a' or 'a certain'.

/i:d gɔt ðɪ:z ɟi:r "dɔg/
 He'd got this here dog.
 /ɟɪd pɛt ðɪ:z ɟi:r greɪt "krɛst ɔn tɔp/
 You'd put this here great crust on top.

The 'first compound' is never used as an equivalent to S.E. 'this', being reserved for uses of the type above, although there is another form /ði:z ... ji:r/,* which is occasionally used where S.E. would show 'this', e.g. /twi:n ji:r n ði:z vi-lidz "ji:r lajk/
Between here and this village here like.

In the plural, an exactly parallel syntactic division occurs between /ðejz/ (cf. S.E. 'these') and /ðejz ji:r/.

/ðejz ji:r "mɪ-dnz ðæt wəz ji:r/
These here maidens that was here ...
/aj jys tɛ pɛt ɛm ɪn frɛnt ɔv ðejz ji:r "ʃɛdz/
I used to put them in front of these here sheds.
/ðej gɒt ði:z ji:r "ej-tər-nrɜ/
They got these here hay-turners ...

In all the above examples, the 'first compounds', both singular and plural, refer to items which have not been mentioned before, and which are not adjacent to the speaker; they are thus referentially distinct from the normal use of S.E. 'this'.

But although we can fairly say that /ði:z/ and /ðejz/ are syntactically distinct from their equivalent first compounds, what of the other adjective compounds /ðæt ðɛr/, /ðɪ-ki: ðɛr/ and /ðej ðɛr/? There seems to be no syntactic division in these cases between them and their equivalent simple forms, so it is perhaps not surprising that the frequency table shows them to be without exception much less common than /ði:z ji:r/ and /ðejz ji:r/, which have a distinct

* Except where specifically mentioned, as here, the compound forms are inseparable. Where 'here' and 'there' do come after the nominal, they often bear a distinct nucleus, as a postposed adverb. (cf. page 54)

syntactic role. Forms such as:-

/əs ɡɒt ɪn ðɪ-ki: ðər "vi:lð/
We got in thicky there field, and
/ɡʊd əz "ɡowld, ðət ðər"θɪŋ wəz/
Good as gold, that there thing was.

do not seem any different from

/əs "mə:d ðɪ-ki: lɪ-tl plət/
We mowed thicky little plat ... and
/i: tərnd ðət "ej-r "dri: "təjmz/
He turned that hare three times

There is certainly no apparent correlation with any notional degree of emphasis.

In the case of the singular pronouns, the 'first compounds' are extremely rare, cf.

/i: dən "wɛl wɪ ðət ðər/
He did well with that there.
/i: wɛnt awt "brɔ:d ði:z ʤi:r wɒts "dejd nɑw/
He went out abroad, this here what's dead now.

The basic opposition here is between the simple forms and the 'second compounds' /ðɪs ʤi:r ʤi:r/ and /ðət ðər ðər/. Here the syntactic division is fairly clear: the second compounds are used in certain adverbial phrases, particularly after /ləjk/, where the demonstrative refers to no specific antecedent,

/tɪz ɡe-tɪn ləjk ðɪs ʤi:r "ʤi:r/
Tis getting like this here here.
/əjv ad tə wɔ:k oʊm "ɑr-tr ðət ðər ðər/
I've had to walk home after that there there.

and also, with reference to a specific antecedent, when particular emphasis is drawn to the item in question.

/əjv ad ðə "wəj-ləs ðər ðɪs ʤi:r "ʤi:r fɔ:r "ɡʊd
I've had the wireless there, this here here, for good
/mæ-ni: ʤi:rz/
many years.

/wən əv ði:z ʤi:r "krɒks sə-mɪŋ ləjk ðət ðər "ðər/
One of these here crocks, something like that there there.

In all other cases, the simple forms are used.

/ˈðis wəz kə-min ˈði:z wej/
This was coming this way.

/ðen i: did mi:t wi ˈðis/
Then he did meet with this.

/ðats ˈwən ˈbəd ˈdʒɒb ˈðat wəz/
That's one bad job, that was.

/ðats ˈwən ˈbəd ˈdʒɒb ˈðat wəz/
That's one bad job, that was.

/ðat/ is used particularly frequently in two phrases,
'likes of that' and 'and that'.

/i: dyd ə bit ə ˈfɑr-mr-in n lajks ə ˈðat/
He did a bit of farming and likes of that.

/aj gɒt ə ˈdʒəm-pr n ˈðat oʊm ˈnəʊ/
I got a jumper and that home now.

The last question is one of the most interesting.
Is there really only one form /ðej/ functioning as a
plural pronoun? At first sight, this would seem
improbable, given that there is a plural adjective
form /ðejz/ and that the 'this': 'that' opposition is
maintained elsewhere in the system. However, all
attempts to elicit such a form failed, and there is
at least one spontaneous utterance where, if a form
/ðejz/ did exist as a pronoun, it might be expected
to appear.

(/ðærz ˈθaw-zinz əv ej-krz awt ðær wəd grow it be-tr
{ There's thousands of acres out there would grow it better
{ /n ðej in ˈji:r grow it/
{ than they in here grow it.

Taking all these factors together, we tentatively suggest
that the opposition 'this': 'that' is neutralized in this
position, even though this seems rather unlikely, given
the adjective system.

But there is another point. It is in fact difficult
to identify occurrences of /ðej/ as demonstratives with
any certainty, because the form is identical with that
of the personal pronoun /ðej/ (S.E. 'they' or 'them').

Thus we find a series of utterances such as the following, in which a division between personal and demonstrative pronouns would be largely arbitrary.

/aj kəd "θrɔw əm tʃæk "ðej ə-bawt/
 I could throw them, chuck they about.
 /"ðej in "taʊnz ðej gɔw tə "kɒn-srʌts/
 They in towns, they go to concerts.
 /əs fɪ-nɪʃt əp wɪ "ðej i:n/
 We finished up with they in ...
 /ðej dɪ sɛ-bm ej-kɹz ə "deɪ ˈnaʊ wɪ "ðej/
 They do seven acres a day, now, with they.
 /ðer ɪz "ðej ðət teɪk ən "i:n-tres in ɪt/
 There is they that take an interest in it.
 /aj kəd kət i:n sɛ strɑɪt səm ə "ðej ðət "ne-vr dɪ ɪt/
 I could cut in so straight (as) some of they that never
 /do it.

Although, following the system of S.E., we have treated /ðej/ as a stressed personal pronoun elsewhere, and /ðej/ as a demonstrative pronoun here, it is clearly more economical, in terms of the dialectal material, to consider the two functions as coalescing within one system:- STRESSED /ðej/; UNSTRESSED /ən/. This system would operate in all positions where S.E. would show either a third person plural personal pronoun, or a plural demonstrative pronoun. (This would link in very closely with our suggestion* that there is a dialectal system:- STRESSED /ðət/; UNSTRESSED /ɪt/ for the third person singular, abstract or non-specific.) Thus in contrast to the last example above, we find:-

/aj zɪ:d zəm əv əm ðət ne-vr wɔ:kt ə maɪl in ðr "laɪvz/
 I saw some of them that never walked a mile in their lives.

* See the morphology of the personal pronouns, page 73.

where the form /əm/ is unstressed. (Such unstressed examples are much rarer than stressed examples in positions where S.E. would show a demonstrative pronoun simply because 'those' is normally stressed in S.E.)

We should note finally, however, that this analysis of the material does not in any way explain the absence of a plural pronoun /ðejz/, any more than the linking of /ðat/ with /it/ precludes the existence of a singular demonstrative pronoun /ði:z/ (see above). The non-existence of /ðejz/ as a pronoun seems best considered as an accidental gap in the corpus.

CHAPTER VI

Negatives and Indefinites

- morphology and syntax

Negatives

The normal method of negating a verb in the dialect consists of the use of 'not' together, where appropriate, with a negative pronominal, adjectival or adverbial form. This construction, the so-called 'double negative', is generally considered to be sub-standard in S.E., whereas the normal S.W. negative construction is virtually non-present in the dialect. Where a series of pronominals or adjectivals is associated with a negative verb, they will all be negative. Thus we find:-

/ðer wə-dn now "lə-ri:z bak ðen/
There wasn't no lorries back then.

/i: down dy "nə-θiŋ naw/
He don't do nothing now.

/aj nə-vr θiŋk bawd "nə-θiŋ/
I never think about nothing.

/ðer i-dn nə:t "els ji:r-bawd dy-in "iz ðer mətʃ/
There isn't naught else hereabout doing, is there,
/much ?

/aj ky-dn gow nə:-wər "els/
I couldn't go nowhere else.

/ðej down wən now-bə-di: els "gow ən dart-mə:r/
They don't want no-body else (to) go on Dartmoor.

/ti-dn wərəθ "nə-θiŋ tə "now-bə-di:/
It isn't worth nothing to nobody.

/ðej ðet a-dn got nən "tə:l/
They that hadn't got none at all ...

/aj nə-vr "zi:d nə-θiŋ n nə-vr "ji:rd nə-θiŋ/
I never saw nothing and never heard nothing.

/down jy gow "sej-in nə:t tə "now-bə-di:/
Don't you go saying naught to nobody.

Many more examples could be adduced of this type.

There are very few examples of either 'or' or 'nor', the total of each being roughly equal.

(c.f. the discussion on conjunctions.)

{/jy wy--dn now wɛr i: wɛz "bɛ--ri:d r "wɒt i:
{You wouldn't know where he was buried or what he
{/wɛz dyd ty/
{was done to.
{/aj ky--dn ji:r nɛ zi: "nɛ--θɪŋ/
{I couldn't hear nor see nothing.

We might note also

/aj wɛz nɛ--vr awt ə--"brɔ:rd nɛ down "wɒnt ty/
I was never out abroad nor don't want to.

'Neither' and 'either' are both entirely lacking in the corpus. 'Ever' is not found in negative clauses, being replaced by its negative counterpart 'never'. 'No-one'* is not found, 'nobody' being used in its place, and in the sense of 'nothing' /nɔ:t/ 'naught' is the more usual form, although /nɛ--θɪŋ/ is clearly within the structure of the dialect.

There are only two exceptions to the double negative construction out of many hundreds of negative clauses. The first

/aj di--dn vi:l "ɔ:t "ty "gyd/
I didn't feel aught too good.

can perhaps be explained as consisting of a negative verb with an invariable phrase. The second example reflects the normal S.E. usage.

/"aj nɛ--vr nɔ:d ə--ni:--di: "gɒw ðɛr/
I never knew anybody go there.

This was in response to a question 'Did you ever know anyone go there?' and reflects a consistent tendency of the informant not to change the construction of a question more than the minimum

* Neither are 'anyone' or 'someone'.

necessary to give a reply. (But even in this context, 'anyone' is avoided by the informant, who nevertheless clearly understands it. This is a further interesting examples of the divergence between 'performance' and 'competence' on the part of a dialect speaker.)

Indefinite adjectivals, pronominals
and adverbials

The 'double negative' construction clearly restricts the occurrence of the first set of indefinites, the 'any' set (including 'ever'). They are used after 'without', which is perhaps unexpected in view of the essentially negative nature of the preposition.

/aj ad it wi--ðawt ε--ni: "trə--bl jə now/
I had it without any trouble, you know.

Apart from this, the 'any' forms are used exactly as in S.E., but in positive clauses only. With the exception of 'anything' and 'aught', their use is very limited:--

{ /aj də--now ðət ε--vr aj tyk ε--ni: "in--trəs in it
{ I don't know that ever I took any interest in it
{ /tə now/
{ to know.

/ðej θɪŋk ðejm "dɪ--frɛnt ðən ε--ni:--bɔ--di: "ɛls/
They think they're different than anybody else.

{ /fr tə tək daʊn ə "oʊl in ðə "wɔ:l n kəm
{ ... for to take down a hole in the wall and come
{ /awt "dri ε--ni:--wɛr/
{ out through anywhere.

{/aj jys dy ə bit ə "ej-dʒɪn n ɛ-ni:-θɪŋ, əj
{I used to do a bit of hedging and anything, I'm
{/ɪ-dn pr-"tɪk-lr/
{not particular.

/kyd i: gɪv əs ə "ænd fr bit "ej-ar-vɪst r ə:t/
Could you give us a hand for (a) bit (of) hay
/harvest or aught?

/ɪf ə:t ə-pend lajk ðət ðær "ðær/
... if aught happened like that there there.
{/ðej dn kər we-ðr ðej gət ə:t tə "ejt awt
{They don't care whether they got aught to eat out
{/ðær ə "nəʊ/
{there or no.

The first example illustrates the habitual position of 'ever' in its clause; unlike in S.E., it will always be first in its clause, only a conjunction preceding it.

/twɛz dɑ:k əz "e-vr wɛz ə "dɪn-dʒɪn/
It was dark as ever was a dungeon.
{/ðəts ðə "əʊn-li: "təjm ðət ɛ-vr dʒən wəjt slejpt
{That's the only time that ever Jan White slept
{/weɪ frəm "əʊm/
{away from home.

/ðəts ðə "fɛs ðət əj rɪ-mem-br ɛ-vr əj "zi:d/
That's the first that I remember ever I saw.

This word-order is more striking because 'never' patterns as in S.E. and not in this way.

The second set of indefinites, the 'some' set, appears to pattern as in S.E., appearing only in positive clauses.

{/i: ʃəʊd mi: səm ə ðə "brɪ-gɪst ə et zəʊ tə
{He showed me some of the biggest of it, so to
{/ðær "te-lɪŋ/
{their telling.

/jes ðærz "sə-mɪŋ ə et ɪn ɪt/
Yes, there's something of it in it.

(/ən-ləs ðət jy wəz ɛdɪ-"keɪ-ʃn nəf tə get
 { ... unless you was education enough to ... get
 { /zəm-wɛr "ɛls/
 { somewhere else.
 { /zəm əv "aw-r tʃaps ad ðə tʃans tə goʊ i:n əp
 { Some of our chaps had the chance to go in up
 { /ji:r "naɪt-sku:l/
 { here night-school.
 /zəm wəd zej əj wy-dn av "ði-ki: dʒɒb/
 Some would say: 'I wouldn't have thicky job'.

We might note the phrase /"sə-mɪŋ nə-ðər/, being
 the equivalent to the S.E. 'something or other'
 etc. This is a phrase which occurs frequently.

/twɔz ə "pɛ-nrd fr "ðis n θri:-"a-pns
 It was a penn'ard for this and three-ha'pence
 /fr "ðat r "sə-mɪŋ nə-ðər laɪk ðat/
 for that or something another like that.

There is no equivalent form for 'something' to
 parallel the forms /nɔ:t/ and /ɔ:t/ for 'nothing'
 and 'anything' respectively.

CHAPTER VII

The Prepositional Phrase

THE PREPOSITIONAL PHRASE

A definition of a preposition which serves for S.E. will be equally valid for the dialect material. As Strang says, they form a class whose 'membership is clearly defined; they have one distinct syntactical function and one typical position. They indicate relationships between one noun-like item and another, the nature of the relationship being defined by the function of the preposition within the total system of English' (Strang, op. cit., p.172). The way the nature of this relationship varies between the structure of S.E. and that of the dialect is most apparent in our discussion of relationships of time and place (see below). It is certainly true, however, that all - or at least most - of the prepositions in the dialect have different functions within its structure than their counterparts have within the structure of S.E., in some cases slightly, in other cases more markedly so. It is, of course, beyond the scope of this work to describe in full the 'total system' of the dialect, even if it were possible. I have therefore restricted myself in most cases to notes on what seem to me to be striking similarities or differences between the roles of comparable forms on the dialect and in S.E. I have, however, examined two sub-systems rather more thoroughly, namely those indicating relationships of time and, more particularly, those indicating relationships of place. I have concentrated on the latter for two reasons: firstly that it is a relatively easy sub-system to define, both in S.E. and in the dialect, and secondly

that the structure of the system varies significantly between the two and provides, in my view, an interesting insight into the way in which a structural opposition apparently fundamental within the structure of S.E. can be dispensed with in the dialect, which makes central in its place a series of oppositions which are, at most, peripheral in S.E.

Thus this section really proceeds from the anecdotal to what is, I hope, more significant. It begins with a very rapid sketch of the prepositions which occur in the dialect; where no notes are added, I have not observed any describable structural difference between the dialect and S.E. (This does not mean, of course, that at the level of individual collocations, the dialect forms function as their S.E. counterparts, but simply that I cannot describe any differences in structural terms.) Where possible, I have grouped together prepositions which occur within the same broad semantic fields, and I have given in brackets the total number of occurrences of each form, based not on the entire corpus but on approximately 5 hours; there is no reason to suppose that the proportionate number of occurrences would vary greatly if the entire corpus had been counted. Points of specific interest raised below, however, are based on the entire corpus.

We shall now look first, very briefly, at those forms which seem to function most like their S.E. counterparts, proceeding gradually to more distinctive material. The section ends with a discussion of prepositions occurring with nominal clauses (rather than nominal phrases) and of the occurrence of 'to' in

clauses introduced by 'where'.

Of those prepositions with functions closest to S.E., we will look first at those which, broadly speaking, indicate 'place' or 'motion' and which are not discussed more fully below (cf. 'relationships of place').

across /krɔs/ (12); around /raʊn/ or /ry:n/ (11);

over /ɔ-vr/ (2 in this usage).

(For 'over' cf. also both 'relationships of place' and 'above'.)

/i: kəm awt wɪ sɛm "kawz tə pət ɛm krɔs ðə "rɔ:d/
He came out with some cows to put them across the road.

/ajv wɔ:kt frəm "lə-ve-tɪn daʊn krɔs ðə "fɑ:m/
I've walked from Lovaton down across the farm.

/i: ɔd bɪt ə "grawnd raʊn n gɔt ət raʊn n "naw/
He had bit of ground around him, got it around him now.

/i: gɪv mi: "tu "aʊ-rz rɑ:dɪn ry:n "lən-dn/
He gave me two hours riding round London.

/i:d gɔt ə "zɪn lɪ-vɪn awt tə "gy-ne-frd ɔv-vr ðə "mɔ:rz/
He'd got a son living out to Goonaford over the Moors.

/əs ɛd gɔw rɑ:dɪn daʊn ɔ-vr "stri-kl-path "ɪl/
We'd go right down over Sticklepath Hill.

on /ɔn/ (36). 'On' is used both of place and motion, the form 'on to' not being found in the dialect. (cf. 'in' and 'to' below). Otherwise, this form functions structurally very much as in S.E.

/aj lajk ɪt ɔn tɔp ðə "sɜ:fɪs/
I like it on top the surface.

/i:z sɪ-tɪn daʊn ɔn ðə "sejt/
He's sitting down on the seat.

/ɪt gɔt tə bi: "ɔvvd ɛp ɔn "wɑ:gɪnz/
It got to be heaved up on wagons.

/aj jʊz tə gɔw ɛp ɔn ðə "meɪn "rɔ:d/
I used to go up on the main road.

/aj wɛz ɔ:l-wɪz "ɔ:ɪr-sɪz ɔn ðə "breɪn/
I was always horses on the brain.

/ðə-tl kɛm "bæk ɔn mi: pɔ:ɪr ɔvl "mæ-ðr n "fɑ.-ðr/
That'll come back on me, poor old mother and father ...

above /bɛv/ (2); (below does not occur.)

/wɛr mi-siz "lɔk jɪs tɛ lɪv əp bɛv "tʃə-pl "i:n əp ðər/
Where Mrs. Lock used to live, up above Chapel Inn up there..

under /ɛn-dr/ occurs three times, always in the same phrase.

/i: wɛz "ɛn-dr "ajt/
He was under height.

whereas over /ɔ-vr/ occurs seven times with reference to height. (For 'over', cf. also 'across' above, and 'relationships of place' below.)

/jɪ kɑ:n "rɪn mæn jɔ:r ɔ-vr "ej-ti:/
You can't run, man, you're over 80.
/ajv gɔn əp ɔ-vr ðə "stɜ:z/
I've gone up over the stairs.

We might note also the use of 'over' in the sense of 'on account of'.

/r ni:r-li: brɔk r "hɑ:t ɔ-vr ət/
She nearly broke her heart over it.

in front of /ɪn frɒnt əv/ (3); behind /bɪ-ajɪn/ (2)

/ðæt wɛz "naɪn "maɪl ɪn frɒnt əv mi:/
That was nine mile in front of me.
/jɪ əd tɛ gɔw lɔŋ bi:-"ajɪn n/
You had to go along behind him.

through /dru:/ (21). 'Through' is used with both the major S.E. senses of 'via' and 'by means of'. It does to some extent generalize at the expense of 'by' (q.v.) and of along /lɔŋ/ which occurs twice only.

/ðejl ʃawt ɪt awt ɒry ðɪs ji:r "ɔ:rn ɒɪŋ/
They'll shout it out through this here horn thing.
/daʊn spoɪl r drɪ ðə meɪnz əv bi:-ɪn "eg-li:-"tɛm-prd/
Don't spoil her through the means of being ugly-tempered.
/nɛ-vr bɪn drɪ "ðɪ-ki: "rɔ:d "sɪns/
Never been through thick road since.

cf. also

/jɪd gɔt ðɪ-ki: ðər maɪlz tɛ "wɔ:k, lɔŋ ðə "rɔ:d/
You'd got thick there miles to walk along the road.

between / (bɪ)-twi:n/ (9)

/jyd ə-zejvd əp ty ə ʊri: "zɪks-pn-sɪz bɪ-"twi:n əm/
You'd a-saved up 2 or 3 sixpences between them.
/aj kəm awt ji:r twi:n "fɔ:r-ti: n "fɪf-ti: "ji:r
I come out here between 40 and 50 year
/ə-gow tə lɪv/
ago to live.

Finally in this section, we should note 'from'
/frɒm/ (49), which has a function directly parallel
to S.E. Its use in a number of interesting compound
forms, e.g. 'from up', 'from out', etc., is discussed
below (cf. 'relationships of place').

/əs wɔ:kt frəm ta-vɪ-stɔk awt "jɛl-vr-tn/
We walked from Tavistock out Yelverton.
/jy gɔt tə bi: kə-"rɛk-tɪd frəm "dy-in ə it si:/
You got to be corrected from doing of it, see.
/ɔ:l dɪ-pejnz frəm ðə "lɔ-ri:z aw ðej kəm/
All depends from the lorries, how they came.
/dʒɪs ə lɪ-tl wej awt frəm "ðɪs plejs "ji:r/
... just a little way out from this place here.

We might note that the three uses of off /ɔf/ in the
dialect all occur in contexts parallel to ones where
'from' is found elsewhere.

/jy mɛs tɛk jɔ:r kə-tl "ɔf ðə mɔ:r fr ðə "wɪn-tr/
You must take your cattle off the Moor for the winter.
/ðej gɛt ðə "wy:l ɔf ðə ʃi:p/
They get the wool off the sheep.
/aj bɔ:t n ɔf ə "fɑ-mr/
I bought it off a farmer.

Those other prepositions which can be classed as
closely similar to their S.E. counterparts do not fall
within any clear semantic field. There are now dis-
cussed very briefly below.

of /ɔv/, /ev/ or /ə/ (sometimes zero, see below)
(370); about / (ə-)bawt/ (57). Although these
two prepositions are extremely common, the former
being the most frequent in the corpus by a large

margin, nevertheless their role within the structure of the prepositional system appears to offer little scope for comment. The use of 'of' occurring pre-objectively with a present participle in certain cases ~~has already been~~^{is} considered, ^{below,} and the only other usage worth note is with reference to a period of time where S.E. would probably use another form. It appears to refer either to one specific occasion or to a repeated action (cf. the notes on 'in the night' and 'night-times' under the section 'relationships of place and time without prepositions'.)

/ajv ə-left "ji:r əv ə mɔ:r-nɪŋ/
I've a-left here of a morning.
/i:d lajk ə bɪt ə "bɑ:ki: əv ə naɪt/
He'd like a bit of baccy of a night.

'Of' is often so weakened as to be realized as /ə/ or lost completely.

/ðɜ:z plɛ-ni: "grɑs ə-bawt nɑw "ɪ-dn r/
There's plenty (of) grass about now, isn't there.
/daʊn bɔ-tm ðə "vɪ-lɪdʒ ðɜr/
Down bottom (of) the village there.
/"eɪs meɪks lɔt "dɪ-frɛns jə nɔw/
Yes, makes lot (of) difference, you know, etc. etc.

We should note also the compound form 'out of', used as in S.E.

/kɔ:rs əj də-nɔw bawt mə-kin ə lɔd ə "mə-ni: awt ə et/
Course, I don't know about making a lot of money out of it.

'About' is used more widely than in S.E., replacing other forms in a number of usages.

/lyks ðɜr tə "mi: wɔt "əj kn si: bawd ɪt/
Looks there to me, what I can see about it ...
/əj ʃy-dn kɜr bawd ɪt "nɑw "məj eɪdʒ/
I shouldn't care about it now, my age.
/əj daʊn teɪk nɔw nɔw-tɪs bawt ðə "neɪmz ɔn ðə "ɑw-zɪz/
I don't take no notice about the names on the houses.

/pli:s-mn ad tē in-tē-"fi:r bawd ət/
Policeman had to interfere about it.
/ajm "mejzd bawt "ən-tiŋ/
I'm mazed about hunting.

It is also often used where S.E. might rather show
'around', e.g.

/ðærz sev-rəl "bawt "mɔ:rz jə now/
There's several about Moors, you know.

For /fr/ (182) (For notes on the phonetic realization
of this form, cf. 'before' below.)

/kyd i: giv əs and fr bit "ej-ar-vist r ə:t/
Could you give us (a) hand for bit hay-harvest or aught?
/ajl tel jɪ fr "waj/
I'll tell you for why.

/aj kəd ne-vr "gɔw fr "pli-meθ/
I could never go for Plymouth.

/twəz ə "pɛ-nrð fr ðis n dri: "a-pns fr ðət/
It was a pennyworth for this and three ha'pence for that.
/i: majt "sɪst fr sə-mɪŋ i: "self/
He might insist for something himself.

like /lajk/ (104) functions in its prepositional uses
like its counterpart in S.E., with the meaning 'in the
manner of'. Its uses as a conjunction are discussed
below (p. 251). The majority of its uses, 62 out of
104, are in the phrase 'like this (here) (here)' and
'like that (there) (there)'.

/ðærz ə "fɛ-lə ðər ə "jɪ-nɪ-fɔ:rm ɔn lajk ə "sɔwl-dʒr/
There's a fellow there, a uniform on, like a soldier.

/gɔw tə bejd n "slejp lajk ə tri:/
(I'd) go to bed and sleep like a tree.

/twɔ:n mək n "fi:d i: lajk ə "gy:z "ðæn/
It won't make it feed you like a goose then.

/i:z sə-mɪŋ lajk ði-ki: "prɪz-nr/
He's something like thicky prisoner.

/tɪz "lajk ət wɪ "səm jə now/
It's like it with some, you know.

instead of /sted əv/ (2)

(/sted əv a-vin ðə θer-ti:n ʃi-linz ə wi:k n ðə
{Instead of having the thirteen shillings a week and the
{/"pr-vi-lidz əj əd ði-ki: ej-ti:n bɒb ə wi:k/
{privilege, I had thickly eighteen bob a week.

without /wi-ðawt/ (3)

/əj "əd ət wi-ðawt ɛ-ni: "trə-bl/
I had it without any trouble.

We now proceed to those which have identifiable differences of form or function from their S.E. counterparts, of varying degrees of significance.

beside /bi-zajd/ (6), /bi-zajd ə(v)/ (5)

inside /in-sajd/ (2), /in-sajd ə(v)/ (4)

outside /awt-sajd/ (3), /awt-sajd ə(v)/ (1)

All of these prepositions have two forms, the use of which is clearly syntactically differentiated. The form with 'of' occurs always and only where the governed nominal is a personal pronoun; with any other nominal, the form without 'of' occurs. Thus we find:-

/jɪm "sæt daʊn bi-zajd ðə "faj-r/
You're sat down beside the fire.

/əj di-dn ɡəʊ in-"sajd nəʊn ə ət/
I didn't go inside none of it.

/əj wəz wɜr-kin awt-sajd wɜr i: wəz "li-vin ty/
I was working outside where he was living to.

contrasted with

/əj kəm i:n n zɪt daʊn bi-"sajd ə ət/
I come in and sit down beside of it.

/sə lɔŋ əz jʊd ɡɒt sə-mɪŋ in-"sajd ə i:/
So long as you'd got something inside of you.

There are no spontaneous examples of 'outside of' followed by a personal pronoun, although elicitation confirms its occurrence. There is only one apparent

exception:-

/wɛr "rɪtʃ-mn lɪvd tɔ "awt "sajd əv maj "gɑr-dn/
Where Richmond lived tɔ, out side of my garden.

where the stress leads to the view that this is the equivalent of S.E. 'out at the side of',* parallel with 'out Yelverton' or 'out farm-house'.

We might observe that in its use with nominals other than personal pronouns, 'beside' is apparently synonymous with the principal use of against /(ə-)gejns/ (9), cf. 'against the hedge' and 'beside the hedge'. All but one of the occurrences of 'against' in the dialect are in the sense of 'beside', there being one example only in the sense of 'opposed to', the more frequent S.E. use of the form.

/i: kəm awt ðɛr gejns ðə "rɪ-vr/
It came out there against the river.

/maj gɑr-dn jɪs tɔ kəm raɪt əp "gejns ðæt wɔ:l/
My garden used to come right up against that wall.

/i: ʃɔ:d wɛn "ðɛr gejns ə "tɪ ʃi:r ɔwl/
He showed one there against a two-year old.

In the same context, we should note that near /ni:r/ occurs only three times, once in the comparative form with 'to'.

/jɪm awt ni:r "tə-vr-stɔk/
You're out near Tavistock.

/lɪ-tl bɪt ni:r-r tɔ ðə "vɪ-lɪdʒ/
... little bit nearer to the village.

Elicitation suggests that 'near to' rather than 'near' is the normal form.

* for the omission of 'at' or equivalent, cf. the section on relationships of place without a preposition, below.

with /wɪ(ð)/ (64) only fulfils in the dialect part of the role which it has in S.E. In a relationship of accompaniment, it is used only when either one or both of the items are not human, e.g.

/jym ə "strejn-dʒr fr dawn ji:r wɪ "pɔw-ni:z/
You're a stranger for down here with ponies.
/ðej "rɔv ðɪ-ki: stɔwn wið ə "bɑr/
They rove thicky stone with a bar.

When both items in a relationship of accompaniment are human, its place is always* taken by along with /lɔŋ wɪ(ð)/ (40). Apparent exceptions of the type 'Sometimes they'd a-left word with missus' can be explained by the fact that one item of the relationship here is 'word', not an actual human being. Where both items are human, the rule is consistently observed:-

/ðej bɪn kə-mɪn dawn lɔŋ wɪ əs fr "ji:rʒ/
They been coming down along with us for years.
/əj wez ɔwn-li: "tə-lɪn lɔŋ wɪ ə mæn ðe "e-ðr deɪ/
I was only telling along with a man the other day.
/i: ɒd "fɔ:r-ti: "ji:r lɔŋ wɪ "dʒejn "tə-kr/
He had forty year along with Jane Tucker.

* There are only two apparent exceptions, the first of which is not really a relationship of accompaniment but a prepositional verb.

(/"tʃɒps wəd mɪks wɪ ðe "mi-dnz n "mi-dnz
(Chaps would mix with the maidens, and maidens
(/wəd mɪks wɪ ðe "tʃɒps/
(would mix with the chaps.
/i: wez ðe "fɜs ðət "went awt ðer wið əs/
He was the first that went out there with us.

We notice that /lɔŋ wið/ is used even where /lɔŋ/ is already present as part of an idiomatic phrasal verb. (It is this repetition of the element /lɔŋ/ which prevents us from considering 'get along with' as a prepositional-phrasal verb in the dialect.)

/aj jys tɛ wɔ:k lɔŋ "lɔŋ wi n/
I used to walk along along with him.
/aj ɡɛt ə-lɔŋ ɔ:l-"raɪt lɔŋ wi i:/
I get along alright along with him.

To return to 'with', it is widely used in relationships other than accompaniment, at the expense particularly of 'by' (see below). Thus we find:-

/nɛ-vr wɔ-dn peɪd wi "i:/
Never wasn't paid with him.
/i:z ɡwen tɛk i: "ry:n wi ðə "kɑr/
He's going (to) take you round with the car.
/es əd raɪd daʊn ðər wi "treɪn/
We'd ride down there with train.
/kɔ:rs əs wɛz i:n ðə wɜ:ld wi "i:z fɔlt/
Course, we were in the world with his fault.

by /baj/ or /bɪ/ (ll) is extremely rare in the dialect, being used only twice after a passive (cf. 'with' above).

/ajv ɔ:l-wɪz bɪn "tɔwld baj ɪk-"spi:r-ɪnst meɪn/
I've always been told by experienced men ...
/i: wɛz "my-di:-ɔr-əd baj ɪt/
He was moody-horrored by it.

Its other uses, with two exceptions only, are in set phrases also found in S.E., eg. 'by hand', 'by God', 'by theirselves'. We might note the examples below, however, where the S.E. equivalent seems to be 'from'.

/aj jys tɛ nɔw wɔt aj kyd ɡɪv baj "i:/
I used to know what I could give by him.
{ /prɪ-di: faɪn keɪ-pr fr tɛ bi: "en-dr əɪ ʃəd seɪ
{ Pretty fine caper for, be under, I should say,
{ /bɪ ðər "tɛ-lɪn/
{ by their telling.

(cf. also, in a different construction, 'You'd leave by there about 7 o'clock again in the night'.)

Finally in this section, we note that 'except' does not occur in the dialect, its place being taken by the phrase more than /mɔ:r n/ (10) which generalizes throughout this field.

(/if "twɔ-dn fr ðə "lənd ji:r-ə-rawn ðər wy-dn . . .
(If it wasn't for the land herearound, there wouldn't
(/bɪ: vɛ-ri: "mɛtʃ mɔ:r n ə bɪt ə "meɪs-nɪn/
(be "very much, more than a bit of masoning.
/əj ən bɪn vɛ-ri: "fɑr mɔ:r n dʒes ə-"raʊn/
I haven't been very far, more than just around.

The uses of this form merge gradually with those where S.E. itself might show 'more than'.

/i: wɔ-dn "nə-θɪŋ mɔ:r n ə "bæg ə "bəʊnz/
He wasn't nothing more than a bag of bones.
/əj beɪnt "e-dɪ-keɪ-trɪd nɔ:t mɔ:r n n owl "dɔŋ-ki:/
I'm not educated, naught more than an old donkey.

The form besides /br-sajdz/ occurs once only:-

/əd tə wɔ:k "twen-ti: "majl br-"sajdz lyk əf-tr
Had to walk twenty mile, besides look after
/jɔ:r "ɔ:r-sɪz/
your horses.

We are now to examine two fields, relationships of time and place, where it is possible to consider in more detail the structure of small sections within the 'total system' of prepositions. In the former case, we are merely examining the generalization of one form at the expense of another; in the latter case, we see a functional sub-system which differs radically from its counterpart in S.E.

Relationships of time. The prepositions discussed here are those whose principal function is to express a relationship of time between two nominals, although in a number of cases they do have other uses. (In one case, 'after', temporal uses are in fact outnumbered

by other idiomatic uses in prepositional verbs, such as 'look after' etc.)

before (19) has two forms, /br-fɔ:r/ and /fɔ:r/, the latter occurring twice as frequently as the former (cf. the uses of these forms as conjunctions where, in a larger sample, /fɔ:r/ is relatively even more common.) The form /fɔ:r/ is always differentiated in the dialect from /fr/ (= 'for'), an extremely important fact for the consideration of certain uses of the former item. This is because, as well as the same temporal relationship as that expressed by 'before' in S.E.,

/es "pet i:n aw-r"zajöz ep raj-zin sen br-"fɔ:r te-ne-klök/
We put in our scythes up "Rising Sun" before 10 o'clock.
/wen twez "Gerz-dı "najt fɔ:r "gy-de "fraj-di: "mɔ:r-nıŋ/
When twas Thursday night before Good Friday morning ...

we also find that the form /fɔ:r/ (never apparently /br-fɔ:r/) serves as the normal dialect form to express the time relationship of S.E. 'until'.

/"kɔ:rs bæ-tr ðejd e-lat es werk fɔ:r "zıks i:n ðe "najt/
Course, better they'd a-let us work until six in the night.

The point of contact can be seen in examples such as

/jy ky-dn li:v ðe "fow-fi:ld fɔ:r zıks-se-"klök/
You couldn't leave the show-field before/until 6 o'clock.
(/i:v e-bin "fajn ɔ:l ðe tajm "sıns fɔ:r "naw
(He's been fine, all the time since, before/until now
(/ðe las fy menθs/
(the last few months.

This use of /fɔ:r/ prepositionally in the sense of S.E. 'until' corresponds exactly to its use as a conjunction in the same sense (q.v.), for example:-

/aj bajd ðer fɔ:r aj got "ma-ri:d r ni:r I-"nef/
I bide there until I got married ... or near enough.

Given that a form /fɔ:r/ is the normal dialect exponent of the concept 'until', there are certain cases where it might seem arbitrary to say whether such a form is to be identified with S.E. 'before' or 'for'

e.g. /ajl wejt fɔ:r "zɪk-sə"klɔk/
I'll wait until six o'clock (- for ?)

However, closer examination of the phonetic data shows that whereas /fɔ:r/ ('before') never has a reduced form /fr/, the normal atonic form for 'for' is just this. None of the potential ambiguities being in a stressed position, it seems preferable to treat /fɔ:r/ in all cases as being a reflex of 'before'. Thus we find, to illustrate the point:-

{ /aj jys tɛ af tɛ bajd ðər zəm-tajnz fɔ:r "sɛ-bm i:n
{ I used to have to bide there sometimes until seven in
{ /ðe najt fr tɛ gət "sɛr-tɪn "stɔwnz "ʃɪf-tɪd/
{ the night for to get certain stones shifted.

It is worth noting that the form 'until' occurs only once* in the dialect, in an unreduced 'correct' form, in a context in which, in several directly parallel examples, the dialect shows /fɔ:r/.

/ɪf "ajd e-"bajd ðər ən-tɪl "zɪks-ɔ-"klɔk/
If I'd a-bide there until six o'clock ...

It therefore seems reasonable to ascribe this usage to the influence of S.E.

* There is a form which is apparently 'I've been here till now how many years', but owing to extraneous noise it is impossible to be certain.

after /af-tr/ or /ar-tr/ (29) is structurally very similar to its counterpart in S.E.

/jy jys te wɔ:k "majlz "ar-tr ə owl wi:ks "wɜ:k/
You used to walk miles ... after a whole week's work.
/twɔ-dn vɛ-ri: lɔj ar-tr "ðat fɔ:r ðej wɛz kɛm "bæk/
It wasn't very long after that before they were come back.

In this temporal usage, it has a synonym gone /gɔn/ (7), used in the corpus only with actual times of the clock, as:-

/twɛz "gɔn ɛ-bm ə klɔk/
It was gone eleven o'clock.

We might note one or two non-temporal uses of 'after'

/ɪf jy wɔn-tɪd te goʊ te oʊ-kəm-m "af-tr ɛ-ni:-θɪŋ/
If you wanted to go to Okehampton after anything ...
/ðejz mejn bi: ðɛr te lyk "af-tr ɛn n "ðat/
These men be there to look after them and that ...

(For the status of 'look after' as a prepositional verb or as a sequence of simple verb + preposition, c.f. the notes on phrasal verbs.)

Since /sɪns/ occurs once only

/naw "sɪns "ðat i:z gɔn "ɛp/
Now, since that, he's gone up.

Finally, we might note a fascinating example of stretch /stretʃ/, which occurs spontaneously only once, in the sense of an American 'thru'

/ɔ:r-sɪz ɔd te bi: tɛn-dɪd sejm "sə-tr-dejz stretʃ
Horses had to be tended same Saturdays stretch
/"mɛn-di:z/
Mondays.

(i.e. including Sundays). This form was elicited on several other occasions also.

Relationships of Place. The principal structural differences between the prepositional systems of the dialect and of S.E. lie in the semantic field which can loosely be termed that of relationship of place. Interest here centres in S.E. on two aspects, traditionally referred to as 'motion towards' and 'place where' and both of these aspects will be considered below. Two of the forms discussed here, 'in' and 'to' have many other uses; insofar as these differ significantly from S.E., they are briefly mentioned at the end of this section.

In S.E., the two aspects referred to above have as their basic prepositional indicators 'to' and 'at' respectively, with 'into' and 'in' replacing them in certain definable circumstances. In the dialect, the position is radically different, in that what is apparently the fundamental opposition in S.E. is neutralized in Devonshire. The form 'at' occurs only 9 times* in the entire corpus, 5 of which are in the collocation 'look at' and none of which expresses a relationship of place. This contrast between 'motion' and 'rest' is replaced in the dialect by a more complex system expressing either the direction of movement, where such is implied, or the position of the place

* not including 21 occurrences of the phrase /tɔ:l/ which might be 'at all' or 'to all'. The latter is quite probable as the other phrases where S.E. shows 'at' (e.g. 'at once') either do not occur in the dialect or occur with another preposition, often 'to'. (c.f. /ɔ:l tɔ 'wɛns/)

indicating a relationship of place, e.g.

/əjv ə-keft "i:n-ty it/
I've a-cuffed into it.

/i:d sy-nr put "təw in-ty n/
He'd sooner put toe into him.

However 'in to' (with equal stress) does occur both with the sense of S.E. 'to' ('into') and S.E. 'at' ('in'). Thus we find:-

/əs wə:kt frəm "ðər i:n tə "ə-rə-brɪdʒ/
We walked from there in to Horrabridge and

/əj "mæt n i:n tə ðə "kɔr-nr əv ðə "vɪ-lɪdʒ/
I met him in to the corner of the village.

Similar examples with other forms showing the neutralization of at:to might include:-

/əjv ən-trɪd "θri: "pəw-ni:z i: sɑd dɑwn "jel-vr-tn/
'I've entered three ponies', he said, 'down Yelverton.
/ɪf jɪ gəʊ fr kætʃ ə "treɪn gəʊ dɑwn "pli-məθ/
If you go for catch a train go down Plymouth.

and

/i: ɑd ɪt ə:l sent əp "lən-dn jə nəʊ/
He had it all sent up London, you know.

/ði:z jɪ:r wɒts əp "lən-dn nəʊ/
This here what's up London now ...

Many more examples could be adduced to show that the opposition basic to the structure of S.E. is not normally made in the dialect.

We may now turn to the system of oppositions which is shown by the dialect. It is basically a composite system, with oppositions between north and east ('up') and south and west ('down')*, and between Dartmoor ('out') and Zeal ('in'). There is another member of

* in fact, the range of 'down' is considerably more than 50%, cf. the plan.

the series, 'over', used for Ireland and therefore presumably implying in that case that water is crossed. However, it is also used for two other places north-east of Zeal, -Truddlebeer and Langdown-, thus disturbing the regularity of the opposition between N. and E. and S. and W. All these possibilities do not preclude the selection of what might be called the 'unmarked' member 'to'* , when none of the above is specified. A frequency table of the various possibilities is given below, limited to place names in order to avoid difficulty with marginal cases. It is certainly true to say, however, that although all the forms mentioned here occur with nominals other than place-names, nevertheless the 'unmarked' member 'to' is more relatively frequent in such a position (e.g. 'to church', 'to school' etc.)

The oppositions indicated above depend on varying criteria. Where there is motion, the relevant factor is the direction with regard to the starting point or, when this is not mentioned, with regard to Zeal. Where there is no motion implied, the form used depends on the position of the place named with regard to Zeal. In order to illustrate this point, a plan is provided showing the relative positions of the places referred to in the corpus; although only the central area is to scale, the positions of the places marked, relative to each other and to Zeal, are approximately correct. It will be seen that the usage is about 80% consistent,

* In fact, there is a further possibility, the omission of any preposition (see below.)

and that if a place referred to is on Dartmoor, then that category ('out') takes precedence over the directional category of 'up' or 'down'.

The relationships established in this way are rigidly adhered to, to such an extent that a place is often referred to in the form, for example, 'up Lovaton', even when used with another preposition, particularly 'from', i.e. the positional indicator 'up' or 'down' is used so frequently with a name that it becomes almost an integral part of it. Thus we find compounds of the type 'from up Lovaton', 'from down Tavistock', 'from out Princetown' etc.

The preposition used with Zeal itself is normally either 'in (to)' or 'back (to)'. The former is used when the journey being discussed is the first one mentioned, particularly when it originated from Lovaton or from Ramsley, the two places where the informant has lived most of his life. In other circumstances, particularly when an outward journey has already been mentioned, 'back' is the normal form, as in S.E.

'In' is also used to indicate journeys returning from the Moor, as the 'systematic opposition' of 'out'. In this respect it is interesting to consider the subsection marked with an asterisk on the plan. Here, the relationship between Tavistock and Horrbridge (respectively a fairly large market town and a small village on the edge of Dartmoor) is seen to be one of 'in Horrbridge' and 'out Tavistock', the exact

opposite of what might be expected.* We do, in fact, find 'out Yelverton' for a journey from Tavistock, whereas the more predictable 'down Yelverton' is used for a journey directly from Zeal. When questioned about this apparent inconsistency - as also when asked the difference between 'up Langdown' and 'over Langdown', both used for a journey from Zeal - the informant merely stated that this was what he always said. In fact, the collocations were confirmed by enquiries among other local residents, and we are left to puzzle why the Tavistock/Horrabridge relationship differs from the norm. There are other apparent exceptions of this type so that the system outlined in this section should only be regarded as a general guide; the most striking feature is how firmly linked to a following place name the selected preposition has become.

We may now proceed to a frequency table, and examples.

* c.f. for example, 'in Okehampton' for the market town of the area.

Frequency tables - Place Names only

FORM	motion implied (c.f. S.E. 'to')	no motion implied (c.f. S.E. 'at')
ZERO*	6	6
TO	19	8
IN	4	5
IN TO	1	1
OUT	4	4
OUT TO	2	1
DOWN	2	2
DOWN TO	4	2
UP	7	3
UP TO	6	5
OVER	1	-
OVER TO	1	2

All of these forms have many other examples with nominals other than place names. We may now look briefly at one example only of each category.
(For zero, see below.)

* c.f. below, non-prepositional relationships of place.

/ajd ə-gɒt tə wɔ:k tə "lə-və-tn/
 I'd a-got to walk to Lovaton.
 /"mi: n "i: wəz ðər tə "sawθ "tɔ:-tn/
 Me and he were there to South Tawton.
 {/aj jys tə af tə kəm in pri-di: ni:r "dri: majl
 {I used to have to come in pretty near three mile
 {/frəm əp "lə-və-tn i:n "tɔ:-tn r i:n "zejl/
 {from up Lovaton in Tawton or in Zeal.
 /ti-dn tə seɟ ðət kɔz jɪm "ji:r in "sawθ "tɔ:-tn/
 Tisn't to say that because you're here in South Tawton ...
 /əs wɔ:kt frəm "ðər i:n tə "zejl/
 We walked from there in to Zeal.
 /ðeɟ stɒpt in tə "kɔ:-sn "bi:-kn/
 They stopped in to 'Cawsand Beacon'.
 /aɪ wɛnt frəm "ɔ-rə-bridʒ awt "tə-vi-stɒk/
 I went from Horrabridge out Tavistock.
 /ɪ tæk it awt "prin-siz-tawn nɔw ə-geɟn/
 You take it out Princetown now again.
 /əs jys tə wɔ:k frəm "ji:r awt tə dɾɪz-"teɟn-n/
 We used to walk from here out to Drewsteignton.
 /i:d ə-gɒt ə "zɪn li-vɪn awt tə "gy-nə-vrd/
 He'd a-got a son living out to Goonaford.
 /əs əl wɔ:k daʊn "stri-kl-paθ/
 We'll walk down Sticklepath.
 /ajv ən-trd "ɔri: "pɔw-ni:z i: sɛd daʊn "jel-vr-tn/
 'I've entered three ponies' he said, 'down Yelverton'.
 /əs tɾɛkt ðə pɔw-ni:z frəm "ðər daʊn tə "tə-vi-stɒk/
 We trucked the ponies from there down to Tavistock.
 /i: "kɒpt ə pɑ:ti: daʊn tə tɔ:r-"keɟ/
 He copped a party down to Torquay.
 /əs bɒkst ðə pɔw-ni:z frəm "ðər əp ɔw-"kəm-m/
 We boxed the ponies from there up Okehampton.
 /"ði:z əp "ti-vr-tn ɪz "tɔ:l/
 This (one) up Tiverton is tall.
 /gwen ɔw-vr "aj-r-lnd ɪz ɪt/*
 Going over Ireland, is it ?
 /gwen ɔw-vr tə "aj-r-lnd əɟ ʒi:rd səm-bɔ-di: "seɟ/
 Going over to Ireland, I heard somebody say.
 /ajd ə-mi:t wɪ li-tl "skɑr-mɪ-ʃɪz ɔw-vr tə "tɾɛ-dl-bi:r/
 I'd a-met with little skirmishes over to Truddlebeer.

* Not attested in the sense of 'over at' with place names, but cf. 'Something passed me last night over such a place'.

We have now outlined the basic system. There are also a number of peripheral uses which we can not discuss here. Before passing on, however, mention will be made of two examples containing 'along', the first in the sense of 'along to' (= towards) and the second perhaps meaning 'all around'; these are reminiscent of the famous line from 'Uncle Tom Cobbley', 'all along, down along, out along lea'.

{ /i: jys te gow "əp "dɪf-kəm "eɪdʒə si: əp krɔs
 { He used to go up Dishcombe Head, you see, up across
 { /"faj-r-stown lɔŋ "gy-nə-vrd frəm ðər/
 { Firestone, along Goonaford from there.
 /əɪv bɪn ɔ:l daʊn lɔŋ "ny-tɪn "a-bət ʃəʊ-ɪn/
 I've been all down along Newton Abbot showing.

Finally, we should look at certain other uses of 'in' and 'to'. In occurs 175 times, and apart from its uses to express relationship of place, it is used in the dialect to express other relationships normally expressed in S.E. by 'on' or 'at'. It seems safe to say that the range of 'in' and 'to' is much greater in the dialect than in S.E., and that the usage of other forms is correspondingly reduced.

/jy kn pət ʒɔ:r fyt rəɪt "i:n dɑrt-mɔ:r/
 You can put your foot right in Dartmoor.
 /i: jys "drəʊv te "tʃɜ:tʃ twel-və-klək ɪn ðə "naɪt/
 He used drove to church ... twelve o'clock in the night.
 /i:z bɛ-tr ɪn i:z "ænd/
 He's better in his hand. etc. etc.

To (163). The use of 'to' 'for' and 'for to' in infinitival constructions is discussed elsewhere, as is the use of 'to' to express relationships of place. In its other uses also, we find 'to' generalizing at the expense of 'at'. In particular, although 'look at'

occurs five times in the corpus (accounting for over half the occurrences of 'at' altogether), nevertheless 'look to' and 'look away to' are the normal forms for this idiom in the dialect.

/"sam "a-drz lykt wej tɛ "dʒɔ:rdʒ "kɛ-li:/
Sam Adders looked away to George Kelly.
/ajv ə-lykt wej tɛ "səm əv əm/
I've a-looked away to some of them.
/i: "lykt tɛ mi: fr ə mow-mnt/
He looked to me for a moment.

We notice also that 'to' replaces 'at' in a number of adverbial phrases.

/own-li: wɛn "fɔ:r ty ə "tʌjm/
Only one for (=furrow) to a time.
/stri:k mi: ɔ:l tɛ "wɛns/
Struck me all to once.

This suggests that the phrase /(not) tɔ:l/ is perhaps 'to all' rather than 'at all', although when asked, the informant asserted that his form is 'at all'. Such an assertion must, of course, be treated cautiously.

'To' is also used widely where S.E. would show according to, the latter occurring twice only in the corpus.

/i: ʃɔ:d mi: sɛm əv ðə "bɪ-gɪst əv ɪt sɔw tɛ ðɛr "tɛ-lɪn/
He showed me some of the biggest of it, so to their telling.
/"dɪd ə-kɔ:r-dɪn tɛ ðə "weɪ-dʒɪz jɪ wɛz ɡe-tɪn/
It did according to the wages you were getting.

In other respects, 'to' shows many of the usages associated with it in S.E.

Relationships of place and time without prepositions. We have outlined above the normal pattern of relationships of place and time conveyed by prepositional phrases. However, as we briefly mentioned above, what is apparently the same relationship may be conveyed without the occurrence of a preposition. It may seem that such uses should, strictly speaking, not be treated as prepositional phrases and, if they are considered in isolation, this is clearly so. However, two factors suggest their treatment here: firstly, the uses to be outlined below almost all have equivalents with a preposition within the structure of the dialect; and secondly, since this work is at least partly comparative, it seems desirable to discuss these phrases here since their S.E. equivalents are prepositional phrases. It should be said here, however, that in terms of the structure of the dialect certain words or phrases which normally function as nominals can apparently be used adverbially without the preposition usually necessary in S.E. to change the function of a word from nominal to adverbial.

The phrases indicating relationship of place which can occur without a preposition are many and varied. Nominals, both place names and others, are found thus, with the sense both of motion and of rest ('to' and 'at'). For example, we find:-

/jyd katʃ fɛs trejn "barn-ste-pl/
 You'd catch first train (to) Barnstaple.
 /aɪ ɡɒt tu li-vɪn stri-kl-paθ "naw/
 I got two living (at) Sticklepath now.

{ /i: fɑ:md əp "ʤi:r tɑp əv ðə "ɪl əp ðər plejs
 (He farmed up here, top of the hill up there, place
 { /kɔ:ld "we-stə-wej/
 (called 'Westaway').

/ʤy kn ɡɔw "wɒt mɑ:kət ʤy "mɑ:nd tɪ/
 You can go what market you mind to.

/ðej dən ðər "tɑ:ʤm ðər "pli:s fɔ:rs ɪn "lən-dn/
 They did their time there, police force, in London.

The non-occurrence of a preposition is particularly frequent in certain phrases which can perhaps be considered, in S.E. as in the dialect, as compound prepositions where the first preposition is structurally redundant, e.g. '(at) the top of', '(at) the side of' etc.

/ðej bɪn əp sɑt daʊn tɒp ə ðər "ɑs ɔ:l deɪ "ən əm/
 They been up sat down top of their ass all the day,
 /həven't they?

{ /ðərz ə "bɪl-drɪz plejs ʤi:r dʒɪs ə-vr səɪd əv
 (There's a builder's place here, just over side of
 { /məɪ "ɡɑ:dn ðər/
 (my garden there.

The third major position where this usage is found is when a nominal phrase indicating a relationship of place is appended to a clause paratactically.

{ /əɪ wɛnt ɑwt tə "lɪv fɔ:r əɪ wɛz twelv ʤi:r "oʊld P
 (I went out to live before I was 12 year old ...
 { /"fɑ:m "ɑwz/
 (farm house.
 { /ɔ:l-wɪz ʤɪs tə seɪ ðər wɛz ə "ɡɔ:st ðər P
 (Always used to say there was a ghost there ...
 { /sə-r-tɪn "rɪm/
 (certain room.

The use of phrases without a preposition to indicate relationships of time is much more restricted. Basically, only times of the clock, days of the week and, when signifying habitual actions, parts of the day, seasons, and certain other cognate phrases normally occur without prepositions. Not only are

the temporal non-prepositional usages easier to define, but they are also far more consistent than those of place. For example, a 'time of the clock' occurs with a preposition only once, and on that occasion with the rare form 'at'. We may note the following examples:-

- /aj ad tɔ start wɜ:k "zɪk-sə-"klɒk ɪn ðə "mɔ:r-nɪŋ/
 I had to start work six o'clock in the morning.
 { /ðə tʃɜ:tʃ wɛd bi: prɛ-di: ni:r vɪld"raɪt əp
 { The church would be pretty near filled right up
 { /"sɛn-di: "najts/
 { Sunday nights.
 { /i: wɛz gwɛn tɛk r bæk ðə "mɛn-di: af-tr-"nɪn n
 { He was going to take her back the Monday afternoon and
 { /kɛm raɪt daʊn "geɪn ðə "tɪz-di: "mɔ:r-nɪŋ/
 { come right down again the Tuesday morning.
 { /ɔ:l-wɪz dʒɪs tɔ θɪŋ baʊt "gɑ:d-nɪn gɪ-də fraɪ-di:
 { Always used to think about gardening Good Friday,
 { /bæk ɪn "ðej deɪz/
 { back in they days.
 { /ðə wɜ:k-ɪn "klɑ:s ðejd gɔw "naj-dajmz/
 { The working class, they'd go night-times.
 { /"wɪn-tr-tajmz twɔ-dn sɔw "prɪ-ti:
 { Winter-times, it wasn't so pretty.

We might note here that in the case of days of the week, a single action is expressed by 'the' with a 'singular' noun, and a habitual action by a 'plural' noun only, in each without a preposition. In the case of parts of the day and seasons, habitual action is expressed similarly, but reference to one occasion shows both 'the' and a preposition. Thus we find:-

	<u>single action</u>	<u>habitual action</u>
day	the Saturday	Saturdays
day-part	in the night	night-times*
season	in the winter	winter-times

* cf. also 'of a night', discussed above under 'of'.

Thus the days of the week exhibit a structural pattern peculiar to themselves.

Finally in this section, we will note three typical examples which show non-prepositional uses relating to both place and time.

{ /ðej got ty dri: gwen tek əm ow-"kam-m ..
{ They got two or three going take them Okehampton
{ /θərz-di: "fat-stək fəw/
{ Thursday, fatstock show.
{ /əj got bi: "setʃ ə plejs wəz rɪz "wɜ:k-ɪn ty
{ I got be such a place, where she's working to,
{ /"setʃ ə taɪm/
{ such a time.
{ /i: jɪz tə kəm əp ðə r n "draɪv tə "tʃɜ:rtʃ
{ He used to come up there and drive to church ...
{ /i:z "kɑ-rɪdʒ n "pɜ: twel-və-klək i:n ðə "naɪt/
{ his carriage and pair ... twelve o'clock in the night.

Use of prepositions with relative clauses

Two general points can be made about the use of prepositions with relative clauses. Firstly, only one of the two orders permitted by S.E. is found in the dialect, namely:-

/ðɪs "mæn i: "daɪd ðæt əj jɪz tə "ʃəw fɔ:r/
This man, he died, that I used to show for.

The alternative 'for whom I used to show', found in more educated S.E., is totally absent from the dialect. This is clearly connected to the virtual absence of 'whom' and 'which' from the corpus (cf. page 254 below), since of the three forms which are found in the dialect, 'what', 'that' and zero, the first never occurs in S.E. with a specific nominal antecedent (i.e. we do not find 'This is the person/thing what I live with' or 'with what I live'),

and the other two cannot occur post-prepositionally (i.e. we do not find 'This is the person/thing with that I live' or 'with (zero) I live').

Secondly, of the three relatives found in the dialect, 'what' is always found, as in S.E., when there is no specific grammatical antecedent.

/tɪz wɒt əʃ wez ri:rd "əp ɪn "tʃɪl/
It's what I was reared up in (as a) child.

Such examples are mostly of the type often called 'indirect questions'.

/i: ɔ:l-wɪz jɪz tə nəw wɒt əʃ "wɒn-tɪd n fɔ:r/
He always used to know what I wanted him for.

Of the examples with definite antecedents, we find that 'what', 'that' and zero are equally common, but that 'that' is used four times as often with animate antecedents as with inanimate antecedents, whereas with 'what' and 'zero' the position is almost exactly reversed. Thus we find that the usual pattern with animate antecedents is:-

/ðə mæn ðət əʃd bɪn ðər "ləŋ wɪ "i:"left/
The man that I'd been there along with ... he left.

and for inanimate antecedents either:-

{ /əʃ gɒt ə "dʒəm-pr n ðət oʊm "nəw wɒt jɪz tə
{ I got a jumper and that home now what used to
{ /"di et wɪð/
{ do it with.

or

/ðət wez ɔ:l i: kəd "rən ty/
That was all he could run to.

There are, however, occasional deviant examples of the type:-

/ðærz ə plejs ðæt əj nə-vr "tyk fə:r/
 There's a place that I never took for.
 /i: brɔ:t r jɪ:r jɛŋ "wy-mn wɔt "ajm tɛ--lɪn ə-bawt/
 He brought her here young woman what I'm telling about.
 /ðats ðe mæn əj wez "tɛ--lɪn jɪ ə-bawt əj "rɛ-kn/
 That's the man I was telling you about, I reckon.
 Further examples of all the uses of the relative
 can be found in the last chapter.

'Where to'

One additional use of a preposition with a clause in the dialect, the construction 'where ... (to)', (e.g. 'where's it to?') has no counterpart in S.E. It is difficult to decide whether it should be treated here or as part of the syntax of the clause, but since, from a comparative point of view, interest centres on 'to' which has been widely discussed above as a preposition, it seems more convenient to treat it here.

The conditions under which a clause introduced by 'where' will or will not terminate* with 'to' can be fairly closely defined by reference to two factors,

- i. the identity of the lexical verb in the clause in question and
- ii. if this verb is 'be', the position of stress within the clause.

* In fact, certain extra-clausal items such as 'then' or 'like', and any item in paratactic relationship to the clause, can occur after 'to' in this construction.

Where the verb form in the clause *is not 'be', the particle 'to' will almost invariably be present. The last stress may fall on the penultimate,

/wɛr dɪ əm gɛt ðə "tʊlz tɪ/
Where do they get the tools to?
/wɛr "dʒɪm wɛz "sɛnt tɪ ðɛj tɪ "mi:t/
Where Jim was sent to, they two met.

or on the antepenultimate,

/bɪlz gwɛn drɑɪv mi: əp wɛr əɪm "wɜ:kɪŋ tɪ/
Bill's going to drive me up where I'm working to.
/əɪ zɪ:d wɛr ðə "kwɪ:n lɪvd tɪ/
I saw where the Queen lived to.
{ /jɪ əd tə lʊk "ɛɪd tə zɪ: wɛr ðə wɛz e-"ne-ər
{ You had to look ahead to see where there was another
{ /tɪ fɔ:r jɪ dɪd "ðæt/
{ to before you did that.
/əɪ də-nəʊ wɛr ðɛj θɪŋk "ðɛɪl gəʊ tɪ wɛn ðɛj dɑɪ/
I don't know where they think they'll go to when they
/die.

or on earlier syllables,

/wɛl wɛr "jɪ bɪ-lɔŋ tɪ "jɛl-vr-tɪn/
Well, where you belong to, Yelverton.
{ /wɛr "əɪ wɛz rɪ:rd əp tɪ wɛz bawt "θri: "maɪl "awt
{ Where I was reared up to was about three mile out
{ /frəm jɪ:r/
{ from here.
{ /twɛz bawt "ɛɪ-dɪ:n "mɛnθs wɛn əɪ lɛft wɛr əɪ gɔt
{ It was about eighteen months when I left where I got
{ /"mɑ:rɪ:d ɪ:n tɪ awt ɔn ðə "fɑ:m/
{ married in to, out on the farm.

When the verb in the clause is not 'be', 'to' is absent only in one case, when 'where' itself is stressed. Thus we find, for example,

{ /ɪ: wɛz wɔ-tʃɪŋ "wɛr ɪ: wɛz "gəʊ-ɪn n "wɔt ɪ: wɛz
{ He was watching where he was going and what he was
{ /"dɪ-ɪn/
{ doing.

* When an infinitive is introduced by 'where', the same rules as those outlined here, apply, e.g. 'He knowed exactly where to go to'.

in contrast with

/ðejz plej-siz bi: ə:l-rajt if jy now wəz jɪm
These places are alright if you know where you're
/'gɔw-in ty 'r-dn it/
going to, isn't it?

Apart from this one situation, however, 'to' is always present; one or two apparent exceptions are discussed below.

Where the verb in the clause is 'be', however, the situation is rather more complex. 'To' is not present:-

- a. when 'where' is stressed (as above)
 - b. when the penultimate syllable (i.e. the syllable which would be ante-penultimate if 'to' were present) or any earlier syllable bears the last stress in the clause.
 - c. when a stressed syllable other than 'to' occurs after the form of 'be' in the same clause.
 - d. when the form of 'be' is last and stressed.
- This last occurs once only, as an alternative to e. below. Thus we find:-

- a. /'wɜr dɪd jy seɪ i: wəz li-vɪn/
Where did you say he was living?
- b. /tɒm nəʊz wɜr 'wi:k wəz/
Tom knows where Week was.
/i: kəm ɛp wɜr 'te-ɔrɪz wəz jə si:/
He came up where the others were, you see.
{ /jy wəz glɑdɪf jy pɑst ə vi:ld wɜr ðe
You were glad if you passed a field where the
{ /'gɛt-weɪ wəz tə si: ə 'tɜr-nɪp r ty/
gateway was, to see a turnip or two.
{ /jy mɛs nəʊ wɜr 'əʊt ɪz ni:r 'neɪf nəɪs
You must know where that is, near enough, nice
{ /lɪ-tl wɔ:k frəm wɜr ðe 'ʃəʊ-fi:ld wəz/
little walk from where the showfield was.

- c. {/aj nɔ:d ðə farmz wɛr ðɛr wɛz ɔ:l-wɪz ə lɒt
 {I knew the farms where there was always a lot
 {/ɒv "ɔ-li:/
 {of holly.
- d. {/aj dɪ-dn nɔw wɛr jɛl-vr--tn "wɔz ðɛn "jɛl-vr--tn
 {I didn't know where Yelverton was then. 'Yelverton',
 {/aj sɛd wɛrɜ kɔ:ld "jɛl-vr--tn ty/
 {I said, 'Where's called Yelverton to?'

The particle 'to' is found with 'be':-

e. when it is itself stressed. This is the normal dialect alternative to construction d. above; the latter occurs once only and may thus perhaps be ascribed to S.E. influence, since it is in fact the normal construction in S.E.

f. when the last syllable (excluding 'to') of the clause is stressed and includes an enclitic form of 'be'. (When the last syllable is stressed and does not include a form of 'be', rule c. above operates.)

Thus we find:-

- e. /aj ad tə stej ðɛr wɛr aj wɛz "ty/
 I had to stay there where I was to.
 {/twɛz ə breɪv feɪt wɛn ɛs jɪ:rd təl wɛr
 {It was a brave fate when we heard tell where
 {/i: wɛz "ty/
 {he was to.
 /zəm əl zeɪ wɛl wɛrɜ ɪt "ty/
 Some'll say: 'Well, where's it to?'
 /fr tə lɛt n nɔw wɛr i: wɛz "ty n wɛr
 .. for to let him know where he was to and where
 /i:z "pleɪz wɛz/
 his place was.

(It is worth noting that this construction with 'to' stressed occurs only with the verb 'be'.)

f. (/ðats ðə tajm jy kəd ʃift ðə stəf dawn
 {That's the time you could shift the stuff down
 {/wə "jɪm ty/
 {where you're to.
 /ðats wə "tɪz ty jə siː/
 That's where tis to, you see.

There are just over 60 clauses introduced by 'where' in the corpus, and all but three correspond to the rules discussed above. Of these three apparent exceptions, one is easily explained by saying that in suitable contexts, 'from' can replace 'to' in environments where the latter would be required by the rules. Thus

(/iːz ə-brɒk ə-"weɪ siː tɒm wə iː "kɛm frɒm
 {He's a-broken away, see, Tom, where he came from,
 {/wə iːz "oʊm wəz/
 {where his home was.

In the second case, it may perhaps be that the presence of 'there' in the clause functions as an alternative to 'to'.

/iː krɒst ðə "rəʊd wə əj wəz ðə "wɜː-kiːn/
 He crossed the road where I was there working.

Finally, it is tempting to ascribe the third case simply to the length of the clause which follows 'where'.

/fr te "gɛt əp wə ðej wəz gwen stɑːt
 ... for to get up where they were going (to)start
 /ləj-nɪn əv əm "əp fr ðə "dʒɪdʒ/
 lining of them up for the judge.

Strictly speaking, 'to' should follow 'judge', but the grammatical constraints may be presumed to be too weak to operate over so long a portion of utterance.

CHAPTER VIII

The Morphology of the Verb

- a. 'be'.
- b. 'have'.
- c. 'do'.
- d. in general.

THE MORPHOLOGY OF THE VERB

(A) The Morphology of 'be',
as auxiliary and as full verb.

(a) The Present Tense, Positive

S.E.	Positions of sentence stress	Positions without sentence stress
I am I'm	/bi:/	/m/
You are You're	/bi:/	/m/ (also /r/; /bi:/)
He is He's	/ɪz/	/z/
She is She's	/ɪz/	/z/
It is It's	/ɪz/ (/bi:/)	/z/
We are We're	/bi:/	/bi:/
They are They're	/bi:/	/m/ (also /r/)
N.Ph(Sg) is N.Ph(Sg)'s	/ɪz/	/z/
N.Ph(Pl) are N.Ph(Pl)'re	/bi:/ (also /ɪz/)	/bi:/ (also /z/)
'There' (see notes)	/ɪz/	/z/

Notes

- (a) Forms in the first column are found when 'be' is in positions bearing sentence-stress, and forms in column two in positions without sentence-stress. The latter category includes all unstressed auxiliary forms, principally the present continuous ('is going') and the present passive ('is left'). These two paradigms are quite distinct - there is only one apparent exception in the whole of the material.
- (b) There is no tonic allomorph /am/, since /m/ is replaced in tonic position by /bi:/. /bi:/ is, however, found in atonic position after 'us' and after a plural noun phrase. In these two cases, the tonic: atonic opposition is neutralized.
- (c) There are only six occurrences of /ar/, all unstressed and in positions where the dialect would normally show /m/. These can presumably be ascribed to S.E. influence. The actual phonetic realisation of this form is the centring element [ə] followed by the retroflex [r̥], as one would expect in the dialect.
- (d) The occurrence of /z/ after plural noun phrases is merely an indication of the widespread neutralization of the plural: singular grammatical opposition in the dialect. After 'there' we find only atonic /z/, tonic /ɪz/, whether the complement is singular or plural.
- (e) The statistical validity of the second column is greater than that of the first, since there are roughly ten times as many unstressed forms as there are stressed. In the third person singular, there are so many occurrences that this matters much less. The stressed forms are, however, used in questions where inversion of subject and verb occurs. (For examples, see 'pronoun morphology')

Examples

(a) NORMAL PARADIGMS (i) TONIC

'I' /i:lɪvd awt sejm lɪ-tl owl strejt "zaj bi: awt ɔər "naw/
He lived out same little old street as I be out there now
/aj bɪn a-pi: əz ðə "deɪz wəz lɔŋ n aj "bi: naw/
I've been happy as the days was long, and I be now ...

'You' /ðejm lajk "jy bi: i:n ðə mow-tr-kar/
They'm like you be in the motor-car.
/jɪr ge-tɪn owl-ɔr "jy bi: "ty lyks sɔw/
You're getting older, you be, too, looks so.
(/kɔ:r "tɔ-mi: i: sɛd "aw "bi: i:
("Cor, Tommy," he said, "How be you?"
(aj sɛd fajn aw bi: "jy dʒak/
(I said: "Fine! How be you, Jack?"

'He' /ow i:s bɪn ə by-di: n i: "ɪz naw/
Oh yes, he's been a beauty, and he is now
/aj "de-nɔw ðət i: ɪz "naw/
I dunno that he is now.

'Her' (/ɪf rz dy-in ə:l-raɪt n jy "nɔw r ɪz
(If her's doing alright and you know her is,
(lɛt r gɔw r ɔwn weɪ/
(let her go her own way.
/ɪz r "pli-məθ meɪd ðɛn/
Is her Plymouth maid then?

'It' /ðats aw tɪz aj beɪn nɔw "bɪ-gr/
That's how tis I bain't no bigger.
/"wɔt ɪz ɪt ðej gɔt naw/
What is it they got now?

'Us' /ɔərz be-tr meɪn ðen "es "bi: awt ɔr/
There's better men than us be out there.

'They' /aw "bi:əm "ɔ:l-rajt dy-in vɛ-ri: "wɛl ðej bi: naw/
'How be they?' 'Alright .. Doing very well they be now'.
/aj də-nɔw wɔt ðej "bi: əjm "ʃɔ:r/
I dunno what they be, I'm sure.

Sg.N.P./"aj nɔw wɔt ə dɑrt-mɔ:r pɔw-ni: ɪz/
I know what a Dartmoor pony is.

Pl.N.P. /ðats aw ðə "ni-grz bi: əp bawt ðər "naw/
That's how the niggers be, up about there now.
/"big wenz ɔ:l aw-r tr-di:z bi: "ðis ji:r/
Big ones, all our tiddies be this year.

'There' NO TONIC EXAMPLES

(ii) ATONIC

'I' /əjm "meɪzd ə-bawt ən-tɪn/
I'm mazed about hunting.
(/əjm tɛ-lɪn jɪ ðə "tryθ məɪ bɔɪ n "əjm li-vɪn
(I'm telling you the truth, my boy, and I'm living
(tə tɛl ðə teɪl/
(to tell the tale.

'You' /jɪ kəd ʃɪft ðə stɛf daʊn wɛr "jɪm ty/
You could shift the stuff down where you'm to.
/ɑrd wɜ:k daʊn ɜ:t "nɔw-bɛ-di: ɪf jɪm kən-"tɛn-tɪd/
Hard work don't hurt no-body if you'm contented.

'He' /gɔt "draɪ ət əl-rajt θæŋk gɔd i:z stɪl "li-vɪn/
Got through it alright, thank God, he's still living.
/i:z ə vɛ-ri: gʊd "tʃap/
He's a very good chap.

'Her' /aj gɔt bi: "sɪtʃ ə pleɪs wɛr rz wɛr-kɪn ty/
I got be such a place, where her's working to ...
/jɪ nɔw wɔt rz "ləɪk/
You know what her's like.

- 'It' /ɒw lɪ-tl fɑ:m kɔ:ld "lə-və-tn. its i:n ðə sejm "pɑ-rɪʃ,
 Oh, little farm called Lovaton, it's in the same parish.
 /ðej wəd nə-vr "raɪd tə:l its ɔwn-li: "ɔl-tr frəm ðats ɔ:l
 They would never ride at all, it's only halter for em
 that's all.
- 'Us' (/ðərz "be-tr lænd awt ðər ðen əs bi: i:n "dʒi:r
 { There's better land out there than us be in here
 { kəl-tr-vej-tɪn/
 { cultivating.
 /ðej wəz "ɔ:l kət awt laɪk əs bi: tə-lɪn ə-bawt/
 They was all cut out like us be telling about.
- 'They' /ðejm dʒəst ɔ:l wəl əd daʊn "kær/
 They'm just all ... well, I don't care.
 /ðej θɪŋk ðejm "dɪ-frənt ðen ɛ-ni:bə-di: "els/
 They think they'm different than anybody else.
NOTE /ðejm "mæ-kin "fɑ-mrʒ bi: "mæ-kin plɛ-ni: mə-ni: nəw/
CONTRAST They'm making .. farmers be making plenty money now.
- Sg.N.P. /ðats raɪt "ðats ðə ɔwl wə-mən/
 That's right, that's the old woman.
 /dʒɔ:rdʒ "kɛ-li:z gwen əp fr "wen/
 George Kelly's going up for one.
- Pl.N.P. { /pi:pl in "taʊnz bi: kə-mɪn dʒi:r baɪ-ɪn əp ðə
 { People in towns be coming here buying up the
 { lɪ-tl ɔwl "kɔ-tr-ɔdʒɪz/
 { little old cottages.
 /ɑ: ðə be-grz bi: bɪt ty "θɪk tə-deɪ/
 Ah, the beggars be bit too thick to-day.
- 'There' /ðərz "en-drədz əv əm daɪ/
 There's hundreds of them die.
 /ðərz "θəw-zɪnz ʃi:p əp dɑrt-mɔ:r "nəw/
 There's s thousands sheep up Dartmoor now.

PARADIGMATIC IRREGULARITIES

a. reflexes of /ar/

'you' (/ɪf "jyr mɪ-str "glə-vr əj sɛd n jyr
{ If you're Mr. Glover, I said, and you're
{ /gɛ-tɪn owl-dr "jy bi: "ty lyks sow/
{ getting older, you be, too, looks so....
[3 other examples

'they' /ðej-r frejd tɛ "li:v r mɔ:r n ə wi:k/
They're afraid to leave her more than a week.
[no other examples

b. /ɪz/ and /z/ with plural noun phrases

/nɛgz bɪ-gr n r "ejdz ɪz/
Hugs bigger than our heads is.
{ /ði:z ty jɛŋ-strz wɔtʒjɪ:r "naw ɪz gow-ɪn
{ These two youngsters what's here now is going
{ /"bək sɛn-dej "tɔ-ɔrz ɪz kɛ-mɪn daʊn ðe
{ back Sunday, tothers is coming down the
{ /sɛn-di: "ar-tr/
{ Sunday after.

[a number of similar
examples

c. TONIC form in atonic position

/əj spowz jy bi: kɛ-mɪn ɪn ə-"gejn/
I suppose you be coming in again.

[no similar example

d. /bi:/ in abnormal position

/"wɪt-sɛn ɪt bi: naw ə-gejn "wɪt-sɛn/
Whitsun it be now again, Whitsun

[no similar example

(b) The Present Tense, Negative

S.E.	Reflexes of 'be not'	Reflexes of 'is not'
I'm not I aint	/bɪn/ /bejn(t)/	/ɪ-dn/ /ejn(t)/
You aren't	/bɪn/ /bejn(t)/	(/ɪ-dn/)
He isn't		/ɪ-dn/
She isn't		/ɪ-dn/
It isn't		/ɪ-dn/ /ejn(t)/
We aren't	(/bejn(t)/)	(/ɪ-dn/)
They aren't	/bejn(t)/	/ɪ-dn/
N.Ph.Sg. isn't		/ɪ-dn/
N.Ph.Pl. aren't		(/ɪ-dn/)
There (isn't (aren't		/ɪ-dn/

Notes

(a) The most important factor here is that the choice of one form or another doesn't seem to be governed by features of stress, or indeed by any other obvious factor. (see examples). The third singular presents no difficulty, but all the other persons show two possibilities, reflexes of 'be not' and of 'is not'. Forms in round brackets were elicited, and hence no spontaneous examples can be given. Faced with a choice between /əs ɪ-dn/ and /əs bejn(t)/, in various contexts, both informants consistently declined to show any preference.

(b) Relative frequencies are as follows. In the first person (I), 'be not' occurs six times as often as 'is not'. In the second person (you), the frequency is 3:1. With 'they', the position is reversed, 'be not' being twice as frequent as 'is not'. With plural noun phrases, elicitation yielded /ɪ-dn/ only, where /bejn(t)/ might be expected as well; this is probably simply a reflection of confusion between singular and plural, but may reflect a strong preference for /ɪ-dn/ in this position. We thus have a completed paradigm based on 'is not', whereas 'be not' is much more restricted; it is only with 'I' that 'be not' is not seriously challenged. Perhaps this reflects a tendency towards a uniform paradigm (cf. wəz:wɔ-dn).

(c) Each of these basic possibilities has two phonemically distinct variants: /bejn/ and /bin/ and /ɪ-dn/ and /ejn/. There are thus two thematic vowels, one being dominant in each class. Here again, there seem to be no rules of stress to account for the occurrence of one form rather than another. (see examples) The final /t/ of bejn(t)/ and ejn(t)/ is lost except before a vowel or finally, and the /d/ of /ɪ(d)n/ falls in rapid speech (cf. /wɔ(d)n/). Where this happens, the result is monosyllabic /ɪn/.

Examples

'I'
/aj sɛd "aj bejn gwɛn fɛrst/
I said, 'I baint going first'.
/nɔw aj sɛd aj "bejnt/
'No!' I said, 'I baint'.
/aj bin vɛ-ri: tɔ:l "naw sɔw jy mɛs θɪŋk/
I'm not very tall now, so you must think ...
(/aj bejn "ɛ-dɪ-kej-tɪd tɔ:l nɔ:t mɔ:r n
(I baint educated at all, naught more than
(n owl "dɔŋ-ki:/
(an old donkey.
/ðats aw "tɪz aj bin nɔw "bi-gr/
That's how tis I baint no bigger.
/nɔw nɔw aj "ɛjn tɔ:kin fr "ðat/
No, no, I'm not talking for that.
(/aj jys tɛ gɔw n "dy ɛ bɪt fɔ:r n
(I use to go ... and do a bit for me
("ɛ-ni:θɪŋ aj ɪ-dn pr-"tɪ-kɛ-lr/
(anything, I'm not particular.

This gives a fair indication of the range of possibilities. Less examples are given for the other persons.

'You'
/jɪm "raɪt "bɪn jy tɔm/
You'm right, baint you, Tom?
(/jy bejn nɔw mɔ:r n bawd ɛ "ty "dri:
(You baint no more than about a two, three
(gyd "gɛn-ʃɔts frɛm ðɛr/
(good gunshots from there.

/ɪ-dn/ has only been elicited in frames.

'He'
/i: ɪ-dn gwɛn tɔv nɔ:t tɛ "dy wɪ mi:/
He isn't going to have naught to do with me.
/i: ɪ-dn nɔw gyd tɛ "jy/
He isn't no good to you.

'She'
/r ɪ-dn vɛ-ri: "bɪg bɛt rz "nɪm-bl/
Her isn't very big, but her's nimble.

- 'It' /"tɪ-dn tə seɪ əs ɔwn-li: dən ɪt "wəns/
 Tɪsn't to say us only done it once.
 /teɪn "nə-θɪn tæv ə treɪ-lr/
 Tɪsn't nothing to have a trailer.
- 'We' /beɪnt/ and /ɪdn/ have only been elicited
 in frames, see notes.
- 'They' /ðej beɪn nɔw "laɪt θɪŋ jə nɔw/
 They baint no light thing, you know.
 /ðej ɪ-dn ə-lykt "af-tr/
 They aren't a-looked after.
- Sg.N.P. /ɛ-dɪ-keɪ-ʃn ɪ-dn laɪk tɪz "nɔw jə nɔw/
 Education isn't like tis now, you know.
- Pl.N.P. /ɪ-dn/ only elicited.
- 'There' (/ðer ɪ-dn nɔ:t "els dʒɪ:r-e-bawt dɪ-ɪn
 (There isn't naught else hereabout doing,
 "ɪz ðr mətʃ/
 (is there, much?
 /ðer "ɪ-dn nɔw leɪ-br prə-di: wəl "dʒɪ:r/
 There isn't no Labour pretty well here.

(c) Simple Past, Positive

There are two forms of the present past positive, namely /wəz/ and /wɔz/. The former occurs in positions not bearing sentence-stress, whereas the latter occurs in tonic position. There is also a third form /wɛz/ occurring with /t/ where 'twas' bears exceptionally heavy stress. There are no reflexes of 'were' in the material.

Examples

{ /"ar-dr jy wɛz ri:rd ɛp wɛn "əs wɛz bojz
{ Harder you was reared up when us was boys,
{ ðə "bɛ-tr mejn jy "mejk/
{ the better men you make.

{ /jy wy-dn now wɛr jy wɛz "gow-in ty wɛz "ðat "dɜrk
{ You wouldn't know where you was going to, was that dark
{ n "rej-nɪn/
{ ... and raining.

{ /kɔ:rs ðɛr aj "wɔz "aj wɛz gow-in "oʊm n "ði:z wɛz
{ Course there I was, I was going home, and this was
{ kɛ-mɪn "ði:z wej/
{ coming this way.

/aj dɪ-dn now wɔt "twɔz/
I didn't know what twas.

/ar-dr jy wɛz ri:rd ɛp dɛ bɛ-tr "twɔz fr i:/
Harder you was reared up, the better twas for you.

(d) Simple Past, Negative

The simple past negative has only one basic form, as is the case with all the negatives except /rɔdn/, /bejn/. It shows the vowel of the tonic form of the positive, thus: /wɔ(ɔ)n/, and is found in all positions for all persons. As with /rɔ(ɔ)n/, the /ɔ/ may fall in rapid speech.

Examples

/ɪf ðej "wɔ-dn, jɪd pɛt ɛt ɔn "sejm/
If they weren't you'd put it on same.

/ðat wɛd mi:n ðə "bɛ-kl strɛp ɪf jy wɔ-dn "kɛr-fl/
That would mean the buckle-strap if you weren't careful.

/i: wɔ-dn "ly-kɪn ty mi: mæjnd/
He wasn't looking to me, mind.

/ðɛr wɔ-dn "nɛn ɛv ɪt/
There wasn't none of it.

(e) Past Participle

/bɪn/ normally.

/bi:n/ in positions of strong stress.

/bi:d/ is attested once: /fərs tajm ɛ-vr "dʒan əd
First time ever Jan had
ə-bi:d ə-^uwej/
been away ...

For the forms of the auxiliary, see the general notes on the perfect tense.

(f) Present Participle

/bi:ɪn/ rarely used.

(g) Other Tenses

The morphology of the other tenses is similar to that of verbs in general. (See the appropriate sections of the morphology of the verb.)

(B) Morphology of 'have' as Auxiliary

(a) Present Tense, Positive

In its present tense, the auxiliary 'have' has two major forms, /(ə)v/ and /av/, the former occurring in positions bearing no sentence stress and the latter in stressed positions. In the unstressed position, /əv/ occurs after 'her' 'us' and nominal phrases, and /v/ elsewhere. (For the definition of 'stressed' and 'unstressed' positions, cf. notes on 'be'.)

After the third person singular pronouns 'he' 'she' 'it' and after singular nominal phrases (occasionally also after plural noun phrases - see examples), there is an alternative pair of forms, /(ə)z/ and /az/. In the case of 'he' atonic, /z/ is used roughly twice as often as the /v/ form; in all the other cases mentioned above, /v/ or /av/ is preferred. The /z/ used as a singular auxiliary with 'come' 'gone' 'got' (when intransitive) is a reflex of 'is'. (see notes on the perfect tense in general.)

There is also a third form of the auxiliary /e/ which is used when 'have' occurs between a modal and a past participle. In rapid speech, this tends to fall completely, particularly after the particle 'to'. (For the tendency of this auxiliary to fall in certain other positions, see notes on the perfect tense in general, and on 'have' as a full verb.)

Examples

/(ə)v/ atonic

/ajv ə-sprəd "mæ-ni: jɑ:dz əv stəʊn fr "sɜ:tɪn/
I've a-spread many yards of stone, for certain.
/wɒt də jɪ kɔ:l ɪt jɪv ə "wɜ:kɪt/
What do you call it, you've a-worked?
/əs əv "zi:d n laɪk ðæt ðə ðə/
Us 've seen him like that there there.

/av/ tonic

/ðej "av ə-dən bi-fɔ:r naw "an əm/
They have a-done before now, haven't they?
/av "jy bin bak tə-tn/
Have you been back Tawton ?
/jy əd ðə sejm rajt tə katʃ n z "ə-ðr pi:pl av/
You had the same right to catch him as other
people have.

In positions of strong stress, the /a/ will tend to open to /ɛ/, as is often the case with this vowel. [See phonological section]

/ðejl wejt fɔ:r ðej "ɛv lyks sow/
They'll wait for they have, looks so.

Third person singular forms a. atonic

/i:v əd ə "kɔwld/
He's had a cold.
/i:z əd ðə ɔwls ə-bawd ə "ðət ə-part/
He's had the holes about a that apart.
/i:v ə-bin "fajn/
He's a-been fine.
/i:z ə-bin ðr ɔ:l "deɪ/
He's a-been there all day.
/i:z ə-brɔk ə-weɪ/
He's a-broke away.

cf. also

/ðats wɔt əv "kɪld dɑt-mɔ:r/
That's what 've killed Dartmoor.
/səm-bɔ-di:z "gɪvd əm tə mi:/
Somebody's given them to me.
(/ə lɔt əv əm ðət wɔt əɪ kɔ:l bi: "ɔ:l-rajt
(A lot of them that what I call be alright
(nɪz gɔt ðə rajt "sɛn-sɪz/
(and 's got the right senses ...

b. tonic

/dɛn "wɛl i: ɛv/
Done well, he have.
/gɒt ə "faɪn dʒɒb i: əz/
Got a fine job, he has.
/əv ət "ad ðə dɪ-"stɛm-pr/
Have it had the distemper?

Weakened forms

/jɪ məst ə-bɪn ə-"weɪ/
You must 've been away.
{ /tʃaɪm jɪ ʃʊd ə təʊld ʃr "jɑ:n r kəm
{ Time you should 've told your yarn or come
{ /"oʊm twəd bi: əp əf pɑ:s "teɪn/
{ home twould be up half past ten.
/ðej "ɔ: tə bɪn/
They ought to (have) been.

(b) Present Tense, Negative

The negative of the present tense shows a number of forms, the most frequent being /ən/ in all persons. In slower speech, /ə-vn/ is found three times only, and there is also a form showing progressive assimilation, /ə-bm/. The choice of these forms does not seem to be governed by stress, but rather by speed of speech. /ən/ outnumbers all the other forms by more than two to one. All these forms may take a /t/ before a vowel or in final position.

Examples

/əj ən əd nəʊ nəʊ fr "dʒi:rz/
I haven't had none now for years.
/i: ən bɪn dɪ-ɪn "ne-θɪŋ nəʊ fr "sev-rəl dʒi:rz/
He hasn't been doing nothing now for several years.
/ðej ə-bm dɛn nəʊ "hɑ:m/
They haven't done no harm.
/jɪ ə-vn zi:d "ɔ:l əv ɛm, ðɛn/
You haven't seen all of them, then.

/jy gət ə "nəʊ-ʃn "ən jy /
 You got a notion ... haven't you?
 /gət ə "najs pə-pi: ðər "ən i: /
 Got a nice puppy there, haven't you?
 /i:v ə bin "fajn "ən it tɒm /
 He've a-been fine, hasn't it, Tom?

C The Past Simple, Positive and Negative

The past simple presents no difficulties. There are two forms of the positive, /(\ə)d/ and /əd/, their occurrence being governed by the same rules as that of /(\ə)v/ and /av/. The negative form is /a-dn/, and in this case the /d/ is never lost, perhaps to avoid to confusion with /ən/. (see above.) A /t/ may be added before a vowel or in final position.

Examples

/əj wɪʃ əjd ə "nɔ:d it ləst "najt /
 I wish I'd a-knownn it last night.
 /fɔ:r ðejd ə stɑ:tɪd tə "pɒd əj "səɪd ty n /
 'Fore they'd a-started to pod, I said to him...
 /mɪ-səz əd ə kəm "əʊm fr kɪs-məs "ɔ-lɪ-ðej /
 Missus had a-come home for Christmas holiday.
 /gət ə "mejd ðər i: "əd /
 Got a maid there, he had.
 /əj "əd ðən it məjnd wən əj wəz "bɔj /
 I had done it, mind, when I was boy.
 /əj ə-dn gət nəʊ "prɪv-lɪdʒ tə:l /
 I hadn't got no privilege at all.
 /ɪt ə-dn "vɪ-nɪʃt wən twəz "zɪks /
 It hadn't finished when twas six.

For notes on 'have', 'got' and 'have to', see elsewhere.

(C) Morphology of 'do' as auxiliary

(a) The Present Tense, Positive and Negative

The morphology of 'do' as an auxiliary is extremely simple. There is one form, /dy/, for the positive, and one form, /down(t)/, for the negative. There are no reflexes of 'does' when this verb is used as an auxiliary, and therefore no reflexes of 'doesn't' at all.

Exāmplesēs

- { /jy lajk ji:r əs "tə:-kɪn mi: n "dʒo:rdʒ/
{ You like hear us talking, me and George?
{ /aj dər zej i: "dy/
{ I dare say he do.
/aw ty an-dl ðə bɪt r "dy get ðats ðə "mejn θɪŋ/
How to handle the bit her do get, that's the main thing.
/nəʊ-bə-di: dəʊn nəʊ "dy i:/
Nobody don't know, do he ?
{ /ðerz "me-ni: ə ə-gri-kəltʃ-rəl wɜr-kr əz nəʊz mɔ:r
{ There's many a agricultural worker as knows more
{ n ðə "fɑr-mr dy/
{ than the farmer do.
/i: dəʊn draɪv vɛ-ri "o-fn nəʊ in-"spɛk-tr ðen/
He don't drive very often now, inspector then.
/ɪt dəʊn ɜrt "nəʊ-bə-di:/
It don't hurt nobody.
/ɪt dəʊn meɪk nəʊ "ɔdz skɪ-pr/
It don't make no odds, skipper.
/dəʊn jɪ gəʊ "sej-in nə:t/
Don't you go saying naught.
/ðerz ə lɒt əv ɛm ðət dəʊn lyk "af-tr ɛm/
There's a lot of them that don't look after them.
/wɒt taɪm dy jɪ wɒnt tə get "awt/
What time do you want to get out?

(b) The Past Tense, Positive and Negative

The morphology of the past simple tense likewise presents no problems. The positive form is /dɪd/, the negative form is /dɪd-n(t)/. The alternative past tense forms are found when 'do' is a full verb, (q.v.), but never in the auxiliary role.

Examples

/ðə be-gr "kyd n "dɪd kætʃ n/
The bugger could and did catch him.
/əj daʊn nɔw sə me-ni: "naw z əj "dɪd/
I don't know so many now as I did.
/i: "went dɪ-dn i:/
He went, didn't he?
/jy dɪ-dn nɔw nɔw "dɪf-frent/
You didn't know no different.
/n i: "dɪd dy jɛs/
And he did do, yes!
/i: mɛst əv bɪn ə "gʊd draɪ-vr fɔr tə "dy n "get wɛr/
He must 've been a good driver for to do and get where
i: "dɪd dy laɪk i: "dɪd/
he did do like he did ...
/wɒt dɪd əs "faɪt fɔ:r fɔr jɜr "kɒn-tri: n ðə "lændz/
What did us fight for? For your country and the lands ..

(D) The Morphology of the Verb in General

Given the morphology of the three principal auxiliaries, 'be', 'have' and 'do', it is now possible to examine the morphology of the verb in general. We should bear in mind that the uses of these tenses do not necessarily correspond to those of the corresponding tenses in S.E.; this is particularly true of the compound tenses, and these factors will be examined under the heading of 'Syntax'.

It is in dealing with verb forms, particularly the more complex forms, that one encounters one of the most difficult problems of dialect study, the divergence between "performance" and "competence". One may say that, grammatically speaking, the informants' competence includes almost the whole range of the verbal possibilities of S.E., in that none of the forms used in the field work was either rejected or apparently misunderstood. Nevertheless, there is a fairly clear range of forms which the informants do not themselves use, as the material shows. This cannot be explained simply by saying that their performance is, as would be expected, considerably more restricted than their competence. This is indeed true, but it is also true, as the syntactic section shows, that a number of roles played by more complex forms in S.E. are played by less complex forms in the dialect, i.e. the informants "perform" certain linguistic acts in

one way while being "competent" also in another. I have thus decided in principle to restrict my description of the verbal forms to what has been spontaneously uttered by the informants, but I shall also try to show, by comparison of the possibilities in the dialect with those in S.E., which gaps seem to be accidental and which an inherent feature of the dialect.

I am aware of possible theoretical objections to this, and it is always feasible that an extended corpus would yield more complex forms. The corpus seems to me, however, to be adequate to permit a reasonable certainty that no further forms will occur spontaneously; we must assume that those contrastive features of meaning expressed by the non-occurring forms in S.E. are either not expressed verbally in the dialect or are expressed by other forms (see section on syntax.) It is also true that the 'competence' of a dialect speaker who possesses a radio will necessarily include the majority of S.E.; to describe this fully would not only duplicate already existing material, but also divert attention from the dialectal material.

Below the positive affirmative tense possibilities of S.E. are contrasted with those of the dialect. The lexical verb used ('love') and the modal ('will') are only for exemplification, of course. (see overleaf.)

	<u>STANDARD ENGLISH</u>	<u>DIALECT</u>
1.	loves	PRESENT
2.	is loved	PRESENT
3.	is loving	PRESENT
4.	has loved	PRESENT
5.	is being loved	<u>NOT FOUND</u>
6.	has been loved	PRESENT
7.	has been loving	PRESENT
8.	has been being loved	<u>NOT FOUND</u>
9.	loved	PRESENT
10.	was loved	PRESENT
11.	was loving	PRESENT
12.	had loved	PRESENT
13.	was being loved	<u>NOT FOUND</u>
14.	had been loved	<u>/ACCIDENTAL GAP?/</u>
15.	had been loving	PRESENT
16.	had been being loved	<u>NOT FOUND</u>
17.	will love	PRESENT
18.	will be loved	PRESENT
19.	will be loving	PRESENT
20.	will have loved	PRESENT
21.	will be being loved	<u>NOT FOUND</u>
22.	will have been loved	PRESENT
23.	will have been loving	<u>/ACCIDENTAL GAP?/</u>
24.	will have been being loved	<u>NOT FOUND</u>

If we consider the English verbal phrase in terms of a number of binary oppositions - as suggested, for example, by Barbara Strang ("Modern English Structure" p.141) - then it will become clear why six of the gaps in the pattern are considered as systematic, and two as accidental. If we except the affirmative:interrogative and positive:negative oppositions which are not relevant at this stage, we are left with the following:- active:passive* (he loves:he is loved); simple:continuous (he loves:he is loving) (called non-durative:durative by Strang); and non-perfective:perfective (he loves:he has loved), together with the possibility of either tense or mood, but not both. Here we have non-past:past (he loves:he loved) and non-modal:modal (he loves:he will love). Within the category 'modal', there are nine possibilities, namely, will, shall, would, should, can, could, may, might, must. A number of marginal cases are discussed later⁷. The first item of the pair is in each case the unmarked member, so that a feature can simply be regarded as either present or not. In S.E., all the features can be present together except tense and mood, which are mutually exclusive. The maximum combinations yield 'had

* I have adopted terms such as 'active' instead of 'non-passive' not because I doubt the binary nature of the oppositions but simply in order to use generally known terms wherever available. Where this is not possible (e.g. in the case of 'non-perfective') I have used Strang's term.

been being loved' (with 'past') and '(will) have been being loved' (with 'modal'), these and the other combinations being shown above.

If we now examine six of the gaps, we see they comprise all and only the members of one combination, namely passive and continuous. Quite simply, then, just as 'tense' and 'mood' are mutually exclusive in S.E., so too must 'passive' and 'continuous' be considered mutually exclusive in the dialect*. Clearly, there would be no justification for saying this simply on the absence of forms such as 'had been being loved', which are marginal in S.E. (see below); it is the complete absence of 'is being loved' and 'was being loved' which seems conclusive. Such a 'neutralization' is at least incipient in S.E., in that such forms as 'had been being loved' and 'will be being loved' are often passed over in favour of their non-continuous counterparts. [I know of no evidence to suggest whether this neutralization is spreading or receding in S.E.]

If we look at this same feature in terms of a different linguistic model (Chomsky: 'Syntactic Structures' p.39) then this same systematic gap can easily be incorporated into Chomsky's well-known analysis of the English verb. With certain modifications, a similar generative rule for the dialect would be:

* i.e. the 'being' operator is not used in the dialect.

Whether we use a system of binary oppositions or a rule similar to Chomsky's, there is no systematic way to explain their absence, given the presence, among others, of 'had been loving' and 'will have been loved'. In the case of 'had been loved' in particular, it seems most unlikely that this form is impossible in the dialect, and it is in fact possible that such forms do occur.* [see notes to tense 22]

Finally, there are a number of categories which need to be considered in relation to all verb-forms. These are person and number, which are features of concord and of very limited range, and finitude. Finitude is the capacity to be limited by a restriction of concord of the types just mentioned. All of these categories function as in S.E. (although, of course, their exponents may be different), so nothing further will be said of them. The non-finite forms found in the dialect are discussed after the finite forms, insofar as their morphology is concerned. There is also a binary opposition between non-emphatic and emphatic forms, which can be expounded by an additional lexical item bearing stress ('do' or 'did'), or by stress on an already present lexical item. The form appropriate in each case is noted in the discussion of each tense. A number of 'marginal' verbal phrases are also discussed later.

Given the two alternative structural models, outlined above, we will now proceed to examine the morphology of the tenses themselves, concentrating on those points where there is a difference between the dialect and S.E.

* These two gaps are therefore considered non-systematic

[A] NON-MODAL TENSES

a. Active

1. The Present Simple. The morphology of this tense shows no marked divergence from S.E., all persons being normally unmarked except the third person singular, which normally shows {-s}.

/aj lajk et ɔn ðe "sɜr-fes/
I like it on the surface.

/jɪv got te mejn-"tejn it jə now ɪf jɪ lajk ðe "spɔ:rt/
You've got to maintain it, you know, if you like the sport.

/i: livz te "stri-kl-paθ/
He lives to Sticklepath.

/nɔw "hɔ:rs gowz awt te-"mɔ-row/
No horse goes out tomorrow.

/gɔd "əʊn-li: nɔws aw lɔŋ i:d "bɪn ðɜr/
God only knows how long he'd been there.

But the usage is by no means consistent, e.g.

{/ɪf əs get "ke-pl ðet wen ev əs "nɔw bawd it, ðej
{If us get couple that one of us know about it, they
{/stɒp i:n "kɔ:r-sn "bej-n i:n te ðe kɔ:r-nr ev ðe
{stop in "Cawsand Beacon" in to the corner of the
{/vr-lɪdʒ ðɜr/
{village there.

In particular, a 'singular' verb form occurs after 'plural' subjects.

/"aw-r "bawn-dri:z gowz awt ə-bawt ə vajv ziks majl/
Our boundaries goes out about a-five six mile ...

The most striking feature is that when a first-person singular present is being used as a 'historic present', i.e. to describe with vividness an action in a series of past tenses, an {-s} is appended. One suspects that this might also happen in the first person plural, although there are no examples in the corpus.

/aj pet n i:n ðe "trap "wej aj gowz/
I put him in the trap, away I goes.

/wen aj kəmz "ep ðɜr wez ə "tɔ:l-ɪst fe-lr ðɜr/
When I comes up, there was a tallest fellow there.

/aj wez wɔ:kɪn ə-lɔŋ əp dʒɛmpz ə "ɛr i: "kɔ:t n/
cf. I was walking along, up jumps a hare .. he caught him.

NEGATIVE The negative is formed by the introduction of the element /down/ in all persons, including the third singular.

/i: dɔwn si: n ve-ri "ɔ-fn/
he don't see him very often.
/ɪt dɔwn ɛrt "nɔw-bɔ-di: /
it don't hurt no-body.

INTERROGATIVE The interrogative is formed by the introduction of the element /dy/ in all persons, and by inverting this particle and the subject.

/"nɔw-bɔ-di: dɔwn nɔw "dy i: /
Nobody don't know, do he ?
/dy r stɪl "lɪv ðɛr /
Do her still live there ?

EMPHATIC The emphatic is formed by the introduction of a stressed element " /dy/ without inversion.

/aʊ tɪ ən-dl ðə bɪt r "dy ɡɛt /
How to handle the bit her do get.

NOTES a. The verb 'do' as a full verb, not as an auxiliary, (q.v.) has a regular third person form /dy:z/ (not /dəz/.)

/i: dy:z əl-raɪt ɡɛts ðə "praɪz-zɪz ɔ ət /
He does alright, gets the prizes of it.
/i: dy:z ɪt ɔ:l "naɪt-taɪmz n ðæt /
He does it all night-times and that.

b. The -s form 'say' is regular /seɪz/, not /sez/.

9. The Past Simple The past simple is normally formed, as in S.E., by the addition of the morpheme {- D } to the base. This has three phonologically conditioned allomorphs /-d~-t~-ɪd/, as in 'loved' /ləvd/, 'risked' /rɪskt/ and 'wounded' /wʌndɪd/. The form thus arrived at is invariable in all persons.

A considerable number of verbs, however, form their past simple in ways other than this. For a full list, see appendix A. In general terms, however, there is a strong tendency for verbs to be 'regular' (i.e. conform to the allomorphic rule mentioned above) in the dialect, and a considerable number of verbs irregular in S.E. are regular in the dialect. This tends to contradict the usual picture of dialects retaining older 'strong' forms. (There are some 25 of these verbs, a few also having alternative 'irregular' forms. For a full list, see Appendix A, Class II 2(i)).

NEGATIVE The negative is formed by the introduction of the particle /di-dn/ in all persons.

/əs di-dn mejk now "ɔdz ɔ "ðət/
 Us didn't make no odds of that.

INTERROGATIVE The interrogative is formed by the introduction of the particle /did/, and by inverting this particle and the subject.

/did i: əv ɛ-ni: "milk/
Did you have any milk?

EMPHATIC The emphatic is formed by the introduction of the stressed particle /did/.

/i: "did dy jəs/
 He did do, yes.

NOTES a. The forms of the full verb 'do' indicate how much more distinct the full verb and the auxiliary are in the dialect than in S.E. In its auxiliary uses, the past of /dy/ is always /did/; as a full verb, the past is either /dyd/ or /dən/, apparently with no distinction.

/jy ad tɛ lyk ɛ-^uejd fɔ:r jy dyd "ðət/
 You had to look ahead before you did that.
 /tɪz ðə "weɪ-dʒɪz ðət "dyd ɪt/
 Tis the wages that did it.

/ðej ðən ðər "təjm ðər "pli:s "fɔ:rs in "le-nən/
They did their time there, police force, in London.
/əs traɪd it "sev-rəl təjms, tri-dn tə seɪ əs əʊn-li
Us tried it several times, tis'nt to say us only
ðən it "wəns/
did it once.

and perhaps the most fascinating example:--

/aw-"ɛ-vr ðej "dyd wɒt ðej "ðən əj"dy nɒt nɒw/
However they did what they did, I do not know.

2. and 11. Present Continuous and Past Continuous

These tenses are formed with the appropriate tense of 'be' and the present participle. The latter is formed by adding --/ɪn/, not --/ɪŋ/, to the base form. It is kept quite distinct from nasal past participles by a tendency to front even further to /i:n/. Thus 'beaten' would be /beɪ-t(ə)n/ and 'beating' would be /beɪ-ti:n/.

The present continuous is normally formed with the appropriate unstressed form of 'be' with the participle, and the past continuous by /wəz/ with the participle. (See "Morphology of 'be'" for examples of these.)

NEGATIVE The negative is formed by the appropriate negative form of 'be' with the present participle.

/"əɪ beɪn ɡwen fɜ:s/
I baint going first.
/i: i-dn ɡwen təv nɔ:t "dy wi mi:/
He isn't going to have naught to do with me.
/i: wɔ-dn "li-kin ty mi: məɪnd/
He wasn't looking to me, mind.

INTERROGATIVE The interrogative is formed by inverting the subject and auxiliary, and by replacing the latter by the stressed form.

/bi: jɪ li-vɪn tə "jel-vr-tn/
Be you living to Yelverton ?
/wɔz "jɪ ðər tə:kin ə-bəʊt "ðət/
Was you there talking about that ?

EMPHATIC The emphatic is formed by using the tonic form of the auxiliary, with strong stress.

/ðej "bi: grow-in əp əj"ty:/
They be growing up high, too.
/əj "wɔz li-vin ðər"ðən lajk/
I was living there then, like.

4. The Perfect Tense The perfect tense is formed by the appropriate form of the present tense of the auxiliary 'have' (q.v.), together with the past participle. The latter is formed by adding to the base a morpheme { - D } as with the past simple and with the same conditioned allomorphs. Specimen past participles would therefore be /ləvd/, /rɪskt/, /wɪn-dɪd/.

However, a number of past participles although less than in S.E., (cf. note on the past simple) form their past participles in ways other than this. A full list is given in Appendix A. Generally speaking, a past participle can be formed by adding - D, - D^t (see Appendix A) - N or ∅, each with or without a change of the root vowel.

However, there are several other important factors:-

a. Many past participles, both in the perfect and the pluperfect tenses, are prefixed by a particle a- /ə/ [‡]

‡ Strictly speaking, it might be more accurate to consider the /ə/ as being suffixed to the atonic form of the auxiliary (positive or negative). This is because when a pause occurs in a verbal phrase such as this, the pause invariably occurs after the a-, before the participle e.g. I've a ... doed so-and-so today.

I've a ... bide here my life in the parish.

or, with a change of construction,

Fact, I've a ..., as I be now,
I sit down, you know.

This seems not to be conditioned by any obvious phonetic or lexical factors (except an initial vowel, see below) since a number of verbs occur both with and without the particle. There are slightly more occurrences with this a- prefix when the total number of perfect tenses is considered, and considerably more individual lexical items. [This is even more marked with the pluperfect, q.v.] Below is a list, in order of frequency of occurrence, of those lexical items which occur twice or more with or without a-.

with a- /ə/		without a-
bɪn	pət	bɪn
dən	sət	əd
wɜ:kət	kɛft	ʤi:rd
lɒst	'kɔ:lrd	dən
nɔ:d	lykt	nɔ:d
θɔ:t	mi:t	lɒst
lɛft	wɔ:kt	bɛst
lɪvd	dʒɪdʒd	rɛnd
zɛld	sɛd	si:d
dyd	ʃɔ:d	kɛt
sprɛd	rɔ:d	'ɛn-trɛd
ti:ld	'tra-vɔld	dyd
tɔwld	brɔk	'fr-nɪft
kɛt	tyk	kɪld
split	bɛst	grɪvd

The only major participle with a large number of attestations which is not found with a- is /əd/, perhaps for phonetic reasons. In fact, apart from one marginal case 'I've a- [pause] unloaded', the a- form is not found when the participle begins with a vowel. Both forms are found after the negative, /an/ always taking a /t/ before /ə/ e.g. 'I haven't finished' is /əj aɪnt ə-vɪ-nɪft/. [The form with a- does not however occur in questions where the subject and auxiliary are inverted.]

Many examples would be necessary to show that position in the sentence does not appear to condition this particle. One example will have to suffice.

{ /ajv ə-bəst awt "la-fin n nə-ðr tajm,
 { I've a-burst out laughing and another time.
 { /ə-"gen ajv bəst awt "kraj-in/
 { again I've burst out crying.

b. A number of intransitive verbs form their perfect and pluperfect tenses with the auxiliary 'be', this being particularly true for 'come' 'go' and 'get' [INTRANS:]^æ although there are other examples. With 'come', there are only two occurrences with 'have', with 'go' only one. Most of the examples are of the pluperfect (q.v.) These tenses are considered as perfect and pluperfect by virtue of their uses; formally, of course, whichever linguistic model we adopt, they should be considered as present and past passive, respectively. Generally speaking, this feature seems to be lexically rather than grammatically conditioned, since a number of other intransitive verbs occur with 'have'

/"wɛl aj sɛd ajm "kəm tə now ɪf/
 Well, I said, I'm come to know if...
 /ðejm gɒt sɔw "naw ðæt/
 They'm got so now that...
 /i:z gɒn ty ow-"kəm-n "ɪnt i:/
 He's gone to Okehampton, isn't he.
 /tɪz gɒt laɪk ðɪs dʒi:r "dʒi:r/
 Tis got like this here here.
 /aj spɔwz dʒy now wɒt dʒɪr "kəm dʒi:r fɔ:r/
 I suppose you know what you're come here for.

æ There are even one or two cases when 'got' is part of the verb 'have got' and is transitive. (q.v.) e.g.

/ðejm gɒt "plɛn-ti: ə "mɛ-ni:/
 They'm got plenty of money.

and one in the case of 'have got' to' (q.v.)

/ðə "mɛ-ðr wɛz gɒt tə gɔw bæk ðə "tɪz-di: tə "wɜ:k/
 The mother was got to go back the Tuesday to work.

c. 50⁰/₀ of all cases of the past participle /bin/ occur with no auxiliary at all.

/r bin dɛd nɑw gwɛn ɔn "nɑjɪn-"ti:n "ji:r/
Her's been dead now going on nineteen year.

This is also a feature of /gɔt/(q.v.)

d. The full verb 'do' has two past participles, /dyd/ and /dɛn/, apparently used as alternatives.

/ɑr-tr ɑjv "dyd mɪ ʔejz wɜrk/
After I've done my day's work ...

/wɔ-dn nɔ:t ɛls tɛ bi: "dyd ʔɛn bɑk ɪn ʔej dɛjz/
There wasn't naught else to be done then, back in they
days.

/ʔejv dɛn vɛ-ri: "wɛl fr ʔɛrɜ:lf /
They've done very well for themselves.

/dyd/ is considerably more frequent than /dɛn/.

NEGATIVE The negative is formed by /an/ or /ant/ with the past participle.

/ ʔej ɑn dɛn "ɛs nɔw ɑrɪm/
They haven't done us no harm.

/"ɑj ɑn bɪn vɛ-ri: fɑr/
I haven't been very far.

/ʔej ɑnt ɛ-brɔk ɛ-"wej/
They haven't a broken away ...

INTERROGATIVE The interrogative is formed by the stressed form /av/, occasionally /az/, (see morphology of 'have',) inverted with the subject, together with the past participle.

/av i: bɪn ɑwt "ɛn-tɪn tɔ:l lejt-li:/
Have you been out hunting at all lately?

EMPHATIC The emphatic is formed by the stressed form /av/ occasionally /az/ with no inversion.

/ʔej "av bɔ:t wɛn nɑw/
They have bought one now.

12. The Pluperfect Tense is formed by the appropriate form of the past simple of 'have', together with the past participle (see notes on the perfect). As with the perfect, participles may be preceded by a- /ə/; in the case of the pluperfect, over 70 per cent of the occurrences of the past participle are in fact preceded by this particle. Below is a list of those lexical items occurring more than twice with or without a-, in order of frequency occurrence.

with a- /ə/		without a-
bin	mi:t	bin
bajd	past	si:d
fr--'got	'star-tid	dyd
tyk	ji:rd	fɪkst
kə:t	nə:d	fr--got
si:d	ʃə:d	'fraj--tnd
lɒst		'ap--nd
		ɔ--vr--'den
		əp--'sat

b. As with the perfect, a number of intransitive verbs from their pluperfect with 'be'. (Although here, of course, the participle might be considered adjectival at times, cf. example 1.)

/tajm aj wəz tərnd "raʊnd i: wəz "kəm/
Time I was turned round, he was come.

/ar tərn wəz "kəm/
Our turn was come.

/let mi: av ðə "mə--ni: n aj wəz "gɒn/
Let me have the money and I was gone.

/tajm aj wəz gɒt "əp ðej wəz "gɒn/
Time I was got up, they was gone.

/"twɔ--dn vɛ--ri: lɔŋ af--tr ðat fɔ:r ðej wəz kəm "bæk/
It wasn't very long after that before they was come back.

NEGATIVE The negative is formed by /əd/ with the past participle.

/aj əd si:d n fr "ji:rz ə--fɔ:r ðat/
I hadn't seen him for years before that.

INTERROGATIVE The interrogative is formed by the tonic form /əd/, inverted with the subject pronoun, with the past participle.

/əd i: bin ðər ə-ˈfɔ:r/
Had you been there before ?

EMPHATIC The emphatic is formed by the tonic form /əd/, strongly stressed, together with the past participle.

/i: ˈəd wɒn-tɪd tɪ bət ˈnɒt nə-ˈmɔ:r/
He had wanted to, but not no more.

7. and 15. Perfect and Pluperfect Continuous

These tenses are formed by the atonic forms of the present and past of 'have' (/əv/ and /əd/) together with the past participle of 'be' (/bɪn/), together with the present participle of the verb in question. The /bɪn/ may or may not be preceded by a-. Also, of course, in the case of the perfect, the /əv/ may be omitted. Thus we have the following forms for the perfect.

/ðejv bɪn kə-mɪn i:r fr ˈsev-rəl ʃi:rz/
They've been coming here for several years.
/ðej bɪn kə-mɪn daʊn ə-lɔŋ wɪð əs fr ˈʃi:rz/
They been coming down along with us for years
/əjv ə-bɪn wɔ:kɪn ə-lɔŋ ɪn ðə məd/
I've a-been walking along in the mud.

The pluperfect shows only one form, e.g.

/əs əd bɪn ˈwɔ:kɪn ə-lɔŋ mæs-tr n ðərd bi: ə ˈejdʒ/
Us had been walking along, master, and there'd be a hedge ..

The negatives, interrogatives and emphatics are formed in the usual way, e.g.

/i: ən bɪn dy-ɪn ˈne-θɪŋ naʊ fr sev-rəl mɒns.
He hasn't been doing nothing now for several months,
i: ən bɪn ˈvi:lɪn laɪk ɪt/
he hasn't been feeling like it.
/əv i: bɪn awt ˈen-tɪn tə:l leɪt-li:/
Have you been out hunting at all lately?

b. Passive

2. and 10. Present and Past Passive.

The present and past passives are formed by the unstressed forms of the auxiliary 'be' together with the past participle (see notes on the perfect). The participle in this case is almost never preceded by a-; there are only three examples in the whole corpus. (for one, see below .) Neither has a corresponding continuous form (see general notes on the verb structure.) There is no difference in form, as compared with S.E., apart from the differences in the forms of the auxiliary which we have already seen. The negative, interrogative and emphatic are formed as in S.E.

Examples

/aj wəz "bɔ:rn n "ri:rd jɪ:r i:n ðə pɑ-rɪʃ/
I was born and reared here in the parish..

/jɪm "wɔn-tɪd fɑ-ðər/
You'm wanted, father !

/nəw tə-dej ðejm fɛtʃt wi "lɔ-ri:z/
Now, today, they'm fetched with lorries...

/aj beɪn "ɛ-dɪ-keɪ-tɪd tɔ:l/
I baint educated at all.

/i: wɔ-dn "ti:lɪd raɪt/
He wasn't tilled right.

/wɔ-dn i: fɪkst əp"ðər ðɛn/
Weren't you fixed up there then ?

/i: wəz ə-"stɔd əp wɔ-tʃɪn mi: "kə-mɪn/
He was a-stood up watching me coming.

6. and 14. The Perfect and Pluperfect Passive

The perfect passive is formed by the unstressed form of the present tense of the auxiliary 'have' with /bɪn/ and the past participle of the lexical verb. The pluperfect passive has already been referred to as one of the two "accidental" gaps in the system [But see notes on conditional clauses in the syntactic section] Again, the auxiliary /(ə)v/ may be omitted before /bɪn/; there are no cases in this tense

of a-preceding 'been'. The negative, interrogative and emphatic would be formed as in S.E., though they are not all attested.

Examples

/ajv ɔ:l-wiz bin "towlɔ/
I've always been told...

/aj bin pət tɛ beɪd "dri: əp "təp n "ty daʊn
I've been put to bed three up top and two down

/"bɔ-dɛm/
bottom.

/aw lɔŋ əv "wi:l bin gɔn/
How long has Will been gone ?

[B] MODAL TENSES

As we have seen, there are nine modals in the dialect, as in S.E., and choice of the option 'mood' precludes choice of the option 'past' in both our linguistic models. It is true that there is at times a quasi-temporal relationship between, for example, 'can' and 'could', but it seems easiest to consider 'will', 'would', 'shall', 'should', 'can', 'could', 'may', 'might' and 'must' all as modals in their own right.

Certain general morphological points can be made at the outset. Negatives are /wɔ:n, ʃɔ:n, kɔ:n, ky-dn, wy-dn, ʃy-dn, mɛ-sn[‡], maj-tn/. All of these can have a /t/ final in certain circumstances, although this is fairly rare. There is no attested negative of 'may', which is extremely rare even in the positive. The most interesting form is /wɔ:n/ (not /wɔwn/), which thus fits much better into the pattern of /kɔ:n/ and /ʃɔ:n/.

‡ Occasionally /mɛn/. /"mɛs bi: ə dʒɔb "mɛn it/
Must be a job, mustn't it?

Interrogatives are formed simply by inverting the tonic form of the auxiliary (see over) and the subject.

However, six of these nine modals have two basic forms, stressed and unstressed. The exceptions are may /mej/, might /majt/ and must /mes/, where the tonic form is indicated solely by the stress it bears. However, the other six modals show:—

	STRESSED	UNSTRESSED
shall	/ʃal/	/ʃə/ ?/(ə)l/
will	/wil/	/(ə)l/
can	/kan/	/kn/
could	/kyd/	/kəd/
should	/ʃyd/	/ʃəd/ ?/(ə)d/
would	/wyd/	/wəd/ /(ə)d/

The potential homonymy of the reduced forms of 'shall' and 'will', and 'should' and 'would' makes positive identification impossible; it is probable, however, that /ə)l/ and /ə)d/ are always reductions of /wil/ and /wyd/, particularly in view of the comparative rarity of their occurrence after /aj/ and /əs/. This point is discussed at greater length in the section on the syntax of the verb. (q.v.)

We may now examine the combinatory possibilities shown by the modal tenses:—

17. (WILL) LOVE It is only with a simple base that we find 17 of the 18 positive and negative modal possibilities, 'may not' being not attested.

Examples

/lɛt r gow r own wej r əl mæk ə "oʊm fɔr i:/
 Let her go her own way, her'll make a home for you,
 /i: "wyd dy ɪf i: "kyd jə noʊ/
 He would do if he could, you know
 /ðejl kəm fr "krɪs--məs wə:n əm/
 They'll come for Christmas, won't they
 /ðej majt "dy ə bɪt ty t/
 They might do a bit to it.

/əs "ʃa:n dy nɔ:t "ʃa:n dy nɔ:t/
Us shan't do naught, shan't do naught.

19. (WILL) BE LOVING The active continuous form is formed with the modal, 'be' and the present participle of the lexical verb. Actual attestations of modals in this position are restricted, probably through the limitations of the corpus.

Examples

/twyd bi: "splɪ-tɪn ə əm si:/
I would be splitting of them, see?
/jy məs bi: "θɪŋ-kiŋ tə jɪ-zelf wəl əjm ə "lə-ki: mən/
You must be thinking to yourself, well, I'm a lucky man.
/"aj ʃa:n bi: li-vɪn tə si: ɪt/
I shan't be living to see it,
/ðejd bi: "tɪ-kiŋ "tə-ɔrz fi:t si:/
They'd be tickling tothers' feet, see?

20. (WILL) HAVE LOVED It is in this tense that the greatest variety of modals is found apart from the simple combination with base. 'Would,' 'should' and 'could' are particularly frequent, usually unstressed. (/d/ and /kəd/). The form of the auxiliary is reduced to /əv/ or, more usually, to /ə/. In a number of instances, it falls completely. (cf. notes on the morphology of 'have').

Examples

/jy məst ə bɪn ə-"weɪ/
You must've been away.
/ajd "nɛ-vr əv θɔ:t ... əs "ɛ-vr ʃyd əv "si:d n kəm bæk/
I'd never've thought .. us ever should've seen him come
back,
/ɪf i: "dɪ-dn ə-"ləɪv i: "wydn ə "deɪd/
If he didn't alive, he wouldn't 've dead.
{ /aj daʊn naʊ wɛ-ɔr jy ʃi:rd ə-baʊt "i: ɔ:r naʊ ɔ:r jy
{ I don't know whether you heard about him or no, or you
{ "maɪt-nt əv/
{ mightn't 've.
/ɪf ðej kyd dy ɪt "ðæn wəɪ kyd-nəm dæn ɪt bɪ-"fɔ:r/
If they could do it then, why couldn't they've done it before?

23. (WILL) HAVE BEEN LOVING This tense has already been referred to as one of the "accidental" gaps in the verbal system of the dialect. There seems no reason why such a form would not be attested eventually, given an extended corpus.

18. (WILL) BE LOVED This and the following tense are the only passive modal possibilities, since the continuous forms found in Standard English are absent from the dialect. There is a considerable variety of modal forms with this tense. For the nature of the past participles, see the notes on the perfect tense. As with the non-modal passive, we do not find a- preceding the participle - this feature seems to be restricted normally to use with the various forms of the auxiliary 'have'.

Examples

/ðe tʃɜrtʃ wyd bi: prɛ-di: ni:r "vɪld rɑjt əp/
 The church would be pretty near filled right up.
 { /ɪf "twa:n bi: fr ðe "fɛ-rɪ-nr drɛk-li: əs əl bi:
 If 'twon't be for the foreigner directly, us'll be
 { "starvd tɛ "dɛθ/
 starved to death.
 { /i: ʃy-dn bi: "lɑwd tɛ pət nɔw mə:r n "sɔw "mɛ-ni:
 He shouldn't be allowed to put no more than so many
 { ʃi:p ðɛr/
 sheep there.
 /fɑr-mrɜ wy-dn bi: "plɛgd tɛk ðɛr ʃi:p "dɑrt-mɔ:r tɛ "dɛj/
 Farmers wouldn't be plagued take their sheep Dartmoor today.
 /əj ʃəl bi: "kɔ:ld nɑw bɑwd ə "sɛ-knd ɔ:r ty/
 I shall be called now, about a second or two.

19. (WILL) HAVE BEEN LOVED Only one example is attested in the corpus, and that without a participle. For the status of certain similar forms, see the section on the syntax of conditional clauses.

Example

/r wɛz pət awt kɔ:rs əj "ʃyð ə bɪn mi: "sɛlf/
 Her was put out. Course, I should've been myself.

NON-FINITE FORMS

The principle non-finite forms are the infinitives, gerunds, participles and imperatives. Morphologically, the first three do not diverge from Standard English except insofar as we have already seen under the various tense headings. Syntactically, we shall need to look at these categories again, however. (q.v.)

The imperative has two forms in both the positive and the negative, both second person. In the positive we find an unmarked base, either with or without a pre-posed 'you'.

/jy tej k awt ɔə "ty-ji:r owld aj sɛd ki:p im rɛ-di: awt
You take out the two year old, I said, keep him ready out
"sajd aj sɛd wɛn jy si: ɔət "ɔis klas wɛz vi-nɪft jy start
side, I said, when you see that this class was finished,
kɛ-min ə-wej "ɛp/
you start coming away up.

There are roughly equal numbers of these two forms, and the same is true in the negative.

/dəwn jy av nə-θɪn tɔ "sej bawt ɪt majnd/
Don't you have nothing to say about it, mind.
/dəwn "spɔɪl r ɪrɪ ɔə mejnz ə bi: ɪn "ɛ-gli: "tɛm-prd/
Don't spoil her through the means of being ugly-tempered.

A number of imperatives, particularly 'mind!' and 'Get out!' are used as interjections. 'See' is also so used, but at the end of a phrase usually has an interrogative function ('do you see?')

[E] MORPHOLOGY OF HAVE/HAVE GOT/HAVE GOT TO

- a. HAVE/HAVE GOT It seems impossible to treat these verbs separately, since, in morphology at least, they seem inextricably linked. Firstly, however, we should note that there is also a full lexical verb 'get', which has various meanings, with a past simple 'got'. In the present tense, this causes no confusion, but 'He got' means at least two things, as we shall see.

PRESENT TENSE There are a few instances of the tonic form /av/ being used as a straightforward present tense.

/aj də-nɔw wɛ-ðr aj "av ə kə-zɪn ɔ:r "nɔw/
I dunno whether I have a cousin or no.

/jy "ɔ:l-wɪz av najs spɔ:rt/
You always have nice sport.

There is an apparently synonymous form /ɛv gɔt/

/ðejv gɔt əm "naw ðət ɪf ðej "ɪt wɛn ɪt ə ɪ: ən-"yks/
They've got them now that if they hit one it er... he
unhooks.

Or, alternatively, /ɛv ə-gɔt/

/ðejv ə-gɔt əm "əp ɔn ə fajv n sɪks fyt "wɔ:l "an əm/
They've a-got them up on a five and six foot wall, haven't
they ?

By far the commonest form, however, is simply /gɔt/

/ðej dɔwn kɛr wɛ-ðr ðej^{gɔt} ɔ:ɪt ty "ejt awt ðɛr ɔ:r "nɔw/
They don't care whether they got aught to eat out there
or no,

/jy gɔt jr "ɔwn kə-mn ðɛrz "θrɔw-li: kə-mn/
You got your own common there's Throwleigh Common...

/ðɛrz "θɔw-zɪns ej-krz "bɛ-tr "lænd ðən ɛs gɔt ɪn "dʒi:r/
There's thousands of acres, better land than us got in here.

This is homonymous with the past simple tense of 'get'

/ɛs gɔt "dri et ɔ:l-rajt/
Us got through it alright.

/"fajn "fɛ-lɛz ðət gɔt əp ty ɪn-"spɛk-tr/
Fine fellows that got up to inspector.

/ɛs gɔt əp ðɛr n "mɔ:d ðɪ-ki:"plɔt/
Us got up there and mowed thick plot ...

Very little confusion is in fact possible, however.

That this form 'got' is in fact derived from 'have got' and was not originally the past simple of 'get', or indeed an independent present tense form, is shown by phrases such as these.

/ɪf "ðej gɔt ə bɛ--tr plejs ðən "əs av/
If they got a better place than us have.
/gɔt ə "fajn dʒɒb i: az/
Got a fine job, he has.

For the occasional use of 'be' as auxiliary in place of 'have' cf. note on the perfect tense, section (b)

PAST SIMPLE Once again, we find a few instances of the tonic form /əd/

/ərn "wajt əd ðej ty "aw-zɪz ðər/
Ern White had they two houses there.
/əj əd ə gʊd "mas--tr n "mɪ-sɪz məjnd/
I had a good master and missis, mind.
/jy əd ðɪ--ki: "eɪ--"ti:n "bɒb ə "wi:k/
You had thicky eighteen bob a week.

Much more usual is /(ə)d gɔt/

/jyð gɔt ə big "rɒk ðər jyð av/
You'd got a big rock there, you'd have (=would have)
/wɒt ðej kɔ:l ə "dʒɛm--pr/
what they call a jumper ...
/i:d gɔt ðə lɪ--tl owl "plət əp ðər ðr/
He'd got the little old plot up there there ...

with its variant, /(ə)d ə-gɔt/

/ðejd ə-gɔt "sɔw "mɛ-ni: lɔ--ri:z kə--mɪn nekst mə:r--nɪn/
They'd a-got so many lorries coming next morning.
/r əd ə-gɔt ə "najs pɔw-ni: məjnd/
Her'd a-got a nice pony, mind.

There is even more overlapping of forms when we see that /gɔt/ can also function for this range of meaning.

/gɔt ə "mejd ðər i: əd/
Got a maid there, he had.
/kɔ:r i: gɔt ə rɔw əv "pejz ðər i: əd/
Cor, he got a row of peas there, he had.

However the form /(ə)d gɔt/ appears more than all the others together.

In the negative and interrogative forms of these tenses, the auxiliary is always present.

/aj an gɔt nən "ti:lɔd jɛt/
 I haven't got none tilled yet.
 /jy a-dn gɔt nɔw "nɑjf tɔ "skɪn n nɛ-ɔr/
 You hadn't got no knife to skin him neither.
 /av i: gɔt ɛ-ni: "kwɛs-tʃɪnz tɔ-dɛj/
 Have you got any questions today?

This is in no way surprising, since an auxiliary of some kind always features in any negative or interrogative phrase, in the dialect as in S, E.

The other tenses, with modals or without, are formed normally. The past participle is /ad/. (See notes on the perfect tense.)

/ɔɛj jys tɔ av ɛ "ʃyt i:r/
 They used to have a shoot here.
 /i:l av ɪt ɛ-"gɔjn sɪn nɔw/
 He'll have it again soon now.
 /ɔɛj wɛz nɔw "sy-nr ɛ-krɔs fɔ:r ɔɛj wɛz "ad/
 They was no sooner across before they was had

- b. HAVE (GOT) TO Although there are variants, we can say the basic paradigm is

	PRESENT SIMPLE	PAST SIMPLE
POSITIVE	gɔt ty	ad ty
NEGATIVE	an gɔt ty	[dɔdn af ty]

Examples

- a. /jy gɔt ty wɔ:k "twɛn-ti: mɑjl tɔ plɔw ɛ "hɛj-kr
 You got to walk twenty mile to plough a h'acre
 ɛ "grɔwnɔ/
 of ground.

The alternative form of this is /(\ə)v gət ty/

/jyv "gət tɛ mejn-"tejn it jɛ nɔw ɪf jy lajk ðə "spɔ:rt/
You've got to maintain it, you know, if you like the sport.

As with all the other forms, 'to' may be omitted. (The omission of 'to' is a general feature of the dialect - see the syntactic section .)

/best θɪŋ "jy gət dy ɪz tɛ "zɛl n ty mi:/
Best thing you got do is to sell him to me.

The form /af ty/ (have to) is not found.

b. /ðej an gət tɛ dɪg "dawn vɛ-ri: fɑr/
They haven't got to dig down very far ...

c. /jy ad tɛ.bi: ɪn kɔ:rt a-pas "sɛ-vn mɔ:r-nɪnz/
You had to be in court half past seven mornings.

There is an alternative form /(\ə)d gət ty/, usually with a-
/ajd ə-gət tav n "mɛ-ʒɛd/
I'd a-got to have him measured.

d. The form /ɑr-dn af ty/ was elicited from the informant.
One suspects that /ɑdn gət ty/ would be more likely.

The pluperfect tense doesn't seem to be differentiated from the simple past.

/aj nɛ-vr ad tɛ dy sɪtʃ ə θɪŋ bɪ-"fɔ:r/
I never had to do such a thing before.

Apart from that, the other tenses of 'have to' are as would be expected from the general tense morphology.

[F] Certain other uses

- a. used to This has only one form in the dialect, and its negative is always /dɪ-dn jys/ In a quarter of the attestations, /ty/ is omitted.

/aj dɪ-dn jys ty mək now "ɔdz ə "ðət/
I didn't use to make no odds of that.

Occasionally /jys/ is followed not by the unmarked base form, but by the past simple form (q.v.)

/i: jys drowv wɔt ðej kɔ:l ðə "fəs ti:m si:/
He used drove what they call the first team, see.
/ɔ:l-wɪz jys tyk "aw-r ten majl/
Always used took hour, ten mile

- b. ought to This also has only one form in the dialect, and there are two reasons why we do not propose to consider it a modal. One is that the negative in the dialect is always /dɪ-dn ɔ:t/ and the other is that a following infinitive is normally preceded by 'to'.

/ðej "dɪ-dn ɔ:t tə bi: lawd tə "dy it/
They didn't ought to be allowed to do it.

- c. am going to/was going to There is some case to consider this phrase as a whole as an additional auxiliary, since it normally forms such an integral part of the verbal phrase. To do so, however, would open the way to so many other marginal phrases that this idea has been rejected. Both the particle 'to' and the form of 'be' can be omitted, occasionally both. The form of 'going' is often - /gwɛn/

/wɔt jy gwɛn "dy wið it/
What are you going to do with it.

- d. Use of 'have' and 'get' with past participles. Here again, the possibility of considering these as one or more additional moods (e.g. 'mutative' for 'get done')

etc., as suggested by Strang, op. cit. p.146) has been rejected because of the whole range of similar forms e.g. 'I want this done', whose status would then become doubtful. The overall verbal phrase, however, is particularly integrated in the case of 'have' and 'get'.

/wɛn ðej ad ðə aw-zɪz "bɪl-dɪd ðej ad ə "neɪm pʊt ty n/
 When they had the houses built, they had a name put to him.
 (/af ðr taɪm ðejm ə-vɪn ə əm rɪ-"pərd ə:r "se-mɪn nə-ðr
 (Half their time, they're having of them repaired or some-
 (dyd ty it/
 (thing another done to it.

/jɪd get ə lɔwd ə vɛgz brɔ:t ɪn n tyk "bæk fr i:/
 You'd get a load of fags brought in .. and took back for you.
 /i:l ev ev-ri:θɪŋ den "prɔ-pr "mɑ-nr jə nɔw/
 He'll have everything done proper manner, you know.

CHAPTER IX

The Syntax of the Verb

- a. will, shall, would, should.
- b. The Infinitive.
- c. The -ing /-in/ form.

Syntax of 'will' and 'shall'

In our examination of the morphology of the modal verbs, we saw that, as in S.E., 'shall' and 'will' have both a stressed and an unstressed form. The remarks which follow, where appropriate, should be taken to refer to both of these forms, although the number of stressed forms is relatively so limited that any conclusions can only be tentatively drawn from them.

The following section is based largely on suggestions made in Fries' article 'The Periphrastic Future with "shall" and "will" in Modern English' (Publications of the Modern Language Association of America, Vol.40, pp. 963-1024), parts of which are quoted in Strang's 'Modern English Structure'. Fries points out that the so-called 'rule' that 'shall' is used in the first person and 'will' in the second and third persons in order to express a simple future in an independent declarative sentence is not in any way supported by statistics; specifically, his survey of dramatic material shows the following results for S.E.:-

	WILL	:	SHALL
1st person	70%		30%
2nd person	78%		22%
3rd person	90%		10%

As he points out, the first person figures are the most interesting, since they contradict the assertions of most grammarians. (In American usage, 'shall' is even more restricted, occurring in only 13% of first person utterances.)

In the dialect material, however, the picture is rather different. /ʃal/ is virtually never found in the second and third persons*, and occurs in almost exactly 50% of the first person forms. In differentiating /ʃal/ and /wɪl/, we have followed Fries in ascribing /ʃal/ to /wɪl/ only, for the reasons he outlines (op. cit. p.989, n.26; contrast Strang, op. cit., p.149). Thus we find that the tendency towards /wɪl/ in the first person, which Fries shows to have been continuing for 400 years, is not so marked in the dialect as in S.E.; in the other persons, however, /ʃal/ is found in only one example, a usage acknowledged by grammarians like Curme ('A Grammar of the English Language' Vol.3, 1931), namely an implied threat.

/ɪf jɪ daʊn goʊ tə sleɪp jɪ ʃəl av ði:z/
 If you don't go to sleep, you shall have this.

It seems improbable that all the other examples of the second and third persons refer only to simple futurity, and none to determination etc., the categories normally said to be expounded by 'shall' in S.E. In fact, the notional categories exemplified by more traditional grammars do not help us in the analysis of the dialectal material, since most of the examples do not fall clearly into any one category.

* We might note that Scheurweghs ('Present Day English Syntax' 1959) states that only 'will' is possible with a third person - as we find in the dialect, and as I believe to be the case of my own speech - whereas Curme says that 'shall' is much used. (cf. Vol.III, p.366)

Thus, since the only example of /ʃal/, where it does not occur with a first person, has already been mentioned, it seems most useful to restrict our examples primarily to the first person, both singular and plural. All the examples are declarative, either independent or dependent. Unlike in the results obtained by Fries, the status of the clause appears to make no difference to the percentages of 'shall' and 'will' found with first person forms. Neither with the first person nor the other two persons are there any spontaneous question forms using these forms, not even 'tag' questions; this seems surprising in so large a corpus, and I can offer no explanation. In elicited question forms, the results were what might be expected, namely 'shall' with the first person and 'will' with the second and third persons.

Examples (a) stressed

/əj θɔ:t tə mi: "zæl wəl əj "wɪl raɪd əp sɔw fɑr
 I thought to myself: 'Well, I will ride up so far
 /stɒp ðə "naɪt kem bæk tə- "mɔ-rɔw ðæn əj ʃəl bi:
 stop the night, come back tomorrow, then I shall be
 /ej-bl tə zej əj bɪn əp "lən-dn/
 able to say I've been up London.

Here we see what is apparently 'will' being used to express personal determination, in the manner outlined by traditional grammars. Although such a suggestion cannot be termed a 'rule', since we do find pairs of sentences such as:-

/əj "seɪ əj "ʃɑ:n "spə n/
 I say I shan't spare it.

and

/əj "wɔ:n əj ðə be-gr/
 I won't hang the bugger.

Nevertheless, the following does seem to imply some external factor rather than the speaker's volition.

/əz "ʃɑ:n dy nə:t/
We shan't do naught.

Furthermore, just as most of the stressed examples do seem to tally with a volition: external pressure opposition, the same is also true of the unstressed examples.* Thus although we find -

/əjl ɡæt "jy jə bə-ɡr/
I'll get you, you bugger

as well as

/əj ʃəl si: "jy əp ðər fr "sər-tɪn/
I shall see you up there for certain.

where we would expect /ʃəl/ in the first case, nevertheless all the other examples with the first person singular do admit the interpretation (to put it ^{no}more strongly) that the speaker is implying willingness. Thus we find:- 'I shall be 33 now pretty quick', 'I shall be able to say I've been up London', 'I shall be gone long enough', 'I shall have to give him up', 'I shall have to go to Lovatton, and father 'll have to go to Marden', 'I don't know that I shall do a lot more to it', etc. etc., all with /ʃəl/, where personal volition is hardly a factor. On the other hand we find:- 'Now you go next, I'll take the mare ...' 'I'll say that for him', 'I'll bet you ...', 'I'll give you couple of hours' etc, etc., all with /əl/, where

* Owing to the virtual absence of juncture, it is sometimes difficult to differentiate in the 1st person plural between /əs əl/ and /əs ʃəl/.

the speaker can be considered as expressing willingness. The same is true of the first person plural, cf. 'Us shall see them when they get in the ring', 'If it won't be for the foreigner directly, us shall be starved to death', 'Don't you go saying nought, else us shall have the same caper', all with /ʃəl/, as opposed to 'Us'll sell it, what'll you give for it?', 'Us'll go down round Sticklepath', 'Us'll go up and look in it' etc., all with /əl/. The evidence of these and other examples seems fairly conclusive.

Thus, to summarize briefly, /wɪl/ is used almost exclusively in the second and third persons, and in about 50% of the first person forms. In the latter case, it is opposed to /ʃəl/, 'will' normally indicating the speaker's willingness, and 'shall' some external cause. This opposition is not made in the other persons, at least not in terms of these two auxiliaries. We find many examples of the type 'The stone'll split straight then', 'Course, there'll be a day come ...' 'A hare'll take some catching', 'I shan't be living to see it, I hope you will', 'He will do, if I tell him' etc. where clearly no volition is implied, but where /wɪl/ is found. Thus we have a system which shows a shall:will opposition in the first person, but not in the second and third persons. In this way, the position is rather clearer than in current S.E. (Reference should also be made to the syntax of 'am/was going to ...').

Syntax of 'would' and 'should'

The syntax of 'would' and 'should' is rather more complex than that of 'will' and 'shall'. Firstly, there is a complete paradigm of /ʃyð/ with all persons, both unstressed and stressed, in the sense of 'ought'.*

/jy "ʃyð dy ε-ni:-aw "aj dy/
You should do anyhow, I do.
/ðej now "best ðej "ʃyð dy "ʃy-dn em/
They know best, they should do, shouldn't they?
{/i: ʃyðn bi: "lawð te pət now mɔ:r n "sow "mε-ni:
{He shouldn't be allowed to put no more than so many
{/"ʃi:p ðer/
{sheep there.
/əs "ʃyð dy it bet əs "wɑ:n/
We should do it but we won't.

Apart from this, however, 'should' is restricted to following /aj/ and /əs/ to nearly the same extent as /ʃal/. In the case of both /aj/ and /əs/, /ʃyð/ occurs in approximately 65% of the cases. Apart from the uses in the sense of 'ought' already referred to, /ʃyð/ occurs elsewhere only twice, after /jy/:-

/ʃəd jy "lajk te "zi: n "jes aj səd aj "ʃyð/
Should you like to see it? Yes, I said, I should.
/təjm jy ʃəd ə "təwld jr "jɑrn twyd bi:
Time you should have told your yarn, it would be
/"əp a-pas tejn/
up half past ten.

* Recognised by Curme, op. cit.

Elsewhere /d/* and /wəd/ are found in unstressed positions and /wyd/ in stressed positions. The occurrence of the former two items is not random, however, being strictly conditioned by the subject nominal. After /jy/, /i:/, /ər/, /ðej/ and /ðer/, the form is /d/; after nouns, both singular and plural, the form is /wəd/, and with /it/ the form is /twyd/. Throughout the paradigm, both stressed and unstressed, the negative is /wydn/.

/fak jyd ejt "e-ni:-θiŋ bak in "ðej dejz/
 Fact, you'd eat anything back in those days.
 /ðejd sej dy it jr-"zɛlf/
 They'd say: 'Do it yourself'.
 /li-tl owl "dʒɪm "wi-ste-wej wəd av n/
 Little old Jim Wistaway would have it.
 /vɛ-ri: "ɔ-fn twyd bi: "jy"be-grz/
 Very often, it would be: 'You buggers!'
 /ðæt wəd bi: pri-di: ni:r "dri: "majl/
 That would be pretty near three mile.
 {/"tʃaps wəd mɪks wɪ ðə "mi-dnz n "mi-dnz . . .
 {Chaps would mix with the maidens and maidens
 {/wəd mɪks wɪ ðə "tʃaps/
 {would mix with the chaps.

However, as with 'will' and 'shall', the problem is to discover the factors governing the selection of /ʃəd/, /wəd/ and /d/ after /aj/ and /es/. With only one exception, all the examples of 'habitual past' show /ʃəd/ after /es/. The exception is in the example below, which also shows a 'normal' form:-

* always considered as a reduction of 'would', cf. note in Fries on /l/ as a reduction of 'will' (See above).

/es fəd "leɪv ðər tə- "ge-dr n əs wəd
Us should leave there together ... and us would
/gɒw tə "bɑ:n-stə-pl "fɑ:/
go to Barnstaple Fair.

This position is directly reversed, however, in the case of /əj/, where all the examples of the 'habitual past' show /d/, eg.

/əjd bi: daʊn ʤi:r "a "pɑ:s θri:/
I'd be down here half past three.

Elsewhere, however, the usage tallies with that of 'shall' and 'will', i.e., 'should' is used to express the idea of some external pressure, whereas 'would' implies the willingness of the speaker. Thus we find, with /ʃəd/, 'I should say: "jumped in", 'He must be 67, I should say', 'If they did, I shouldn't go down there', 'What us should call "little spar", 'I don't know what us should do without a bit of sport', as opposed to the following, with /wəd/:- 'He knew that I would like to buy it', 'I wouldn't have thicky job, I wouldn't do it, no', and 'He wanted to shift the stones, and us wouldn't let him'.

It is not suggested that the above divisions are rigid; however, the evidence of the material does suggest a 'should:would' opposition (similar to that of 'shall:will') in the first person, and absent elsewhere. It also suggests that in the 'habitual past', /əj/ patterns with the second and third persons, showing /d/, whereas /es/, unique in this syntactic role, shows /ʃəd/ here also.

In terms of the two major syntactic uses of the tense form 'would' or 'should' plus base form (e.g. I would/should/'d go) we can say that just over 20% of the occurrences are in a purely conditional sense 'I'd go if...', whereas the remaining 80% or so are used to express habitual action in the past ('I'd go there every day' = I used to go there every day.) In this usage, it is outnumbered by 'used (to)' with the base form, but only in the ratio of 4:5 . As a 'habitual past', the use of this tense-form seems to be much more frequent than in S.E., although I have no statistics on which to base this assertion.

The Syntax of the Infinitive

Traditional English grammars normally speak of the infinitive as being composed of the base form of the verb and the particle 'to', the latter then being 'omitted' in certain easily definable positions. The position in the dialect, however, is much more complicated, since four forms occur in positions syntactically similar to those filled in S.E. by the two forms mentioned above. These are:--

- a. BASE
- b. 'to' + BASE
- c. 'for' + BASE
- d. 'for to' + BASE

If we examine briefly the first of these, we find that it occurs, as in S.E., after the nine modal auxiliaries, without exception. This is, however, the only syntactic function in which there appears to be complete congruity with S.E.

Generally speaking, the position in the dialect reflects what is apparently a free choice between either a pair of these forms or, in two cases, between all four.

Let us examine first two positions where all four forms mentioned above occur, namely where the infinitive is in post-nominal position (the traditional 'adjectival infinitive') and where the infinitive follows another verb in a position in which S.E. would permit, but not require, 'in order to'* (the traditional 'phrase of purpose'). The latter category needs an important subdivision (see below).

* The dialect does not show 'in order to' at all.

In the post-nominal position, all four forms are found, in the following approximate proportions:

a. 12%; b. 60%; c. 16%; d. 12%; Thus we find,

with a.*

/əd by-dɪ-fl "bejd laj in "ty/
Had beautiful bed (to) lie in too.

{ /jy majt av ə "tʃans ðən av ə lɪ-tl owl
{ You might have a chance then (to) have a little old
{ /pɛr əv "byts/
{ pair of boots.

with b.

/əj gɒt bɪt əv "wi:d bawt tək lejn əp/
I got a bit of weed about to clean up.

/jɪd gɒt "ði-ki: ðər "majlz tək wɔ:k tək get "oʊm/
You'd got thick there miles to walk ... to get home.

{ /əj dɪ-dn av mætʃ tʃans tək dy mɔ:r n ðə
{ I didn't have much chance to do more than the
{ /"hɑr-dɪst əv ət/
{ hardest of it.

with c.

/ðər wəz n owl tʃejn fr "krɒs n/
There was an old chain for cross it.

/ðejm pri-di: fajn keɪ-pr fr bi: "ən-dr/
They're pretty fine caper for be under.

{ /wɔ-dn nɔw "kɑr z n "lɔ-ri:z laɪk ðər ɪz tək-"deɪ
{ There weren't no cars and lorries like there is today
{ /fr tək kɑ-tl ə-bawt/
{ for take cattle about.

* It has been suggested that in the examples where 'to' is not present, either a pause or a lengthening of the preceding syllable might function as a juncture. In fact, such a juncture is only perceptible in those cases where the grammatical and/or intonation boundaries would require it, (cf. chapter 3 above), in which cases it is also found when 'to' itself is present.

with d.

/ðer wə-dn now "lə-ri:z bak "ðæn fr tə tæk mi:/
There weren't no lorries back then for to take me ...
/i: wəz a-pi: əz ðej ðæt gət "awn-siz fr tə smək/
He was happy as they that got ounces for to smoke.

In the post-verbal 'purpose' role, however, we find an important syntactic feature wherein the dialect differs from S.E. In the latter, in certain cases when an infinitive has a subject which differs from that of the main clause, the particle 'for' precedes the subject of the infinitive. In such cases 'for' is also found in the dialect, e.g.

{ /ðej wəz "bɪl--dɪd ðer fr ðe "stəʊn--ke--trɪz tə gəʊ
{ They were built there for the stone-cutters to go
{ /i:n "ən--dr/
{ in under.
{ /wɪ--dn dɪ fr ə--ni:--bɔ--di: tə θɪŋk ðej wəz gwe--ne "sɪst
{ Wouldn't do for anybody to think they were going to insist
{ /fr sə--mɪŋ wɪ--n/
{ for something with him.
{ /i: ɒd tə peɪ "av--r ten bɒb jə si: fr "ðej gəʊ tə
{ He had to pay our ten bob, you see, for they go to
{ /me--ʒr ɪt/
{ measure it.

The dialect goes much further and almost always shows 'for' at least (normally 'for to')* when the infinitive has its own subject, e.g.

{ /prəps i: wɒnts fr ɪt tə gəʊ "ɒn səʊ ðæt i: kən get
{ Perhaps he wants for it to go on so that he can get
{ /n "be--tr/
{ him better.

* There is one interesting example of 'for ... for'

/i:d dɪ i:z "ɔ:--sɪz fr n fr gəʊ tə "naɪt--skɪl/
He'd do his horses for him for go to night-school.

/aj dɪ-dn wɒnt fr r tə "fajnd ðər steɪ-ʃn/
I didn't want for her to find there, station ...
/aj ʃy-dn laɪk fr ɐm tə si: ɪt laɪk ðət ðər "ðər/
I shouldn't like for them to see it like that there there.

There are very few exceptions of the type 'Sam wanted me go'. In general, however, this construction is not found after verbs such as 'ask', 'invite' etc., where the relevant nominal is treated as if it were the object of the preceding verb rather than the subject of the infinitive, e.g.

/ðej dɪ-saɪ-dɪd ðejd ask "dʒɪm tə bi: "best "man/
They decided they'd ask Jim to be best man.

A list of verbs behaving in one way or the other could be drawn up.

This is the situation when these 'infinitives of purpose' have their own subject. Where they do not, however, we find the same alternation as we found with 'adjectival infinitives' above, in these approximate proportions.

a. 8% , b. 29% , c. 19% , d. 44%.

These figures, taken with the actual examples, suggest that 'for to' is the typical form found here in careful speech. We may quote as examples:-

with a.

/i: kəm ɪn "dʒi:r ɪn ðɪs vɪ-lɪdʒ lɪv rɪ-"taɪ-rd/
He came in here in this village live retired.

with b.

/ɪf ʃy nə:d ʃɪd ɡɒt tə wɜ:k tə ɡet ə bɪt ə "lɪ-vɪn/
If you knew you'd got to work to get a bit of living ...
/i: ə-dn bɪn daʊn tə kleɪn ðə "mɜ:sə sɒ mʌtʃ/
He hadn't been down to clean the mare so much.

with c.

{ /jy got tɛ wɔ:k "twɛ-ni: "majl ə "deɪ fr plaw ə
{ You got to walk twenty mile a day for plough an
{ /"heɪ-kr əv "grawnd/
{ acre of ground.

/aj "dyd it fr brɪŋ ðə "pou-ni:z dawn "jæl-vr-tɪn "ʃou/
I did it for bring the ponies down Yelverton show.

b. and c. are contrasted in one sentence.

/ɪf jy ɡoʊ ðər fr kætʃ ə "treɪn tɛ ɡoʊ dawn "pli-məθ/
If you go there for catch a train to go down Plymouth.

with d.

/r kəm dawn "lɔŋ wɪ əm dʒɪs fr tɛ "si: əs ə-ɡeɪn/
She came down long with them just for to see us again.

/ðeɪ breɪk ɪn fr tɛ trɑɪ tɛ ɡet sə-mɪŋ ty "eɪt/
They break in for to try to get something to eat.

/jɪd "mi:t fr tɛ wɔ:k dawn "steɪ-ʃn ɪn ðə "mɔ:r-nɪŋ/
You'd meet for to walk down station in the morning.

/ðeɪv ɡɒt ə "ky-ʃn meɪd fr tɛ "sɪt ðə "seɪt/
They've got a cushion made for to suit the seat.

c. and d. are contrasted within one sentence.

{ /twɪd bi: "splɪ-tɪŋ ə əm fr tɛ ɡet n əp "smɔʊl-dr
{ It would be splitting of them, for to get it up smaller,
{ /fr ɡet wɒt jy "wɒnt/
{ for get what you want.

Consideration is next given to those positions where both forms a. and b. are found, but not forms c. or d. If we examine first the verbal phrases which in S.E. are 'going to', 'used to' and 'have (got) to', we find the following approximate percentages:--

	<u>with 'to'</u>	<u>without 'to'</u>
'going to'	62%	38%
'used to'	91%	9%
'have (got) to'	71%	29%

This vacillation between forms a. and b., which is not apparently connected in any way with stress, is reflected in a number of other constructions, specifically when the infinitive is the object of certain verbs. Thus we find:-

/ʃəd jy "lajk tə "si: n/
Should you like to see it? and also

/trejt əm əz jy lajk bi: "trej-tid jr-zelf/
Treat them as you like (to) be treated yourself.

There are a number of examples with 'want', e.g.

/if jy wɔn-tid gow tə "ʃɔp/
If you wanted (to) go to shop ...
/əj wɔnt tə gow tə "najt-ski:l twajz ə"wi:k/
I want to go to night-school twice a week.

and, in the same sentence:-

/əj wɔn-tid tə gow "lɔŋ wi əm ðej wɔn-tid "tæk mi:/
I wanted to go along with them, they wanted (to) take me.

Before looking briefly at the positions in which the use of one or other of these four forms can be predicted, we must look at one final function where there seems to be some freedom of choice, namely where the infinitive is in apposition with an 'empty' subject 'it' colligated with the verb 'be'. Here the choice is between form b., the normal form, and form c., as:-

/ərd-li: nə:d wɔt "twɔz tə baj "e-ni:-θiŋ/
Hardly knew what it was to buy anything.
/tejn "ne-θiŋ tə əv ə lɔ-ri: trej-lr/
It isn't nothing to have a lorry, trailer ...

contrasted with:-

/tɪz "ty metʃ məj di:r "i-dn it fr əks jy tə gow
It's too much, my dear, isn't it, for ask you to go
/"bæk ə-gejn/
back again.

In conclusion, we must look briefly at those positions where one or other of the four forms we have discussed seems to be required. Form a., apart from its post-modal use already mentioned, and its use after certain infinitives such as 'like' and 'want' in variation with form b., is used mainly after phrases such as 'look well', 'look forward', etc., and after the construction 'make naught' or 'make nothing' (= 'consider of little significance').

/ajm ly-kin fɔ:r-wed naw fr "za-tr-dej gow en-tin/
I'm looking forward now for Saturday (to) go hunting.

/jyd lyk wel tə-mə-row "mɔ:r-nɪŋ kəm dawn n si:/
You'd look well tomorrow morning (to) come down and

/mæk "nɔ:t mæk sɪks r sɛ-bm "pawndz ə əm "ðæt saɪz/
Make naught (to) make 6 or 7 pounds on them, that size. ^{/see...}

/i: mæks "nə-θɪŋ gow tə "lən-dn/
He makes nothing (to) go to London.

It is also used after the verb 'come' when there is no expression of purpose, e.g.

/i: wɛz "my-di:-ɔr-əd baj ɪt wɛn kəm gow tə "beɪd/
He was moody-horrored by it when come go to bed.

/wɛn jɪ kəm pɪk əp jɔ:r "weɪ-dʒɪz/
When you come pick up your wages ...

We might note also -

/aj wɛnt "lɑŋ-"dawn fr tɑɪm si: tɒm fr-nɪʃ "əp wɪ/
I went Langdown for time, see, Tom, (to) finish up with.

Generally speaking, the use of this form is less frequent than the use of forms b. and d. but more frequent than form c.

Form b. is the normal form when the infinitive follows another verb except in the 'purpose' role discussed above, although occasionally form a. is found (see above), and forms c. and d. are found after two and one lexical items respectively.

Form b. is found frequently after such verbs as 'try', 'mean', 'afford', 'seem', 'start' and many others. (In some cases, e.g. after 'start', the present participle is also found, but with no apparent differences between the dialect and S.E.)

Thus we find:-

/if i: "pa-siz ji:r əs əl "traj tə "zi: n/
If he passes here, we'll try to see him.

/jy ad tə giv "əp tə wɜ:k wɛn jy wɛz sɪk--sti:--"fajv/
You had to give up to work when you were 65.

{/aj wɛnt awt tə "liv fɔ:r aj wɛz twɛlv ji:r "owld
{I went out to live before I was 12 year old ...

{/"farm--"əwz/
{farm house.

/if ɔ:rz ə farm tə bi: "zɛld ɔ:ej kn vɔ:rd tə "baj n/
If there's a farm to be sold, they can afford to buy it.

/"aj ʃa:n bi: li--vin tə si: it/
I shan't be living to see it.

and many others. It is always this form found after 'be' in constructions such as:-

/if jy wɛz tə pɛt "ɔ:t stɪk i:n krɔs "ɔ:ki: pɔw-ni:/
If you were to put that stick in across thicky pony.

Form b. is also the usual form occurring post-adjectivally, for example after 'afraid', 'alright', 'used' (= 'accustomed'), 'glad', etc., and after 'too+ ADJ'. For example:-

/ɔ:ejm ə-frejd tə "li:v r mɔ:r n ɔ:ə "wi:k/
They're afraid to leave her more than the week.

/"jyr gɛ-tɪn owl-dr tə lyk at "jy bi: "ty lyksɔw/
You're getting older to look at, you are too, looks so.

/naw ðejm pri-ti: ni:r ty taj-rd tɛ kəm ɔf ðə "sejt/
Now they're pretty near too tired to come off the seat.
It is interesting to note that with 'enough' we find
forms a., b., and c., although in the case of a.,
the role of 'enough' is pronominal.

/aj θɔ:t ðis wɛz kwajt nəf ki:p mi: "gwen ðen/
I thought this was quite enough keep me going then.

/aj wɔ-dn ɔwld nəf tɛ "nɔw/
I wasn't old enough to know.

/wɛn jy gɔt "ɔwld nəf fr drajv ə pɛr ɛv "ɔ:r-siz/
When you got old enough for drive a pair of horses ...

We note also that form b. is the normal* construction
with 'ought', 'naught', 'something', 'anything' etc.,
when they are not followed by an adjective.

/dɔwn jy av nə-θiŋ tɛ "sej bawt it majnd/
Don't you have nothing to say about it, mind.

/aj də-nɔw ðət aj gɔt ɔ:t tɛ "dy nɔw/
I don't know that I got ought to do now.

/wɔ-dn nɔ:t "els tɛ bi: "dyd/
Wasn't naught else to be done.

Finally, form b. is always found in construc-
tions with 'how', 'why', 'what' etc.

/mɛ-ðr di-dn "nɔw ɔrd-li: wɔt tɛ giv i: fr "brɛk-fɛs/
Mother didn't know hardly what to give you for breakfast.

/ðə mejn θiŋ iz "ɔw ty "an-dl ðə bit r "dy gɛt/
The main thing is ... how to handle the bit she does get.

The only example of a negative infinitive in
the whole corpus is presumably of form b.

/tɛl "di-ki: nɔt tɛ kəm ɔwn/
Tell Dicky not to come home.

* not invariable, c.f.

{ /ðej dɔwn mek nɔ:t fr tɛk dɔwn ə "ɔwl in ðə
{ They don't make naught for take down a hole in the
{ /"wɔ:l n kəm ɔwt "θry/
{ wall and come out through.

It is also interesting that the dialect will allow the particle 'to' to be stressed in final position. (cf. discussion of 'where ... to').

{/jy "ad tɛ bi: kɔz ɪf "jy dɪ-dn dɪ ɪt sɛm-bɔ-di:
{You had to be, because if you didn't do it, somebody
{/ɛls wɛz wɛj-tɪn "ty/
{else was waiting to.

Form c. appears to have no uses reserved for it specifically, and it is the least used of the four forms. It is the only form found after two lexical items, 'itch' and 'pay', e.g.

/aj wɛz ɪ-tʃɪn ɔ:l "tɑjm fr pɛt n ɪn "trɒp/
I was itching all time for put it in trap.
{/tyk "mɔwst ɛv ɪt fr pɛj fr gɔw "ɔwt n kɛm "ɔwn
{Took most of it for pay for go out and come home
{/ə-gejn/
{again...

It is used occasionally with an adjective, e.g.

/aj fi:l fɪt "nɔw fr gɔw ɔwt n kɑtʃ ɔwld ðe "plɔw/
I feel fit now for go out and catch hold the plough.

In most of its other uses, however, it is in variation with one or more of forms a., b., and d. We might notice, in passing, a usage which it is difficult to categorise adequately:-

{/ðej gɪvd ɪt "ɔwt wɔt ə fajn "fɛ-lɛ ɪ: wɔz fr bi:
{They gave it out, what a fine fellow he was, for be
{/vɛ-ri: "kɛr-fl "wɛn plɪ:s-mn wɔ-dn ɪ-"nɛf/
{very careful, one policeman wasn't enough.

We have already seen the principal use of form d., to introduce an infinitive which has its own subject. It is also the normal form in apposition to an 'empty' subject 'it' with verbs other than 'be' (see form b. above).

/it əl "tək sɛm gʏd wɛnz fr tɛ bi:t "zɛjl/
It'll take some good ones for to beat Zeal.

It is used with 'something', 'nothing' etc. when there is an adjective or adverb between these and the following infinitive:-

{ /ðən jʏd gɔt tɛ əv sɛ-mɪŋ "i:n-lænd fr tɛ "pɛt
{ Then you'd got to have something inland for to put
{ /əm ty/
{ them to.

With adjectives and with verbs, the use is rare, e.g.

{ /ðɛj wɔ-nɪd tɛ mɛk mi: "mɛjzd fr tɛ gɔw əp "lɔŋ
{ They wanted to make me mazed for to go up along
{ /wɪ əm/
{ with them.

/jʏv nɛ-vr "fɛjld fr tɛ gɪv n wɛn ɛv ðɛ "fɛs "prajz/
You've never failed for to give it one of the first
prize.

Form d. is used slightly less than form b. but not much so because of the former's preponderance in 'phrases of purpose' (see above).

It should be borne in mind that all the above remarks are generalizations from a corpus of approximately 400 infinitive phrases. Therefore, while the general picture is adequately defined, references to specific lexical items need to be treated with caution. The two final sentences below give some idea of the possibilities admitted by the dialect as summarized above.

{ /praps twez "tajm ðen fr ev-ri:-bɔ-di: gow ðer own
 { Perhaps it was time then for everybody go their own
 { /wej te gow ovm gow te "bejd r av so-miŋ ty "ejt
 { way, to go home go to bed, or have something to eat
 { /n gow te bejd pri-par fr ðe mən-di: mɔ:r-niŋ start
 { and go to bed, prepare for the Monday morning start
 { /wɜrk ə-"gejn/
 { work again.
 { /it got te bi: owvd ep ɔn "wa-ginz tak in fr pət
 { It got to be heaved up on wagons take in for put
 { /ə-wej i:n ðe "ləfs/
 { away in the lofts.

The Syntax of the Present Participle
and of the Continuous Tenses.

There is one feature relevant to the present participle, and accordingly to the 'continuous' element of the verbal system, which seems best treated here. This is that a present participle will invariably induce a form 'of' (normally /ɔ/ or /əv/) before a personal pronoun direct object, and also when the direct object is a preceding relative pronoun 'what' (which has no specific nominal antecedent.) There are no exceptions in the corpus. Thus we find:--

/ðej bejn ji:rð "dy-in ɔ et nr ne-ɔin "bi: em/
 They aren't heard doing of it nor nothing, are they?
 /ðejm θiŋ-kin bawt "raj-zin ɔ əm ə-"gejn/
 They're thinking about rising (=raising) of them again.
 /naw te-dej θɜr-ti:n "pawnd i-dn sa-tis-faj-in ɔ et/
 Now today, thirteen pound isn't satisfying of it.
 { /down spojl r θry ðe mejns əv bi:-in "eg-li: "tem-prð
 { Don't spoil her through the means of being ugly-tempered.
 { /r kaw-in əv r dawn "ðat wej/
 { or ... cowing her down that way.

{ /aj də-nəw ɪf ðej "ri:-ə-lajz wət ðejm "dy-in əv
 { I don't know if they realize what they're doing of
 { /wið it/
 { with it.

/r əls jɪ "wɒn-tɪd wət "ɜr wɛz gɛ-tɪn əv/
 ... or else you wanted what she was getting of.

There is one example where the 'of', strictly speaking, is misplaced:-

/əs "nəw ɪ: gɒt tɛ drɑjv ðə "ɛn-dʒɪn r wɒ-tɛ-vr
 We know he got to drive the engine ... or whatever
 /jɪm "dy-in ə ɛt ty/
 you're doing of it to.

where the sense clearly requires 'doing of to it'.

There are no examples of 'of' when the direct object is any other nominal and there is accordingly no parallel to the syntactic structure in, for example, 'a-washing of her linen - o'. Thus we find:-

{ /tɪz θrəw-in ðə kən-tri: ɪn-ty ə "brɛjv ɪk-spens n
 { 'Tis throwing the country into a brave expense and tis
 { /tɪz ɛp-"sɛ-tɪn ə-ɔr pi:-pl/
 { upsetting other people.

/əʊl-dɪn ðə plaw bi:-"jaɪn n "draj-vɪn ðə "ɔ:r-sɪz/
 ... holding the plough behind and driving the horses.

We may note the contrast in

/pi:-pl ɪn "taʊnz bi: kɛ-mɪn dʒi:r baɪ-in ɛp ðə lɪ-tl
 People in towns are coming here buying up the little
 /əʊl "kɔ-trɪ-dʒɪz n ə-vɪn ə ɛm "ɔl-trɪd n "dyd ɛp/
 old cottages and having of them altered and done up.

We see that not even 'that' induces 'of':-

/ðej wɪ-dn θɪŋk gəʊ bawt tɛ-kɪn "ðæt ɛp pe-tɪn
 They wouldn't think go about taking that up, putting
 /ə ɛt ɪn ɪts "pleɪs/
 of it in its place.

Although they do not strictly belong here, this seems an appropriate place to discuss four other examples from the corpus where 'of' occurs before

a direct object in a position other than after a present participle. In all four of these examples, the object in question is, as above, either a personal pronoun or 'what'; given this and the fact that non-continuous forms do not normally induce 'of' before their direct object, we may tentatively attribute these examples to analogy with the continuous forms, where 'of' is always found.

/əs ky-dn "elp ə et now/

We couldn't help of it, (you) know.

/wɛn əj gɪvd əp əv wɔt əj kɔ:l "əd te gɪv əp te wɜrk/

When I gave up of what I call .. had to give up to work.

{ /ðɜr wɔ-dn now "lɔ ri:z bæk ðɛn fr te tɛk "mi:
 { There wasn't no lorries back then, for to take me

/ləjk ðej tɛk i:n əv ɛm te-"dej/

{ like they take in of them to-day.

/"əj nɛ-vr si:d nɔw-bɛ-di: "ʃɛ-tɪn əv ɛm bɛt ðej

{ I never saw nobody shooting of them, but they

/"sej ðej "ʃɛt əv ɛm "əj de-nɔw/

{ say they shoot of them, I don't know.

The last example clearly supports the view that these occurrences of 'of' are analogical.

The environments in which this 'of' does or does not occur form one of the most clearly definable syntactic features of the dialect.

In other respects, the syntax of the participle and of the tenses formed with it differ little from S.E. Many verbs, as in S.E., require the present participle in a following verb, sometimes exclusively, sometimes in variation with one or more of the four infinitive forms (q.v.). e.g.

/jy stɑrt te vi:l "tɛ-ðr "wej jy stɑrt "rɛ-nɪn/

You start to feel tother way, you start running.

Such differences as there are seem to be purely lexical, and need not concern us here. We might note finally that the grammatical feature known as an 'unrelated participle', which is so frequent in popular speech, is found widely in the dialect also.

{/aj θo:t twəz sɛm-bə-di: trɑj-in tə av ə "trɪk,
{I thought it was somebody trying to have a trick.
{/wɪð mi: bi:-in ə "jɛŋ-str/
{with me, being a youngster.

CHAPTER X

The Phrasal Verb

PHRASAL VERBS

In discussing phrasal and prepositional verbs, I have based my approach on that suggested by T. F. Mitchell in his article 'Syntagmatic Relations in Linguistic Analysis'* . He proposes that verbal phrases should be considered as belonging to one of four categories, and gives the following illustration. (p.106.)

[A]	NON-	NON-	TO TAKE
	NON-	PREPOSITIONAL	
[B]	PHRASAL	PREPOSITIONAL	TO TAKE TO (S.O.) (= become fond of)
[C]		NON-	TO PUT UP (S.O.)
		PREPOSITIONAL	TO PUT (S.O.) UP
	PHRASAL		(= provide hospitality for)
[D]		PREPOSITIONAL	TO PUT UP WITH (S.O.) (= tolerate)

Although there may well be four categories as Mitchell suggests, it seems clear that the relationship between them is not as neat as this table implies. The opposition between non-prepositional and prepositional verbs can, as Mitchell says, be defined in terms of the presence or absence of interpolability; in brief, no nominal can be inserted between the verb and its particle in the case of a prepositional

* Transactions of the Philological Society, 1958.

verb. Thus we do not find :- 'I take someone to' or :-
'I put someone up with', (i.e. not in the sense of
'tolerate') whereas we may find a nominal when a
non-prepositional verb is colligated with a preposi-
tional phrase, e.g. 'I took [it] to him', 'I put up
[someone] with John'. What is difficult is to cate-
gorise 'non-phrasal' as opposed to 'phrasal' since
the criterion used by Mitchell - that the verbal
particle of a phrasal verb may occur either before
or after a noun object - applies only to non-pre-
positional verbs of the type 'I turn off the light/
I turn the light off'. As he implies himself* , a
non-prepositional phrasal verb is in many ways
opposed to the other three by virtue of this flexible
word order. However there are other criteria men-
tioned by Mitchell which may seem to validate the
non-phrasal:phrasal opposition, namely stress and
intonation. To quote Mitchell^{2b}: 'the particle
component of the phrasal verb can and usually does^{2c}
bear a full stress, and when final and not in post-

* op. cit. p.106.

op. cit. p.104.

The examples in the dialect at least tend to
refute the claim of this phrase, (c.f. the
examples below).

nominal position, is pronounced on a kinetic tone'. Mitchell is referring here only to non-prepositional phrasal verbs, but if the proviso is made that the relevant particle of a prepositional phrasal verb is the first and not the second particle, then these remarks might seem to be applicable also to the latter category, and hence to categorise 'phrasal verbs' as a whole. Thus, parallel with his examples 'he can't be taken "in at any price' and 'he can't be taken "in', which are both non-prepositional, we might find 'It can't be put "up with much longer' and 'He won't be made "up to', which are both prepositional. However, further consideration shows that in fact the stressed particle of a phrasal-prepositional verb will never be final, and will (by definition, since it is prepositional,) never be post-nominal. Thus here again, the criteria suggested will serve to define only non-prepositional phrasal verbs and not the category of phrasal verbs as a whole.

It is therefore clear that the distinction between non-phrasal and phrasal verbs is very different in the case of non-prepositional verbs from what it is in the case of prepositional verbs, since the former case shows the opposition between 'I turn off the road' and 'I turn off the light', whereas the opposition between 'I take to him' and 'I put up with him' is much less significant, being limited in fact to the presence of one as opposed to two particles. It seems to me that these must always be transitive, whereas

what Mitchell calls a non-prepositional phrasal verb need not be so. (I do not recognise utterances of the type 'I took to' or 'I put up with'.)

All in all; then, I would prefer a system which is less formally neat than Mitchell's but which I feel represents the situation more accurately.

This would consist of:--

- simple verb¹
- phrasal verb²
- prepositional verb³

the last being divisible if required into two subsections (simple and double) according to whether it contains one or two particles^{*}. These are what Strang calls respectively 'prepositional' and 'prepositional-phrasal' verbs, but since their functions and definitions are so similar in all but one detail, I do not feel that the distinction is equivalent to the three above. The criteria for differentiating phrasal and prepositional verbs would

-
1. For Mitchell 'non-phrasal, non-prepositional'
 2. For Mitchell 'phrasal, non-prepositional'
 3. For Mitchell 'prepositional' (both phrasal and non-phrasal).

* i.e. the distinction between prepositional verbs with one particle and those with two is merely relevant to the compositional structure (the internal structure, or 'morphology' of the verb) and is not syntactically (distributionally) significant in any way.

accordingly be:-

- | | |
|---------------|--|
| PHRASAL | i. interruptability.
ii. particle often tonic. |
| PREPOSITIONAL | i. non-interruptability.
ii. transitivity.
iii. one or two particles; if two, the first is tonic, if one, usually atonic (except for emphatic stress). |

Of these, clearly the opposition of interruptability: non-interruptability is the most fundamental, but this is supplemented by the other criteria discussed above.

We shall now proceed to see how these categories are represented in the dialect. At once, we find an extremely marked distributional pattern. In the entire corpus, there are only two certain examples of prepositional verbs, one being 'simple' and one 'double'. (In Mitchell's terms 'non phrasal' and 'phrasal'). Both are passive and therefore without a direct object. These are:-

/ɔ:l gət tə bi: "si:d ty n "pejd ty jə now/
All got to be seen to and paid to, you know.

and

/"kɔ:rs bɪn dən ə-"weɪ wɪð nɑw "reɪl-weɪ ɪz "ðər/
Course, been done away with now, railway is, there.

The latter example, strictly speaking, is not a prepositional verb unless 'away' is included in the list of "preposition-adverbs" of the type discussed below, which it would not normally be as it lacks prepositional functions in the dialect as in S.E.

However, whatever the status of the examples above, it does seem that the category of 'prepositional verb', both simple and double, is extremely rare in the dialect. The situation, however, is not quite as clear-cut as this since, as Strang points out in her remarks on A. G. Kennedy's work²², 'it is impossible to determine the exact range of these three types of construction ... because they are not sharply delineated but shade off indefinitely into ordinary verb + particle sequences'. We may illustrate this clearly from the dialect by reference to examples with 'look':-

/aj "lykt ty n si:/
 I looked to him, see. (= 'I looked at him')
 /əs əl gow əp n lyk "i:n n/
 We'll go up and look in it.
 /ði:z mejn bi: ðər tə lyk "af-tr əm/
 These men are there to look after them.
 /aj lykt ə-wej tə "səm əv əm/
 I looked away to some of them.

It may be felt that 'look after' at least is a prepositional verb, and possibly one or more of the others. However, even if this is so, the number of examples which could conceivably be so considered is very restricted and usually doubtful. Although all the above examples obey the criterion of non-interruptability, in two cases the particle is stressed, which is contrary to the criteria for prepositional verbs. Below is a list of examples, in an order which

* 'The Modern English Verb-Adverb Combination, Stanford University Publications, "Language and Literature", Vol.1, No.1.

seems to me, in the dialect, to represent diminishing plausibility in any suggestion that these are prepositional verbs, whether 'simple' or 'double'.

/ajm "glad ajv rɛnd əp ə-"gejnst i:/
I'm glad I've run up against you.

/i: ad ə bit əv ə "i:l-nɛs kɛm i:n "krɔs n/
He had a bit of an illness come in across him.

/aj rɛ-kn aj ʃəl av tə si: ə-bawt "i:/
I reckon I shall have to see about him.

/əs gɔt "ɔw-vr ət ə:l-rajt/
We got over it alright.

/ɪf aj kyd gɛt "at əm/
If I could get at them ...

/aj "mejd əp maj "majnd n aj "stɪk ty it "ty/
I made up my mind, and I stuck to it too.

/ðej stɔpt ɪn tə "kɔ:-sn "bi:-kn/
They stopped in to 'Cawsand Beacon'.

These examples seem to me to suggest that the use of these two categories in a formal grammar must at the present time be extremely restricted, since only rarely can a complex verb be ascribed unhesitatingly to either one. Nevertheless, the categories are important to indicate the 'poles' on what is really, like so many other linguistic fields, a 'cline'. For the sake of simplicity, I have treated most of the above doubtful examples as combinations of VERB + PREP. + NOMINAL, and points of interest in their use are dealt with in the chapter on the prepositional phrase.

With the phrasal verb, which has a much wider distribution in the dialect, we must consider separately its transitive and its intransitive uses. The transitive use, we saw above, is relatively easy to define in terms of potential interpolability

of an object-nominal.

We find that phrasal verbs, when transitive, do not shade off into sequences of verb + adverb, simply because of this criterion of interruptability. Thus 'I came into the room' can be either simple verb + prepositional phrase or prepositional verb + nominal, but it cannot be a phrasal verb. Where phrasal verbs are intransitive, however, (see below), there is then no criterion of interruptability available, and the same indeterminacy we have noted above is found.

We find that where the direct object of a transitive phrasal verb is a personal pronoun, there is only one case in the entire corpus where such an object is not interpolated between the verb and the particle. (This is a sentence which is also syntactically divergent in another way - cf. the syntax of the present participle.)

/lajk ðej tek "i:n əv əm tə-"dej/
... like they take in of them today.

In every other case, we find the same order as in S.E., thus:-

/ðejd drag it "in pyl it "ə-vr/
They'd drag it in, pull it over.
/i: fikst mi: rajt əp "aj-r "sajd əv əm/
He fixed me right up higher side of them.
{ /fr tə get əp wɜr ðej wɜz gwen stɑrt
{ ... for to get up where they were going to start
{ /"laj-nɪn əv əm "əp/
{ lining of them up.

When the direct object of such a verb is any other nominal, the normal order is VERB + PARTICLE + OBJECT (in 81% of the examples). Although I have seen no figures for S.E., it seems to me that this is a much higher proportion than is usual, at least in my own speech. We thus find, for example,

/i: pət i:n ðə "kawz/
He put in the cows.*

/jy tək əf "ðət n pət ən ə--"ne-ör/
You take off that and put on another.

/əj jys tə "baj "i:n "ɔ-li: fr n/
I used to buy in holly for him.

where, although these forms are perfectly acceptable in S.E., I feel that the order VERB + OBJECT + PARTICLE might be more usual. This may, however, represent a purely personal preference. The examples of this latter order in the dialect do not seem to form a homogeneous group which can be distinguished from the majority, and we may perhaps postulate free variation as in S.E. Thus we find:--

/əs pət əw-r "zajðz i:n əp "raj-zin "sən/
We put our scythes in up 'Rising Sun'.

/əj si:d ði:z ji:r "fə-lə drəw i:z "ænd əp tə mi:/
I saw this here fellow throw his hand up to me.

/wən jy wəz wər-kin ə vi:ld əv "grawnd daʊn/
When you was working a field of ground down ...

A very restricted number of these forms is used in the passive. Thus we find:--

{ /ðej ðət wəz pət i:n "fɔ:r-mn n ðət ðej wəz
{ They that were put in foremen and that, they were
{ /ən ðə "spɒt/
{ on the spot.

* It has been suggested that these forms may not, in fact, all be separable. However, a representative sample tried with the informant were mostly accepted without undue hesitation.

/wɒts "i: jɪ:r fɪkst əp fɔ:r/
 What's he here fixed up for?
 /ðej jʌz tə əv əm "pləʊd "əp/
 They used to have them ploughed up.

Below is a list of particles used in this way when the verbal phrase is transitive, either with a direct object or when passive. Intransitive uses of phrasal verbs are discussed below.

PARTICLE	DISTINCT COLLOCATIONS	TOTAL OCCURRENCES
ABOUT	2	2
ALONG	1	1
DOWN	9	11
IN	9	18
IN UNDER	1	1
OFF	5	7
ON	2	5
OUT	9	11
ROUND	3	5
UP	24	39

It will be seen that for the Devonshire dialect, 'up' is by far the most used particle; this corresponds exactly -- and perhaps surprisingly -- with Kennedy's findings for American English in 1920*. Perhaps the most notable absence is that of 'to', but this may perhaps be an accidental gap in the corpus. None of these reflects the use of a particle not found in S.E., although many of them, of course,

* c.f. Kennedy op. cit., p.23-25.

occur in individual collocations not found in the standard language.
 (/gow awt ðer in ðe "gri:-naws n tend tə "ðat

(/gow awt ðer in ðe "gri:-naws n tend tə "ðat
 {Go out there in the greenhouse and tend to that,

{/zi: it ə-"bawt awt ðer/
 {see it about out there.

/i: nɔ:d ev-ri: "ɪnʃ əv it ə-bawt fr "sər-tɪn/
 He knew every inch of it about for certain.

It would be profitless to give a list of the lexical items occurring with all of these particles since, although it is feasible to do so for a finite corpus, it is of no general interest since the class is clearly 'open' in terms of the structure of the language. However, a list is given below of those forms used actively and transitively with one particle, 'up', as being representative of the others. The items are:--
 pick (7); take (4); put (3); throw (3); give (2); make (2); and, once only, bind, break, bring, buy, call, fix, get, hang, kick, line, load, rear, reckon, save, stand, tend, turn, value.

The table of particles found with passive transitive verbs is much more limited and more heavily weighted towards 'up'. Only three particles are found:--

PARTICLE	DISTINCT COLLOCATIONS	TOTAL OCCURRENCES
IN	2	5
OUT	5	5
UP	13	20*

* largely due to the recurrence of the phrase 'I was reared up...' etc.

When we look finally in this section at phrasal verbs used intransitively, we encounter the same problem of indeterminacy as with prepositional verbs. When there is no object, a criterion of potential interpolability is clearly of no value. We have another cline, in fact, for whereas 'die out', for example, would presumably be considered a phrasal verb, what of 'come in'? Strang's criterion of 'idiomaticness' is clearly not measurable. I have accordingly adopted a simple but fairly arbitrary criterion for defining an intransitive phrasal verb, namely that the particle in question should be used elsewhere in the dialect as a preposition (i.e. in pre-nominal position) and/or should occur in transitive phrasal verbs in the dialect. (This excludes a form such as 'away', which is in fact found in the dialect in intransitive phrases, but is considered simply as an adverb in order to simplify the picture here.) For intransitive phrasal verbs, thus defined, we find the following picture:-

[see over

PARTICLE	DISTINCT COLLOCATIONS	TOTAL OCCURRENCES*
ABOUT	5	6
ACROSS	1	1
ALONG	7	15
DOWN	7	43**
IN	6	26
ON	4	32
OUT	9	42
OVER	2	2
ROUND	2	12
THROUGH	2	3
UP	11	53

It is interesting to note that 'up' has by no means the same commanding lead in this role that it has elsewhere. Below, as an example on the same lines as the one above, is the list and frequency of those lexical items occurring with 'up'.

go (18); come (15); look (4); get (3); rear (3); finish (2); join (2); ride (2); sit (2); give (1); pass (1).

As in the case of the other sections above, a number of the individual collocations differ from

* The fact that our definition admits 'come' and 'go' in combination with various particles inflates these figures considerably.

** Additionally inflated by 14 occurrences of 'sit down'.

S.E. Thus we find:—

/ðej wəz ɔ:l ket "awt lajk əs bi: "ts-lin ə-bawt/
They was all cut out like we are telling about.
/aj lykt "əp n ðər wəz ə "wə-mn fikst əp ðər/
I looked up and there was a woman fixed up there.

There are also a number of combinations of particles used in intransitive phrases; these cannot be considered as double prepositional verbs, as both Mitchell and Strang state, as we have done, that these are transitive. Below are a few examples of this additional class of verbal phrase not often found in S.E.

/"az aj wəz wɔ:-kin ə-wej ə-"krɔs/
As I was walking away across ...

/jy start kə-min ə-wej "əp/
I start coming away up.

/ðej kn wɔ:k əp "ɔ-vr/
They can walk up over.

/aj pyl ðe leg əv "səm əv əm ðət get awt ə-"bawt/
I pull the leg of some of them that get out about.

Thus the general pattern of the verbal phrase is fairly similar in structure to S.E., although at least one pole on the structural cline, that of prepositional verbs, both simple and double, shows markedly less examples than S.E. There is also apparently an additional class of intransitive phrasal verbs having two particles. A large number of individual collocations differ from S.E. and examples can be found throughout the thesis; it is beyond our scope to analyse them in any greater detail here.

CHAPTER XI

The Syntax of the Clause

- a. co-ordination.
- b. subordination.
- c. relatives.
- d. inter-clausal pronoun concord.

THE SYNTAX OF THE CLAUSE

It is not the purpose of this section to discuss in any detail the internal structure of the clauses found in the dialect. Various units of this structure, in particular the verbal phrase and the prepositional phrase, have been discussed in detail above, as have the pronouns* and various important elements in the nominal phrase. We might note briefly here that the noun as such apparently functions as in S.E., although there are several instances of variation in plural morphemes from those found in the latter, e.g. 'child:children' /tʃɪl': tʃɪl-dr/. As far as adverbs are concerned, those of space and time function very much as their prepositional equivalents (q.v.) and the others not already discussed seem to behave as their S.E. equivalents. I hope at this point to have covered the most important characteristics of the internal structure of the clause.

However, before passing on, there is one important type of 'clause' found in the dialect which needs to be mentioned, as it is not found in S.E. except in restricted contexts (e.g. in answer to a question). This clause-type consists of a single nominal phrase bearing an appropriate intonation pattern for an independent clause and separated from what precedes and follows by pause. Thus we find:-

* A brief discussion of inter-clausal pronoun concord can be found below p. 260.

(/aj left in ji:r bæv tʃa-pl "i:n əp ðər n .
 { I left in here ... above Chapel Inn up there and
 /r P a-pas "twelv n "tə-rnts əv "rejn P
 { er ... half-past twelve and toments of rain ...
 /n ajd ə-got tə wɔ:k tə "lə-və-tn/
 { and I'd a-got to walk to Lovaton.
 /jyd θɪŋk wəl ə-sl gow dawn rawn
 { You'd think: 'Well, we'll go down around
 /"stri-kl-paθ P "by-di-fl "we-ðr P wɔ:k dawn
 { Sticklepath... beautiful weather ... walk down
 /"stri-kl-paθ əp tə ðe "le-di:-wel/
 { Sticklepath, up to the Lady Well ...
 /əwn-li: si:d ðe "fow-tow əp ðər "lɑs "najt
 { Only saw the photo up there last night ...
 /P "e-li:-kɒp-tr P "ɑr-mi: tʃaps ðər P
 { helicopter, army chaps there ...
 /"pli:s ek-stre P ɔ:l got tə bi: "zi:d ty
 { police extra ... all got to be seen to
 /n "pejd ty "ən it/
 { and paid to, hasn't it?

It is not, of course, suggested that all such nominals form independent clauses, but only those which satisfy the criteria of both intonation and juncture. We may contrast the examples given above with the following, where the first adverbial phrase satisfies neither criterion and the second, although it has a distinct intonation pattern, is not separated from what precedes it by a pause.

/i: jys tə kəm əp ðər n draɪv tə tʃɜ:rtʃ/
 He used to come up there and drive to church
 /i:z "kɑ-rɪdʒ n "pɜr twel-və-klək i:n ðe "najt/
 his carriage and pair, twelve o'clock in the night.
 Of course, this distinction is not one which can invariably be made, nor does it need to be so. However, 'clauses' such as 'beautiful weather' do play a role in the dialect's syntax which

seems to be different from the 'prepositional phrases without prepositions' of the last example.

Having discussed this point, we may now leave the question of the internal structure of the clause, and turn to the methods in which clauses are linked, within the dialect, to form the larger units which we have called 'sentences'. We shall here examine parataxis, co-ordination, subordination and relative clauses, establishing in each case the forms used in the dialect and pointing out any apparent structural differences between the dialect and S.E.

However, one point needs to be made at the outset. The vast majority of clauses, a far larger percentage than in the spoken S.E. with which I am familiar, are linked in one of two ways, either by parataxis or by co-ordination with 'and' (/n/). We have already discussed the criteria of intonation and pause which lead us to speak now of independent and now of dependent clauses, and although these cannot always be considered as conclusive, they do provide a fair indication of what, for example, consists of two paratactically juxtaposed inter-dependent clauses and what of two independent clauses bearing their own sentence-final intonation nuclei and separated by pause.

We shall look first at the incidence of parataxis in the dialect. There is in fact one construction where parataxis is the normal syntactic relationship in the dialect, but not in S.E. This is the construction which might loosely be referred to as that of 'comparison' or 'opposition', including the relationship of 'difference from'. The examples below should illustrate this:--

{ /tɪz gɒn ʌp "leɪps n "bawnz wɒt jɪz tɪ wɛn "əs
 { It's gone up leaps and bounds what used to when we
 { /wəz jən-strz/
 { were youngsters.
 { /twɛz ə frɛʃ "mæn jə si: ðə
 { It was a fresh man, you see, (compared with) the
 { /mæn "aɪd ə-bɪn ðər lɔŋ wɪ/
 { man I'd a-been there along with.
 { /kɔ:rs twɛz "dɪ-frɛn wɒt tɪz tɛ-"deɪ/
 { Course it was different what tis to-day.
 { /i: gɒt tɛ peɪ "dɛ-bl n "trɛ-bl tɛ-deɪ wɒ-teɪ-vr
 { He got to pay double and treble today whatever
 { /ðeɪ dɪd bɪ-"fɔ:r/
 { they did before.
 { /bɛt tɪz ə "vli:-baɪt wɒt tɪz tɛ-"deɪ/
 { But it's a flea-bite what it is today.

However, parataxis is by no means restricted to this fairly easily definable syntactic role. It is the normal method of linking in more rapid speech clauses which in slower speech would either be independent or co-ordinated with /n/. There are far too many cases to quote even a cross-section; a few examples are given here.

{ /əs wɛz sɪk-sti:n mənθs nɛ-vr nɔ:d wɛr i: wɛz
 { We were sixteen months, never knew where he was
 { /"ty wɛ-ɔr i: wɛz "dɛjd r "lajv nɛ-vr jɪ:rd
 { to, whether he was dead or alive, never heard
 { /"nə-θɪŋ
 { nothing .
 { /"eɪ-dɪ:n "ʃɪ-lɪnz ə "wi:k lyk af-tr ə pɛr əv
 { Eighteen shillings a week, look after a pair of
 { /"ɔ:r-sɪz "sɛn-dɪ:z seɪm əz "wi:k-dɛjz "tænd
 { horses, Sundays same as weekdays, tend
 { /əm gɒt tə bi: "tɛn-dɪd ty klɛjnd n "stɪl
 { them, got to be tended to, cleaned and ... still,
 { /ɛv-ri:-bɔ-di: wɛz ɪn ðə "seɪm "bɔwt/.
 { everybody was in the same boat.
 { /"e-ni:-aw gɒt "dri pɛt n i:n "trɛp wɛj əj "gɔwz/
 { Anyhow, got through, put him in trap, away I goes.
 { /ðə "wɜ:k-ɪn "klɛs ðɛjd gɔw "naj-tajmz ðɛjd
 { The working class, they'd go night-times, they'd
 { /"wɔ:k ɪt ðɛjd "gɒt ty/
 { walk it, they'd got to.
 { /nɔw ðɛj gɒt ðə "kɑr "draɪv rɑjt tə bɑ:n-stɛ-pl
 { Now they got the car, drive right to Barnstaple
 { /fɑr daʊn əv tə kɛtʃ nɔw "treɪn/
 { Fair don't have to catch no train.

This wide use of parataxis, together with the greater number of shorter intonation patterns and rather different incidence of pause already referred to, is probably one of the most distinctive features of the dialect as compared with S.E., after due allowance has been made for phonological variation. It might well be, however, that in uneducated English of any type, parataxis is much more frequent than in the speech with which I am familiar, and that this is in fact a feature of sub-standard rather than dialectal speech. We may quote finally one rather more extended "sentence" which is by no means untypical:

/wɛr "aj livd ty jɛŋ man fr "ji:rz aj wɛz ri:rd
 "ɛp ɔ̃ɛr fɔ:r aj gɔt "ma-ri:d n aj aj "lɛf ɔ̃ɛr ɔ̃ɛn
 n tɪz stɪl "rɛj-nɪn lyk si: n ɔ̃ɛ "fɑr-mr ɔ̃ɛt ɛs
 wɛr aj maj fɑr-ɔ̃r "wɛrkt fr sow mɛ-ni: wɛl mowst
 ɛv i:z "lɑjf lɔŋ wɪ n n aj wɛz ri:rd "ɛp ɔ̃ɛr n
 wɛn aj gɔt "owld nɛf "aj wɛrkt fr n/

Where I lived to, young man, for years ... I was
 reared up there before I got married and I ...
 I left there then and ... (it's still raining,
 look, see) ... and the farmer that we ... where
 I ... my father worked for so many ... well,
 most of his life along with him, and I was reared
 up there and when I got old enough, I worked for
 him.

Closely related to the subject of parataxis
 is that of anacoluthon, as can be seen from the
 above example, and this is widespread in the
 dialect. We might note, for instance,

(/ɔ̃i: owl man n i:z "wɑjf jys tɛ jys tɛ bi: ɛ
 (The old man and his wife used to ... used to be a
 (/ "by-dɪ-fl grejt drajv kɛm ɛp frɛm wɛr "ɔ̃ɛj
 (beautiful great drive came up from where they
 (/livd ty/
 (lived to.

Tag phrases showing an auxiliary and/or a pronoun
 form different from that strictly required by
 S.E. grammar, are frequent, showing how these
 particular grammatical restraints are relaxed.

(/aj dɛ-nɔw ɔ̃ɛt "ɔ̃ɛt wɛd bi: ɔ̃ɛ "rajt "θɪŋ
 (I don't know that that would be the right thing ...
 (/ɔ̃ɛts "jɔ:r mi:nɪn "wy-dn it/
 (that's your meaning, wouldn't it ?

(/aj spæk jy wən-dr waj aj "stəpt jy lajk ðat
 { I expect you wonder why I stopped you like that
 { /"wə-dn it/
 { wasn't it ?
 { /jy si:d sɛm ə ðə "faj-nɪst fə-ləz brɔ:t əp
 { You saw some of the finest fellows brought up
 { /əz ɛ-vr wɔ:kt ty "jyz ə "le-ðr bak in "ðej
 { as ever walked two shoes of leather back in they
 { /dejz "ɪ-dn it tɔm/
 { days, isn't it, Tom ?

We may now look briefly at the co-ordinating
conjunctions found within the dialect. We have
 already said that /n/ is by far and away the most
 frequent, only one typical example is given.

(/aj wɜ:kt ɔn ðə "rɔ:dz fr "θɜ:ti: jɪ:r $\frac{P}{8}$
 { I worked on the roads for thirty year ...
 { /n aj "stɪl ad maj "gɑ:dn daʊn ðər $\frac{P}{3}$ n aj
 { and I still had my garden down there ... and I
 { /"jyz tə "rɛnt ə lɪ-tl "plæt $\frac{P}{7}$ "eɪ-di:n "lɛn-jɑ:d
 { used to rent a little plat ... eighteen lanyard ...
 { // $\frac{P}{7}$ n aj "jyz tə "kɛl-tɪ-veɪt "maj gɑ:dn lajk
 { and I used to cultivate my garden like
 { /aj gɔt n "naw n "sɔw aj dɪd ðə "plæt/
 { I got it now and so I did the plat.

The other co-ordinate conjunctions mentioned by
 Strang* include 'but' /bet/, found 72 times in the
 corpus, and 'or' /ɔ:r/, which is found in examples
 such as

/"ajl mɛ-zr r av "majn mɛ-zrd fɛst/
 { I'll measure or have mine measured first.
 { /i:d prɔ-pr fr-"gɔt wɔt ajd ə-bɪn "i:n ðər fɔ:r
 { He'd properly forgotten what I'd a-been in there for
 { /r "ɑskt n ə-bawt/
 { or asked him about.

* op. cit. p.174.

{ /"aj ad tɛ fɔw ðə paʊ-ni: bət "ðej wɪnd ðə keps
 { I bɪt "aj ad tɛ fɔw ðə paʊ-ni: bət "ðej wɪnd ðə keps
 { /ɔ: / "aj ad tɛ fɔw ðə paʊ-ni: bət "ðej wɪnd ðə keps
 (or the pony did.)

Possibly used more frequently than 'or', and with the same sense, is /els/. The use of 'else' in place of 'or' or 'or else' is widespread in Devonshire, and is a feature of the writer's own (Plymouth) speech. Thus we find

{ /dɔʊn dʒi gɔw "sej-ɪn nɔ:t tɛ "nɔw-bɔ-di: els
 { Don't you go saying naught to nobody, else
 { /e-sl av ðə "sejɪn "kej-pr/
 (we'll have the same caper.
 /"gɪd "dʒɔb "ty: els aj ʃəd əv ad ə wɛt "ʃɜ:t/
 Good job too, else I should have had a wet shirt.

There is also an example which apparently has the sense of 'or perhaps' in S.E.

{ /wɔt dejt wɛz ðə fɛs "kɑ:kəm i:n "els dʒi
 { What date was the first car some in?... else you
 { /dɔʊn "nɔw/
 (don't know.

We may also note 'nor', referred to by Strang as marginal in S.E. and requiring inversion. In the dialect, it is quite frequent, and does not require inversion.

/aj wɛz nɛ-vr awt ə-"brɔ:d nɪ dɔʊn "wɔnt ty/
 I was never out abroad nor don't want to.

Neither 'either' nor 'neither' appear in the corpus, either linking clauses or, indeed, linking any other structures, whereas 'or' and 'nor' are both frequent. It has already been stated in the discussion of negatives and indefinites that the 'double negative' construction is normal in the

dialect. Thus we find:-

{ /hɛj bejn ji:rd "dy-rn əv ət nr nə-θɪŋ "bi:
{ They aren't heard doing of it nor nothing, are
{ ɛm daʊn "si:m sɔw/
{ they, don't seem so.

as well as alternation of the type

{ /i: "di-dn seɪ de "jy nɔw "mi: ə:r jy "ɔ:t
{ He didn't say: 'Do you know me?' or 'You ought
{ /tə nɔw "mi: nr "nə-θɪŋ/
{ to know me' nor nothing.

The other co-ordinators mentioned by Strang are all found in the dialect, functioning as in S.E., and they are accordingly not mentioned further here.

Before proceeding to an examination of subordination in the dialect, we should perhaps look briefly at 'than', normally realised as /n/ in the dialect. As in S.E., it is used both as a conjunction and as a preposition[‡], being invariably used with 'different' where S.E. would show 'from', or perhaps 'to'. In its role as a conjunction, we find

/aj wez fy ji:rz "jɛŋ-gr n aj bi: "naw/
I was few years younger than I am now.
/"nɛn əv ɛs nə-vr went nɔw fɑr-ðr n ɛs kyd "si:/
None of us never went no farther than we could see.
{ /aj sy-nr "wɔ:k ɪf aj əd tə goʊ ðɛr ðɛn əɪd
{ I'd sooner walk it if I had to go there than I'd
{ /"flaɪ ɪt/
{ fly it.

‡ Conjunction and preposition have been distinguished on purely distributional grounds based on their typical positions of occurrence, since there are apparently no satisfactory formal criteria.

When functioning as a preposition, it patterns with either the stressed or the unstressed form of a personal pronoun object, except in the first person singular, which has a subject: non-subject opposition, where it patterns as in popular S.E., with the non-subject form /mi:/ .

/ðejm frejd tə "li:v r mɔ:r n ðə "wi:k/
They're afraid to leave her more than the week.
{ /wɛnt ðər "sejm "təjm jə nɔw bət əj wɛz "ɔwl--dr
{ Went there same time, you know, but I was older
{ /n "i:/
{ than him.

/i: wɛz bɪt ɔwl--dr n "mi:/
He was bit older than me.

/jɪl bi: bɛ--tr əf n "mi: prɛ--di: "kwɪk/
You'll be better off than me pretty quick.

With nominals other than personal pronouns, we find as examples

/ðej θɪŋk ðejm "dɪ--frɛnt n ɛ--ni:--bɔ--di: "ɛls/
They think they're different than anybody else.
{ /ðə "baɪ--rɔ:dz wɛz "wɛs n "ðæt/
{ The by-roads were worse than that.

The use of /n/ in the prepositional phrase /mɔ:r n/, meaning 'except', has already been discussed above.

It has already been seen that one of the functions of a co-ordinating conjunctions is to link clauses to form them into a single sentence. Subordinating conjunctions do only this, although certain forms (e.g. 'before', 'when', 'so' etc.) do have homophones with various other functions. We shall now look at subordination in the dialect, examining various fields in turn.

Relationships of time

Of the conjunctions expressing relationships of time, we see that /fɔ:r/ functions in the sense of both S.E. 'before' and S.E. 'until', as was the case with the corresponding preposition.

{ /jy lyk ar-tr ðə "pɔw-ni:z majnd fɔ:r aj kəm
{ You look after the ponies, mind, (until) I come
{ /"bək/
{ back.

/aj bajd ðər fɔ:r aj gɔt "mɑr-ri:d r ni:r i-"nef/
I bide there (until) I got married - or near enough.

/aj wɛnt awt tɛ "li:v fɔ:r aj wɛz twelv jɪ:r "ɔwld/
I went out to live before I was twelve year old.

{ /aj dɛ-nɔw ðɛt aj gɔt ɔ:t tɛ "dy nɔw fɔ:r
{ I don't know that I got aught to do now before/
{ /kəm "tri-lɪn tɑjm ə-gejn/
{ (until) come tilling time again.

This last example shows clearly that even in S.E. the division between 'before' and 'until' is not a fixed point in the continuum. /tɪl/ occurs once only, presumably an example of S.E. influence. The form /bɪ-fɔ:r/ occurs four times only, compared with twenty-nine occurrences of /fɔ:r/

{ /ɛs ɔ:l-wɪz jys tɛ "mɛ-zr aw-r pɔw-ni:z bɪ-fɔ:r
{ We always used to measure our ponies before
{ /ɛs gɔw "wej/
{ we go away.

'After' (/af-tr/ or /ar-tr/) occurs twenty-four times as a conjunction, as in

{ /af-tr jyv ə-kɛt "i:n lejd ðə fɛs "bɔ:r jɪm
{ After you've a-cut in, laid the first bore, you're
{ /"raɪt "bɪn jɪ tɔm/
{ right, aren't you, Tom ?

'When' /wɛn/ is also frequent as a conjunction, occurring 122 times in all, either in this role

or as a relative.

{/jym in "zejl ðer kə:r-tin wen tiz "wen "ty klək
{You're in Zeal there courting when it's 1-2 clock
{/in ðe "mə:r-niŋ/
{in the morning.

There is a parallel form to 'when'²², namely /tajm/, used in the dialect as a conjunction (cf. S.E. 'by the time that'). Thus we find:-

/tajm aj wəz tərnd "rawn i: wəz "kəm/
Time I was turned round, he was come.

/aj gət tə "mə:r-tin "stej-fn tajm ðe "trejn kəm ðer/
I got to Moreton station time the train came there.

Similarly, the function of 'whenever' is filled in the dialect by /ev-ri: tajm/.

/ev-ri: tajm i: drowv "dawn i:d gow sow far "i:n/
Every time he drove down, he'd go so far in.

We find also /syn ez/, functioning as S.E. 'as soon as', (9 occurrences).

/syn ez e-vr aj "si:d ðat dɔg aj θɔ:t "e-low/
Soon as ever I saw that dog, I thought 'hello'.

and 'since' /sins/ (5 occurrences), which occurs only in the form /e-vr sins/.

{/ðe man ðət ajd bin ðer "ləŋ wi e-vr
{... the man that I'd been there along with ever
{/sins aj wəz e "jɔŋ-str/
{since I was a youngster.

Finally, we find three occurrences of /wajl/, for example

{/wajl aj wəz ðer wɔ-tʃin "ðis "dʒan wəz dawn
{While I was there watching this, Jan was down
{/wɔ-tʃin ðe "pou-ni:z/
{watching the ponies.

* There is also one occurrence of 'once'
/wens jy gət "jys ty et di-dn tek nou "nou-tis/
Once you got used to it, didn't take no notice ...

Syntax of Conditional Relationships

In S.E., there are two major syntactical devices which indicate a condition, one in normal usage and one restricted to a particular stylistic register. These both involve the subordination of one clause to another, in the first case by means of the conjunction 'if', and in the second case by the inversion of the subject and auxiliary in the subordinate clause. In each case, the tense forms selected in the two clauses are mutually interdependent, and only certain combinatory possibilities are admitted, e.g. 'if I saw him, I should do it' and 'Had I seen him, I should have done it'.

In the dialect material, the situation is rather different. The possibility of subordination by /if/ is present, and does account for some two-thirds of conditional constructions in the corpus. There is an alternative usage, however, which consists simply of juxtaposing two clauses, the first in each case being that which is considered 'subordinate' and bearing exactly the same stress and intonation pattern as it would do if introduced by /if/. In all of the examples in the corpus, the 'subordinate' clause occurs as the first* of the two clauses in the construction. This

* Closer examination has revealed one apparent exception.

{ /ðej kəd bɑr ɛm i:n "ən-dr ðej "wɔ-nɪd ty
{ They could bar them in under (if) they wanted to ...
{ /ðə "we-ər wez ə:l-raɪt ðejd dy wɔt ðej "gɒt
{ (if) the weather was alright, they'd do what they got
{ /tə dy wɪ ɛm awt-"sɑɪd/
{ to do with them outside.

construction accounts for just over one-third of the conditional relationships in the material, whereas in most spoken S.E. I would suspect that constructions of the 'had he done so' type are so restricted as to be almost negligible.

In these constructions, as elsewhere, it is often difficult to say exactly what combinations of auxiliaries are present, owing to the tendency of 'have' between another auxiliary and a participle to be realized as /ə/ or as zero. If it is felt that 'have' should not be considered as having a zero allomorph, then we are forced to establish a series of 'tense' possibilities of the type 'it would be' /twəd bi:/ occurring in free variation with /twəd ə bi:/ 'it would have been'. This seems to be unnecessary, however. (c.f. notes on the morphology of the compound modal tenses). In the examples below, the form of any auxiliary 'have' is transcribed as /əv/ or /ə/ or zero according to its actual realization in the utterance, with the (apparent) S.E. tense form incorporating 'have' added in each case, for comparative purposes.

Although there are in fact twice as many conditional constructions incorporating /if/ as there are without it, a disproportionate number of the latter are given, as they seem to be of greater interest.

Examples a. with /if/

/if jɪ stɑ:t "tə-ər "weɪ "lyk ɑ:t/
 If you start tother way, look out.
 {/if jɪ wə-dn "sy-tɪn ə ɪm i:d tel i: "gəd ə-weɪ
 {If you weren't suiting of him, he'd tell you: 'Get away
 {/ɑ:t ə et/
 {out of it.

/if twəz "i:n i: lajk ðat jy nə-vr "ləst et "did i:/
 If it was in you like that, you never lost it, did you?
 (/aj jyd ə bin "wan əv əm if ajd ə-went əp "ji:r
 { I should have been one of them if I had gone up here
 (/bit mɔ:r/
 { bit more.
 (/if ðat əd bin ə man pej-in "rent i:d əd
 { If that had been a man paying rent ... he would have had
 (/tə lyk ar-tr it "di-frənt n "ðat "wydn it/
 { to look after it different than that, wouldn't it?
 /if jy zi:d "fajv ðər jyd bi: lə-ki:/
 If you saw five there, you'd be lucky.
 (/if i:z ə-pət daʊn ə:l ajv ə-"zəd ðər i: wydn
 { If he's a-put down all I've a-said there, he wouldn't
 (/wənt tə əks nəw "mɔ:r/
 { want to ask no more.

b. without /if/ (conditional clause first in each case)

/"səm mejn əl dy it "ðej "wa:n/
 Some men'll do it, they won't.
 /ðə "we-ərz ə:l-rajt əj daʊn bajd i:n "ji:r ve-ri: ləŋ/
 The weather's alright, I don't bide in here very long.
 (/jy gət tə pləʊ ə "he-kr ə graʊnd jy "di-dn mə-str
 { You got to plough an acre of ground; you didn't, master
 (/wəd "tel i: ə et/
 { would tell you of it.
 /jy θɔ:t jy wəz wərə "fajv "bɒb i:d giv i: "tejn/
 You thought you were worth five bob, he'd give you ten.
 (/ðej kəm əv n ji:rd ə "ðis ðej wydn "kər
 { They came home and heard of this, they wouldn't care
 (/bəʊd gəʊ-in "əʊm/
 { about going home.
 /ðərz ə "fe-lə ðər "i: zi:d it "əwt ðə riŋ/
 There's a fellow there ... he saw it, out the ring.
 /i:d gət ə tʃəns tə "ʃet n i:d "ʃet n/
 He'd got a chance to shoot it, he'd shoot it.
 (/jy "nə:d jy wəz gwen əv ði-ki: pi:s ə "kejk
 { You knew you were going to have thick piece of cake,
 (/jyd ə wənt əp "ək-sə-tr, lyks səʊ tə "mi:/
 { you'd have gone up Exeter, looks so to me.

The example below shows a pair of 'conditional' clauses
 in the same construction, one of which shows /if/ and
 one of which does not.

{/if ðr wɛz ə wɔ:r ɔn tə-"mɔ-rou ðejd gɔt "zɪnz ðejd
 {If there was a war on tomorrow, they'd got sons, they'd
 {/dy ɔ:l ðej "kyd tə/
 {do all they could to ...

The example below shows a pair of 'conditional' clauses in the same construction, neither of which shows /if/.

/r majnd tə goʊ n "dy ət "ðejm ə-pi: ðɛn lɛt ɛm "goʊ/
 Her mind to go and do it, they'm happy, then let them go.

The example below is particularly interesting, since the tense form 'would have been thrown' is an example of a form only marginally present in the dialect. (See notes on tense 22). Our interpretation of the /i:d bɪn drɔ:d/ clearly depends on a willingness or otherwise to admit a zero allomorph for 'have'. (In this case, also, it happens that /d/ could be interpreted as 'had' rather than 'would', giving a construction 'He had been over-height, he had been thrown out'. There seems no reason to do this, however, since in all the other conditional sequences /d/ is presumably a reduced form of 'would' rather than 'had' e.g. /i:d gɪv i: tɛjn/ = 'he would give you ten')

{/i:d bɪn ɔ-vr "ajt i:d bɪn "drɔ:d awt
 {He'd been over height, he would have been thrown out
 {/ə ðə "praɪz/
 {of the prize.

Finally, we might note an example where this syntactic feature is used in way showing a concision scarcely possible in S.E.

{/aj kəd ə went tə "zeɪl ðə nɛks naɪt n ðɛn
 {I could have gone to Zeal the next night and then,
 {/nɔ:d "jy aj "zi:d aj kəd ə "zeɪd/
 {knew you I saw, I could have said ...
 {if I saw you, being someone I knew.)

This topic should not be left without refer-
ence to two other factors. Firstly, 'unless'
occurs twice in the dialect, and so does 'unless
that', a form not found in S.E.

/ɪ-dn mətʃ tə "dy naw ən-ləs jɪm ə mɪ-"ka-nɪk/
Isn't much to do now unless you're a mechanic.
{ /jy ky-dn mek now mɪ-"stejk ... ən-ləs ðət
{ You couldn't make no mistake ... unless that
{ /jy wez "ɛ-dɪ-keɪ-tɪd i:-nef tə get ɪn ə
{ you was educated enough to get in a
{ /"aj-r dʒɒb/
{ higher job.

In the same sense, we also find /mɔ:r n/ func-
tioning here in the sense of the S.E. conjunction
'unless' just as it functions in the sense of
the S.E. preposition 'except'.

/tə-deɪ ðeɪ daʊn "wɜ:k mɔ:r n ðeɪ kn "sɪt "daʊn/
To-day they don't work (unless) they can sit down.

The second point is that in S.E., /ɪf/ does
not appear solely in conditional clauses. It
also introduces nominal clauses which are the
object of verbs such as 'know', 'see', 'find out'
etc. According to the O.E.D., /ɪf/ has gradually
been replacing /we-ɔ:r/ in this role. In the dialect
although /ɪf/ is found with this function, /we-ɔ:r/
is far more common, and with certain verbs, such
as 'not to know', occurs in virtually all the
examples. As a result, /we-ɔ:r/ is far more
common than in S.E. Thus although we find

{ /aj kəm ɪn "jɪ:r wen "naɪt now ɪf aj kəd av ðe
{ I come in here one night know ɪf I could have the
{ /"ɔ:rs n "træp/
{ horse and trap.

there are seven times as many examples of the type

/jy dr-dn mek now "ɔdz we-ör jy "zi:d it ɔ:r "now/
 You didn't make no odds whether you saw it or not.

{ /ðej down kar we-ör ðej got ɔ:t ty "ejt awt
 { They don't care whether they got aught to eat out
 { /ðer r "now/
 { there or no.

{ /aj de-now we-ör jy ji:rd ə-bawt "i: r now
 { I don't know whether you heard about him or not,
 { /ɔ:r jy "maj--tn ev/
 { or you mightn't have.

Almost all the examples with 'whether' show a concomitant 'or', but there are cases without 'or' which are directly parallel to the usage of 'if' quoted above

{ /we-ör ðej "wil ar-tr ðe owl men "stop aj
 { Whether they will after the old men stop I don't
 { /de-now ajm "fɔ:r/
 { don't know, I'm sure.

'As' and 'like'

So far, 'like' has been discussed in its role as a preposition and 'as' not at all. If we try to differentiate 'like' and 'as' in their conjunctive roles, there are a number of difficulties, but certain salient features are apparent.

'As' is used i. in the sense of 'while' (it is not found in the dialect in the sense of 'because').

ii. after '(the) same'. (cf. the use of 'than' after 'different').

iii. in the construction 'so/as + ADJ. or ADV. + as' (We are concerned here with

the second 'as'.) In certain examples of patterns ii. and iii 'as' functions syntactically as a preposition.

iv. as a relative, in place of 'who' or 'which'. (This is a fairly infrequent usage.)

Thus we find, as examples,

- i. (/ajd got ɔ:l ɔrs ɔn maj "majnd ɛz aj wɛz
{ I'd got all this on my mind as I was
{ /wɔ:-kin ɛ-"ləŋ/
{ walking along.
{ /sɔw i: "sɛd tɛ mi: ɛz ɛs wɛz "sat ɔɛr
{ So he said to me as we were sat there
{ /wɛn najt/
{ one night ...
- ii. (/ɔɛj wɛz "ɔ:l awt ɔɛr sejm ɛz ɔɛ owl
{ They were all out there, same as the whole
{ /brɛjv "lət ɛv ɛm/
{ brave lot of them.
{ /jy ad ɔɛ sejm rajt tɛ "katʃ n ɛz ɛ--ɔɛr
{ You had the same right to catch him as other
{ /"pi:-pl av/
{ people have.

iii. The position with this construction is more complicated since either the first 'so/as' or, less frequently, the second 'as' (but never apparently both) can be omitted.

There are very few examples of the adverb form being /az/, /sow/ or /s(ɛ)/ being the normal form even in positive constructions, in contrast to S.E. Thus we find:--

- { /ɛs ɛv got prɪ-di: ni:r sɛ mɛ-ni: "strejn-dʒrɪz
{ We've got pretty near so many strangers
{ /ji:r ɛz ɔɛr iz wɔt ɛs kɔ:l ɔr "ɔwn/
{ here as there is what we call our own.

/ðejv kət n dawn s "pri-ti: əz jy "majnd ty/
 They've cut him down so pretty as you mind to.
 (/dʒɪst əz wəl tə ask ðər əwn "kɑr wət ðejm
 (Just as well to ask their own car what they're
 (/ "sət ɪn əz ðej "bi: tə ask "mi: /
 (sat in as they are to ask me.
 (/i: wəz ə-pi: əz "ðej wəz wið "θri:
 (He was (as) happy as they were with three,
 (/ "fɔ: r əwn-sɪz /
 (four ounces.
 /ðəts sə fɑr "əj nə:d /
 That's so far (as) I knew.

In this last example, it is in fact the conjunction form which is omitted.

There are many parallel examples to these, the construction 'so + ADJ/ADV + as' being more common when the second 'as' is (or would be) conjunctive, as in the examples above, and the construction 'zero + ADJ/ADV + as' being more frequent when the second 'as' is (or would be) prepositional as in the following examples.

/i: wɜkt sə ɑrd əz "e-ni: dɔg fr "sɜ-tɪn /
 He worked so hard as any dog, for certain.
 /əj wəz "gləd əz ə "bɜrd wɛn i: sɛd /
 I was (as) glad as a bird when he said ...
 (/əj kəd kət i:n sə "streɪt səm ə
 (I could cut in so straight (as) some of
 (/ "ðej ðət /
 (them that ...

There are no examples of this prepositional 'as' with a personal pronoun, the construction being avoided in both spontaneous and elicited examples, thus

/ "nɛn əv ðə fə-mɪ-li: ɪ-dn sə bɪg əz "i: ɪz /
 None of the family isn't so big as he is.

- iv. The fourth use, as an alternative relative to both 'who' and 'which', is not frequent, and reflects a usage which I feel to be marginal to S.E. Two examples only are given.

{/jy si:d sɛm ə ðə "faj-nɪst fɛ-lɛz brɔ:t
 {You saw some of the finest fellows brought
 {/ɛp ɛz ɛ-vr wɔ:kt ty "jyz ə "lɛ-ðr/
 {up as ever walked two shoes of leather.
 /wɛl jə si: tɪz ðə "weɪ-dʒɪz ɛz dɪd ət/
 Well, you see, it's the wages as did it.

'Like', on the other hand, has two major uses as a conjunction i. to convey the meaning of 'in the manner of' or 'in the way that' (in answer to a hypothetical question 'how?'), and ii. as the dialect equivalent to S.E. 'as if'. Examples include:--

- i. /ɪf əɪ baɪd li-vɪn "dʒi:r laɪk əɪ bi: "naʊ/
 If I bide living here like I am now.
 {/ðej wɛz ɔ:l kɛt awt laɪk ɛs bi: "tɛ-lɪn
 {They were all cut out like we're telling
 {/ə-bawt/
 {about.
 {/əd ə "bi-dɪ-fl bɛd tɛ "laɪ ɪn "maɪnd laɪk
 {Had a beautiful bed to lie in, mind, like
 {/əɪ gɔt fr mi "aʊn/
 {I got for my own.
 /wɛ-dn naʊ "kɑ:z r "lə-ri:z laɪk ðər ɪz tɛ-"deɪ/
 Weren't no cars or lorries like there are today.
 /i: "taʊld n tɛ gɔʊ ɔn laɪk i:z "gɔʊ-ɪn/
 He told him to go like he's going ...
- ii. {/əɪ nɛ-vr vi:ld laɪk əɪ wɔn-tɪd tɛ li:v ðə
 {I never felt like I wanted to leave the
 {/"əʊl kɛn-tri:/
 {old country.
 /i:d dʒy:z ɪt dʒɛs laɪk twɛz "nɛ-θɪŋ/
 He'd use it ... just like it was nothing.
 /si:mz laɪk i: dʒɛs tɛ gɔʊ awt tɛ "wɜ:k/
 Seems like he used to go out to work ...

Differentiation of 'as' and 'like' on the above lines will account for over 90% of the occurrences of each. Nevertheless there remain a few exceptions: in the first place, the phrases 'like I say' and 'as I say' seem to be synonymous.

/aj jys tɛ af tɛ "wɔ:k "ləjk aj "sej ðæt ðər
(I used to have to walk, like I say, that there
(/"ty majl n "af/
(two mile and a half.

/"az aj "sej twɛz dɛj br-fɔ:r "krɪs-məs "i:v/
As I say, it was ... day before Christmas Eve.

In a parallel and frequently occurring usage, 'as' is always found.

/af-tr jɪv ə-kɛt "i:n əz ðɛj "kɔ:l ɪt/
After you've a-cut in, as they call it ...
/ajl tɛk jɪ rawn "lɒn-dn əz jɪ "kɔ:l ɪt/
I'll take you round London, as you call it.

Apart from the apparent overlap at this point, however, there are only five exceptions to the categories suggested above in the entire corpus.

We four times find 'as' where we would expect 'like' (in the sense of 'in the manner of'),

/ðɛjm sət ðər ɔ:l "dɛj gɔw--ɪn ə-lɔŋ əz ə "kɑr
(They're sat there all day going along as a car
(/gɔwz ə-lɔŋ/
(goes along.

/"trejt əm əz jɪ "ləjk bi: "trej-tɪd jɪ--"zɛlf/
Treat them as you like (to) be treated yourself.

and once we find 'like' where both S.E. and the dialect would normally show 'as'.

/wɛn ðɛ tra-fɪks sɛ "θɪk ləjk twɔz "θɪr-ki:
{... when the traffic's so thick like it was thick
{/mɔ:r-nɪn/
{morning.

There remain only three other subordinating conjunctions which are found in the dialect, namely 'so' and 'so that' (57 and 4 occurrences respectively), 'because' (63) and 'so long as' (2), in the sense of 'provided that'. Of the occurrences of 'so', all but three have the sense of 'with the result that'.

/wɔ-dn now "karz sow es ad tɛ "wɔ:k/
 There weren't no cars, so we had to walk.

The remaining three, together with the four occurrences of 'so that', have the sense of 'in order that', (which does not itself occur.*)

{ /praps i: wɔnts fr it tɛ gow "ɔn sow i: kn get
 { Perhaps he wants for it to go on so he can get
 { /i: "bɛ-tr/
 { you better.
 { /ðejd stand ɛm ɛp lajk ðat ðɛr "ðɛr sow ðet
 { They'd stand them up like that there there so that
 { /ðej kɛd "draj/
 { they could dry.

There is one example of 'so as' in the 'result' sense.

{ /ajm nɔt vɛ-ri: big "naw sow ɛz jy mɛs θɪŋk aj
 { I'm not very big now, so as you must think I
 { /wɛz ɛ "brɛj-vɪst fɛ-lɛ/
 { was a bravest fellow ...

For examples of 'because' and 'so long as', we might note.

{ /tr-dn tɛ "sej ðet kɔz jɪm ji:r in "sawθ
 { It isn't to say that because you're here in South
 { /"tɔ:-tn ðet jy ɔwn ðɛ "lɔt/
 { Tawton, that you own the lot.

* cf. the non-occurrence of 'in order to'.

(/aj di--dn mək now ɔdz ə "ðat sə lɔŋ əz aj kəd
 { I didn't make no odds of that, so long as I could
 { /"av n/
 { have him.

Finally, it is interesting to note, before concluding this section, that a number of forms are totally absent from the dialect material. Perhaps the most striking are 'for' (found only as a preposition /fr/) and 'although'. The former has the near-synonym /kɔz/, but the latter has no such equivalent and expresses in S.E. a relationship clearly not native to the dialect ('despite' is also lacking in the inventory of prepositions). There are also a number of less central forms such as 'in case', 'now (that)', 'even if' etc., which are not found in Devonshire. The relationships expressible within the conjunction system are thus clearly more limited than in (educated) S.E.

Finally in this chapter, let us look at relative clauses. It is not proposed to discuss here forms such as 'when', 'where', 'why' etc., which, in this role at least, function in the dialect as in S.E. Attention is concentrated on those relative pronouns which have functions differing from their S.E. counterparts.

We at once observe a system which is very different from S.E. 'Whom' and 'which' do not occur at all, while 'who' occurs only three times

in a corpus which contains several hundred relative clauses. All of these three occurrences can plausibly be ascribed to S.E. influence, as they occur so rarely and in contexts where the standard language would require them. Thus we find:-

/ɪf ðæt əd bɪn ə mæn y wəz wɜːkɪn ɑːd "iːn-land/
If that had been a man who was working hard in land...

What is obviously the basic system in the dialect contains three terms only, 'what', 'that' and zero. Of these, only 'what' can be treated separately, and then only partially. As in S.E., it is used in all grammatical situations (i.e. subject, object and post-prepositional) when there is no specific grammatical antecedent.

/ðɪs ɪz wɒt ðej kɔːl ə "mɔʊ-tr kɑː/
This is what they call a motor car.

/ðætɪz wɒt əv "kɪld dɑːt-mɔːr/
That's what's killed Dartmoor.

(/ɪːd prɔːpr fr- "gɒt wɒt əjd ə-bɪn "ɪn ðər
(He'd properly forgotten what I'd a-been in there
(/fɔːr r "ɑːskt n ə-baʊt/
(for or asked him about.

With this one exception, however, it is impossible to characterize the three forms separately, in that each can appear in any of the three grammatical environments mentioned above, and each can refer to an animate or inanimate antecedent.* Not only is the who;which

* In fact, the spontaneous occurrences of cases where the relative is the grammatical object referring to an animate antecedent are so infrequent as to be statistically invalid.

(animate:inanimate) opposition of S.E. lost (it is often neutralized even in S.E. through the use of 'that' or zero) but also a zero form of the relative can occur as subject of the verb, something never found in S.E. Thus, to be more specific, we find phrases of all of these types

a. with 'that'

the man that sees me	22
the man that I see	nil [*]
the thing that sees me	11
the thing that I see	10
the man that I live with	4
the thing that I live with	1

b. with 'what'

^x the man what sees me	3
^x the man what I see	1
^x the thing what sees me	nil
^x the thing what I see	3
^x the man what I live with	1
^x the thing what I live with	1

c. with zero

^x (This is) the man - sees me	18
the man - I see	2
^x (This is) the thing - sees me	6
the thing - I see	17
the man - I live with	1
the thing - I live with	3

The forms marked ^x are those I believe to be

* See note on previous page.

foreign to S.E. The totals given represent the exact number of spontaneous occurrences in a restricted sample, but the percentage totals in each case seem to correspond approximately to figures for the entire corpus. It will be seen that while the use of 'what', foreign to S.E., is not particularly widespread, the use of zero as a subject form is. 'That' and zero assume all the functions of 'who/whom' and 'which' in S.E. Thus we have a system of three, in apparent free variation, although one member, 'what', is clearly normally restricted to its role with an indefinite antecedent. (In this usage, in the same sample as the one from which the above examples are taken, 'what' occurs 27 times as a grammatical subject or object and 18 times in post-prepositional position, and is thus in fact as common as 'that' as a relative.) As for 'that' and zero, there are no apparent stress factors to govern their occurrence, as the examples below show, where a disproportionate number of the forms not found in S.E. have been given.

a. personal antecedent, grammatical subject.

{ /mɪ-str wɑɪts mæn ðæt "ʃɔ:z ðe "pɔw-ni:z kəm
 { Mr. White's man that shows the ponies, come
 { /tə ðe "ɔ-fɪs/
 { to the office !
 /i: went awt e-"brɔ:d ði:z dʒi:r wɒts "dɑɪd/
 He went out abroad, this here what's died.

(/əjz ty jɛŋ-strz ji:r wɔts ji:r "naw ɪz
 { These two youngsters here what're here now are
 (/gwɛn "bæk "sɛn-dɛj/
 { going back Sunday.
 /ðɛr wɛz ə "tʃap wɛz ðɛr/
 { There was a chap was there.
 (/ɛs gɔt ə "lɒt ɛv ɛm ji:r gɔwz n dy ðɛr
 { We got a lot of them here goes and do^x their
 (/ "plaw-ɪn "sɛn-di:z/
 { ploughing Sundays.
 (/n ðə "tʃap wɛz ðɛr wɪ ðə "rɔw-lr sɛd "jɛs
 { And the chap was there with the roller said: 'Yes',
 (/i: "sɛd/
 { he said.
 (/aj jɪs tɔ ɛlp ə tʃap kɔ:ld "wɔ-nɔ-kɒt livz ji:r
 { I used to help a chap called Wonnacott lives here
 (/ɪn ðə "vɪ-lɪdʒ ji:r gɔt ə najs lɪ-tl
 { in the village here, gɔt a nice little
 (/ "smɔ:-ləw-l-dɪn plejs/
 { small-holding place.
 /"maj ə-"pɪ-njən ðɛr "ɪz ðɛj tɛk n "ɪn-trɛs ɪn ɪt/
 { My opinion, there are those take an interest in it ...

b. personal antecedent, grammatical object.

(none with 'that')

/ɛs si:d i:z jɛŋ "sɛn wɒt i:d "ad ɛp "lɒn-dn/
 { We saw his young son, what he'd had up London.
 /aj "ləvd ðə wy-mn aj "mɑ-ri:d/
 { I loved the woman I married.

c. personal antecedent, post-prepositional.

(/ðə wɛn ðət aj "dy ə bɪt fɔ:r i: "livz ɪn ðə
 { The one that I do a bit for, he lives in the
 (/ "vɪ-lɪdʒ/
 { village.
 /i: brɔ:t r ji:r jɛŋ "wy-mn wɒt "ajm tɛ-lɪn ə-bawt/
 { He brought her here, young woman, what I'm telling
 { about.
 /twɛz "i:z fɑ-ðɔr aj jɪs tɔ ʃəw ðə "pɔw-ni:z fɔ:r/
 { It was his father I used to show the ponies for.

* A second verb form occurring after 'and' where this could be replaced by 'to', as here, takes the unmarked base (infinitive) form, and never a 'third-person' or past tense form. It is thus best considered formally as an infinitive.

d. inanimate antecedent, grammatical subject.

/i: ad ə dʒɒb ðət "ni:dz sɛm strɛŋθ/
He had a job that needs some strength.

(none with 'what')

{ /dʒɪs brɪ-fɔ:r kɛm tə ðə stɑ:jl wɛnt ɪn krɒs
... just before came to the stile went in across
{ /ðə "mɛ-dɔw/
{ the meadow.

/ðɛr wɛz wɛn ðɛr wɛz "kɒn-tri:/
There was one there was contrary.

/ɪf əj zɪ:d ðɛr wɛz sɛ-mɪŋ "mɛs bi: dʌd/
... if I saw there was something must be done.

{ /əjv ʌn-lɔw-dɪd "mɛ-nɪ: ə lɔwd ə stɔwnz kɛm
{ I've unloaded many a load of stones came
{ /frɒm "mɛ-rɪ-veɪl "kwɔ-rɪ:/
{ from Merrivale Quarry.

e. inanimate antecedent, grammatical object:

{ /ðə əj-ɪst mɛ-nɪ: ðət "əj ad wɛz "eɪ-dɪ:n "bɒb
{ The highest money that I had was eighteen bob
{ /ə "wi:k/
{ a week.

{ /"kɔ:rs twɛz ə "prɒ-pr "bɪg əws wɒt ðej kɔ:ld
{ Course, it was a proper big house, what they called
{ /"ɒks-nɛm "mɑ-nr/
{ Oxenham Manor.

{ /"ɛrn "wɑjt ad ðej ty "əw-zɪz ðɛr wɒt bɪl
{ Ern White had they two houses there ... what Bill
{ /wɑjt "bɪl-dɪd ðɛr/
{ White built there.

/ðej ad lɪ-tl owl "ɔ:rs ðejd ki:p/
They had little old horse they'd keep.

f. inanimate antecedent, post-prepositional.

/"ðɛrz ə pleɪs ðət əj nɛ-vr "tʌk fɔ:r/
There's a place that I never took for.

/əj wɛz "a-pi: ɪn maɪ "dʒɒb wɒt əj wɛz ə-"bɔwt ɔv/
I was happy in my job what I was about of.

{ /tɪz ə "bɪg "weɪst tə si: ðə steɪt ðə bɪt ɔv
{ It's a big waste to see the state the bit of
{ /"grɔwnz gɒt ɪn/
{ ground's got in.

Pronoun Concord

It is not within the scope of this thesis to attempt any form of discourse analysis, on the lines suggested, for example, by Zellig Harris. However, one feature at a higher level than the clause is so apparent that I feel it should be noted as a conclusion to this thesis. It follows very closely from the remarks made earlier concerning 'tag questions', where the constraints governing the selection of the pronoun and/or auxiliary were said often to be relaxed, that these same constraints, which in S.E. operate also at inter-sentence level, are relaxed at this level also in the dialect. Many examples will be found in the preceding pages, but just four more extended extracts are given here to illustrate the point further.

/aj ad "gyd ma-str n mi-siz twez lajk e "far-ör
/n "me-ör te mi:/

I had a good master and missus, it was like a father and mother to me.

/n jy "si: naw öej got öerz sem ev öejz owl
/"wi-min öerz "wen aj fr-"get öe nejm ev em
/rz got sow "naw öet if öej ked av "öer wej/

And you see now they got ... there's some of these old women, there's one, I forget the name of them, she's got so now that if they could have their way...

/"dri: r "fɔ:r ə i: mejd əp ðər "majnd n jyd
/ə-sejvd əp ty ə θri: sɪk-spen-sɪz br-"twi:n
/əm n es əd gow tə "barn-ste-pl "fər "ðət
/wy-dn last i: vɛ-ri: lɔŋ/

Three or four of you made up their mind and ...
you'd a-saved up two or three sixpences between
them ... and we would go to Barnstaple Fair.
That wouldn't last you very long.

/wel jɪm ðər "θri: "deɪz "bɑθ n "west əs jɪs
/tə av "θri: "deɪz bət əj jɪs tə ləv ɪt "di:r-li:
/n əj nɔw wɛn əj wɛz ke-mɪn "oʊm-wɛd ɪn ðə
/"najt jɪ ky-dn li:v ðə "ʃɔw-pleɪs nɔt fɔ:r
/"zɪk-se-"klɒk/

Well, you're there three days, Bath and West, we
used to have three days, but I used to love it
dearly, and I know when I was coming homeward in
the night, you couldn't leave the showplace, not
before six o'clock...

APPENDIX A

The Morphology of the
'irregular' verbs

Classification of 'irregular' past simple forms and past participles, with full inventory

Principles of Classification

The two criteria which have been used in this classification - namely, the number of morphologically differentiated forms and the method(s) of differentiation - are by no means original, having been used in all the major modern descriptions of this part of English grammar. Indeed, it is difficult to see what other criteria could be used which would enable one to reduce such diverse material to such relatively few classes.

It has seemed preferable to classify the Devon material as concisely as possible according to these criteria, rather than to attempt - with little success - to fit them into a sub-grouping already in existence for S.E. or an American English dialect. Thus, the major threefold division has been made according to the existence of 5, 4 or 3 morphologically distinct forms (Classes I, II and III respectively), and the subdivisions have been based on the type of stem-variation and/or the type of suffixation. However, although the classification is empirically based, the classes do coincide to some extent with those of S.E., and for comparative purposes an appendix is provided indicating the class of each verb-form in S.E. This latter is based on the classification of A. A. Hill ("Introduction to Linguistic Structures" pp.154 et seq.), with such modifications as are necessary to account for the fact that Hill was describing not S.E. but an American Midland dialect. Where a class in the dialect and a class in S.E. can be similarly defined, the numbers of the two classes in question are shown at the head of the appendix, facilitating direct comparison. All the subdivisions of Hill's classes

II-V have their counterparts in the analysis of Devonshire, but Hill's classes I and VI do not. Even with the former classes, the overlap is only partial, and many additional sub-classes (which are unnecessary for S.E.) are essential to describe the dialectal material adequately.

Where two or more alternative forms have been attested, I have chosen to set up a class - member for each possibility. Thus, to quote an extreme possibility:-

1. wejk 3. wejkt/wɔk 5. wej-kn/wɔ-kn

will be a member of four classes:-

wejk	wejkt	wej-kn
wejk	wejkt	wɔ-kn
wejk	wɔk	wej-kn
wejk	wɔk	wɔ-kn

Of the primary data of 173 verbs presented to or used by the informant, 8 were rejected, namely:-

beseech, dwell, flee, hew, rend, strive, thrust, wreak*
The remaining 165 verbs show 217 possibilities on the lines outlined above, and it is these which are found in the subsequent classification. All the modals are excluded, as are 'be', 'do' and 'have', each of which is separately dealt with.

ABBREVIATIONS

Form 3	=	Preterite (Past Simple)
Form 5	=	Past Participle
-N	=	alveolar nasal suffix
-D	=	'regular' (phonetically conditioned) alveolar suffix: {-d ~ -t ~ id}
-D ^t	=	'irregular' alveolar suffix, i.e. [t] in place of 'regular' [d]
...V ¹ ...	=	any vowel different from the base vowel
...V ² ...	=	any vowel different both from the base vowel and also from ...V ¹ ...

* 'reek' was accepted and attested as 'regular'.

(A) Classification, with members of classes

Class I -- All five forms differentiated

This class covers the area of Hill's classes I and II, although there is in fact no class in Devonshire which actually corresponds with his Class I. The first three subgroups of our Class I correspond with groups 1, 2, 3 of Hill's Class II, but it has been found necessary to establish a further 11 subgroups to handle the Devon material.

The first three classes have a nasal suffix in form 5.

- I 1. 3. BASE with ...V¹...
 5. BASE + N

Member

V¹ = /ɔ/ wake wejk, wɔk, wej-kn

Corresponds with Hill's II, 1.

-
- I 2. 3. BASE with ...V¹...
 5. BASE with ...V¹... + N

Members

(a) V¹ = /ɔ/ tread trɛd, trɔd, trɔ-dn
 wake wejk, wɔk, wɔ-kn

(b) V¹ = /ɪ/ bite bajt, bit, bi-tn
 strike strajk, strik, stri-kn

(c) V¹ = /ow/ steal sti:l, stowl, stow-ln

Corresponds with Hill's II, 2.

- I 3. 3. BASE with ...V¹...
 5. BASE with ...V²... + N

Members (V² always /ɪ/)

- (a) V¹ = /ow/ drive drajv, drowv, dri-vn
 rise rajz, rowz, ri-zn
- (b) V¹ = /ɔ:/ write rajt, rɔ:t, ri-tn
- (c) V¹ = /ə/ strike strajk, strək, strɪ-kn

Corresponds with Hill's II, 3.

The following four classes have form 3 as BASE + D

- I 4. 3. BASE + D
 5. BASE + N

Members

shake	fej̩k,	fej̩kt	fej̩-kn
shrink	fri̩ŋk,	fri̩ŋkt,	fri̩ŋ-kn
slay	slej̩,	slej̩d,	slej̩n
wake	wejk,	wejkt,	wej-kn
see	si:,	si:d,	si:n

- I 5. 3. BASE + D
 5. BASE with ...V¹...

Members

V¹ = /ə/ in all cases

dig	dɪg,	dɪgd,	dəg
drink	dri̩ŋk,	dri̩ŋkt,	dri̩ŋk
shrink	fri̩ŋk,	fri̩ŋkt,	fri̩ŋk
sing	si̩ŋ,	si̩ŋd,	səŋ
sink	si̩ŋk,	si̩ŋkt,	səŋk
sling	slɪŋ,	slɪŋd,	sləŋ
win	wɪn,	wɪnd,	wən

- I 6. 3. BASE + D
 5. BASE with ...V¹... + N

Members

(a)	V ¹ = /ɔ:/	bear	bɛr,	bɛrd,	bɔ:rn
(b)	V ¹ = /ow/	freeze	fri:z,	fri:zd,	frow-zn
(c)	V ¹ = /ej/	weave	wi:v,	wi:vd,	wej-vn
(d)	V ¹ = /ɔ/	wake	wejk,	wejkt,	wɔ-kn

- I 7.(i) 3. BASE + D
 5. BASE with ...V¹... + D

Members

(a)	V ¹ = /ɛ/	say	sej,	sejd,	sɛd
		sleep	slejɹp,	slejpt,	slept
(b)	V ¹ = /ɔ:/	shear	ʃi:r,	ʃi:rd,	ʃɔ:rd
(c)	V ¹ = /ow/	swell	swel,	swɛld,	swowld
		tell	tɛl,	tɛld,	towld
(d)	V ¹ = /ej/	cleave	kli:v,	kli:vd,	klejvd
		(cling to)			

- I 7. (ii) 3. BASE + D
 5. BASE with ...V¹... + D^t

Member

V ¹ = /ɛ/	feel	fi:l,	fi:ld,	fɛlt
----------------------	------	-------	--------	------

- I 8. 3. BASE + D^t
 5. BASE + D

Members

build	bɪld,	bɪlt,	bɪl-dɪd
burn	bɜ:n,	bɜ:nt,	bɜ:nd

I 9. 3. BASE with ...V¹...

5. BASE + D

Members

(a) V¹ = /ə/ hang əŋ, əŋ, əŋd
 cling klɪŋ, klɪəŋ, klɪŋd
(b) V¹ = /ɛ/ sweep swi:p, swɛp, swi:pt

I 10. 3. BASE with ...V¹... + D

5. BASE + D

Members

(a) V¹ = /ej/ leap li:p, lejpt, li:pt
 saw sɔ:, sejd, sɔ:d
 weave wi:v, wejvd, wi:vd
(b) V¹ = /ɔ:/ strew strɪ:, strɔ:d, strɪ:d
(c) V¹ = /ow/ sell sɛl, sowld, sɛld
(d) V¹ = /ɛ/ sleep slejp, slept, slejpt

I 11. 3. BASE with ...V¹... + D

5. BASE with ...V¹... + N

Members

(a) V¹ = /ɔ:/ know now, nɔ:d, nɔ:n
 tear tɛr, tɔ:rd, tɔ:rn
(b) V¹ = /ej/ weave wi:v, wejvd, wej-vn

- I 12. 3. BASE with ...V¹... + D
 5. BASE with ...V¹...

Member

take tejk, tykt, tyk

- I 13.(i) 3. BASE + D
 5. BASE, less final consonant, + D^t

Member

build bild, bil-did, bilt

- I 13.(ii) 3. BASE, less final consonant, + D^t
 5. BASE + D

Members

bend bend, bent, ben-did
 send send, sent, sen-did

- I 14. 3. SUPPLETIVE BASE + D^t
 5. ...V²... + N

Member

go gow went, gon

Class II - Four forms differentiated

This class covers the field of Hill's classes III and IV. Our class II 1 corresponds with his class III, II 2 with his IV 1 (the 'regular' verbs), II 3(i) with IV 2 (though differently defined - see below), II 5(ii) with part of IV 4, II 4(i) with IV 3, and II 4(ii) with part of IV 4. For the explanation of the reordering, see the note after our class II 2(ii).

(A) FORMS 3 and 5 are the same, but differ from FORM 1.

II 1. 3. BASE with ...V¹...
 5. BASE with ...V¹...

Members

(a) V ¹ = /ə/	begin	bi-gin,	bi-gən,	bi-gən
	cling	kliŋ,	kləŋ,	kləŋ
	fling	fliŋ,	fləŋ,	fləŋ
	hang	aŋ,	əŋ,	əŋ
	ring	riŋ,	rəŋ,	rəŋ
	spring	sprɪŋ,	sprəŋ,	sprəŋ
	sting	stiŋ,	stəŋ,	stəŋ
	swim	swim,	swəm,	swəm
(b) V ¹ = /ɔ/	beget	bi-get,	bi-gət,	bi-gət
	break	brejk,	brək,	brək
	forget	fr-get,	fr-gət,	fr-gət
	get	get,	gət,	gət
	shine	ʃajŋ,	ʃən,	ʃən
	shoot	ʃet,	ʃət,	ʃət
	speak	spi:k,	spək,	spək
(c) V ¹ = /aw/	bind	bajnd,	bawnd,	bawnd
	find	fajnd,	fawnd,	fawnd
	grind	grajnd,	grawnd,	grawnd
(d) V ¹ = /ɛ/	meet	mi:t,	mɛt,	mɛt
	read	ri:d,	rɛd,	rɛd
(e) V ¹ = /a/	sit	sɪt,	sət,	sət
(f) V ¹ = /ɪ/	light	laɪt,	lɪt,	lɪt

(g) V¹ = /ow/ reeve ri:v, rowv, rowv
 ride rajd, rowd, rowd

(h) V¹ = /y/ take tejk, tyk, tyk

There is an additional verb in (h) which is exceptional in that it loses the nasal consonant of its base allomorph whenever ...V¹... occurs.

stand stand, styd, styd

Corresponds with Hill's Class III.

II 2(i) 3. BASE + D

5. BASE + D

This is the open class of 'regular' verbs. Although this class cannot be listed as a whole, it seemed essential to indicate those verbs which are normally - or occasionally - 'irregular' in S.E., but which are 'regular' in the Devonshire dialect, i.e. those verbs which might be expected to be 'irregular' (from an S.E. point of view) but which are in fact 'regular'.

* normally irregular in S.E.

** occasionally irregular in S.E.

**bereave	/br-ri:v/	* shoe	/ʃy:/
* build	/bild/	* sleep	/slejp/
* choose	/tʃy:z/	* slink	/slink/
* creep	/kri:p/	* smell	/smel/
* deal	/dejl/	**spell	/spel/
* dig	/dig/	**spill	/spil/
* draw	/dro:/	* spin	/spin/
* dream	/dri:m/	* spoil	/spojl/
* fly	/flaj/	* stave	/stejv/
* learn	/lɔrn/	* stink	/stɪnk/
* lie	/laj/	* string	/strɪŋ/
* mean	/mi:n/	* swear	/swer/
* kneel	/ni:l/	* swing	/swɪŋ/
**knit	/nit/	* teach	/tejtʃ/
* quit	/kwɪt/	* wear	/wer/
* see	/si:/	**wed	/wed/
	**wet	/wɛt/	

There are also eleven verbs which have a set of forms belonging to this class but also one or more alternative forms. These verbs are listed here, and also in the other appropriate subgroups.

fall	/fɔ:l/;	rin)	/rin/;	sink	/sɪŋk/;
give	/gɪv/;	run)	/rən/;	sling	/slɪŋ/;
hear	/ji:r/;	shear	/ʃi:r/;	weave	/wi:v/;
keep	/ki:p/;	slay	/sleɪ/;	wring	/rɪŋ/;

Corresponds to Hill's class IV, 1.

-
- II 2(ii) 3. BASE, less stem-final consonant, + D
5. BASE, less stem-final consonant, + D

Member

make	mejk,	mejd,	mejd
------	-------	-------	------

The next class is in fact Hill's class IV 2, although differently categorized. By describing 'make' as above (which Hill places below), this and subsequent classes can be defined in terms of the original base-allomorph simply by the introduction of one additional possibility, namely the loss of stem-final consonant. (See note after II 5(iii)) This allows the establishment of a second base-allomorph in terms of $\dots V^1 \dots$, as in the case of the other classes, and therefore seems preferable to Hill's approach; in this way, only $\dots V^1 \dots$ need be specified, not the whole of an alternative allomorph. The only two verbs which do not fit this pattern are 'leave' and 'lose', where the stem-final consonant is not lost but rather devoiced. Perhaps, for the Devon material, these should be treated as forming a distinct and anomalous subclass, on the lines of {gow~went~gɔn;} we have, however,

decided to incorporate them in the way that 'stand' was included in II 1 (See note after II 5(iii)). Similar arguments justify our definition of classes II 4 and II 5; although this does lead us to split Hill's class IV 4 into two subgroups (II 4(ii), II 5(ii)), nevertheless, it is now possible to handle the Devon material in terms of our original criteria.

II 3(i) 3. BASE with ...V¹... + D
 5. BASE with ...V¹... + D

Members

(a) V ¹ = /ɔ:/	blow	blow,	blɔ:d,	blɔ:d
	crow	krow,	krɔ:d,	krɔ:d
	grow	grow,	grɔ:d,	grɔ:d
	know	now,	nɔ:d,	nɔ:d
	mow	mow,	mɔ:d,	mɔ:d
	sew/sow	sow,	sɔ:d,	sɔ:d
	show	fow,	fɔ:d,	fɔ:d
	tear	tɛr,	tɔ:rd,	tɔ:rd
	throw	θrow,	θrɔ:d,	θrɔ:d
(b) V ¹ = /ow/	heave	eɣv	owvd	owvd
	sell	sɛl,	sowld,	sowld
	tell	tɛl,	towld,	towld
(c) V ¹ = /ej/	saw	sɔ:,	sejd,	sejd
(d) V ¹ = /ɛ/	say	sej,	sɛd,	sɛd
	sleep	slejp,	slept,	slept
	weep	wi:p,	wɛpt,	wɛpt
(e) V ¹ = /e/	hear	i:r,	ɛrd,	ɛrd

with devoicing of stem-final consonant (see above)

(f) V ¹ = /ɛ/	leave	li:v,	lɛft,	lɛft
(g) V ¹ = /ɔ/	lose	ly:z,	lɔst,	lɔst.

Corresponds to Hill's class IV 2.

- II 4(i) 3. BASE + D^t
5. BASE + D^t

Member

burn bɜrn, bɜrnt, bɜrnt

Corresponds to Hill's class IV 3.

- II 4(ii) 3. BASE, less stem-final consonant, + D^t
5. BASE, less stem-final consonant, + D^t

Members

bend	bend,	bent,	bent
build	bɪld,	bɪlt,	bɪlt
lend	lend,	lent,	lent
send	send,	sent,	sent
spend	spend,	spent,	spent

Corresponds to part of Hill's Class IV 4
(see also our II 5(ii)).

- II 5(i) 3. BASE + ...V¹... + D^t
5. BASE + ...V¹... + D^t

Members

(a) V¹ = /ɔ:/ buy baj, bɔ:t, bɔ:t
(b) V¹ = /ɛ/ lean li:n, lent, lent

- II 5(ii) 3. BASE with ...V¹... less stem-final consonant + D^t
5. BASE with ...V¹... less stem-final consonant + D^t

Members

V¹ = /ɔ:/ throughout bring brɪŋ, brɔ:t, brɔ:t
 catch kætʃ, kɔ:t, kɔ:t
 fight fajt, fɔ:t, fɔ:t
 seek si:k, sɔ:t, sɔ:t
 think θɪŋk, θɔ:t, θɔ:t

Corresponds to part of Hill's Class IV 4.
(see also our II 4(ii))

- II 5(iii) 3. SUPPLETIVE BASE + D^t
 5. SUPPLETIVE BASE + D^t

Member

go gow went went

It will be noted that the relationship of 2(ii) to 2(i), 4(ii) to 4(i) and 5(ii) to 5(i) is constant, depending on the presence or absence of stem-final consonant. There is no equivalent parallel class to Class II 3(i), since this has no sub-class where the stem-final consonant is lost. This class does, however, contain those two verbs already referred to where the final consonant is devoiced rather than lost, namely 'leave' and 'lose' (q.v.).

- (B) Although Forms 3 and 5 differ, Form 3 is the same as Form 1, so there is only a four-term opposition.

The four sub-classes in (B) and the two in (C) are not needed by Hill, since they describe a feature not found in S.E., namely a four-term opposition where Forms 3 and 5 differ but where either one or the other is the same as Base Form 1.

- II 6. 3. BASE
 5. BASE with ...V¹...

Members

(a) V¹ = /ε/ bleed bli:d, bli:d, blɛd
 breed bri:d, bri:d, brɛd
 feed fi:d fi:d, fɛd
 lead li:d, li:d, lɛd
 meet mi:t, mi:t, mɛt
 speed spi:d, spi:d, spɛd

(b) V ¹	= /ɪ/	light	lajt,	lajt,	lit
		smite	smajt,	smajt,	smɪt
(c) V ¹	= /aw/	wind	wajnd,	wajnd,	wəwnd
(d) V ¹	= /ə/	stick	stɪk,	stɪk,	stək
(e) V ¹	= /a/	upset	əp-sɛt,	əp-sɛt,	əp-sat

II 7. 3. BASE
 5. BASE + D

Members

cleave (to cut)	klejv	klejv,	klejvd
come	kəm,	kəm,	kəmd
fall	fɔ:l,	fɔ:l,	fɔ:ld
fit	fɪt,	fɪt,	fɪ-tɪd
give	gɪv,	gɪv,	gɪvd
keep	ki:p,	ki:p,	ki:pt
stick	stɪk,	stɪk,	stɪkt
stride	strajd,	strajd,	straj-dɪd
strive	strajv,	strajv,	strajvd
swing	swɪŋ,	swɪŋ,	swɪŋd

II 8. 3. BASE
 5. BASE + N

Members

beat	bejt,	bejt,	bej-tn
eat	ejt,	ejt,	ej-tn

II 9. 3. BASE
 5. BASE with ...V¹... + N

Members

bite	bajt	bajt,	bɪ-tn
hide	ajd,	ajd,	ɪ-dn
smite	smajt,	smajt,	smɪ-tn

(C) Forms 3 and 5 differ, but in classes 10 and 11, it is form 5 which is the same as form 1. Hence there is still 4 term opposition.

II 10 3. BASE + D
 5. BASE

Members

give	giv,	givd,	giv
run	rin}	rind}	rin}
	rən)	rənd)	rən)

II 11 3. BASE with ...V¹...
 5. BASE

Members

(a) V ¹ = /ɛ/	meet	mi:t,	met,	mi:t
(b) V ¹ = /ɪ/	slide	slajd,	slɪd,	slajd

Class III - Three terms differentiated

In the case of these verbs, forms 1, 3 and 5 are all the same, and hence there is only a 3-term morphological opposition. This class corresponds with Hill's class V.

III 3. BASE

5. BASE

Members

bet /bɛt/; bid /bɪd/; bide /baɪd/; burst /bɜːst/;
cast /kɑːst/; come /kʌm/; cost /kɒst/; cut /kʌt/;
eat /iːt/; forbid /fr-bɪd/; forsake /fr-seɪk/;
give /gɪv/; hit /ɪt/; hold /oʊld/; hurt /ɜːrt/;
let /lɛt/; meet /mi:t/; mind /maɪnd/; put /pʊt/;
rid /rɪd/; set /sɛt/; shed /ʃɛd/; shut /ʃʊt/;
slit /slɪt/; spit/spɪt/; split /splɪt/;
spread /sprɛd/; sweat /swɛt/; taste /teɪst/;
wind /waɪnd/.

It should be noted that Hill's classes VI 1 and VI 2 have been accounted for in the preceding material, and his class VII as a whole is outside the scope of this appendix.

C L A S S I N D E X

This index comprises a list of the verbs used by or elicited from the informant, together with the class or classes of the forms attested in Devonshire, as well as the class in S.E., using the categorisation suggested by Hill with such small alterations as are necessary to accommodate this to S.E.

Below is a list of those of our classes and those of Hill which correspond more or less exactly. Those dialectal classes not listed below have no equivalent in Hill's classification.

<u>Devonshire</u>	<u>S.E. - A. A. Hill</u>
I 1	II, 1
I 2	II, 2
I 3	II, 3
II 1	III
II 2(i) & (ii) 'regular'	'regular' IV, 1
II 3(i)	IV, 2 VI, 1 VI, 2
II 4(i)	IV, 3
II 4(ii)	IV, 4 (part)
II 5(ii)	IV, 4 (part)
III	V

	<u>INFINITIVE</u>	<u>DEVONSHIRE</u>	<u>S.E.</u>
1.	bear	I 6 (a)	II, 2
2.	beat	II 8	V (exc.)
3.	beget	II 1 (b)	II, 2
4.	begin	II 1 (a)	I
5.	bend	I 13(ii); II 4(ii)	IV, 4
6.	bereave	II 2(i)	IV, 2
7.	beseech	rejected by informant	IV, 4
8.	bet	III	V
9.	bid	III	II, 1; V
10.	bide	III	IV, 1; VI, 2
11.	bind	II 1 (c)	III
12.	bite	I 2 (b); II 9	II, 2
13.	bleed	II 6 (a)	III
14.	blow	II 3(i) (a)	II, 1

	<u>INFINITIVE</u>	<u>DEVONSHIRE</u>	<u>S.E.</u>
15.	break	II 1 (b)	II, 2
16.	breed	II 6 (a)	III
17.	bring	II 5(ii)	IV, 4
18.	build	I 8; I 13(i); II 2(i); II 4(ii)	IV, 4
19.	burn	I 8; II 4(i)	IV, 3
20.	burst	III	V
21.	buy	II 5(i) (a)	IV, 4
22.	cast	III	V
23.	catch	II 5(ii)	IV, 4
24.	choose	II 2(i)	II, 2
25.	(a) cleave=cling to	(a) I 7(i) (d)	} IV, 2
	(b) cleave=cut up	(b) II 7	
26.	cling	I 9 (a); II 1 (a)	III
27.	come	II 7; III	V (exc.)
28.	cost	III	V
29.	Creep	II 2(i)	IV, 2
30.	crow	II 3(i) (a)	VI, 2
31.	cut	III	V
32.	deal	II 2(i)	IV, 4
33.	dig	I 5; II 2(i)	III
34.	draw	II 2(i)	II, 1
35.	dream	II 2(i)	IV, 4
36.	drink	I 5	I
37.	drive	I 3	II, 3
38.	dwell	rejected by informant	IV, 3
39.	eat	II 8; III	II, 1
40.	fall	II 2(i); II 7	II, 1
41.	feed	II 6 (a)	III
42.	feel	I 7(ii)	IV, 4
43.	fight	II 5(ii)	III
44.	find	II 1 (c)	III
45.	fit	II 7	IV, 1
46.	flee	rejected by informant	IV, 2
47.	fling	II 1 (a)	III
48.	fly	II 2(i)	II, 3
49.	forbid	III	II, 1
50.	forget	II 1 (b)	II, 2
51.	forsake	III	II, 1
52.	freeze	I 6 (b)	II, 2
53.	get	II 1 (b)	III
54.	give	II 2(i); II 7; II 10; III	II, 1
55.	go	I 14; II 5(iii)	not classified
56.	grind	II 1 (c)	III

57	<u>INFINITIVE</u>	<u>DEVONSHIRE</u>	<u>S.E.</u>
57.	grow	II 3(i)	II, 1
58.	hang	I 9 (a); II 1 (a)	III
59.	hear	II 2(i); II 3(i) (e)	IV, 2
60.	heave	II 3(i)	IV, 1
61.	hew	rejected by informant	VI, 1
62.	hide	II 9	II, 2
63.	hit	III	V
64.	hold	III	III
65.	hurt	III	V
66.	keep	II 2(i); II 7	IV, 2
67.	kneel	II 2(i)	IV, 4
68.	knit	II 2(i)	V
69.	know	I 11; II 3(i) (a)	II, 1
70.	lead	II 6 (a)	III
71.	lean	II 5(i) (b)	IV, 4
72.	leap	I 10 (a)	IV, 2
73.	learn	II 2(i)	IV, 3
74.	leave	II 3(i) (f)	IV, 2
75.	lend	II, 4(ii)	IV, 4
76.	let	III	V
77.	lie	II 2(i)	II, 2
78.	light	II 1 (f); II 6 (b)	III
79.	lose	II 3(i) (g)	IV, 2
80.	make	II 2(ii)	IV, 2
81.	mean	II 2(i)	IV, 4
82.	meet	II 1 (a); II 6 (a); II 11 (a); III	III
83.	mind	III	IV, 1
84.	mow	II 3(i) (a)	IV, 1
85.	put	III	V
86.	quit	II 2(i)	V
87.	read	II 1 (d)	III
88.	reeve	II 1 (f)	not found in S.E.
89.	rend	rejected by informant	IV, 4
90.	rid	III	V
91.	ride	II 1 (g)	II, 3
92.	ring	II 1 (a)	I
93.	rise	I 3 (a)	II, 3
94.	run	II 2(i); II 10	V (exc.)
95.	saw	I 10 (a); II 3(i) (c)	IV, 1
96.	say	I 7(i) (a); II 3(i) (d)	IV, 2
97.	see	I 4; II 2(i)	II, 1
98.	seek	II 5(ii)	IV, 4
99.	smell	I 10 (c); II 3(i) (b)	IV, 2

<u>INFINITIVE</u>	<u>DEVONSHIRE</u>	<u>S.E.</u>
100. send	I 13(ii); II 4(ii)	IV, 4
101. set	III	V
102. sew	II 3(i) (a)	VI, 1
103. shake	I 4	II, 1
104. shear	I 7(i) (b); II 2(i)	VI, 1 (variant)
105. shed	III	V
106. shine	II 1 (b)	III
107. shoe	II 2(i)	IV, 2
108. shoot	II 1 (b)	III
109. show	II 3(i) (a)	VI, 1
110. shrink	I 4; I 5	I
111. shrive	rejected by informant	II, 3
112. shut	III	V
113. sing	I 5	I
114. sink	II 2(i); I 5	I
115. sit	II 1 (e)	III
116. slay	I 4; II 2(i)	II, 1
117. sleep	I 7(i) (a); II 2(i) I 10 (d); II 3(i) (d)	IV, 2
118. slide	II 11 (b)	III
119. sling	I 5; II 2(i)	III
120. slink	II 2(i)	III
121. slit	III	V
122. smell	II 2(i)	IV, 3
123. smite	II 9; II 6 (b)	II, 3
124. sow	II 3(i) (a)	VI, 1
125. speak	II 1 (b)	II, 2
126. speed	II 6 (a)	III
127. spell	II 2(i)	IV, 3
128. spend	II 4(ii)	IV, 4
129. spill	II 2(i)	IV, 3
130. spin	II 2(i)	III
131. spit	III	III
132. split	III	V
133. spoil	II 2(i)	IV, 3
134. spread	III	V
135. spring	II 1 (a)	I
136. stand	II 1 (h) (exc.)	III (exc.)
137. stave	II 2(i)	III; IV, 1
138. steal	I 2 (c)	II, 2
139. stick	II 6 (d); II 7	III
140. sting	II 1 (a)	III
141. stink	II 2(i)	I
142. strew	I 10 (b)	VI, 1
143. stride	II 7	II, 3

<u>INFINITIVE</u>	<u>DEVONSHIRE</u>	<u>S.E.</u>
144. strike	I 2 (b); I 3 (c)	III
145. string	II 2(i)	III
146. strive	II 7	II, 3
147. swear	II 2(i)	II, 2
148. sweat	III	V
149. sweep	I 9 (b)	IV, 2
150. swell	I 7(i) (c)	variant of VI, 1
151. swim	II 1 (a)	I
152. swing	II 2(i); II 7	III
153. take	I 12; II 1 (h)	II, 1
154. taste	III	IV, 2
155. teach	II 2(i)	IV, 4
156. tear	I 11 (a); II 3(i) (a)	II, 2
157. tell	I 7(i) (c); II 3(i) (b)	IV, 2
158. think	II 5(ii)	IV, 4
159. throw	II 3(i) (a)	II, 1
160. thrust	rejected by informant	V
161. tthead	I 2 (a)	III
162. upset	II 6 (e)	III
163. wake	I 1; I 2 (a); I 4; I 6 (d)	II, 2
164. wear	II 2(i)	II, 2
165. weave	I 6 (c); I 10 (a); I 11 (b); II 2(i)	II, 2
166. wed	II 2(i)	V
167. weep	II 3(i) (d)	IV, 2
168. wet	II 2(i)	V
169. win	I 5	III
170. wind	II 6 (c); III	III
171. wreak	rejected by informant	IV, 4
172. wring	II 2(i)	III
173. write	I 3	II, 2

FORM INDEX

Those forms which are underlined have been spontaneously attested.

	<u>INFINITIVE</u>		<u>PRETERITE</u>		<u>PAST PARTICIPLE</u>
1.	bear	<u>bær</u>	<u>bærd</u>		<u>bə:rn</u>
2.	beat	<u>bejt</u>	<u>bejt</u>		<u>'bej-tn</u>
3.	beget	<u>bi-'get</u>	<u>bi-'gət</u>		<u>bi-'gət</u>
4.	begin	<u>bi-'gin</u>	<u>bi-'gɛn</u>		<u>bi-'gɛn</u>
5.	bend	<u>bænd</u>	<u>bent</u>		<u>'ben-dɪd, bent</u>
6.	bereave	<u>bi-'ri:v</u>	_____		<u>bi-'ri:vð</u>
7.	beseech		DENIED	BY	INFORMANT
8.	bet	<u>bæt</u>	<u>bæt</u>		<u>bæt</u>
9.	bid	<u>bɪd</u>	<u>bɪd</u>		<u>bɪd</u>
10.	bide	<u>bajd</u>	<u>bajd</u>		<u>bajd</u>
11.	bind	<u>bajnd</u>	<u>bawnd</u>		<u>bawnd</u>
12.	bite	<u>bajt</u>	<u>bit, bajt</u>		<u>'bi-tn</u>
13.	bleed	<u>bli:d</u>	<u>bli:d</u>		<u>bled</u>
14.	blow	<u>blow</u>	<u>blə:d</u>		<u>blə:d</u>
15.	break	<u>brejk</u>	<u>brək</u>		<u>brək</u>
16.	breed	<u>bri:d</u>	<u>bri:d</u>		<u>brɛd</u>
17.	bring	<u>brɪŋ</u>	<u>brɔ:t</u>		<u>brɔ:t</u>
18.	build	<u>bɪld</u>	<u>'bɪl-dɪd, bɪlt</u>		<u>'bɪl-dɪd, bɪlt</u>
19.	burn	<u>bɜrn</u>	<u>bɜrnt</u>		<u>bɜrnd, bɜrnt</u>
20.	burst	<u>bɜst</u>	<u>bɜst</u>		<u>bɜst</u>
21.	buy	<u>baj</u>	<u>bə:t</u>		<u>bə:t</u>
22.	cast	<u>kast</u>	<u>kast</u>		<u>kast</u>
23.	catch	<u>katʃ</u>	<u>kə:t</u>		<u>kə:t</u>
24.	choose	<u>tʃyz</u>	<u>tʃyzd</u>		<u>tʃyzd</u>
25.a.	cleave	<u>kli:v</u>	<u>kli:vð</u>		<u>klejvð</u>
	cling to				
	b.cleave	<u>klejv</u>	<u>klejv</u>		<u>klejvð</u>
	cut up				
26.	cling	<u>kliŋ</u>	<u>kleŋ</u>		<u>kleŋ, klinð</u>
27.	come	<u>kəm</u>	<u>kəm</u>		<u>kəm, kɛmð</u>
28.	cost	<u>kɔst</u>	<u>kɔst</u>		<u>kɔst</u>
29.	creep	<u>kri:p</u>	<u>kri:pt</u>		<u>kri:pt</u>
	'crawl' preferred				
30.	crow	<u>krow</u>	<u>krə:d</u>		<u>krə:d</u>
31.	cut	<u>kət</u>	<u>kət</u>		<u>kət</u>
32.	deal	<u>dejl</u>	<u>dejld</u>		<u>dejld</u>
33.	dig	<u>dɪg</u>	<u>dɪgd</u>		<u>dɪgd, dəg</u>
34.	draw	<u>drə:</u>	<u>drə:d</u>		<u>drə:d</u>
35.	dream	<u>dri:m</u>	<u>dri:mð</u>		<u>dri:mð</u>
36.	drink	<u>drɪŋk</u>	<u>drɪŋkt</u>		<u>drɛŋk</u>

	<u>INFINITIVE</u>		<u>PRETERITE</u>		<u>PAST PARTICIPLE</u>
37.	drive	<u>drajv</u>	<u>drowv</u>		'dri-vn
38.	dwell	<u>ajd</u> DENIED	<u>it</u> BY		INFORMANT
39.	eat	<u>ejt</u>	<u>ejt</u>		<u>ejt</u> , 'ej-tn
40.	fall	<u>fə:l</u>	<u>fə:l</u> , <u>fə:ld</u>		<u>fə:ld</u>
41.	feed	<u>fi:d</u>	<u>fi:d</u>		<u>fəd</u>
42.	feel	<u>fi:l</u>	<u>fi:ld</u>		<u>felt</u>
43.	fight	<u>fajt</u>	<u>fə:t</u>		<u>fə:t</u>
44.	find	<u>fajnd</u>	<u>fawnd</u>		<u>fawnd</u>
45.	fit	<u>fit</u>	<u>fit</u>		'fɪ-tɪd
46.	flee	<u>ajd</u> DENIED	<u>it</u> BY		INFORMANT
47.	fling	<u>flɪŋ</u>	<u>flɛŋ</u>		<u>flɛŋ</u>
48.	fly	<u>flaj</u>	<u>flajd</u>		<u>flajd</u>
49.	forbid	<u>fr-'bɪd</u>	<u>fr-'bɪd</u>		<u>fr-'bɪd</u>
50.	forget	<u>fr-'gət</u>	<u>fr-'gət</u>		<u>fr-'gət</u>
51.	forsake	<u>fr-'sejk</u>	<u>fr-'sejk</u>		<u>fr-'sejk</u>
52.	freeze	<u>fri:z</u>	<u>fri:zd</u>		'frow-zn
53.	get	<u>gət</u>	<u>gət</u>		<u>gət</u>
54.	give	<u>gɪv</u>	<u>gɪv</u> , <u>gɪvd</u>		<u>gɪv</u> , <u>gɪvd</u>
55.	go	<u>gɔw</u>	<u>went</u>		<u>gɔn</u> , <u>went</u>
56.	grind	<u>grajnd</u>	<u>grawnd</u>		<u>grawnd</u>
57.	grow	<u>grɔw</u>	<u>grɔ:d</u>		<u>grɔ:d</u>
58.	hang	<u>əŋ</u>	<u>ɛŋ</u>		<u>ɛŋ</u> , <u>əŋgd</u>
59.	hear	<u>ɪr</u> , <u>ji:r</u>	<u>ɛrd</u> , <u>ji:rd</u>		<u>ɛrd</u> , <u>ji:rd</u>
60.	heave	<u>ejv</u>	<u>owvd</u>		<u>owvd</u>
61.	hew	<u>ajd</u> DENIED	<u>it</u> BY		INFORMANT
62.	hide	<u>ajd</u>	<u>ajd</u>		'ɪ-dn
63.	hit	<u>ɪt</u>	<u>ɪt</u>		<u>ɪt</u>
64.	hold	<u>owld</u>	<u>owld</u>		<u>owld</u>
65.	hurt	<u>ɛrt</u>	<u>ɛrt</u>		<u>ɛrt</u>
66.	keep	<u>ki:p</u>	<u>ki:pt</u> , <u>ki:p</u>		<u>ki:pt</u>
67.	kneel	<u>ni:l</u>	<u>ni:ld</u>		<u>ni:ld</u>
68.	knit	<u>nɪt</u>	'nɪ-tɪd		'nɪ-tɪd
69.	know	<u>noʊ</u>	<u>no:d</u>		<u>no:d</u> , <u>no:n</u>
70.	lead	<u>li:d</u>	<u>li:d</u>		<u>led</u>
71.	lean	<u>li:n</u>	<u>lent</u>		<u>lent</u>
72.	leap	<u>li:p</u>	<u>lejpt</u>		<u>li:pt</u>
73.	learn	<u>lɛrn</u>	<u>lɛrnd</u>		<u>lɛrnd</u>
74.	leave	<u>li:v</u>	<u>left</u>		<u>left</u>
75.	lend	<u>lɛnd</u>	<u>lent</u>		<u>lent</u>
76.	let	<u>let</u>	<u>let</u>		<u>let</u>
77.	lie	<u>laj</u>	<u>lajd</u>		<u>lajd</u>
78.	light	<u>lajt</u>	<u>lajt</u> , <u>lɪt</u>		<u>lɪt</u>
79.	lose	<u>lyz</u>	<u>lost</u>		<u>lost</u>
80.	make	<u>mejɔ</u>	<u>mejd</u>		<u>mejd</u>
81.	mean	<u>mi:n</u>	<u>mi:nd</u>		<u>mi:nd</u>

	<u>INFINITIVE</u>		<u>PRETERITE</u>		<u>PAST PARTICIPLE</u>
82.	meet	<u>mi:t</u>	<u>met, mi:t</u>		<u>met, mi:t</u>
83.	mind	<u>majnd</u>	<u>majnd</u>		<u>majnd</u>
84.	mow	<u>mow</u>	<u>mɔ:d</u>		<u>mɔ:d</u>
85.	put	<u>pet</u>	<u>pet</u>		<u>pet</u>
86.	quit	<u>kwit</u>	<u>'kwɪ-tɪd</u>		<u>'kwɪ-tɪd</u>
87.	read	<u>ri:d</u>	<u>red</u>		<u>red</u>
88.	reeve	<u>ri:v</u>	<u>rowv</u>		<u>rowv</u>
89.	rend		DENIED	BY	INFORMANT
90.	rid	<u>ri:d</u>	<u>ri:d</u>		<u>ri:d</u>
91.	ride	<u>rajd</u>	<u>rɔ:d</u>		<u>rɔ:d</u>
92.	ring	<u>riŋ</u>	<u>rɛŋ</u>		<u>rɛŋ</u>
93.	rise	<u>rajz</u>	<u>rowz</u>		<u>'ri-zn</u>
94.	run	<u>ri:n, rɛn</u>	<u>rɪnd, rɛnd</u>		<u>ri:n, rɛn, rɪnd, rɛnd</u>
95.	saw	<u>sɔ:</u>	<u>sejd</u>		<u>sejd, sɔ:d</u>
96.	say	<u>sej</u>	<u>sɛd, sejd</u>		<u>sɛd</u>
97.	see	<u>si:</u>	<u>si:d</u>		<u>si:d, si:n</u>
98.	seek	<u>si:k</u>	<u>sɔ:t</u>		<u>sɔ:t</u>
99.	sell	<u>sɛl</u>	<u>sowld</u>		<u>sɛld, sowld</u>
100.	send	<u>sɛnd</u>	<u>sɛnt</u>		<u>sɛnt, 'sɛn-dɪd</u>
101.	set	<u>sɛt</u>	<u>sɛt</u>		<u>sɛt</u>
102.	sew	<u>sow</u>	<u>sɔ:d</u>		<u>sɔ:d</u>
103.	shake	<u>ʃejk</u>	<u>ʃejkt</u>		<u>'ʃej-kn</u>
104.	shear	<u>ʃi:r</u>	<u>ʃi:rd</u>		<u>ʃi:rd, ʃɔ:rd</u>
105.	shed	<u>ʃɛd</u>	<u>ʃɛd</u>		<u>ʃɛd</u>
106.	shine	<u>ʃajn</u>	<u>ʃɔn</u>		<u>ʃɔn</u>
107.	shoe	<u>ʃy:</u>	<u>ʃy:d</u>		<u>ʃy:d</u>
108.	shoot	<u>ʃɛt</u>	<u>ʃɔt</u>		<u>ʃɔt</u>
109.	show	<u>ʃow</u>	<u>ʃɔ:d</u>		<u>ʃɔ:d</u>
110.	shrink	<u>ʃriŋk</u>	<u>ʃriŋkt</u>		<u>'ʃriŋ-kn, ʃrɛŋk</u>
111.	shrive		DENIED	BY	INFORMANT
112.	shut	<u>ʃɛt</u>	<u>ʃɛt</u>		<u>ʃɛt</u>
113.	sing	<u>siŋ</u>	<u>siŋd</u>		<u>seŋ</u>
114.	sink	<u>siŋk</u>	<u>siŋkt</u>		<u>sɛŋk, siŋkt</u>
115.	sit	<u>sɪt</u>	<u>sɪt</u>		<u>sɪt</u>
116.	slay	<u>slej</u>	<u>slejd</u>		<u>slejd, slejn</u>
117.	sleep	<u>slejp</u>	<u>slept, slejpt</u>		<u>slept, slejpt</u>
118.	slide	<u>slajd</u>	<u>slɪd</u>		<u>slajd</u>
119.	sling	<u>sliŋ</u>	<u>sliŋd</u>		<u>sliŋd, slɛŋ</u>
120.	slink	<u>sliŋk</u>	<u>sliŋkt</u>		<u>sliŋkt</u>
121.	slit	<u>slɪt</u>	<u>slɪt</u>		<u>slɪt</u>
122.	smell	<u>smɛl</u>	<u>smɛld</u>		<u>smɛld</u>
123.	smite	<u>smajt</u>	<u>smajt</u>		<u>smɪt, 'smɪ-tn</u>
124.	sow	<u>sow</u>	<u>sɔ:d</u>		<u>sɔ:d</u>
125.	speak	<u>spi:k</u>	<u>spɔk</u>		<u>spɔk</u>
126.	speed	<u>spi:d</u>	<u>spi:d</u>		<u>spɛd</u>

	<u>INFINITIVE</u>		<u>PRETERITE</u>		<u>PAST PARTICIPLE</u>
127.	spell	spel	speld		speld
128.	spend	<u>spend</u>	spent		spent
129.	spill	spil	spild		spild
130.	spin	spin	spind		spind
131.	spit	spit	spit		spit
132.	split	<u>split</u>	split		<u>split</u>
133.	spoil	<u>spojl</u>	<u>spojld</u>		spojld
134.	spread	spred	spred		<u>spred</u>
135.	spring	spring	sprenj		sprenj
136.	stand	<u>stand</u>	<u>styd</u>		<u>styd</u>
137.	stave	stejv	stejvd		stejvd
138.	steal	stɔ:l	stowl		'stɔw-ln
139.	stick	<u>stik</u>	<u>stik</u>		stikt, stɔk
140.	sting	stinj	stɔnj		stɔnj
141.	stink	stɪnk	stɪnkt		stɪnkt
142.	strew	stry:	strɔ:d		stryd
143.	stride	strajd	strajd		'straj-dɪd
144.	strike	strajk	<u>strik</u> , <u>strɛk</u>		'stri-kn
145.	string	strɪnj	strɪnd		strɪnd
146.	strive	strajv	strajv		strajvd
147.	swear	swɛr	swɛrd		swɛrd
148.	sweat	swɛt	swɛt		swɛt
149.	sweep	swi:p	swɛp		swi:pt
150.	swell	swɛl	swɛld		swowld
151.	swim	swɪm	swɛm		swɛm
152.	swing	<u>swɪnj</u>	<u>swɪnj</u> , <u>swɪnd</u>		<u>swɪnd</u>
153.	take	<u>tejk</u>	<u>tyk</u> , <u>tykt</u>		<u>tyk</u>
154.	taste	tejst	tejst		tejst
155.	teach	tejtʃ	tejtʃ		tejtʃ
156.	tear	ter	tɔ:rd		<u>tɔ:rd</u> , tɔ:rn
157.	tell	<u>tel</u>	<u>towld</u> , <u>teld</u>		<u>towld</u>
158.	think	<u>θɪnk</u>	<u>θɔ:t</u>		<u>θɔ:t</u>
159.	throw	<u>θrow</u>	<u>θrɔ:d</u>		<u>θrɔ:d</u>
160.	thrust		DENIED BY	INFORMANT	
161.	tread	tred	trɔd		'trɔ-dn
162.	upset	<u>ɒp-'sɛt</u>	<u>ɒp-'sɛt</u>		<u>ɒp-'sɛt</u>
163.	wake	wejk	wejkt, wɔk		'wej-kn, 'wɔ-kn
164.	wear	<u>wɛr</u>	wɛrd		wɛrd
165.	weave	wi:v	wejvd, wi:vɔ		'wej-vn, wi:vɔ
166.	wed	wɛd	'wɛ-dɪd		'wɛ-dɪd
167.	weep	wi:p	wɛpt		wɛpt
168.	wet	wɛt	'wɛ-tɪd		'wɛ-tɪd
169.	win	<u>wɪn</u>	<u>wɪnd</u>		wɛn
170.	wind	wajnd	wajnd		wajnd, wawnd
171.	wreak		DENIED BY	INFORMANT	
172.	wring	riŋ	riŋd		riŋd
173.	write	<u>rajt</u>	rɔ:t		'ri-tn

APPENDIX B

Phonetic and Phonemic
Transcription

Specimen Phonetic and Phonemic Transcription

There was four cottages, you see, and the land belonged
[ð.ɛər wəz 'fɔ:ər 'kɔ-dɪ-dʒɪz jə zi: ən ðə lænd br-'lɔ:d
/ð.ɛr wəz 'fow-r 'kɔ-dɪ-dʒɪz jə zi: n ðə land br-'lɔ:d

to an old lady called Jope, a landlady her was for us,
[ty ən owl 'leɪ-di: kɔ:ld dʒɔp ə 'lænd-leɪ-di: ər wəz fər əs
/ty ən owl 'lej-di: kɔ:ld dʒowp ə 'land-lej-di: r wəz fr əs

like, then. And her was going to sell it and her was going
[laɪk ðen ən ər wəz gwən ə zeɪ et ən ər wəz gwən
/ləjk ðen n r wəz gwən ə zɛl et n r wəz gwən

to give the tenants the first chance. So I thought to myself:
[gi ðə 'tɛ-nəns ðə fɛs tʃæns sow əɪ θɔ:t mi:zeɪ
/gi ðə tɛ-nəns ðə fɛs tʃæns sow əɪ θɔ:t mi:zɛl

'Get bit further up the road, up top the hill bit more, then'.
[gɛd bɪd 'vɑ-ðər əp ðə rɔ:d əp tɑp ði: ru bɪt mɔ:ər ðen
/gɛd bɪd 'vɑ-ðr əp ðə rɔ:d əp tɑp ði: ɪl bɪt mɔ:r ðen

So I laid hold to this. Course I had it altered a bit, you
[sow əɪ leɪd owl tɛ ðɪs kɔ:rs əɪ əd et 'ɔl-tərɔ ə bɪt jə
/sow əɪ lejɔd owl tɛ ðɪs kɔ:rs əɪ əd et 'ɔl-trɔ ə bɪt jə

know. Yes, had it altered a bit. Stairs used to ... to, er...
[naɪ jɛs əd ɪt 'ɔl-tərɔ ə bɪt steərz jɪs tɛ ty ər
/now jɛs əd ɪt 'ɔl-trɔ ə bɪt stɛrz jɪs tɛ ty ər

go from over there, like that, there was a passage there,
[gɔʊ fɔv-vər ðɛər laɪk ðæt ðɛər wəz ə 'pɑ-sɪdʒ ðɛər
/gow fow-vr ðər laɪk ðæt ðər wəz ə 'pɑ-sɪdʒ ðər

right there, you see. And then the doorway here, and stairs
[raɪt ðæər jə zi: ən ðæn ðə dɔ:ər-weɪ jɪ:ər ən stæərz
/raɪt ðær jə zi: n ðæn ðə dɔ:r-wej jɪ:r n stærz

went up there like, thick side, thick end of the wall.
[went əp ðæər laɪk ði-ki: zaɪd ði-ki: eɪnd ə ðə wɔ:l
/went əp ðær lajk ði-ki: zaɪd ði-ki: ejnd ə ðə wɔ:l

Right up over you like, that's the big room, right up over
[raɪt əp 'ɔ-ver jɪ laɪk ðæts ðə bɪg rʊm raɪt əp 'ɔ-ver
/raɪt əp 'ɔ-vr jɪ lajk ðats ðə bɪg rʊm raɪt əp 'ɔ-vr

you ... er ... one of them see. And (he?) had to go up there,
[jɪ ə wən əv əm zi: ən i: əd tə gwəp ðæər
/jɪ ə wən əv əm zi: n i: ad tə gwəp ðær

well then, you had to go in one room to go back into tother,
[weɪ ðæn jɪ əd' tə gwi:n wən rʊm tə goʊ bæk 'i:ntə 'tə-ðær
/wel ðæn jɪ ad tə gwi:n wən rʊm tə gow bæk 'i:ntə 'tə-ðr

then, back in they days, see.
[ðæn bæk ɪn ðej deɪz si:]
/ðæn bak ɪn ðej deɪz si:/

Note A hyphen indicates a syllabic boundary, and so normally does the space between 'words'. Where, however, a syllable-final consonant occurs immediately before a word-initial vowel, the syllabic boundary will normally occur before that consonant, e.g. 'right up' [raɪ-təp]. This has not been indicated in the transcription above to make the transcription easier to follow. The status of /j/ and /w/ intervocalically has already been discussed, under the section 'diphthongs'.

APPENDIX C

Specimen Suprasegmental

Analysis

Specimen Transcription, showing Stress,
Intonation and Pause

Note 1. \boxed{P}^1 = a pause of between 1 and 2 seconds. When no duration is indicated, the pause is perceptible, but of less than 1 second duration.

\boxed{P}^2 = a pause of 2-3 seconds etc.

Note 2. The boundaries between tunes are indicated by a double oblique line //. At these points only is a juncture feature normally possible. Inherent stress is not shown.

/aj kn ʊtel i: ˈðis mətʃ // \boxed{P}^5 aj ˈwɜːkt ɔn ðə ˈrɔːdz
I can tell you this much. I worked on the roads

/fr \boxed{P} ˈθɜː-ti ʒiːr // \boxed{P}^8 n aj ˈstɪl ad məj ˈgɑːdn
for thirty years and I still had my garden

/dɔːn ˌðɜː \boxed{P}^3 n \boxed{P} aj ˈjʌs tə ˈwɪrnt ə lɪ-tl ˈplæt
down there ... and I used to rent a little plat

/dʒɪs ə lɪ-tl weɪ ˌɔːt // frəm \boxed{P} ðɪs ˌpleɪs //
just a little way out from this place

/ˌʒiːr \boxed{P}^2 ˌbɔːd ə ˈtɛɪn mɪ-nɪts ˌwɔːk \boxed{P}^2 ˈeɪ-dɪːn
here, about a ten minutes' walk eighteen

ˌlɛn-jɑːd \boxed{P}^2 n aj ˈjʌs tə ˈkʌl-tɪ-veɪt ˌməj ˌgɑːdn //
lanyard and I used to cultivate my garden

/ˈlɑːk aj gɒt n ˌnɔː // n ˈzəʊ aj ˈdɪd ðə ˈplæt \boxed{P}^2
like I got it now, and so I did the plat

/n aj ˈjʌs ˈtʌf tə ˈraɪd // ˌzɜːm-tʌɪmz \boxed{P} ˌfɔːr-tiːn ə
and I used to have to ride, sometimes, fourteen or

/ˈfɪf-ti:n ˈmaɪl ˈeɪtʃ ˌweɪ // ɒn ə ˈpuʃ-baɪk // tə ˈwɜːk
 fifteen mile each way on a push-bike to work
 /ev-ri: ˌdeɪ // ^P1 ðɜː ˈwɒ-dn ˈnɒw ˈlɒ-ri:z // ˈbæk
 every day. There wasn't no lorries back
 /ˌðɛn // fr tə ˈtɛk ˌmi: // laɪk ðeɪ tɛk ˈi:n ɒv ɛm
 then for to take me like they take in of them
 /tə-deɪ // ^P ðeɪ ˈpɪk ɛm əp tə-ˈdeɪ ɒn ðə ˈdɔːr-stɛp //
 today. They pick them up today on the doorstep
 /n ɪf ðeɪ ˈnɑː ə-ˈvɪ-nɪʃt ˈkleɪ-nɪn ðɜː ˈbyts //
 and if they haven't a-finished cleaning their boots,
 /ðeɪl ˈweɪt fɔːr ðeɪ ˈæv // ˌlyksɒw ^P4 wɛl ˈɛ-ni:-aw ^P1
 they'll wait (until)* they have, looks so. Well, anyhow,
 /ˈðæt wɜː ˈwɒt ^P1 jɪz tə əf tə ɡɒw ˌdraɪ // bæk n ˈðæt
 that was what used to have to go through back in that
 ˌtaɪm ^P ˌkɔːs // əj ˈjɪz ˈki:p ə ˈlɒd ə ˈpɪgz laɪk
 time. Course, I used (to) keep a lot of pigs like,
 /jə ˌnɒw ^P ˈdri: ə ˈvɒw-r // zəm-taɪmz əjv əd ˈvaɪv ^P
 you know, three or four, sometimes I've had five,
 /n ˈmɔːr ˈtɪ-di:z jɪ ˌɡrɔːd // ðə ˈbe-tr ˈtweɪz fr i: ^P3
 and more tiddies you grew, the better it was for you.
 /sɒw ^P2 ˈɛ-ni:-aw // əj ɡɒt ˈdraɪ ət ɔːl-raɪt ^P wɛl
 So anyhow I got through it alright. Well

*see discussion of 'before' as a conjunction,
 below P. 241
 above

/ .ðən ^P/₄ 'zəm-tajm 'af-tr aj 'ləs mi .mi-siz // aj ^P
 then ... sometime after I lost my missus, I
 / ʌgɪvd əp ðə 'plət ^P/₁ aj θɔ:t 'ðɪs wəz kwajt 'nef
 gave up the plot. I thought this was quite enough (to)
 /ki:p mi: 'gwen // .ðən ^P/₂ n ajv ə ^P/₄ 'tɪld n 'ev-ri:
 keep me going then. And I've a-... tilled him every
 /'dʒi:r ^P/₁ n ajv əd 've-ri: gɪd rɪ-'zɛlts wɪ n ^P/₃
 year, and I've had very good results with it
 /'wɔ:l-wɪz 'grə:d najs lɒd ə 'tɪ-di:z jə sə .nɒw //
 always grew (a) nice lot of tiddies, you must (?) know ...
 / .beɪnz // n .peɪz // n ^P wəl 'e-ni: n 'ev-ri: θɪŋ
 beans and peas and well any and every thing
 /jy 'wɒn-təd ðər jə nɒw ^P/₂ sɒw ajv ə ^P/₃ 'dɪ:d ve-ri:
 you wanted there, you know ... so I've a- .. done very
 / wəl // wəl 'nɒw jy .zi: ^P/₂ kɔ:rs mɪ 'bɔj wən ə-'weɪ
 well, well now, you see, course, my boy went away
 /ɪn ðə 'vɑr-mi: ^P/₁ i: wəz ə-'weɪ* ^P/₁ i: wəz 'sɜvəd ə bɪt
 in the army, he was away, he was served a bit
 / ʌrɛf jə nɒw .prɪz-nr ^P/₂ n 'ðən wən 'i: kəm .oʊm //
 rough, you know, prisoner ... and then when he came home,

* incomplete tune, with no nucleus.

/aj ˈθɔ:t mi:zəl ˈnaw* / P aj ʃəl ˈprɔ:bə ˈtæk it
 I thought (to) myself now, I shall proper (?) take it
 /ə bɪt ˈej-zɪ: / P ˈi:l P kɔ-lr ə ,ləd əv et //
 a bit easy; he'll collar a lot of it
 /ˌnaw / P 2
 now.

* This syllable is not really kinetic but static, although it seems to be both prominent and nuclear. It seems to be a pattern foreign to S.E.