

PRONOMINAL USAGE IN DIALECTAL ENGLISH

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ABSTRACT

Altogether six maps taken from *The computer developed linguistic atlas of England* (Viereck and Ramisch 1991, 1997) serve to demonstrate peculiarities of pronominal usage in English dialects. In the area of personal pronouns, phenomena such as pronoun exchange, gender diffusion and the lack of formal gender distinctions are discussed. Moreover, the question is addressed why the weak form of *us* survives today as against the strong forms in *me* and *we*. As regards possessives, anaphoric and deictic functions are differentiated and it is shown that subject-referring possessive pronouns once were reflexive possessives in English, as they were or are in other languages now.

In her book *The English language in modern times (since 1400)* Margaret Schlauch also has a chapter on "Modern English dialects and their literary uses" which contains insightful observations on quite a number of aspects. As regards personal pronominal usage we find the following passage in the section on "Southern English dialects":

The pronouns preserve traces of O[ld] E[nglish] forms elsewhere replaced by others: the archaic *thou* and *ye* as in Biblical usage, and also *en* (-*m* by assimilation) for the masculine dative – accusative, *em* (never *them*) for the plural of the same case. Personal pronouns are used to refer to inanimate things. Very striking is the use of nominative forms for emphatic accusatives. This is said to be so consistent that it might be more accurate to say that all pronouns have two forms in the accusative: one for emphasis, coinciding with the nominative, and a separate one developed from historical oblique forms, now serving in unemphatic constructions. Barnes illustrates the difference by these expressions: Gi'e *en* the knife; Gi'e *us* the wheat; but: Gi'e the money to *I* (*we*) not to *he* (*they*).

(Schlauch 1959: 165f.).

The phenomena that came later to be called pronoun exchange and gender diffusion had thus already been observed by Schlauch.¹

Pronominal usage, of course, also varies in the Standard language, not, however, to the same extent as in the dialects. In Standard English:

Subjective personal pronouns function as subject and sometimes as subject complement; objective personal pronouns as object, prepositional complement, and sometimes as subject complement ... *He* was late, It was *he* [but also] It was *him* ... Although the prescriptive grammar tradition stipulates the subjective case form, the objective case form is normally felt to be the natural one, particularly in informal style. However, the choice occurs chiefly in this restricted and infrequent construction with final pronouns, *ie* in 'object territory' ... After *but*, *except*, *than*, and *as* ... there is [also] vacillation ...

Nobody { but } { him }
 { except } { ?he } can solve our problems.

He is { more [or less] intelligent than } { she }
 { as intelligent as } { her }

The prescriptive bias for the subjective forms may account for hypercorrect uses of them, as in *between you and I* ... *Let you and I do it!* *He says she saw you and I last night*, which are not uncommon in informal conversation.

(Quirk *et al.* 1972: 208 and 210 f.)

I would like to present some maps from our *computer developed linguistic Atlas of England* (Viereck and Ramisch 1991, 1997) for which the data were taken from Harold Orton's *Survey of English Dialects*, published between 1962 and 1971.

The first three maps (or, for reasons of space, rather the legends to the maps) relate to gender diffusion, namely "If you want to know how heavy a thing is, what do you do? weigh it" (Figure 1), "Jack wants to have Tommy's ball and says to him, not: Keep it!, but ... Give it me" (Figure 2) and "Before your wife brings you the broth, she is certain to have [gesticulate] ... tasted it" (Figure 3). The answers are on the one hand quite similar, yet on the other there are also noticeable differences. On all three legends *it* occurs most often to be followed by

¹ Surprisingly, book publications on personal pronouns deal with these aspects only in passing; see, for example, Howe (1996) and Wales (1996).

en, *em*,² *him* and *them*. A look at the frequencies of occurrence of these last-mentioned forms, however, is revealing. On the legend *to weigh it*, *en* occurs 38 times and *him* 7 times, on the legend *Give it me* the numbers for *en* are 26 and for *em* 13, although *it* was suggested by the question. When we add the numbers for *en/him* and *en/em* they come very close to one another, namely 45 with *to weigh it* and 39 with *Give it me*. The situation is different with the legend *tasted it* where *en* was noted only 8 times and *em* only once. In addition the feminine pronoun *her* was elicited twice. The results are quite similar in questions of a related context, which for proportional reasons could not be mapped in our atlas, namely *to thicken it* (i.e. the gravy) with only 7 *en* forms, some of which added from the incidental material, one *him* and 2 *her* forms, one taken from the incidental material, *to cool it* (i.e. the tea) with one *en* form in Cornwall and *to bind it* (i.e. the corn), again with one *en* form in Cornwall, this time taken from the incidental material.³ The scarcity of *en* forms in all these last-mentioned cases can hardly be accidental. The answer to account for the differences between the first and the second group of things/objects, not of living entities, lies in the referent. When it is a count noun, such as *thing* and *ball*, it can be referred to with *him*, *en* and *em* in western and southwestern English dialects, when the referent is a mass noun like *broth* this possibility is quite restricted, almost non-existent. However, ten informants clustered in the north of England apparently consider *broth* a count noun as they answered with *them*.⁴ Such reclassifications of mass nouns as count nouns also occur in Standard English, of course: "*What breads have you got today?*" meaning 'kind of' or 'type of'" (Quirk *et al.* 1972: 128).

Pronoun exchange works both ways, so to speak: a subjective pronoun can be found in positions that usually require the objective case and vice versa. The *Give it me*-legend (Figure 2) provides examples of the first type: *give it I*, *give it to I*, *give en to I*. These cases required the nominative in Barnes' day and region, as noted by Schlauch. As the legend shows, this usage is still attested by Orton's survey in the southwest of England, although it is clearly a receding dialectal phenomenon: *me/us* dominate now even in that part of England. There are scattered instances in other questions of Orton's survey where *he* is used as the objective case, as, for example, in "I knowed *he* by his voice", "brought *he* up or

² *En* and *em* are derived from the Old English masc. acc. *hine* and the Old English masc. dative *him* respectively. *Hine* survived until the 14th century in the South. In the other areas it was replaced by the dative *him* two centuries earlier. *Em* could also be an assimilated form of *en*: see the answer *give em me* in a number of Devon and Cornwall localities (Figure 2).

³ In the answers to *to cool it* and *to bind it* the pronoun has, unfortunately, been omitted rather often.

⁴ The plural (*th*)*em* was noted once each in Lancashire and Norfolk with regard to *corn*.

“ask *he*”; *she* as object occurs even less often; cf. “stock *she* up” and “brought *she* up” (Wakelin 1972: 113f.).

The second type of pronoun exchange becomes apparent in the responses to the question “Which of you is English here? As for her you could answer ... *she* is” (Figure 4). *She* is the dominating form by far, whose Middle English origin is obscure.⁵ Moreover, we find *hoo* (from Old English *hēo*), *shoo* and what seems to be the object pronoun *her*, here used in subjective position. However, “*her* may simply be the unstressed reflex ([hə], [ə]) of O[ld] E[n]glish *hēo* ‘she’ plus the *r* which is often attached to final unstressed [ə]” in rhotic dialect areas (Wakelin 1972: 164; on *she*/(*h*)*er* see Black 1999).⁶ *Shoo* is confined to south-west Yorkshire. As it occurs between *she* and *hoo* forms to the west, *shoo* seems to be a blend of *she* and *hoo*.

In the answers to some questions of Orton’s survey *he*, going back to Old English *hēo* ‘she’, is found in scattered fashion, such as in Berkshire and Kent.⁷ In Middle English the use of *he* meaning ‘she’ was much more widespread, as the map in McIntosh *et al.* (1986: 308) shows. Wright (1902: *s.v.* ‘he’) noted *he* meaning ‘she’ and ‘it’ for a wide area mainly in the West Midlands and the southwest of England. The *Survey of English dialects* elicited *he* for *it* only occasionally, as in *bank he up* (once in Somerset) and *he is down* (once in Hampshire), both referring to the plashing of a hedge. Thus both uses of *he* are drastically receding in dialectal English and with them the lack of formal gender distinctions in the personal pronoun system which used to be a characteristic feature mainly in the dialects of the West of England.

The following general points emerge from the preceding paragraphs. One is that it is possible in dialectal English for the personal pronouns to exchange their subjective and objective roles, but the conditions under which these exchanges occur are anything but clear. From Elworthy in 1877, via Barnes in 1886, Kruisinga in 1905 and Wright in 1905, to Wakelin in 1972, we get the same explanation, namely that subject forms are used as emphatic object forms and object forms are used for the nominative when the pronouns are unemphatic. The term emphatic is, unfortunately, never specified and I do not see that personal pronouns are used emphatically – in the way I understand this term – in

⁵ Welna (1996: 102) mentions a number of theories on the origin of *she*.

⁶ Among the several converting questions of Orton’s survey, unfortunately, not a single one relates to *he/him* (on the use of *him* for *he* and vice versa cf. Wright (1902: *s.v.* ‘he’)), but there is one with regard to *we/us*: “If I say: You people aren’t English, you can contradict and say: Oh yes, ...we are”. Map M20 in Viereck and Ramisch (1997) attests *we* 283 times and *us* altogether 14 times in Devon and once each in Cornwall, Oxford and Berkshire.

⁷ The diphthong of Old English *hēo* ‘she’ was finally monophthongised to [ē] and thus merged with Old English *hē* ‘he’.

the responses mentioned: *Give it I or to I. I knowed he by his voice, brought he up or ask he.*

Other factors must play a role here, such as, for example, adjacency to verbs and/or prepositions or interrogative or question tag contexts (Wagner 2001).⁸ Another factor might be style (Ihalainen 1985: 160). All these factors lead to corpus research as the most promising means to single out the conditioning factors for this most interesting phenomenon.

The other point is, apart from the lack of formal gender distinctions, that the plural is used for the singular. On the legend to the map *Give it me* (Figure 2) the use of *us* for *me* is very widespread indeed (see also Wright 1905: *s.v.* ‘us’5).

The object case plural of the first person is also interesting with regard to the vowel, as the weak, unstressed form developed into present-day English – in contrast to the object case singular and subject case plural (*me* and *we*) where the strong forms prevailed. How do authors of historical grammars of English account for the difference?⁹

Welna notes: “The long vowel in *ūs* survived throughout the period [of Middle English] (cf. <uus> in the ‘Paston Letters’), but an early shortening is evidenced in Orm; cf. <uss>. Like in the pronoun *we/wē*, *length in us* depended on the presence or absence of stress” (1996: 101).¹⁰ Moreover, Welna offers the following explanation for post Middle English: “The failure of original [u:] to preserve length may have been caused by this short word functioning as an enclitic (cf. *let’s*, or *tell’s* in Shakespeare)” (1996: 101).

Pinsker (1969: 169) notes: “In weak stress all long vowels are shortened, e.g. *ūs* (Mod. Engl. dial. [auz]!) – *ūs* (> [ʌs])” (translated from German). The ‘e.g.’ in the quotation is strange since Pinsker only notes stressed forms for *mē* and *wē*, thus leaving only *ūs* ~ *ūs* anyhow. Also, the pronunciation [auz] that developed from the strong form and that, according to Pinsker, is found in modern dialectal English was neither recorded by Wright (1905) nor by the *Survey of Eng-*

⁸ Interrogative sentences had already been mentioned by Elworthy (1877) and Kruisinga (1905).

⁹ I have to be selective here, of course.

¹⁰ Fisiak and Krygier (2002: 231) investigate the spellings of selected features of the two manuscripts of Laȝamon’s *Brut*: “... both are assigned a date of composition in the second half of the thirteenth century; one of them, Cotton Caligula A IX, is usually localised in Worcestershire, while the other, Otho C XIII, is placed [by McIntosh *et al.* 1986] in Somerset”. Altogether three samples from each manuscript were obtained. With regard to the first person plural pronoun the authors conclude: “The only marked difference concerns oblique cases in the O₃ sample, where virtually the only acceptable spelling is <ous>, almost completely absent from all the other excerpts. This feature confirms the general impression that the later sections of the Otho MS are more advanced and innovative linguistically” (2002: 241). The authors are silent on pronunciation. The spelling <ous>, of course, reflects the long vowel, but taking Orm’s evidence into account the spellings <us> and <vs> might well hide an occasional shortening of the vowel.

lish dialects.¹¹ Faiss (1977: 193f.) has the following to say: "Apart from strong-stressed *ous*, [u:s], there exists in Middle English weakly stressed *us* [ʊs] that survives in Late Middle English and Early Modern English as well as in dialectal English [ʊz], but was replaced in Modern Standard English by [ʌs]. That Middle English [u:s] did not develop even in strong stress into Modern English [aus] is quite possibly connected with the little marked length of the vowel: rather [u:s] than [u:s]" (translated from German). It is inconceivable why only *us* should have had a half-long vowel and not *me* and *we*.

Mańczak (1987), who devotes a whole book to irregular sound change due to frequency, surprisingly does not mention this aspect. However, a look at the frequency figures may help to solve this problem. Hofland and Johansson (1982) present the following figures for British and American English respectively: *me* – 1,554 and 1,181, *we* – 2,926 and 2,653, and *us* only 657 and 672. In Thorndike and Lorge (1944) the discrepancy is still greater: *me* – 23,364, *we* – 17,996, and *us* – 4,943, are the numbers of occurrence in the Lorge magazine count. This is indeed suggestive, as both *me* and *we* must naturally have occurred much more often in stressed position than *us* and, consequently, the likelihood that the strong forms in *me* and *we* developed into present-day English was much greater. This also seems to be the reason why in the 3rd sg masculine subject case the Middle English strong form [he:] prevailed over the weak form [hɛ] in Modern English. The Lorge magazine count notes a frequency of 49,268 for *he*.

Frequency, no doubt, plays an important part in the history of language. The notion should, however, be used with caution. It is, of course, problematic to base diachronically related frequencies on frequency dictionaries of present-day English. However, a frequency dictionary of most of the earlier periods of English is still something we can only dream of, especially for the time between 1200 and 1900.

I would like to conclude with some remarks on possessive pronouns (see also Viereck 1996). The legend to map M20 of Viereck and Ramisch (1991) lists the responses to the question "How do we see?" and the legend to map M21 in Viereck – Ramisch (1997) those to the question "If you were asked, 'How did you know it was me talking outside when you couldn't see me?', you might reply: ...". As the legends show, possessives – not surprisingly – figure most prominently: *with our eyes* (Figure 5) and *I knew your voice* (Figure 6) respec-

¹¹ In comparison with *me* and *we*, *us* is the only form without onset. Of the two forms [ʊs] and [aus] the more difficult was dropped, perhaps immediately after the vowel shift (P. Gąsiorowski's observation). In agreement with the rules of fricative voicing in unstressed position the pronunciation [ʊz] survived well into the 20th century as [ʊz] or [əz] in dialects; see Wright (1905: s.v. 'us' and § 409) and the *Survey of English dialects*.

tively.¹² Yet, also the definite article occurs in scattered fashion: eight times both on the legends of Figure 5 and Figure 6. This is unusual in English, but normal in many other languages, such as German. Unlike English, German does not require possessives with inalienable possessions and personal belongings, cf. "Peter steckte *die* linke Hand in *die* Tasche" [Peter put *the* left hand in *the* pocket] versus English "Peter put *his* left hand in *his* pocket".

In English possessive pronouns can serve an anaphoric and a deictic function. Both functions can be differentiated by means of the following transformation. Quirk *et al.* (1985: 164) note:

Coreference between a subject and a noun phrase object blocks the passive correspondence. This constraint occurs with (a) reflexive pronouns ... and (c) possessive pronouns when coreferential to the subject:

- (a) John could see $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{Paul} \\ \text{himself} \end{array} \right\}$ in the mirror.
 ~ $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{Paul} \\ \text{*Himself} \end{array} \right\}$ could be seen in the mirror...
- (c) The woman shook $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{my hand.} \\ \text{her head.} \end{array} \right\}$
 ~ $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{My hand} \\ \text{?*Her head} \end{array} \right\}$ was shaken by the woman.

In (c) the possessive could also refer to some antecedent not mentioned in the sentence. This interpretation must be ruled out here since we are concerned with coreference between subject and object. (a) shows that sentences with a reflexive pronoun behave in the same way as those with inalienable possessions.

Our two-frame sentences show this important point, too. In "I knew *your* voice", the possessive could be substituted by other possessives (deictic function), whereas this is not possible in "We see with *our* eyes". In the case of inalienable possessions, the possessive may only refer to an antecedent already mentioned with which it must agree in person and number. A pronoun thus restricted to a mere anaphoric function is in its essence no longer a pronoun and

¹² "The use of the personal pronoun, nominative or objective, instead of the possessive is common in many dialects..." (Wright 1905: § 411). The *Survey of English dialects* still attested *us* 19 times and *we* twice on map M20 – in contrast, however, to an overwhelming *our* (255 occurrences), including *wur*, a mainly northern English variant. According to map M 21 the historical 2nd person singular *thy* was still very much embedded in the mid-20th century.

can therefore be dispensed with. It has lost its possessive function and is possessive only in form.

Quirk *et al.* (1985: 270) also point out that “with reference to parts of the body and following a preposition, *the* is often (my underlining) used instead of possessive pronouns *my, your, her, their, ...etc.*”

Mary banged herself on *the forehead*.
They pulled her by *the hair*.
The policeman took the thief by *the arm*.”

Although the frame sentence “We see *with* our eyes” also contains a preposition, the definite article was elicited only very rarely. Thus, the question arises whether the substitution of the possessive pronoun by the definite article can also be accounted for in a different way. The examples above show that the possessive pronoun can be substituted when the antecedent to which it refers is the object of the sentence or, to put it differently, when the owner is not the subject.

When the possessive agrees in person and number with the subject of the sentence, it is not clear whether the pronoun acts in an anaphoric or a deictic function in English (see above, sentence (c)). This is not so in other languages where the deictic function is taken over by a possessive and the anaphoric function by a reflexive possessive. This is the case, for instance, in Polish.

The history of English shows that subject-referring possessive pronouns once were reflexive possessives, just as they were and are in other languages now. Old English had a reflexive possessive *sīn* that was inflected and almost always referred to the subject (in all genders, both singular and plural) of the sentence. It was used almost exclusively in poetry (Bauer 1963). Cf. “and him Hroþgar gewat to hofe sinum” (*Beowulf*, 1236) or “se inwidda ... dryhtguman sine drencte mid wine” (*Judith*, K 129). Besides, the fully declined possessive adjectives, derived from the genitive forms of the personal pronouns, were available in Old English. Apart from cases where the possessor was one other than the subject, in the 3rd person singular *his*, *hi(e)re*, and plural *hi(e)ra* were largely used instead of *sīn* to express reflexive possessive relationships. Cf. “to þam ælmihtegan gode þe me mid his earmum worhte, her mid handum sinum” (*Genesis*, K 121) where variation between *his* and *sīn* even occurred. *Sīn* (together with *mīn* and *þīn*) inflected like strong adjectives whereas *his* remained uninflected in Old English. Both possibilities existed side by side and seemed to have been completely interchangeable in contrast to other languages, such as Latin (cf. *suus* vs. *ēius*). As early as in late Old English *sīn* had disappeared and *his*, etc., continued alone in this function. Of all the grammars I checked only Strang comments on the importance of this change and tries to explain it: “*John took his book*” would have distinct forms in O[ld] E[nglish] according to whether *his* = *his own* or *another man's*. This useful distinction has had since

M[iddle] E[nglish] to be rendered in more long-winded ways; it is possibly one of the grammatical casualties of a period of bilingualism” (1970: 303).

Diachronic deliberations thus support the thesis of the reflexive character of the English possessive pronouns with reference to inalienable possessions and personal belongings.

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APPENDIX

Figure 1.

M 13: I.7.1 To weigh it		
<i>If you want to know how heavy a thing is, what do you do?</i>		
# weigh it Man1,Man2 Nb2,Nb3,Nb4,Nb5 Nb6,Nb7,Nb8,Nb9 Cu1,Cu2,Cu3,Cu4 Cu5,Cu6 Du1,Du2,Du3,Du4 Du5,Du6 We1,We2,We3,We4 La1,La2,La3,La5 La6,La7,La8,La9 La10,La13,La14 Y2,Y3,Y4,Y5,Y6 Y7,Y8,Y9,Y10,Y11 Y14 ⁵ ,Y15,Y16,Y17 Y18 ⁵ ,Y19,Y20,Y21 Y22,Y24,Y25,Y26 Y27,Y28,Y29,Y30 Y31,Y32,Y33,Y34 Cz2,Cz3,Cz4,Cz5 Cz6 Db1,Db2,Db4,Db5 Db6,Db7 Nt1,Nt2,Nt4 L1,L2,L3,L4,L5,L6 L7,L8,L9,L11,L12 L13,L14,L15 Sa1,Sa2,Sa3,Sa4 Sa5,Sa6,Sa7,Sa8 Sa9,Sa10,Sa11 Srt1,Srt2,Srt3,Srt4,Srt5 Srt6,Srt7,Srt8,Srt9 Srt10 Le1,Le2,Le3,Le4 Le5,Le6,Le7,Le8 Le9,Le10 R1,R2 He2,He4,He5,He6 He7 Wo1,Wo2,Wo3,Wo4 Wo5,Wo6 ⁵ Wa1,Wa2,Wa3,Wa4 Wa5,Wa6,Wa7 Nht1,Nht2,Nht3 Nht4,Nht5 Hu1,Hu2 C1,C2 Nt1,Nt2,Nt3,Nt4 Nt5,Nt6,Nt7,Nt8 Nt9,Nt10 ⁵ ,Nt11,Nt12 Nt13 Srt1,Srt2,Srt3,Srt4,Srt5 Mon1,Mon2,Mon3 Mon4,Mon5,Mon6 Gt1,Gt2,Gt6,Gt7 O1,O2,O3,O4 Bk1,Bk2,Bk3,Bk4 Bk5,Bk6 Bd1,Bd2,Bd3	Hrt1,Hrt2,Hrt3 Ess1,Ess2,Ess3 Ess4,Ess5,Ess7 Ess8,Ess9,Ess10 Ess11,Ess12,Ess13 Ess14,Ess15 Mst1 So1,So2,So3,So6 So7,So8,So9,So10 So11,So12 Wt1,Wt4,Wt7,Wt8 Bkt1,Bkt2,Bkt3 Srt1,Srt2,Srt3,Srt4 Srt5 K1,K2,K3,K4,K5 ⁵ K6,K7 Do2 Sx1,Sx2,Sx4,Sx5 Sx6 # it Nht1 ⁷ La4 ⁷ ,La12 ⁷ Y1 ⁷ ,Y12 ⁷ # weigh it off Bkt4 Sx3 # heft it Mon4 Ha7 # scale it Bkt3 # weigh en Gt3,Gt4 So5,So13 W2,W3,W5,W6,W7 ⁷ W9 Co1,Co2,Co3,Co4 Co5,Co6,Co7 D1,D2,D3,D4,D5 D6,D7,D8,D9,D10 D11 Do1,Do3,Do4,Do5 Ha1,Ha2,Ha3,Ha5 Ha6 # weight en Ha4 # weigh him Ch1 Do3 Srt11 He1,He3 Wt6 Bkt5 weigh Nb1 Le4,La11,La12	# (259) # en (38) # him (7)
# usually, familiarly * rare, occasionally; less common # older, obsolete # modern, newer # (strong) pressure; suggested form/word # preferred # excerpted from incidental material # same symbol for more than one response x no response # irrelevant response # unwanted response		

Figure 2.

M 19: IX.8.2 Give it me

Jack wants to have Tommy's ball and says to him, not: Keep it!, but: ...

<p>give us it: Nb2,Nb4,Nb5 Nb5,Nb7,Nb8 Cu4,Cu2,Cu3 Cu4,Cu5,Cu6 Du1,Du2,Du3 Du4,Du5,Du6 We2,We4 La4,L1,85 Y1,Y2,Y3,Y5 Y7,Y10,Y13,Y14 Y16,Y17,Y19,Y20 Y22,Y24,Y27 Y29 N11,N12 L2,L3,L7,L14 S11 He1,He2 Wo5 Wa5 N1N2,N1H4 Hu1 C1 N14,N15,4 N1F0,N1H1,N1H3 S11,S12 Mon1,Mon2 G12 O3,O4,O5 Bk5 Bd2,Bd3 Ess5,Ess10 MxL1,MxL2 Sr4,Sr3 K2,K5 Sx6</p>	<p>Mon3,Mon4,Mon5 O1 Bk1,Bk3 Hr12,Hr13 Ess2 MxL1 Brk3 Sr1 K4,K6 Sx4 give me it: Nb1,Nb3,Nb9 We1,We3 La1,La2,La3 La9 Y4,Y6,Y8,Y11 Y12,Y15,Y23 Y25,Y28,Y30 N11,N13 L1,L4,L5,L6 L8,L9,L12,L13 L15 Lei1,Lei8 N14,N15,4 N1F0,N1H1,N1H3 S11,S12 Mon1,Mon2 G12 O3,O4,O5 Bk5 Bd2,Bd3 Ess5,Ess10 MxL1,MxL2 Sr4,Sr3 K2,K5 Sx6</p>	<p>Sr2⁵ K3 Sx3,Sx5 give it to me: Y17⁹ L10 S16 W6 N13,N18,N17 S13,S15 G1 O2 Ess10,Ess12 So2,So9,So10,3¹ So2 W2 K1,K2,K7 D10 Do2,Do4 He4,He7 Sx1 Men1 L15 Lei1,Lei8 N1H1 Hu2 G16,G17 O6 Brk1,Brk2,Brk4 Sx2 Bk2 Bd1 Hr1 Ess1,Ess4,Ess6 Ess7,Ess8,Ess9 Ess10 Sr4 He4 Man2 give it to i: So3,So11 W4,W6,W8 O5 Do4⁵,Do5 give us hold on it: L6 Y32,Y33 give us it here: S5 S19 give it to us: So1,So7 lend us hold on it: Y32 give it here: S17 S18 give it to me back: Ess14 give it: back to i: W1 O give an to me: So5,So6,So8 W3 D1,D4,D6,D7</p>	<p>D8 Do3 Hr2,He5 give en to i: So13 W4¹,W5,W8 W9 Do1 O give us en: G14,G15 H3 O give an us: G13 O give en back to me: So6 O give en back to us: So7 O give an me: W7 O give en to us: He6 give em to me: So10 Co1,Co3,Co5 Co7 D2,O3 A give em me: Co2,Co4,Co6 D9,D11 A give em to us: He1 give me that ball: Y9¹ Ess3⁹,Ess5⁹ S18⁹ Y48⁹ N1H3⁹ S14⁹ give us the ball: He7⁹ give me your ball: wo7⁹ give us that ball: wa2⁹ Br15⁹ give me that: Ess7⁹ Brk3⁹ Sr5⁹ give us your ball: Ess11⁹</p>	<p>give us thick ball: So4⁹ give us: Brk4⁹ give me: Sr5⁹</p>	<p>□ I (279) ○ en (26) △ em (13)</p>	<p>○ usually, familiarly ○ rare, occasionally, less common ○ older, obsolete ○ modern, newer ○ (strong) pressure, suggested form/word ○ preferred ○ excerpted from incidental material ○ same symbol for more than one response x no response s irrelevant response 9 unwanted response</p>
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Figure 3.

M 14: V.7.20.2 tasted it

Before your wife brings you the broth, she is certain to have [gesticulate] ...

<p>lasted it Man1,Man2 Nb3,Nb5,Nb8 Cu3,Cu5 Du6 We2,We3 La2,La3,La5,La6 La7,La9,La10,La12 La13,La14 Y1,Y2³,Y3¹,Y4,Y6 Y9,Y10,Y11,Y14 Y22,Y23,Y24,Y25 Y26,Y28,Y29,Y32 Y33,Y34 Ch1,Ch2,Ch3,Ch4 Do1,Do2,Do4,Do5 D7 N12,N14 L3,L6,L7,L9,L13 L14 Sa1,Sa2,Sa3,Sa4 Sa5,Sa6,Sa7,Sa8 Sa9,Sa10,Sa11 S12,S13,S14,S15,S16 S17,S18,S19,S110 Lei1,Lei2,Lei3,Lei4 Le5¹,Le6,Le7,Le8 Le9,Lei10 R1,R2 He1,He3,He4,He5 He6,He7 Wo1,Wo2,Wo3,Wo4 Wo5,Wo6,Wo7 Wa1,Wa2,Wa3,Wa4 Wa5,Wa6,Wa7 N1H1,N1H3,N1H4 Hu1,Hu2 C1 N11,N15,N110,N111 N12² S11,S12,S10 Mon1,Mon2,Mon3 Mon4,Mon6,Mon7 G11,G14,G16,G17 O4,O5,O6 Bk1,Bk2,Bk3,Bk4 Bk5 Bd1,Bd2,Bd3 Hr1,Hr2,Hr3 Ess1,Ess2,Ess3 Ess4,Ess5,Ess7 Ess8,Ess9,Ess10 Ess11,Ess12,Ess13 Ess14,Ess15 MxL1,MxL2 So1,So2,So3,So5 So6,So7,So8,So9 So11,So12</p>	<p>W1,W2,W3,W6,W7 W8,W9 Brk3,Brk4 Sr1,Sr3,Sr4 K1¹,K2,K3,K4,K5 K6,K7 Co1,Co2,Co3,Co4 D2,D3,D4,D5,D6 D7,D8,D9,D10,D11 Do1,Do2,Do3,Do4 Do5 Ha1,Ha2,Ha4,Ha5 Ha7 Sx1,Sx2,Sx6 tasted on it Nb4,Nb7,Nb9 Y31 N11 L5,L10 N12,N15¹,N16,N17 N19,N113 G6 O1,O2 Ha6 taste it Wo4 La11 Y5,Y7,Y8,Y18 N13 L1,L4 So13 Wo1 Sr1¹,Sr2,Sr5 Sx3,Sx4,Sx5</p>	<p>sipped it Y10 tasted them Nb5 Cu1,Cu2,Cu4 Du1,Du5 We1 taste them Cu6 Du2,Du4 tasted en G13 Brk2 Co5,Co6 Ha3 test en Co4² savour en a bit Co7 taste en G6 Co7 tasted Du3 Ch6 L15 S11,S111 C2 N4 O3 Brk1 taste Y13,Y15,Y19 L2,L12 tasted em Db3 tasted her Db6 tasted on her N1N2 have a taste N11¹</p>	<p>□ I (268) △ them (10) ○ en (8)</p>
<p>○ usually, familiarly ○ rare, occasionally, less common ○ older, obsolete ○ modern, newer ○ (strong) pressure, suggested form/word ○ preferred ○ excerpted from incidental material ○ same symbol for more than one response x no response s irrelevant response 9 unwanted response</p>	<p>○ usually, familiarly ○ rare, occasionally, less common ○ older, obsolete ○ modern, newer ○ (strong) pressure, suggested form/word ○ preferred ○ excerpted from incidental material ○ same symbol for more than one response x no response s irrelevant response 9 unwanted response</p>		

Figure 4.

M 18: IX.7.7.3 she is

Which of you is English here? As for her you could answer...

- she is: Nb1,Nb2,Nb3,Nb4,Nb5 Nb6,Nb7,Nb8,Nb9 Cu1,Cu2,Cu3,Cu4,Cu5 Cu6 Du1,Du2,Du3,Du4,Du5 Du6 We1,We2,We3,We4 Le1,Le2,Le3,Le4,Le5 Y1,Y2,Y3,Y4,Y5,Y6,Y7,Y8 Y9,Y12,Y13,Y15,Y17 Y19,Y22,Y24,Y33,Y34 Db2 N1,N12,N13,N14 L1,L2,L3,L4,L5,L6,L7 L8,L9,L10,L12,L13,L14 L15 Le11,Le12,Le13,Le14 Le15,Le16,Le17,Le18 Le19,Le10 R1,R2 He7 We1,We3 N1,N1,N12,N13,N14 N15 Hu1,Hu2 C1,C2 N1,N12,N13,N14,N15 N16,N17,N19,N10,N11 N12,N13 S1,S12,S13,S14,S15 Mon3,Mon5,Mon6 O4,O5 Bk2,Bk4,Bk5 Bc1,Bc2,Bc3 Hr1,Hr12,Hr13 Ess1,Ess2,Ess3,Ess4 Ess5,Ess6,Ess7,Ess8 Ess9,Ess10,Ess11,Ess12 Ess13,Ess14,Ess15 Hx1,Hx2 So1,So2,So3,So4 W5,W6 Sr1,Sr2,Sr3,Sr4,Sr5 K1,K2,K3,K4,K5,K6,K7 Co4,Co5,Co6,Co7 Do2,Do5 He2,He3,He4,He6 Sr1 Mon1,Mon2

- Sx2
- Other is: Le12 Ch5 Db4,Db7 Se2,Se5 S12,S13,S14,S15,S16 S17,S19,S10,S11 He1,He2,He3,He4,He5 He6 We1,We3,We4,We6 We4,We5,We6,We7 Mon1,Mon2 G2,G13,G14,G16,G17 O1 Bk3 So5,So6,So7,So8,So9 So13 W2,W4,W6,W9 Br14 Co1,Co2,Co3 D1,D2,D3,D5,D6,D8,D9 D10,D11 Do1,Do2,Do4 He1,He5
- Other be: S18 We4 G1,G5 Bk1 W1,W3,W7 Brk1,Brk2,Brk4 D4,D7
- Other bin: Chb Se1,Se3,Se4,Se6,Se7 Se8,Se9,Se10,Se11 Wo2
- Other's: So10,So12
- Other dist: Wo5
- Other is: Le5,Le6,Le7,Le8 Le9,Le10,Le11,Le13 Le14 Y21,Y29,Y30 Ch1,Ch3,Ch4 Db1,Db2,Db3,Db5,Db6 S11
- Other oo is: Y23,Y26,Y31,Y32

- she be: Mon4 O2,O3,O6 So1,So11 Br13 He7 Sx3,Sx4,Sx5,Sx6
- she's: So12 Br15

- usually, familiarly
- rare, occasionally, less common
- older, obsolete
- modern, never
- (strong) pressure, suggested form/word
- preferred
- excerpted from incidental material
- same symbol for more than one response
- x no response
- irrelevant response
- unwanted response

- she (184)
- her (193)
- hao (21)
- shoo (14)

Figure 5.

M 20: VI.3.3 With our eyes

How do we see?

- our eyes: Nb3 Cu1,Cu2,Cu3 Cu4 Du5 We1 Le1,Le8,Le13 Le14 Y2,Y4,Y8,Y16 Y19,Y20,Y25 Y28 Ch1,Ch4,Ch5 Ch6 Db2,Db4,Db6 Db7 N1,N12,N13 N14 L2,L5,L8,L18 L9,L10,L12 L13,L14,L15 Se1,Se2,Se3 Se4,Se5,Se6 Se7,Se9,Se10 Se11 S17,S19 Le11,Le12 Le13,Le14 Le15,Le16 Le17,Le18 Le19,Le10 R1,R2 He1,He2,He4 He5,He6,He7 We1,We3,We5 We6,We7 We1,We2,We3 We4,We5,We6 We7 N12,N13 N14,N15 Hu1,Hu2 C1,C2 N16,N19 N10,N11,N12 S11,S12,S13 S15 Mon1,Mon2 Mon4,Mon5 Mon6 G14,G15,G16 G17 O1,O2,O3,O4 O5,O6 Bk1,Bk2,Bk3 Bk4

- Bd2,Bd3 Hr11,Hr12 Ess1,Ess2 Ess3,Ess4 Ess5,Ess6 Ess7,Ess8 Ess9,Ess11 Ess12,Ess13 Ess15 Hx1,Hx2 So3,So5,So7 So8,So9,So12 W1,W2,W3 W4,W6,W9 Sr1,Sr3 K3,K3,K4,K5 Co1,Co2,Co3 Co4,Co5,Co6 Co7 D1,D2,D4,D5 D6,D7,D8,D10 D11 Do3,Do4,Do5 He2,He3,He4 He5,He6,He7 Sr1,Sx3,Sx5 Hant
- our een: Cu6 Du3,Du6 We3,We4 Le2,Le7,Le9 Le12 Y3,Y6,Y9,Y18 Y22
- by our eyes: So4,So11 So13 So10
- through our eyes: S11 S8 He3 Sx2,Sx4 Sx6 Hant
- through our een: Wo2 Cu5 Du4 Y7 Ess14
- with eyes: Y14

- our een: Nb4,Nb5,Nb9 Le4,Le5,Le6 Le10,Le11 Y1,Y5,Y11,Y12 Y13,Y14 Y15,Y17,Y23
- wur eyes: Nb1,Nb2,Nb8 Nb7,Nb8 Du1,Du2 We2 Le3 Y7,Y10 L1,L4 N11 N11
- by wur eyes: L3
- with us eyes: Y24,Y26,Y27 Y27,Y34 Ch2,Ch3 Db5 S15,S16
- with our eyes: N10 N10,So6 Sr1,So2,So3 Brk1,Brk2 Brk3 Sr1,Sr2 Sr4,Sr5 K1,K6 Sx2,Sx4 Sx6 Hant
- with the eyes: L7 with looking out your eyes: L11 by the eye: S14,S18 Ess10
- with we eyes: S11 S14
- through your eyes: Wo4 Hant
- with my own eyes: N13
- with both eyes: N15
- with your eye: So1
- by your eyes: W7 K7

- usually, familiarly
- rare, occasionally, less common
- older, obsolete
- modern, never
- (strong) pressure, suggested form/word
- preferred
- excerpted from incidental material
- same symbol for more than one response
- x no response
- irrelevant response
- unwanted response

- our (221)
- wur (34)
- us (19)

Figure 6.

M 21: VI.5.17 I knew your voice

If you were asked: How did you know it was me talking outside
when you couldn't see me?, you might reply: ...

<p>0 I knew your voice Nb1.Nb3.Nb6.Nb7 Nb8 Du1 Ch6 Dh2 Nf3.Nf4 L2.L3.L4.L6.L8.L9 L11 Sa3 S7 Lei1.Le3 He5 Wa2.Wa3.Wa4.Wa7 Nh1.Nh4 Hu1 C2 Nf10 S1.S12.S14.S15 O1 Bh2.Bh3.Bh4 Bd1.Bd2.Bd3 Hf2 Ess1.Ess2.Ess5.Ess6 Ess8.Ess15 Mx1.MxL2 K2 Ha4.Ha7 S2.S5</p>	<p>0 I could tell your voice La14 Y5 Ch4.Ch5 Dh4.Dh7 S11.S110 Wa6.Wa7 So1 0 I kenned your voice Nb1.Nb3.Nb5 Du2 Y1.Y3.Y15.Y16 0 I know your voice Nb2 La5 S15 Wa1 N1.N11.N12 0 I know by your voice L5 Ess10.Ess13 Sx6 0 I knew your voice Man2 Nf2 Nf6 Hf3 0 I knew you by your voice He7 Mon2 Ess12 Bk2 0 I heard your voice Y2 Nf9 So1 0 I went by your voice S15 Ess3 Nf2.Nf3 Hu1.Hu2 C1 Mon1.Mon3.Mon5 Mon6 G15 O2.O5.O6 Dk1 Hf1 Ess11 So2 Sf1 D11 0 by your voice S16 Nf2.Nf7 Ess7 Wf7 Bk3.Bk4.Bk5 Sf3.Sf4.Sf5 Sx1.Sx3.Sx4</p>	<p>0 I knowed your hearg Sa10 0 I owned your voice D6 0 I knew by your voice K3 0 I knew it was you by your voice Sf2 0 I knowed by the sound of your voice Ess14 0 I heard your voice Ess3 0 I recognised your voice Lx5 0 I knowed by your voice Sf3 0 I know your voice Nf4 0 I told by your voice Nf5 0 I sounded like your voice Lei7 0 I tell by your voice Sf4 0 I knowed you by your voice Sa1 0 I kenned you by your voice Y15 0 I knowed thy voice La4.La10 Y32 Dh5 Wg2 Gf2.Gf6 Sf3.Sf4.Sf5.Sf7 So1.So10.So12 Wf2.Wf3.Wf4.Wf5.Wf6 Wf8.Wf9 Co2.Co4.Co5.Co6 Co7 D1.D2.D3.D4.D5.D7 Do3.Do4 Ha1.Ha3.Ha5.Ha6 0 I kenned thy voice Cu1.Cu2.Cu4.Cu5 Cu6 Du3.Du4.Du5.Du6 Wa1.Wa2.Wa3.Wa4 La3 Y8.Y7.Y13.Y19 0 I could tell thy voice La6.La7.La8.La9 La11.La12.La13 Y4.Y23.Y33.Y34 Ch1.Ch3 Do1.Do3.Dh6</p>	<p>0 I knew thy voice Cu3 La2.La4.La6.La7 Y9.Y14.Y18.Y21.Y22 Y24.Y25.Y27.Y28 So11 0 I owned thy voice Y26.Y29 D6.D9 0 I could tell by thy voice La10 Y4.Y11.Y33 0 I knowed by thy voice Y12.Y31 L1 0 I heard thy voice O4 Y10.Y20* 0 kenned thy voice Nf3 Cu3? 0 I could tell thee by thy voice Y32 Gf3 0 I telled thy voice Y17 0 I knew it were thy voice Y27 0 we could own thy voice Y30 0 we owned thy voice Y30 0 I knowed it was thee by thy voice Gf7 0 I knew thee by thy voice Sf9 0 I knowed thee by thy voice Sf13 0 I could own thy voice D10 0 I'd know thy voice Do5 I know him by his voice Man1 kenned his voice Y8 I knowed his voice L10 Nf8 O3 Sf8 X1 Co1.Co3 Do1 Sf5? I knowed the voice Sa2</p>	<p>Lei1? I could tell him by his voice Sf3 I can tell his voice Sf8 I could tell by his voice Sf11 I knowed his hearg Wf3 I know his voice Nf5.Nf13 I heard you Mon7 I telled thee by the voice Gf4 I heard you yapping Wf3 I know the voice Ess4.Ess9 K5 I could hear thee So6 I heard his voice So8 by the voice Bk1 I knowed him by his voice K4.K7 I knowed him by his chatter H4 I know him by the voice K6 I knowed him by his brogue K7 I knowed he by his voice Cu3? I knowed the voice of em Co6? I knowed who it were with his yap Do2 I could tell by the voice Ha2</p>
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your (192)
 thy (113)

- usually, familiarly
 rare, occasionally;
less common
 older, obsolete
 modern, newer;
 (strong) pressure;
suggested formword
 preferred
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incidental material
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Definition, Usage and a list of Dialect Examples in common speech and literature. The language used by the people of a specific area, class, district or any other group of people. Dialects in American and British English. There have been several very unique dialects in literature in the past, out of which some have grown to be more dominant. Old and middle English had distinctive regional dialects. A. C. Baugh pointed out that in one place, at times, you can mark three dialectal regions in a single shire. Modern American English consists of dialects such as Eastern New England, Mid-southern, Inland Northern, Southern, General American North, Midland, New York, and Black English Vernacular. Function of Dialect.