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The Phonetic Form of the Definite Article and Some Other Linguistic Features in Parts of Lancashire and Greater Manchester County: A Reply to John Kerins

Graham Shorrocks

In an article in *Lore and Language*, John Kerins examined variation in nonstandard realisations of the definite article in a part of "Lancashire".[1] His study centred on Adlington and Chorley, although, if we take the birthplaces of several informants into account, it transcends the present-day county boundaries.[2] I think that the sampling techniques used probably compromise the study—certainly the small size of the groups does, and the quantity of material transcribed also seems to constitute a problem: "Some of the figures are based on a very small number of occurrences and in Group One the two participants who had low index scores on the previous analysis did not produce the variable under analysis here."[3] For present purposes I will accept Kerins' comments about lack of time and resources, and therefore the essentially provisional nature of the study, and will concentrate on matters relating to the phonetic realisations of the definite article. I will append one or two comments on the "other linguistic features" that Kerins picked out.

I am basing my comments here on a number of sources: Hargreaves' *Grammar of the Dialect of Adlington*, Ellis' *On Early English Pronunciation*, Part V, the *Basic Material* of the Survey of English Dialects (SED), and my own work on the dialect in and around Bolton.[4] In Ellis' classification, Adlington, Chorley and other locations mentioned by Kerins fall within district D22, western North Midland.[5] It seems reasonable to extrapolate from my previous work on the Bolton and Wigan areas: *On Early English Pronunciation*, Part V has Bolton and Wigan within the same district as Chorley and Adlington, namely D22, and, whilst there are subdivisions within D22, these are not characterised by differences in the realisation of the definite article.[6] Of the SED localities, La 12 (Harwood) is on the

outskirts of Bolton. La 12, La 11 (Eccleston), La 9 (Reid) and La 8 (Ribchester) surround Chorley and Adlington, although none is very close. Again, no great differences are to be noted in the realisations of the definite article.[7]

In Kerins' study, "the nonstandard realisation of the definite article as a glottal stop was selected as the main variable to be analysed".[8] Here it must be said that the definite article, when preceding a word that begins with a consonant (or glide), does not, in a strict sense, take the form of a *glottal stop*—such as might occur in Cockney [bɛʔə] "better", for instance.[9] Rather, there is *glottal stricture*[10] or *constriction*,[11] but the exact form of the article will depend on the phonetic context. The following phrases will illustrate this variation:

1.	[tʃɔp͡ʔ tʃëps]	"chop the chips"
2.	[ɪp͡ʔ bɔ̣ː]	"hit the ball"
3.	[ɪt͡ʔ ˈtʻak͡ʔɬ̩]	"in the tackle"
4.	[ˈɪːvn̩t͡ʔ ˌjʏːˈnaːɪtɪd]	"even the United"[12]
5.	[ɪmp͡ʔ mɪɬ]	"in the mill"

Example 1 shows how, when the word preceding the article and noun ends in a plosive, that plosive is glottalised, but not audibly released, whilst the initial consonant of the following noun may be released with considerable expiratory energy. I want to stress here that, although the /p/ of *chop is* not released, it is nevertheless not simply a glottal stop, for there is bilabial closure synchronous with the glottal closure. Note that if the word preceding the article ends in a voiced plosive, there is total or partial devoicing of that plosive under the influence of the glottal stricture. If the word preceding the article ends in an alveolar plosive, that plosive may well assimilate to a following bilabial or velar plosive, resulting in a strong geminate, as in example 2. After words ending in a vowel (example 3) or /m,n,r,l/ (example 4), the definite article takes the form of a glottalised plosive, which is bilabial after /m/; after /n,r,l/, the plosive is alveolar, but may well assimilate to a following bilabial or velar plosive. Extension of such assimilation is evident in example 5, where the final /n/ of *in* has also become bilabial. When the noun begins with a vowel, the definite article takes the form of glottal stricture + /θ/:

[ɔːɬt͡ʔ θɛɪt]	"all the eight"
[bɪt͡ʔ θeːv]	"by the half"
[kʊmp͡ʔ ˈθaŋgᵊlɪn ˈsɣ̈ːzn̩]	"come the angling season"
[sɪid̥͡ʔ θɜʏd]	"*seed* [saw] the old".[13]

The foregoing will perhaps be sufficient to indicate that the definite article cannot simply be described as a glottal stop.[14] We are dealing here with a transition phenomenon, the form of the article being conditioned by the phonetic environment.

Kerins also writes that "this glottal stop can be reduced", in a passage that makes very little sense to me (especially with respect to the precise meaning/ referent of *This* and *contracted* in line 2, and *reduced* in line 5):

> Speakers of RP have two realisations of the definite article, [ðə] before a consonant... and [ðɪ] before a vowel . . . This is contracted in Lancashire speech however where the definite article is reduced to a glottal stop, [ʔ], before a consonant, [ɒn ʔ tɒp] "on the top". Evidence from the data shows that this glottal stop can be reduced when preceded by a dental or alveolar consonant: for example, [oːl ʔtaɪm] "all the time", can be reduced to [oː ʔtaɪm]. Equally, [nɪp ɪnʔ ʃɒp], "nip in the shop", is reduced to [nɪp ɪʔ ʃɒp].[15]

I will restrict myself to three points: (1) The comparative approach is inappropriate here: it sounds as if the dialect forms are derived from RP. (2) It makes no phonetic sense at all to speak of the reduction of the glottal stop. (3) The word *all* is pronounced without /l/ and the word *in* without /n/ quite regularly in these dialects, and the presence or absence of the said consonants has nothing whatsoever to do with the definite article, as [ɔ· əv ʊm] "all of them", [ɪ ðɪəɹ] "in there".[16] Similarly, the realisation of the preposition *with* as /wɪ/ has absolutely nothing to do with a following definite article. In respect of the prepositional phrase [wɪʔ slæʃə] "with the slasher", Kerins writes: "Another interesting feature is the elision of the final voiced fricative with the definite article producing the glottal stop",[17] where the meaning of *elision* and *with* is unclear. /wɪ/ is in fact a quite normal realisation of *with* in the traditional vernacular—the usual one, I would say—and occurs even before a vowel, e.g. [wɪ̤ɪm] "with him". The absence of /ð/ has nothing to do with the definite article, since /wɪ/ is not distributionally restricted. The difference between /wɪ/ and /wɪð/ is one of code, or style.

Other phonetic points are also somewhat disturbing. [ɒ] in *shop,* etc., [e] in *hedge*, etc., and [æ] in *slasher*, etc.[18] look to me more like RP phoneme symbols than phonetic symbols appropriate to Adlington or Chorley. Further, intervocalic [ʔ] in words such as [gʊʔɪn]—indeed a feature more typical of the speech of younger age groups—does not contrast with "a voiced alveolar plosive", as in "[pʊɖɪn] 'putting' ".[19] [ɖ] in IPA notation represents "a voiced retroflex (i.e. apico-postalveolar) stop",[20] not the *voiced alveolar flap* which occurs in these and many other dialects, and to which

Kerins is presumably alluding. The usual symbols for the voiced alveolar flap are [D,ɾ], although [D] is not an IPA symbol.[21] Kerins also observes that intervocalic [ʔ] in *getting*, *better*, *lot of homework*, *lot of trees*, etc., "contrasts with the usual medial /t/ which can be replaced by" what he takes to be a voiced alveolar plosive (represented as a retroflex plosive).[22] Two points: (1) In a phonological sense the sounds do not contrast; (2) in the examples given the glottal stop is in free variation with /tθ/ (*better*), [ɾ] (all words), [ɹ] (all words) and just about any other realisation of /t/ (all words).[23]

Kerins notes that, when speakers hesitate, the form of the article is glottalisation + /t/, not the /θ/ that occurs before words beginning with a vowel. This is a quite fascinating point. An example from the Chorley-Adlington area is:

[ɪn ʔt ə sɪkspenəθ]
"in the er sixpennyworth"[24]

Similarly, from Farnworth:

[fɻ ʉˈmp͡ʔ tˈɜː]
"from the er . . . "[25]

It seems that /t/ is the underlying phoneme, the form which the speaker "has in mind".[26] Only if a noun or modifier beginning with a vowel has been selected can /θ/ occur. The hesitation form, despite its vocalic quality, does not constitute a vowel phoneme.

Finally, I will add a few observations on Kerins' "other linguistic features".[27] (1) The use of /θ/ in words such as [sθraɪks] "strikes", [dɪsθrɪkt] "district" and [θrʊbl̩] "trouble" is indeed a characteristic feature of the traditional vernacular of the area.[28] These examples, however, do not illustrate the complete range of environments in which interdental fricatives are used where RP has alveolar stops. The environments are specified and exemplified in detail in *A Grammar of the Dialect of Farnworth and District*.[29] (2) Kerins notes generalised *-s* endings in the non-past tense of some verbs, which are not "instances of narrative".[30] Generalised *-s* endings can be used to mark habitual aspect.[31] Hence I *listens to it*, i.e. "it is my habit to listen to it." The second and third persons singular take *-s* anyway, and the third person plural tends to take *-s* if the subject is a noun phrase rather than a pronoun. A generalised *-s* ending is, of course, also used in narrative for the dramatic narration of past events. (3) I will conclude with three minor points essentially in the form of questions: (a) Might it not be better to avoid

referring to uses of dialectal *were* as "'plural forms' throughout the paradigm",[32] even if "plural forms" does occur between inverted commas? There is no singular-plural distinction in the dialectal preterite of the verb *to be*. In my view, the comparative terminology does not help here. (b) *How many* verbs were elicited that conform to the pattern *come, come, come*?[33] (c) Should "present tense" not read "preterite" in line 8 on p.87?

Notes

1. John Kerins, "An Analysis of the Non-standard Realisation of the Definite Article by Four Generations of Speakers in Lancashire", *Lore and Language*, 7.1 (1988), 77-89.
2. The county boundaries were redrawn in 1974 on the basis of recommendations made by the Maud Commission and incorporated into the Local Government Act of 1972. Parts of what was formerly south Lancashire now belong to Greater Manchester County and Merseyside.
3. Kerins, 86.
4. See Graham Shorrocks, *A Grammar of the Dialect of Farnworth and District (Greater Manchester County, Formerly Lancashire)*. PhD thesis, University of Sheffield, 1980. University Microfilms International, microform and xerographic form, ref. no. 81-70, 023. See further my "The Definite Article in the Dialect of Farnworth and District", *Orbis*, xxxiv 1985–1987 [1991] [1992]. For a detailed account of the glottalisation of *to* in infinitive phrases, which parallels the realisations of the definite article as glottal stricture, see my "Infinitive Phrases in the Urban Dialects of the Bolton and Wigan Areas (Greater Manchester County, Formerly Lancashire)", *Zeitschrift für Dialektologie und Linguistik* LVII/1 (1990), 28-41. Glottalisation is discussed more generally in my "Glottalisation and Gemination in an English Urban Dialect", *Canadian Journal of Linguistics*, 33.1 (1988), 59-64. Full bibliographical details of the works by Ellis and Hargreaves, and of the SED *Basic Material*, are given in subsequent notes.
5. See Alexander J. Ellis, *On Early English Pronunciation*, Part V: *The Existing Phonology of English Dialects Compared with that of West Saxon Speech*, London, Trübner and Co. for the Philological Society, the Early English Text Society, and the Chaucer Society, pp.329ff.
6. Cp. Ellis, op. cit., pp.330f. In the illustrative transcriptions (pp.332-37), there is little difference between the Westhoughton version (= Bolton and Wigan) and the Leyland version (= Chorley and Leyland) as far as the definite article is concerned.
7. Cp. the responses to SED questions IV.4.1, V.6.6, V.8.12, VI.6.2, VI.7.9, VI.13.6, VI.14.14 and IX.8.8. See Harold Orton and Wilfrid J. Halliday, eds, *Survey of English Dialects* (B): *The Basic Material*. Vol. I: *The Six Northern Counties and the Isle of Man*. Three Parts, Leeds, E.J. Arnold for the University of Leeds, 1962-63.
8. Kerins, 72.

9. This example is taken from J.R. Hurford, "The Range of Contoidal Articulations in a Dialect", *Orbis,* XVII/2 (1968), 389-95. See 394.
10. The term *stricture* is used, for example, by J.C. Catford, *A Practical Introduction to Phonetics*, Oxford, Clarendon, 1988, pp.62ff. It may, of course, involve complete closure.
11. *Constriction* is sometimes used with special reference to glottalised sounds— cp. David Crystal, *A Dictionary of Linguistics and Phonetics*, 2nd edn, The Language Library, Oxford, Blackwell in Association with André Deutsch, 1985, p.69.
12. Examples from *A Grammar of the Dialect of Farnworth and District*, §6.2.1.1. Stress is marked simply at the level of the word. I have changed the original [ɪ] and [ʊ] to the internationally more usual [ɪ] and [ʊ] respectively.
13. Cp. *ibid.*, §6.2.1.2.
14. For further details, see ibid., §§6.2.1.1–6.2.1.4, and the other works dealing with glottalisation listed in footnote 4, above. Hunt also describes—although not in a particularly explicit manner—the realisations of the definite article in Heywood. It is evident, however, that more than a simple glottal stop is involved. See Jean Hunt [or Jean Wade], *A Grammar of the Dialect of Heywood, Lancashire*, M.A. dissertation, Leeds University, 1959, pp.157-60 (Published in microform by EP). The earlier literature on English dialects tends to refer to the glottal stricture associated with the definite article as a "suspended *t*" = (t), or (t`) in Ellis' palaeotype (cp. Ellis, p.85*). See in particular Alexander Hargreaves, *A Grammar of the Dialect of Adlington (Lancashire)*, Anglistische Forschungen 13, Heidelberg, Carl Winter, 1904. Rpt. Amsterdam, Swets and Zeitlinger, 1967, §76, Note 2 and §90 (b). Ellis, p.330, notes that in D22, "the article is often assimilated, and becomes (t`, s`, k`, p`)."
15. Kerins, 81.
16. In *A Grammar of the Dialect of Farnworth and District*, we read of the preposition *in*: "The form with /n/ is compulsory before a vowel, and optional before a consonant" (p.655), similarly with *on* (p.659). Hargreaves, §124, by contrast, gives the form of *in* without /n/ as "more used, even before vowels" in Adlington.
17. Kerins, 81.
18. Cp. ibid., 81.
19. Ibid., 81. The symbol for a voiced alveolar plosive is [d].
20. See Geoffrey K. Pullum and William A. Ladusaw, *Phonetic Symbol Guide,* Chicago and London, University of Chicago Press, 1986, p.38.
21. Cp. Pullum and Ladusaw, pp.41 and 132. [t̪] and other symbols are also encountered.
22. Kerins, 81.
23. Cp. *A Grammar of the Dialect of Farnworth and District,* §§5.5.3.4-5 and 5.5.21.4.
24. Kerins, 82.
25. *A Grammar of the Dialect of Farnworth and District*, §6.2.1.3.
26. Suggested in ibid., §6.2.1.3, and Graham Shorrocks, "The Phonetic Realisation of the Definite Article in Lancashire Dialect, and its Representation in Dialect Writing", *The Record* (Publication of the Lancashire Authors' Association) 256 (September, 1978), 13-14. See 14.
27. Kerins, 86-89.
28. Cp. ibid., 88.

29. See §§5.5.11, 5.5.12, and 5.5.3, 5.5.4. See also Hargreaves 5ff., 67-69, who distinguishes [t], [t̪], [ᵵ] and [d], [d̪], [ð]. Ellis uses and [t̪] [d̪] for the entire D22 area—see p.330, and p.334 of the transcriptions for several examples. (I have supplied the square brackets here.) Ellis' account of the diacritic [ˌ] is not so clear as one might wish, but, as far as I can tell, it marks a consonant that is dental, or on the borderline between dental and alveolar—cp. Ellis, pp. 79*, 85* and 88*. There is a clearer account in the "Alphabetical Key to Glossic", in Alexander J. Ellis, *English Dialects: Their Homes and Sounds . . .*, English Dialect Society XXIV, London, Kegan Paul, Trench, Trübner, for the English Dialect Society, 1890. See pp. xvii and xxv. Note also Hunt, pp.14ff., 136-138, who records [tθr] and [dðr] as the commonest Heywood forms. Some indication of the distribution of the various forms can be gained from Orton and Halliday.

30. Kerins, 87.

31. Cp. *A Grammar of the Dialect of Farnworth and District*, §6.8.1.2.

32. Kerins, 86.

33. Ibid., 87.

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A Bit of Black Country

Norman Marrow

I remember once being present as a youngster, some seventy years ago, when grown-ups of my acquaintance were earnestly discussing the nature of good spoken English. They came, as I recall, to the unanimous conclusion that Black Country folk, providing they were being linguistically "respectable" and were not talking "broad", spoke the best kind of English to be heard anywhere! To me as a boy this seemed eminently reasonable, and it was some time before I came to realise that the answer was in fact as ridiculous as had been the original question.

Years later, when I was an undergraduate with rooms in college, my gyp, on the first day of our acquaintance, asked me what part of the country I came from. "From near Birmingham", I replied. "I thought so", said he; "I could tell by the *brogue*"! And there was I, fondly assuming that I had long since been speaking the kind of English which was later to be known as Received Standard.

Be it said that the Black Country to which my elders referred was the once heavily industrialised area of the West Midlands which extends from Wolverhampton to West Bromwich (but not into Birmingham) and takes in Walsall and such towns beyond it as Cannock and Rugeley, together with Wednesbury, Dudley, Stourbridge, and a considerable number of neighbouring localities besides, situated, almost all of it, according to the old dispensation, in South Staffordshire. The discussion took place in West Bromwich, where I lived from my birth in 1907 until 1929; and the kind of English my friends were talking about was not the Black Country *dialect* (which they only used, if at all, on very informal occasions), but the "accent" which characterised the English they used in business transactions and in polite—or even only moderately polite—conversation. This differed from the "accent" of those who spoke either the Received Standard of the educated southerner, or from any particular regional "accent", not in respect of

grammar or (for the most part) vocabulary, but in the phonetic character of the sound to some extent of its consonants, but more particularly of its vowels.

It is a truism that no two persons speak exactly alike, so that speech-habits are idiosyncratic as well as communal. It is nevertheless an observable fact that people residing in a particular "accent" area tend to have enough in common, phonologically-speaking, for their accent to be readily identifiable by interested outsiders with a sufficiently good ear. The distinctive sounds of this "polite" Black Country accent form the basis also of the Black Country dialect, with the proviso that in a number of instances sounds which accent and dialect have in common are apt to be applied differently in the two modes of speech. Thus, using RSE to denote Received Standard English, BCA the more less polite Black Country accent, and BCD the "broad" dialect which, historically, was the true vernacular of the region, we find, e.g., the following variations: for RSE *mate* [meɪt] we have a BCA [mæɪt] but a BCD [mɛ:t]; for RSE and BCA *meat* [mi:t] we have BCD [mæɪt]; for RSE *laugh* [lɑ:f] we have BCA [læf] and BCD [lɒf); and for RSE *road* [rəʊd] we have BCA [rɒʏd] and BCD [ru:d]; and so on.

It will be assumed for the purposes of this essay that the reader is familiar with the conventions of the alphabet of the International Phonetic Association, as used, for example, in Collins' *English Dictionary* of 1979. Only one of the symbols in this present account does not occur in Collins, namely [ʏ], which I use to represent the sound of *u* as in RSE *bull*, but pronounced in the Black Country with minimal lip-rounding. It also plays a part in the diphthong [æʏ] as in BC [kæʏ] for *cow*, and in [ɒʏ] as in BC [bæʏt] for *boat.*

During the first quarter of the twentieth century BCD was still widely spoken without affectation or selfconsciousness by simple working-folk as the language of the home, the workplace, the tavern, and the school playground (but *not* the school classroom). The fact that it was already in retreat and on the defensive will have been due to the spread of elementary (and higher) education and to the sense, even among dialect-speakers, that the vernacular was in some way substandard and unacceptable in the wider world. Under the circumstances many people became bilingual, unaware perhaps of the fact that the accent too would sound outlandish in other parts of the country in its own right. Even parents who were speakers of the dialect themselves might be heard scolding a child in ways which made it clear that for them, in this connection, "broad" was not intended as a compliment: [ɛɪ jɒʏ dɒʏ tɔ:k sə brɔ:d | ðæɪl θɪŋk jɒʏ kʏmɪn frəm 'gɔ:nl], Hey, you, don't talk so

broad! They'll think you come from Gornal), might be the terms of the rebuke.

The interjection [ɛɪ], used by way of admonition or to call attention to something, was the only expression in BC in which this diphthong was heard. A single syllable, it is the sound heard in Dutch where the spelling is *ij* (as in *Ijssel Meer*, the modern name of the Zuyder Zee), *ey* (as in *Leyden*), or *ei* (as in *Mei, the name of the month*). As to Gornal, it is a village near Dudley, which has the dubious reputation, deserved or not, of being the very hub and centre of the dialect at its broadest. Certainly it is the only place in England where I have failed to make myself understood when asking a direction in RSE. Reverting to the vernacular [kən jʊʏ tɛl miː ɪf ðɪs iə 'gʏlɪt gʏz tə ðə tʃɛːtʃ] (Can you tell me if this alleyway goes to the church?), I was at once answered in kind with an [ɑː 'mɪstə] (Yes, sir).

Gornal had another claim to fame, in that B.C. towns like West Bromwich were regularly visited by itinerant vendors of salt who came from there. The salt was bought and sold in large bricks (perhaps 6 inches × 6 inches × 18 inches), and, as far as I know, the only other commodity on offer was something called "silver sand", somehow used, I believe, by housewives for the scouring of doorsteps etc. Hence the cry ['ænɪ sɔːt ɔː 'sɪlvə sɑnd tə'dæɪ] (Any salt or silver sand today?), with the last syllable long drawn out, of the vendors, often a man and a woman, as they toured the streets with their two-wheeled horse-drawn carts. I once saw one of them sitting in his cart at a street corner engaged in sawing off an inch or so from every brick—the salt-vendor's equivalent, I presume, of a dishonest shopkeeper's tampering with his scales!

Also distinctive was the costume of the salt-women, consisting of full gingham skirts, bodices of the same, and very rustic-looking bonnets, reminiscent of those formerly worn by the fishwives of Staithes in Yorkshire or by haymakers a hundred years ago in Constable country. They must have been among the last of the regular wearers of "national", or rather "regional", dress in the United Kingdom.

To incorporate a complete grammar of BCD in this essay would be beyond its scope. The curious may care to consult a lengthier treatise on the subject which is deposited under the title of *"Broad" Black Country* in the archives of the Centre for English Cultural Tradition and Language at the University of Sheffield. Failing that, much will, I hope, be deducible from the specimens which follow as to such details as the character and management of definite and indefinite articles, personal pronouns and personal

pronominal adjectives, and personal possessive adverbs, not mention the niceties of the conjugations of verbs and their principal parts. To what is, perhaps, the most striking feature, grammatically speaking, of the "broad" dialect a few words must here be devoted before we proceed. Some few sentences back we had a mother admonishing her offspring about his speech. Had she been speaking plain English, she might have said "Don't talk like that!" What she did say was [dɒʏ tɔ:k sə brɔ:d] etc., and in her [dɒʏ] we have our first specimen of a negative auxiliary verb, in this case being used as an imperative. The verb *to be*, and the auxiliaries *have, do, can, shall, will,* and *must* have, all of them, special negative forms, so that *(I) am not* etc. was [æɪ] or [bæɪ] for all persons and both numbers, except that, in addressing one person, [ði: 'bɪsnt] might be used instead of [jɒʏ æɪ] or [jɒʏ bæɪ]; in the past tense *was not* or *were not* were [wɔ:(r)] except for the second person singular option [ði: 'wʏsnt]; *have not* was also (and confusingly) [æɪ], with ['æsnt] in the second person singular when [ði:] is used instead of [jɒʏ], with no special past tense forms; *do not* was [dɒʏ], with optional ['dʏsnt] in the second person singular; while *did not* was [dæɪ] without a special [ði:] form; *cannot* was [kɔ:(r)] with [ði: 'kʏsnt] a possibility, but no special past forms; *shall not* was [ʃɔ:(r)], with [ði: 'ʃʏsnt] a possibility but no special past forms; *will not* was [wɒʏ] with [ði: 'wʏsnt] and no past forms; and *must not* was [mɒʏ] or [mɒʏnt], with the possibility of [ði: 'mʏsnt]. It goes without saying from the foregoing that in the broad dialect [ði:] remained available as a second person singular pronoun as an alternative to [jɒʏ] when one person was being addressed, being, of course, the equivalent of both *thou* and *thee* of literary and archaic standard English.

I cannot resist illustrating these fascinatingly expressive words of negation by real life remarks which I either heard with my own ears or have hɜard tell of: a young woman resisting pressure to perform a task against her inclination: [ɒɪl dɪu: ə ðɪŋg bʏt ɒɪ wɒʏ bɪ mɛd] (I'll do a thing, but I won't be made [to do it]); an old lady, of the man to whom she'd been married for half a lifetime: [ɒɪ dɒʏ lɒɪk mɒɪ 'ʏzbənd | ɒɪ 'nɛvər æv dʏn ən ɒɪ 'nɛvə ʃæl] (I don't like my husband; I never have done and I never shall); a mother, found guilty by the Bench of assaulting her offspring's teacher: [jɒʏl æn tə pʏt mɪ dæʏn dɒʏl ðɛn | ɒɪ kɔ: pæɪ nɒʏ fɒɪn] (You'll have to put me down the hole [i.e. send me to prison] then; I can't pay any fine); a "catch-phrase" in BC form (addressed to someone who, surprisingly, has not heard the latest bit of tittle-tattle [dæɪ jɒʏ nɒʏ | ɒɪ tɒʏd jɒʏ 'fɛ:ðə | dæɪ i: tɛl jɒʏ] (Didn't you know? I told your father. Didn't he tell you?); the minister of

Ebenezer chapel was, about 1913, an eloquent Welshman from Yorkshire who created something of a stir by preaching what was even then coming to be known as the "new theology" and whose name, oddly enough, was Jenkins. One Sunday evening a visitor from another chapel, a dissenter of a very different stripe, came to hear him and, grievously offended by something in the sermon, rose from his place in the middle of the gallery and cried: [ɒɪ dɒʏ bɪ'liːv ɪt 'mɪstə | ɒɪ dɒʏ bɪ'liːv ɪt] (I don't believe it, mister! I don't believe it!). On no particular occasion: [ðiː kənst guː ɪf ðiːst ə mɒɪnd bʏt ɒɪ ʃɔː] (You can go, if you like [lit. if you've a mind], but I shan't); on an occasion when someone, given a simple task to do, makes a disastrous mess of it: [wɒt ðə | hɒʏd læd æst ðiː bɪn ʏp tuː | 'kʏsnt ðiː bɪː 'trʏstɪd tə dɪuː ə 'lɪtl dʒɒb lɒɪk dæt wɪð'æʏt 'tɛːnɪn ðə wʏl plɛːs 'ʏpsɒɪd dæʏn] (What the old lad [i.e. devil] have you been up to? Can't you be trusted to do a little job like that without turning the whole place upside-down?) This example includes the sole expression (or type of expression) in which BCD speakers indulge in aspiration, one namely in which emphasis is placed, by means of an aspirate, upon part of an imprecation or the like—often where, as here, a euphemistic reference to His Satanic Majesty is being made. Otherwise, as the reader may already have deduced, BCD is an aspirate free dialect. The BCA in general (but not always) restores the aitches and tends, if anything, ever so slightly to overdo them.

Although, in those days, the Black Country was very much, for most of its inhabitants, a world of laborious, dirty, and often dangerous toil, toil which, before the coming of clean-air legislation, accounted largely for its eponymous "blackness", a very pleasant, if unspectacular, countryside was almost on the doorstep of a great many of us. West Bromwich parish church was then, curiously enough, on the very edge of urban and industrial development. Local legend had it that it had originally been meant to be built about a quarter of a mile from where it now stands, But, night after night, we are assured, once the work was begun, the "little people" came and moved the stones and other materials to what was evidently the site of *their* choice. By perseverance they eventually achieved their object, and there to this day stands the church to prove it, with a field called the Fairies' Ring hardby as corroborative evidence—till it disappeared in the 1950s or 1960s under a brand-new comprehensive school. So that there was no longer any occasion to warn little girls of the whimsical risk they ran if they made so bold as to dance inside the actual ring, an area marked out by a discoloration of the grass characteristic of an old-established colony of some such

ring-making fungus as the delicious *marasmius oreades*.

Beyond the Old Church, as it was called, were farms and fields and meadows, with ample choice of lanes and footpaths for children who lived and went to school in the shadow of pitmounds and slagheaps to traverse to their hearts' content in the course of country rambles which might take them as far as Barr Beacon, five miles away, or failing that, to nearer venues with such picturesque names as Bird End [bɛ:d ɛnd], the Devil's Gutter, Bustleholme ['bʏzləm], Warstone ['wɒsən], Haypits ['ɛ:pɪts] Wood, Pennyhill ['pɛnɪ'ɪl], and Charlemont ['tʃɑ:lɪmæʏnt].

At other times many exciting games were played nearer home, on the [fɒʏdz] (folds—paved areas skirting the houses and between them and any garden or outhouses there might be), in the streets, and especially on the slopes of the aforementioned slagheaps, which being, so to say, extinct were now partly grassed over and provided opportunities for mountaineering in miniature. In wet weather such mounds became very muddy and youngsters returning from their play might be greeted by such words as [skrɛ:p jə ʃɪu:z ə'fɒʏə jɒʏ 'kʏmɪn ɪn | ðæɪm ɔ:l 'u:və tɒkɪ] (Scrape your shoes before you come in; they're all over tocky [tocky being the sort of grey blue sludge that accumulates in bad weather on slagheaps).

Among street and playground games, one of great antiquity and a wide diffusion, and known long ago in London according to Iona and Peter Opie as "Jump Jimmy Knacker" had a mini-language of its own in the Black Country. At the cry of [lɛts plæɪ bʏg] (Let's play "bug"), one hapless lad would be "volunteered" to be [stʏmp] (stump) and would stand with his back to the wall. Two or three others would bend over and make a long horse's back, the head of the foremost nestling against the stomach of "stump". Other players, with a cry of [bʏg bʏg wɔ::nɪn] (Bug, bug, wa—rning!), would leap on to the "horse", and between them in turn and the foremost "horse" a guessing game would take place, thuswise: [æʏ 'mɒnɪ fɪŋgəz əv ɒɪ gɒt ʏp] (How many fingers have I got up?). The numbers were called, turn and turn about: the "horse" guessing ['fɒʏə bʏg] (four bug); the "rider" [θri: bʏg] (three bug), and so on, and, if the "horse" guessed right, the players changed roles. If the hindmost rider's turn came without a correct guess, the round was deemed to have finished and all dismounted with a cry of "three" (or four or five) bug an' off 'osses". This strange game—now perhaps extinct even in the Black Country—had many variations and ramifications. Boys may be seen playing it in Pieter Breughel's great canvas of children's games, and I myself have seen and heard it being played (as far as the

guessing and putting up of fingers is concerned) between strap-hangers in a Roman tram. In that form the Italians call it *morra*. Moreover, if we go back as far as A.D.65, we read in Petronius' *Satyricon* of one jumping on another's back with the cry of "Bucca bucca, quot sunt hic?". *Bucca*, used in this context by way of introducing the "How many (fingers) are there here?" query, was presumably just about as intrinsically meaningless as the *bug* used in like manner in the Black Country.

Older youths played even more ['lʏndʒəs] (lungeous [i.e. physically and irresponsibly rough]) games, verging sometimes upon horseplay. One such was known in West Bromwich as ['bʏtər ən 'ʃʏgə] (butter and sugar). Two fellows stood back to back with elbows linked and set up a backwards and forwards swinging movement, pendulum fashion, till, theoretically, one was thrown over the other's head! Two who in after years became my uncles by marriage were playing like this on my grandmother's [fɒʏd] (fold) when one of them put his knee out and was in some pain. Whereupon the cry was raised: [sɛnd fə 'mɪstə 'pɑ:dɒʏ | i:z ju:zd 'tɒsɪz] (Send for Mr Pardoe; he's used to horses!), and indeed Tommy Pardoe, who lived next door, was a shoeing-smith in the employ of a local veterinary surgeon. His admiration for the veterinary profession, of which he was a humble acolyte, was such that his favourite phonograph record—on a wax cylinder, not on a disc—was "The March of the Veterans", by Sousa, unless I am mistaken. When he *did* supply embrocation for the relief of human pain, the remedy was often worse than the complaint. As to "Butter and sugar", by a strange coincidence, there appeared in the sports pages of *The Guardian* for March 18th, 1989, three days before I typed this paragraph, a picture of members of the England rugby football side "limbering up" in preparation for their forthcoming match against Wales. It portrayed eight pairs of players obviously engaged in this very activity!

Tom Pardoe was quite a local character, and so was his wife, Emma, who was at the service of her neighbours under each and every circumstance—notably on the occasion of lyings-in, when she could, and sometimes did, cope splendidly in the absence of the midwife, and also in the matter of laying her neighbours out when their time came—a "wise woman" indeed, with a heart of gold.

Some other local characters were more nebulous and mostly existed only in the fantasising of children, who even brought them into their chanting games, when one of their number would, only too willingly, dress up as [ɒʏd gɛl 'ægə] (old girl Hagger) or [ɒʏd 'grænɪ 'mɔ:gɪn] (old grannie Morgan), or

even as poor ['sælɪ 'du:dɑ:] (Sally Doodah), who, by all accounts, [sɒɤd fɪʃ] (sold fish) at [θri: 'ɛ:pəns ə dɪʃ] (three 'apence a dish), and led a procession of the rest, tailing her with cries of pretended derision. These and other such "personalities" may have been part of a folk-memory of real people of a distant, or not so distant, past. One character was real enough and he was invariably known as ['tɒmɪ 'ɒsmɤk] (Tommy Horsemuck). By him many local gardeners were supplied with barrowloads of [bɛst 'dræpɪnz | ɔ:l gɤd stɤf] (Best droppings; all good stuff!) for the benefit of their roses and sweet peas. For Tommy another source of income, such as it was, was getting people's coal in. When the "coal jagger" (or retail coal merchant) delivered a ton of coal to a householder, he tipped it, all loose, from the back of his two-wheeled coal-cart on to the pavement in front of the customer's house. Tommy had his own particular grapevine and this enabled him to be on the spot in a matter of moments with an offer to move the coal from the pavement to the coalhouse in the backyard.

So much for one of the humblest and poorest of the erstwhile workers of West Bromwich. For many of the rest of the populace a great variety of occupations was, more or less, available. Some went down the pit, there being two large working collieries, the Jubilee and the Sandwell, within the borough in those days. Pit-head baths had not yet been introduced and, on their way home from a shift, groups of colliers still in their dirt looked rather like companies of Christie's minstrels somewhat more shabbily dressed than usual. Many others worked in one way or another at the forge as skilled puddlers or an blastfurnacemen, in the rolling mill, where their tongs grew so hot to the grasp from contact with white hot iron that they had to be dipped in the [bɒʃ] (bosh), a tank of water for the purpose, at frequent intervals to cool them down, or at the ['kju:bʊlɒɤ], an installation officially called a "cupola furnace" because of its shape. Others again worked "at the gas" or the tar-works. If someone was said to work "on the beds", it meant that he was a foundryman, pouring molten iron into greensand moulds, made with the aid of wooden "patterns" supplied to order by the highly-skilled "pattern-makers". These and the like (for we might add to them the manufacture of tubes, enamelware, lenses for lighthouses, scales and weighing-machines of all kinds, and a household cleanser known as "dry soap") were, in the main rough, unhealthy, and dirty jobs. Mothers who did not fancy them for their sons and daughters (for women were involved to some extent in some of the roughest kinds of work) would hope to get them "into print" and there was one large printing house and several smaller ones

in the borough. A local speciality was the making of envelopes, and a girl in her late teens so employed had the option of piecework or day-work. At about the turn of the century, if she chose the former, she was paid a half-penny (½d.) for making a thousand envelopes; the alternative was a whole half-crown (30d.) for a full week's work.

Working men tended to live near enough to their places of work for them to be able to return home for their midday meals. When the distance was a little greater, a schoolchild would be given the task of delivering a man's "dinner" to him at his workplace in a basin wrapped in a brightly coloured handkerchief. Hence the expression: [ɛːr æɪ kwɪk ɪ'nɤf tə tɛk 'dɪnə] (She isn't quick enough to take dinner). Many sayings reflected the extent to which speed and alacrity were as much at a premium as dawdling was at a discount. Dispatching a child on an errand, a mother might say: [tɛk ðɪ bæɤl ǀ ðiːlst guː 'kwɪkə ðæt ruːd] (Take your hoop; you'll go quicker [in] that way), a [bæɤl] being a hoop, of wood or of iron, which children trundled in their play. An inveterate slowcoach might evoke: [ðiːlst biː ə ðə lɛːn wɛn ðiː ɔːtst tə biː ə ðə 'lɛzə] (You'll be in the lane when you ought to be in the lezzer [i.e. leasow(e) = meadow]), a saying suggestive of an age when labour had tended to be field-labour. On the other hand, one who returned, mission accomplished, in next to no time might have been greeted with the words: [ɒɪ 'kɤdnt ə bɪn sɛːvd 'kwɪkɛr əv ə 'kɤkʃæp] (I couldn't have been served quicker in a cookshop) or, rather more cryptically, [ðæts ðə tʃæp ðət 'mærɪd 'ænə] (That's the chap that married Anna); who this Anna—or possibly Hannah—was I have no idea!

A cookshop was both an eating house and a forerunner of our present-day "takeaways". Its proprietor was a fine sight, in a white coat and chef's hat, as he stood for all to see in his window, carving a splendid sirloin to a customer's order.

Before concluding with a short anthology of "occasional" BCD sayings, I venture here to offer a few specialised lists of BCD expressions which might still be heard to the bewilderment of the incomer. Putting first things first, shall we say, I begin with *Guidance for the Gourmet*: ['grɔːtɪ 'pɤdɪn] (groaty pudding) was a delicious savoury "porridge" of barley-groats, stewed with leeks and shin of beef; [græɪ pæɪz] (grey peas, dried peas (which were really dark brown) made into a kind of pease-porridge and garnished, by way of ['prɒɪziz] (prizes) with pieces of bacon; [ə tʃɔːl] (a chawl), a pig's cheek, considered a great delicacy when skilfully prepared *à la mode du Pays Noir*; [kæɤ iːlz], (cow-heels) were greatly relished when properly cooked; [pɪgz

'pʏdɪn] (pigs pudding) was the Black Country name for "black sausage"; ['æːntʃbuːn stɛːk] (haunch-bone [i.e. hip-bone] steak); ['bælɪ dræft] (belly draft), a choice cut of pork; [ʃɪps jɛd brɒθ], broth made from a sheep's head; ['fægits], (faggots) a kind of poor man's "haggis"! [ə biːvz ɑːt], the heart of an ox; [sɔːd], crisply cooked bacon rind or pork crackling (Gilbert White of Selborne used the word *sward* in this sense); [ə djæk bɪt] (a jack bit), a tasty ['mɒsl] (morsel) of meat cut from the joint and offered by way of a treat before the dish is removed to a child or other favoured participant in the meal; ['træŋklmənts] (tranklements), the supernumerary items which grace a main course of, for example, a joint and one or two vegetables, such as the various appropriate sauces, condiments, or jellies, or other trimmings; ['fɔːsmæɪt] (forcemeat), i.e. "stuffing", for which it is surely a much more interesting word. I still try to keep it alive by using it—pronounced *force-meat*—as and when occasion serves; the *force-* must stand for *farc-* as in French *farcir*; ['fʊtl], food in general, cp. RSE *victuals.*

Remark on accepting a second helping: ['bɛtər ə gʏd 'bælɪ bɒst ðən gʏd 'fʊtl bɪ 'wɛːstɪd] (Better a good belly burst than good food be wasted).

Grace after a meal: [θæŋk ðə lɔːd fər ə gʏd 'dɪnər | ɪf 'mænɪ ə mɒn əd æd ɪt iːd ə mɛd ə miːl ɒn ɪt] (Thank the Lord for a good dinner; if many a man had had it, he'd have made a meal of it).

And now a wordlist which might have been (and could still be) of use to house-doctors from elsewhere taking case-histories in what is now Sandwell General Hospital, on the site of what used to be ['æləm] (Hallam), the old poor law infirmary in Hallam Street, West Bromwich: [ə 'bækfrɛnd] (a backfriend) an agnail (sometimes applied, perhaps wrongly, to a whitlow); [ə pæʏk] (a powk), a stye; [ə 'fɛstɪlɒʏ] a fistula; [ə sɪs], a cyst; [ðə 'tʃɪnkʏf] (the chincough), whooping cough; [ə 'tɪzɪkɪ kʏf], (a tizzicky cough), a really bad, "hacking" cough; ['tɪzɪkl], (tizzickal [cp. phthisical]), derived, like the last item, from "phthisis", but without the extremer implications of that learned word—to a person with a bad cough: [jɒʏ 'sæʏndɪn 'tɪzɪkl tə miː (You sound tizzickal to me); ['brɒnɪkl], i.e. bronchial, or synonymous with ['tizikl]; [bræʏn'kɒɪtəs], bronchitis; [stʏmə'kɒitəs], i.e., stomatitis, misheard and, often, misunderstood (cp. [flæɪ'bɒɪtəs]) for phlebitis, a term also conducive to misunderstanding; ['ðɛːgjuː], i.e. the ague, used in practice of any severe shivering fit, regardless of its cause; seldom in its proper sense of "malaria"; [dɒɪə'riː], diarrhoea; ['ðiːkʏps], the hiccups; ['jɛlə 'dʒæːndɪs] (yellow jaundice), hepatitis; [kɛntʃ] (kench), sprain as noun or verb (as in [ɒɪ kɛntʃt mɪ bæk] (I kenched my back); [sɒs], to bruise (especially the heel);

[ə plɛːs], (a place) the site of a, usually minor, injury; a lesion; the plural is ['plɛːzɪz]; [tə tɛk bæd wæɪs] (to take bad ways), to fester—something [ə plɛːs] might do. [ðə klæk] (the clack), by the way, was the uvula.

The dialect was rich in adjectives descriptive of the indisposed. Such might be ['vɛrɪ 'mɪdlɪn] (very middling), as who, elsewhere, might say "rather poorly" or, more vaguely [ɒf 'ðɤks], i.e. "off the hooks", cp. RSE "out of sorts". Of one who was certified to be too ill to go to work, it might be said that he or she was [ɒn ðə bɒks] (on the box), a phrase which referred to sickness benefit received, from whatever source, by the sufferer, based, no doubt, on the concept of a benefit society's charitable funds being paid out from the almoner's cash box.

A person who looked none too well was said to look [ægd] (hagged), a derivative, I take it, of haggard; cp. such a conversation as [æɤ bɪst ɒɤd ən | ɒɪ æɪ ɤp tə mɤtʃ fɔː 'sɛːtɪn | bæd ə'bɛd ən wɤs ɤp jɒɤ mɒɪt sæɪ | ðiːst 'sɛːtɪnlɪ ə'lɤkɪn ə bɪt ægd ɒl sæɪ dæt fɔː ðiː] ("How are you, old one?"—"I'm certainly not up to much; bad in bed and worse up, you might say." "You're certainly looking a bit hagged, I'll say that for you!"). One who protested that [iː 'ædnt bɪn fər ə wɪk] (he hadn't been for a week) might entreat the doctor to give him some ['fɪzɪk] (physic), or he might be more specific and plead for ['dʒɒləp] (jalap), both purgatives.

The Black Country garden was apt to be small but most gardeners found room for both vegetables and flowers. Among the former would be not only ['kæbitʃ] (cabbage), but also ['pɪtlɪn 'kæbɪtʃ] (pickling cabbage), together with two sorts of ['brɒkɪlɒɤ] (broccoli). Room would be made for ['tɛːtəz] (taters), i.e. potatoes, both ['ɛːlɪ] (early) and [lɛːt] (late), ['pæsnɪps] (parsnips), ['rɛdɪʃɪz] (radishes), and ['sæləɾɪ] (celery), the last not to be confused with ['sɛləɾɪ] (salary), a fancy word for ['wɛːdʒɪz] (wages)! ['spærəgræs] (asparagus), was reputedly hard to grow, but ['ɾuːbɒb] (rhubarb) and ['mærəz] (marrows) were easy enough. ['rɒɪzlz] (risles) by the way was the local name for the tall supports required for such climbers as runner beans.

A well stocked flower garden might make a brave show of the following in their season: [rɒɤzɪ'dændrɤmz] (rosydandrums), i.e. rhododendrons, ['mɤŋkɪmɤs] (monkey musk), i.e. *mimulus luteus*, ['ɒlɪɒɤks] (hollyhocks), ['læɪlɒks] (lilacs), [mɪnɪən'ɛt] (mignonette), ['stɛːʃənz] (nasturtiums), [flægz] (flags), English irises; my great-uncle Dick used to call them [puə mɒnz 'ɔːkɤts] (poor man's orchids), [ə'nɛnəmɪz] (anemonies), [nɑː'sɪsɪz] (narcicuss), [glædɪ'ɒɤləz] (gladiolas), ['rɛklɪsɪz] (recklesses), i.e. auriculas,

['vɒɪləts] (violets), [kælsɪ'lɛːrɪz] (calceolarias), ['mɛːrɪguːldz], (marigolds), and [dʒɪpsɪ'fɪlɪ] (gypsophila).

And now a selection of what, for want of a better term, might be called "occasional" sayings, things which BCD speakers might have said—and in some cases actually did say in my hearing—under such and such circumstances; together with some which were not new minted for the nonce but were cherished regional clichés , ever ready to fit into an appropriate conversational slot like a Homeric formula.

For instance [wɛn ðə 'dɛvəlz ə dʏk ən iː æɪ 'pɛnfɛðəd jɛt] (When the devil's a duck—and he hasn't got his pin-feathers yet) was a fine way of using ten words to say "never". BCD was rich in similes, but few of them told a complete story, as this one does: [jɒʏm əz 'lʏkɪ əz ɒʏd 'dɪkɪ kɒks | iː fʏn ə bɑːr əv ɒɪən ə ðə fɔːdʒ | ə'fɒʏər ɪt wəz lɒst | æn iː nɒʏd wiə ðɛ wəz ə'nʏðə] (You're as lucky as old Dicky Cox—he found a bar of iron at a forge, before it was lost, *and* he knew where there was another) Riposte to unfriendly sarcasm: [kiːp jə sniəz tə mɛnd jə tʃiəz] (Keep your sneers to mend your chairs.) Remark to break off a gossiping session: [ðɪs wɒʏ gɛt ðɒʏd 'wʏmən ə 'nɒɪnpəns | ɒɪ mʏst bɪ ɒf] (This won't get the old woman her ninepence. I must be off.) Statement descriptive of an outing by brake or wagonette, suggesting that an excellent and spanking time had been had by one and all: [wiː dæɪ ɑːf guː ə'kʏmɪn bæk] (We didn't half go coming back.) On the eve of Shrove Tuesday schoolchildren chanted thus: ['pɒnkɛːk dæɪ ɪz ə 'vɛrɪ 'æpɪ dæɪ | ɪf jɒʏ dɒʏ gɪ wɪ 'ɒlɪdɪ wiːl ɔːl stɒp ə'wæɪ] (Pancake day is a very happy day! If you don't give us a holiday, we'll all stop away.) Response to a child's importunate "why? why? why?" questions: [tə mɛk yɒʏə tʏŋg wæg] (to make your tongue wag). An emergency that might happen to anyone [kwɪk | jər 'ʏŋklz gɒt ə 'fɪʃbuːn stʏk əv ɪz 'gʏgl] (Quick, your uncle's got a fishbone stuck in his guggle [i.e. oesophagus].) A neighbour, catching a glimpse of herself in a looking-glass near the door of a house where she had come to ['bɒrɪ] (borrow) something: [ɛɪ 'mɪsɪs ɪz jɒʏə glæs trɪu] (Hey, missis, is your glass true?); householder: [ɑː | əz fɑːr əz ɒɪ nɒʏ] (Yes, as far as I know); the visitor: [ðɛn ɒɪ bɪn 'ʏglɪ 'dɛvəl] (Then I *am* an ugly devil!); note the omission of the indefinite article before an initial vowel sound, for which also cp. the pancake day rhyme above. Cause and effect (1): [iːd lɛft ɪz mʏʃ bɪ'ɒɪnd ən iː kʏm wʏm lɒɪk ə 'dræʏndɪd rɒt] (He'd left his mush [i.e. umbrella] behind and he came home like a drowned rat.) Cause and effect (2): [tə bɪ 'træɪtɪd ðæt ruːd mɛks mɪ fiːl əz 'wɪkɪd əz ə wæsp] To be treated so rudely makes me feel as wicked as a wasp.) Mal à

propos: [ðə lɛs jɒʏ æn tə dɪuː wɪ ðæt 'fɔːnɪkɛːtɪn 'ɪpəkrɪt ðə 'bɛtə] (The less you have to do with that fornicating hypocrite the better.) ['fɔːnɪkɛːtɪn] had nothing to do with illicit sexual congress; it rather described one who was fawningly Uriah Heepish! Of someone who gave herself airs, [pɔːmpt ɛ'sɛlf ʏp] ("paumped" [i.e. pumped] herself up) in fact: [jæː ǀ ɛːr æɪ 'nɒʏbɒdɪ ǀ ɛ 'fɛːðə wəz ə 'nɒɪtsɒɪlər ən ðæɪ lɪvd ɪn bʏg ɔːl] (Yaa! [i.e. Go on with you!] She isn't anybody. Her father was a nightsoiler and they lived in Bug Hall.) [jæː] was an interjection of derisive contradiction or incredulity (much like Cockney *garn*). The *nightsoilers* were nocturnal emptiers of domestic privies and cesspits. [bʏg ɔːl] was a street officially known as Taylors Lane which had but one even moderately well-off resident, the local pawnbroker. Another street with a nickname was Church Vale, as pretty a lane as the name suggests in my young days. It was however almost universally known as [sɒts ɒʏl], (Sots Hole), but whether there was one eponymous sot or more than one I never knew. Either way the drinking will have been done at the neighbouring "Ring o' Bells" public house, where [biə wəz sɒʏd bɪ ðə pæʏnd] (beer was sold by the pound). Now the neat eighteenth century tavern and the adjacent enclosure for straying cattle have disappeared, to make room for a monstrosity of Brewers' Pretentious. The pretty name too has disappeared, in favour of..."The Four in Hand"! I wonder why they bothered.

Little People of the Fairies' Ring, [jɒʏ ʃʏd ə bɪn ðɪə stɪl ǀ tə bɔːk sʏtʃ mɪs'tʃiːvɪəs 'tʃɛːndʒɪz fə ðə wʏs] (You should have been there still, to balk such mischievous changes for the worse.)

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Women's Working Songs

Gerald Porter

This paper will examine the gradual emergence and focusing of the concept of "women's work". It can be seen as an attempt to set up an alternative centre of consciousness which could replace, first orally and then through direct action, the unitary axis of patriarchal authority. It can be traced through the existence of songs perceived as "women's songs", in role usurpation, in the songs of occupations where women were prominent, and in the foregrounding of domestic labour as a branch of work in its own right.

It is only in recent years that women's songs have even been published as a discrete group, and there are as yet few studies of their role in consciousness-raising.[1] Songs about women's daily work (including unpaid work) have a specific role in developing cohesion and resisting perceived threats from outside. They can be said to be largely functional in that they fulfil a group need, whether expressed or not, to articulate shared concerns. With respect to the work itself, they define its distinctive identity, and then question the permanence of its characteristic formations. This stands in clear opposition to women in songs from a man's point of view. In those, women were represented as choosing working men over all other suitors. In the early broadsides, they were frequently perceived as mere erotic ciphers, while in the industrial songs of the nineteenth century, they were increasingly perceived as competitors in the workplace.

Women's songs do not assert "traditional values" but help to subvert them. The subversion can be summarised as a refusal to consent to the values and outlook expressed by a dominant discourse that women had played no part in setting up. It is an important part of the specific project recognised by historians such as E.P. Thompson, who have shown the importance of the "secret verbal tradition" in transmitting the ideas of the counterculture.[2] The tradition can be traced in the songs of occupations where women were prominent, in the existence of "women's versions" of songs, and in the early

foregrounding of domestic labour as a branch of work in its own right.

The viewpoint of women is not merely assumed in occupational song, but is explicitly presented at all historical stages. This is emphasised here because it has been denied in recent years. When Roy Palmer asserts that "songs from a female viewpoint are relatively uncommon", and when the only full-length study of industrial songs in English relegates the contribution of women to a single footnote, it is clear that a conscious act of foregrounding is still required.[3]

Roy Palmer's statement reflects the invisibility of women's culture in the dominant discourse. It should be seen in the light of those mediating forces, in particular the conditions of collecting and publishing, which have always marginalised songs which challenge patriarchal attitudes. It is now known, for example, that women were active at all stages of the oral transmission process, both making and mediating from the beginning of the documented period. Women are known to have operated in some of the seventeenth century printshops which published street ballads, and "by the eighteenth century women had become the main repositories of traditional songs, and the major purchasers of romantic broadsides".[4]

There is little hard evidence that any English or Scottish songs were formally reserved for performance by women in the way that the women of the Yakut and Tungus had their own narrative poetry, or Kikuyu women their *kiriri*.[5] Analysis of the known performers of "Long Lankin" (Child 93) suggest that this, one of Child's very few occupational ballads, has perhaps the strongest claim in English to being traditionally a "women's ballad", since over eighty per cent of the sets he printed are by women.[6] Most songs, however, could clearly be performed by both sexes indiscriminately. It was specifically the *persona* adopted by a singer that could, and did, vary widely, and many of these were female.

One reason for the invisibility of songs from a female viewpoint has been the way women's songs have frequently been regarded by editors as belonging to a catch-all Courtship and Marriage category.[7] In fact there is no such univocal perception of women in song. A classification by occupation would be taxonomically more valid, since it would reveal the way female protagonists range far beyond the amatory in the scope of their activities. It would map the extent of female occupations in song, including the all-important domestic labour. It would reveal the ways women perform as a group, and it would show them displacing men in their traditional occupations.

In one respect, the oral record appears to show the opposite. Often the

woman's work is subsumed into a man's. Some occupations are overwhelmingly represented by men, even where, as in the case of farm labour, the textile industries and retailing, it is known that women formed a majority of the workforce. However, as the central figures by virtue of their work, women are often also the initiators of the action. Many occupations (over nineteen in all, with a total of over 100 songs) are *only* represented by female protagonists.[8] These are not simply the traditional service and stitching occupations, but include industrial jobs like jute mill work and chainmaking. Moreover, even in those occupations where women are seen unequivocally in terms of their relations to men, such as the prostitute and the milkmaid,[9] there are songs which give the woman's point of view. No reductive picture of the broadside market can account for the sombre realism of "The Poor Whores Complaint":

> Come listen a while and you shall hear,
> How the poor Whores fares in the winter
> They've hardly got any rags to hide their ware
> Indeed tis a despret thing Sir.[10]

A further sign of the importance for women of singing in a way that is expressively their own lies in the existence of double sets of songs.[11] "Nine Hours a Day" was printed extensively in the 1870s in both male and female versions.[12] The sea song "Our Captain Cried, 'All Hands!'" exists as a set seen from a female perspective, "A Blacksmith Courted Me".[13] It has usually been assumed that the "original" of such songs had a male viewpoint from which a female version has been extrapolated. Examining the signifiers of many of these pairs, however, shows that the debt must often have been the other way. I have shown earlier that occupational signifiers are very durable in songs, often surviving a change of function, and a stratum of "ghost markers" may be left. The milkmaid in "The Brisk and Bonny Lass" has been supplanted by a man to reflect changes in employment patterns, but the female signifiers have proved resistant to the change. The urban milkman of the song retains the traditional milkmaid's props of yoke and milking pail, and sings improbably:

> Though poor I am contented
> I'm happy as a queen. (7-8)

This constantly shifting ground between male and female roles is also seen in what might be called pseudo-occupational songs, where dynamic female characters are swallowed up in narrative frames that deal with men in their

working milieu. This may be effected by the choice of title, or by enclosing the heroine in an annular structure which leaves it to a man to open and close the action. Both of these devices are seen at work in Child 283, "The Crafty Farmer".[14] It is most commonly known today in England as "The Farmer in Leicester", although the person in question appears only in the framing stanzas at the beginning and end and plays no part in the action. An alternative title, "The Highwayman Outwitted", foregrounds the other male character, while the central figure, a canny girl, is not mentioned in any titles, and is not named or described in any version, although she controls the action throughout.

However, women are very rarely treated purely as objects of sexual pleasure even in the most commercial ballads. They are characteristically free and equal agents in the encounter. This often becomes apparent in a crossover of signifiers. Roger deV Renwick has analysed the structure of the code of sexual encounters in terms of reciprocal poles of dominance and submissiveness.[15] There is no doubt that this code does serve as a basic generative structure for ballads of this kind, such as "The Mower", This wellknown song, collected many times in recent years, is first recorded in English in 1624 and has analogues in Spanish and French traditional verse. In a metaphor that extends over eight stanzas, lovemaking is seen in terms of gathering hay with a sickle. According to Renwick, a woman who is "subordinate" in terms of lovemaking position will be "superordinate" in initiating the encounter, and in stamina. In "The Mower" this is in fact the case. It is the man who wields his taring scythe and the woman who is seen as the meadow to be mown, yet she takes the initiative and has greater staying power in the encounter. Renwick does not consider how far these might correspond to cultural rather than compositional patterns of behaviour, nor does he take into account the role of women as the *makers* of oral tradition.

One universal feature of occupational songs was to describe the work process in terms of sexual metaphor.[16] Modern erotic songs, while usually making conscious reference to the tradition, increasingly challenge the patriarchal tendency in such songs. Engineering has become a representative site of such a challenge. Peggy Seeger's "I'm Gonna Be an Engineer" (1972) shows a woman inscribing herself on a profession totally dedicated to male advancement, and refusing to go down to defeat. In Sandra Kerr's "Maintenance Engineer" (1974), it is the man who is identified with the machine, while the woman, in her domestic space, defines herself by means of metaphors associated with the shop floor:

So then we got to talking, I told him how I felt,
How I keep him running just as smooth as some conveyor belt,
For after all it's I'm the one provides the power supply,
(He goes just like the clappers on my steak and kidney pie.)
His fittings are all shining 'cos I keep them nice and clean,
And he tells me his machine tool is the best I've ever seen.[17]

Here Sandra Kerr achieves a parody of the form by inverting the traditional signifiers with conscious irony. The male signifiers associated with running a complex piece of equipment have been transferred to a housewife, while it is the man who is identified with the machine. The familiar phallicism of the tool has been transferred from the dynamic centre of the ballad to the last line, where it is left exposed as a piece of pitiable male fetishism by being left in reported speech. All metaphors act as a half-concealed but powerful form of argument in this way, linking two aspects of reality. The occupation of male space asserts an identity while manifesting a division, and leaves an ambiguity which is not fully resolved by the song but extends fruitfully into the milieu of the audience.

There is also an extensive group of songs in which women usurp traditionally male occupations: "The Female Rambling Sailor", "The Lady Turned Soldier", etc.[18] Some of these can be explained as expressing male fantasies with the familiar metaphors, yet it was a woman singer, Cecilia Costello, who sang,

It was eating captain['s] biscuits her colour did destroy,
Oh the waist did swell of pretty Nell, the handsome cabin boy.
"The Female Cabin Boy".[19]

However, many songs do not fit comfortably into the "fantasy" category, since there is no accompanying male triumph:

In pulling off my breeches to myself I often smiled,
To think I lay with a [hundred] men and maiden all the while.
"The Female Drummer".[20]

In these songs women are in fact extending their space. Although women are known to have occasionally smuggled themselves into the armies and navies of earlier centuries, the disguise songs do not operate primarily as records of actual practice but as a challenge to the gender coding of dress, work and terrain. Disguise acts as a metaphor of "captured" role-positions, a construction of gender. The woman swaggering along the highroad with cocked hat and pistols in search of rich travellers is asserting an identity with known

practice while suggesting, by the characteristic title of her song ("The Female Highwayman"), a difference. Even where the dénouement restores traditional gender relations in a flurry of silk and wedding bells, the displacement is highly subversive. It simultaneously upholds and questions male roles. The women who usurp men's positions as highwaymen ("Sovay"), sailors ("The Female Cabin Boy") or engineers ("The Maintenance Engineer") imitate or parody a working life that is esteemed in a way that their domestic life is not. However, the esteem that they receive is that of the counter-culture, that of their male companions in the song and the women of their audience. In this way the metaphor constructs an alternative discourse which, within the parameters of the song, temporarily suspends the patriarchal order.

The same tendency to depose the patriarchal can be seen in the many songs which use the metaphor of a woman as a sailing vessel, particularly one stowed with gunpowder below decks as a fire ship. "The Fire Ship" has been a popular song for three hundred years, and often takes the form of a sea shanty.[21] The song is an extended metaphor which describes the activities of a prostitute who "fires" the sailor with the pox. As in "The Crafty Farmer", it is she, not the male protagonist, who is the controlling force in the song, and this is confirmed by the earliest broadside set. It is first known in the seventeenth century with a female narrator. "A Hot Engagement between a French Privateer, and an English Fire-Ship", a London broadside dating from 1691, is not an occupational but a *political* song published at a time of hostilities with France.[22] The ballad is narrated by "sea-faring Kate", who describes meeting a French sailor on shore and patriotically infecting him with the pox. The experience is narrated in terms of an encounter between a privateer and a fireship:

> My Sails they are Top and Top Gallon [*sic*],
> a Friggot that's of the First Rate. (3-4).

In the second stanza the same event is seen as a brush with the press gang:

> A French Man came lately to Press me,
> which was not a very hard thing. (5-6)

Later, seafaring Kate becomes metamorphosed into ever more comprehensive features of the scene of the engagement. She portrays herself as simultaneously a fireship and an adjacent stretch of coastline:

> He looked for some hidden Treasure,
> And fell to his doing of Feats,
> But found me a Fire-ship of Pleasure,
> when he enter'd the mouth of the Straits. (21-24)

At the same time, the occupational metaphor slides continually between the political and the erotic. On the cultural level, "A Hot Engagement" shows how an occupational song dense with naval terminology could be adapted, in historical conditions where sea battles had become commonplace, to the conditions of a specific international crisis. However, on the level of gender, it shows the kind of displacement that can take place in songs as soon as they become univocal (in this case where the second metaphorical element, the England/fireship link, had been abandoned). Finally, it is a reminder of the importance for women of singing in a way that was expressively their own, since "songs from a female viewpoint" may still articulate the fears and fantasies of a male sexual code.

In their paid employment, therefore, from matchgirl to whore, women developed a distinctive identity in song. From a performative viewpoint, too, the claim that there are few songs from a woman's viewpoint is unlikely, since there is a large body of evidence of singing by working women *as a group* throughout the period covered by this paper. The fullest documentation is for women in the textile industry. As early as the 1530s, Miles Coverdale was complaining of the low nature of the songs sung by the spinners and washerwomen.[23] In "Jack of Newbury", licensed in 1597, Thomas Deloney describes two hundred women singing like nightingales as they worked in a spinning room.[24] Duke Orsino says of a song in *Twelfth Night* (c. 1600):

> The spinsters and the knitters in the sun
> And the free maids that weave their threads with bones
> Do use to chant it. (2. 4. 44-46)[25]

In the seventeenth century, Dorothy Osborne described how shepherdesses in Bedfordshire "sit in the shade and sing of ballads", while a passage in Izaak Walton's *Compleat Angler* (1653) gives a clear indication that women were customarily singing "big ballads" together while working, taking the various parts of the melody.[26] This practice has a continuing importance today. As we have already seen, English lacemakers are described in Victorian times as singing rhythmic worksongs, a rarely reported phenomenon in Britain. They also sang "big ballads", versions of "Sir Hugh" and "Long Lankin".[27]

One important task which was begun early by means of the broadsides, but still continues today, was one of definition: to get domestic labour accepted as "work" in its own right. Its invisibility to men was frequently challenged in songs like "Nine Hours a Day" and "Behind the Barley Knowe".[28] In the first, an industrial song about the struggle for a shorter working day has

been adapted to include domestic labour as well. In this way the struggle is effectively decentred. There is still support for factory girls, but the emphasis has shifted to a new, totalising position where the victims of the factory system are also seen as acting as the oppressors in another site, the home. In "Behind the Barley Knowe", a farmer changes roles with his wife after claiming that he could do as much work in a day as she does in three. By the end of the day he is bruised and exhausted while she does a very competent job of the ploughing and still has time to meet her lover "behind the barley knowe". Such songs were usually comic, but their dialogic subtext argues that the home is a place where the battle to keep family and house together was in every way comparable with the manual work generally done by men.

An important weapon in the struggle was song. The earliest occupational song known to be by a woman is "Woman"s Labour" (1739) by a char-woman, Mary Collier,[29] but many earlier songs speak for women.

The first known set of the song "Woman's Work is Never Done" is a blackletter broadside issued in 1629 by the London publisher John Andrews. Since every home was also a workshop at this time, the "traditional" roles of washing, cleaning and childrearing had not yet been clearly staked out, and the song gives much circumstantial detail of the rigours of the daily round. At this stage, the rambling text has a resigned note:

> Maids may set still, go, or run,
> But a Woman's work is never done. (5-6)

At the end of the century, the song provoked the usual tribute to popularity, parody. The title of one broadsheet which used the familiar refrain conveys its anti-feminist stance: "The Seven Merry Wives of London or, the Gossips' Complaint against their Husbands, For their Neglect, as they met together in a tavern, over half a dozen bottles of Canary".[30] Since antithesis implies thesis, the parodies actually *advanced* the process of developing women's consciousness, and helped to initiate a new phase. By the eighteenth century the song had become part of the singing tradition of women, as many broadside versions testify, and the title had become proverbial, and remains so to this day.[31] In the process, it became more focused. Its bitter message, largely directed at a husband in a loveless marriage, is that the wife is part of the labour market but not recognised as such. She clearly locates herself in a chain of production:

Carding, spinning I do endeavour,
Never resting till the web is spun;
Then I must go to the weaver,
Woman's work is never done. (21-24)

The song continued to develop in the nineteenth century. By then it was so popular that it provoked a second male riposte, "Poor Man's Labour is Never Done". This is an exercise in self-pity, assuming a stereotypical male position (often mistakenly called "traditional") towards the division of labour in the home. It gave a familiar catalogue of situations where the woman had not fulfilled her "marital duty":

When I come home all wet and weary,
No dry clothes for to put on,
It's enough to make a poor man crazy;
Poor man's labour is never done.

The broadside printer Henry Such, alert to popular taste, printed a new version of "Woman's Work" in the 1850s, but these sets still retain the earlier note of resignation. Today, together with the updating of the language and the setting, that resignation has been replaced by a note of anger:

Washing and scrubbing and mending up the clothes,
All the kiddies with their shirts out they will run.
I've already buried five and I have ten more alive,
So I find a woman's work is never done. (9-12)

Besides being an example of the way women used singing as an increasingly effective weapon, the popularity and continual updating of the song "Woman's Work is Never Done" over a period of more than three centuries shows the way in which songs acted as a focus for growing consciousness among women who were physically scattered and not yet organised. By the end of the nineteenth century, this consciousness was being expressed in terms of a nationwide movement. The song of the matchgirls in the East End of London during their strike in 1889 was printed as far away as Liverpool.[32]

The same critical independence is evident in songs passed on within families. Sheila MacGregor, of the great singing family of Stewart from Blairgowrie, learnt her song "Blue Blazing Drunk" from her mother. When she performs it, however, she drops a stanza in her mother's version which appears to justify a man beating his wife on the grounds that she was a fortune-hunter.[33]

In conclusion, it may be said that there is independent corroboration from

the songs themselves of the existence of a women's tradition of songs at all periods. As Roy Palmer's remark indicated, this would not be self-evident from a simple examination of published sources. The repertoires of singers or particular singing traditions are rarely published as a group, or even listed in their entirety.[34] In published texts, the evidence has often been obscured by the absence of performance detail or the tendency, mentioned above, for collectors to group women's songs, occupational or otherwise, in artificial genres such as "Songs of Courtship" or "Protest Songs" that are not recognised by the singers themselves. This mediating tendency, which extends to all fields of traditional song, has been demonstrated by Ewan MacColl and Peggy Seeger.[35] Once the occupation is foregrounded, however, the existence of a woman's viewpoint in terms of specific trades, specific versions of songs, and particularly in the very definition of "labour" itself, stands out with startling clarity. When a collection of women's songs was being assembled in the 1970s, it was found that there were "more good contemporary songs on [the subject of work] than on any of the others".[36] This need for women to validate different experience from that of the authoritative speaking subject of the male singer is a continuing project.

Notes

1. See, for example, Diane Dugaw, *Warrior Women and Popular Balladry 1650-1850*, Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 1989; K. Henderson, F. Armstrong and S. Kerr, eds., *My Song is My Own,* London, Pluto Press, 1982.
2. E.P. Thompson, *The Making of the English Working Class*, Harmondsworth, Penguin, 1971, pp. 539-541, 652ff.
3. Roy Palmer, *Folk Songs Collected by Ralph Vaughan Williams,* London, Dent, 1983, p. 120; Ian Watson, *Song and Democratic Culture in Britain*, London, Croom Helm, 1963, p. 133.
4. R.S. Thomson, "The Development of the Broadside Ballad Trade and its Influence upon the Transmission of English Folksongs" unpublished Ph. D. thesis in Cambridge University Library, 1974, pp. 72, 86, 102; Martha Vicinus, *The Industrial Muse*, London, Croom Helm, 1974, p. 9.
5. H.M. Chadwick and N.K. Chadwick, *The Growth of Literature*, 3 vols., Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 1986, vol. 3, p. 188.
6. Twelve of Child's sets of "Long Lankin" identify the singer. Ten of these singers were women (F.J. Child, ed., *English and Scottish Popular Ballads*, 5 vols. 1882-98, New York, Dover, 1965, vol. 2, pp. 320-342). Nearly a century later, Bertrand Bronson's sources gave a figure of over seventy percent (*Traditional Tunes of the Child Ballads,* vol. 2,

Princeton, Princeton University Press, 1962, pp. 428-445). Eight of his singers were male, twenty female.

7. The repertoire of Anna Brown of Falkland (1747-1810), which includes a wide range of saga and *revenant* ballads, has been described as "all... to a greater or lesser extent amatory" by David Buchan (*The Ballad and the Folk*, London, Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1972, p. 84).

8. The occupations are: besom maker, bus conductor, chainmaker, cook, dressmaker, fish-gutter, hosier, jute mill worker, lacemaker, laundry worker, lavender seller, matchseller, midwife, milliner, needle seller, oyster seller, prostitute and stripper. According to Iona and Peter Opie, the last is the most common occupation named in children's songs (*The Singing Game*, Oxford, Oxford University Press, 1985, p. 286).

9. Judging by the folksong record, the very fact of being a milkmaid was an open invitation to sexual harassment. Such songs are constructs of male fantasy rather than occupational songs as such.

10. John Holloway and Joan Black, eds., *Later English Broadside Ballads*, London, Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1975; p. 217, lines 1-4.

11. Double sets are not, of course, confined to occupational songs: "Gathering Rushes in the Month of May" appears to offer a preliminary narrative to the semi-humorous "Rolled in her Apron", and has the same refrain. The unmarried girl trying to avoid the stigma of a bastard in the first song becomes a con-woman in the second, which is seen from the point of view of the duped man.

12. Henderson, Armstrong and Kerr, pp. 128-29.

13. Peter Kennedy, ed., *Folk Songs of Britain and Ireland*, London, Cassell, 1975, p. 370.

14. Child, vol. 5, pp. 128-131.

15. Roger deV. Renwick, *English Folk Poetry*, London, Batsford, 1980, p. 92.

16. Over seventy occupations are thus represented. See "Work as Metaphor" in my study *The English Occupational Song*, University of Umeå, Sweden, forthcoming.

17. Henderson, Armstrong and Kerr, pp. 136-137.

18. Dugaw, pp. 153, 181.

19. *Cecilia Costello*, Leader LEE 4050, 1075, Side A, Band 5.

20. *Sussex Harvest: A Collection of Traditional Songs from Sussex*, Topic Records, London, 12 T 258, 1975, Side 1, Track 2.

21. See, for example, Stan Hugill, *Shanties from the Seven Seas*, 2nd edn., London, Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1984, p. 138.

22. W.G. Day, ed., *The Pepys Ballads*, 5 vols., Cambridge, Brewer, 1987, vol. 5, p. 386. There is some evidence that "A Hot Engagement" is based on an earlier song. The metaphorical association of women with sailing ships is at least as old as Shakespeare. When William Congreve published a street ballad based on a song in his play *Love for Love* (1695) on the rivalry of four men over "buxom Joan", he characterised their sexual performance in terms of their trade. The victor was the sailor, who is naturally also given the best metaphor:

> And just e'en as he meant, Sir,
> To loggerheads they went, Sir,
> And then he let fly at her,
> A shot 'twixt wind and water,
> that won this fair maid's heart.
> "Buxom Joan of Lymas's Love to a jolly Sailor" 26-30.

Since the same image of wind and water appears in "A Hot Engagement" (14-16), there must be a strong presumption of a common source.

23. M. Spufford, *Small Books and Pleasant Histories*, London, Methuen, 1981, p. 14.

24. Thomas Deloney, *Works*, ed. F.O. Mann, Oxford, Oxford University Press, 1912, p. 20.

25. However, an earlier broadside, "The Clothiers Delight", which can be dated to the 1670s, shows a clear sense of a group identity developing as a result of the actions of the wealthy clothmasters, with their unjust truck system. Using a skilful ironic mode, the song features a clothier describing the various ways of cheating his employees:

> When we go to market our workmen are glad;
> But when we come home [i.e. to the workshop],
> then we do look sad:
> We sit in the corner as if our hearts did ake;
> We tell them 'tis not a penny we can take,
> We plead poverty before we have need;
> And thus we do coax them most bravely indeed.
> And this is a way for to fill up our purse
> Although we do get it with many a curse. (49-56)

The song shows familiarity with different parts of the weaving process, dealing in turn with the "tuckers" (fullers) and "sheremen" (croppers of the cloth).

26. G.M. Trevelyan, *English Social History*, Harmondsworth, Penguin, 1967, p. 252; Izaak Walton, *The Compleat Angler*, London, Dent, 1906, pp. 68-69.

27. Roy Palmer, ed., *Everyman's Book of British Ballads*, London, Dent, 1980, p. 11.

28. Henderson, Armstrong and Kerr, pp. 128-129; *Here is a Health: Songs, Music and Stories of an Ulster Community,* Belfast, Arts Council of Northern Ireland, 1986, Side 2, Track 3.

29. Dugaw, p. 124.

30. Day, vol. 5, p. 413.

31. It was used, for example, by Margaret Thatcher in a speech at Aberdeen, May 12th, 1990.

32. Roy Palmer ed., *Poverty Knock*, Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 1974, p. 35.

33. Ewan MacColl and Peggy Seeger, *Till Doomsday in the Afternoon: the folklore of a family of Scots Travellers, the Stewarts of Blairgowrie*, Manchester, Manchester University Press, 1986, p. 94.

34. Two exceptions, both from Scotland, are David Buchan's study of the repertoire of Anna Brown of Falkland in *The Ballad and the Folk*, and H. Gower's and James Porter's three-part analysis and listing of the songs of Jeannie Robertson (*Scottish Studies* 14 (1970),

35-58; 16 (1972), 139-159; 21 (1977) 35-58). Neither of these, however, gives the texts of the songs themselves, although James Porter is currently preparing an edition of Jeannie Robertson's songs. The largest published repertoire of an English woman singer is that of Caroline Hughes, forty six of whose songs are reproduced by Ewan MacColl and Peggy Seeger (*Travellers' Songs from England and Scotland*, London, Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1977). Even here, however, they are scattered throughout the collection.

35. *Till Doomsday in the Afternoon*, p. 165; *Travellers' Songs from England and Scotland*, p. 11.

36. Henderson, Armstrong and Kerr, p. 119.

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[*Lore & Language* 10/2 (1991) 39-47]

The Aesthetics of Märchen Narration in Franco-Newfoundland Tradition

Gerald Thomas

In a paper presented to the VIIth Congress of the ISFNR in Edinburgh in 1979, I outlined the nature of the Franco-Newfoundland narrative tradition, characterising it as one with both "public" and "private" or "family" manifestations, and drawing attention to the criteria which permitted such a distinction.[1] To recapitulate briefly, I was able to collect, in the period 1970-73, on the then still relatively isolated Port-au-Port Peninsula, a substantial number of folk narratives from some one hundred or so informants. Many of these tales were versions or variants of classic Aarne-Thompson tale types in the section 300-749; while some seemed to be very full versions of tale types, many more seemed "incomplete" or "fragmentary". Often though, the narrators would excuse what they themselves considered incomplete narratives, simultaneously disclaiming the title or role of "conteur" or storyteller and occasionally mentioning the names of individuals whom they considered to be "real" storytellers.

This suggestion of an indigenous taxonomy of narrators led me to recognise the existence of two intertwining narrative traditions, the distinguishing characteristics of which could be defined in terms of narrative and performance style. At that point, however, much of my evidence corroborating the existence of a "public" tradition came from comment and evocation by those who were not themselves public storytellers, or from inference in the reading of oral texts. It was only in 1978 that I began working with a narrator whom I subsequently recognised to be a protagonist of the public style, and while my observations were confirmed by earlier work I had undertaken with a similar performer, my interest in defining the nature of community aesthetics became truly feasible after 1980.[2]

My feeling that I was collecting often incomplete versions of tales was supported by many of my informants, who admitted that they had forgotten

parts of their stories, either because their memories were deficient, or because they had not told stories for a long time or, more significantly, because they disliked what they felt to be the inordinate length of such tales. The implication in this stress upon their dislike of lengthy narratives was that in the past, well told Märchen were habitually long and, presumably, appreciated for that quality. Some informants recalled with nostalgia how, "in the old days", stories often lasted from two to three hours in the telling. Such comments also implied that value judgements were being made, or had been made about Märchen narration, in addition to pointing to the sources of contemporary disenchantment with Märchen.[3] Length first, then the repetitive nature of Märchen, were the features initially indicated as negative factors in contemporary narration. With these, as with other negative features, there was always the implicit comparison with what I first thought of as the older, public tradition, until I realised that they were also typical of the private or family tradition and that this tradition has lived alongside the public tradition which itself had not totally disappeared. My own private or family narrators also spoke, in sometimes ambiguous terms, of still living public narrators, hinting that the very features they disliked in tales were typical of public storytellers, most of whom, however, they had not seen perform for many years.

On the basis then of criteria indicated by informants themselves, on usually unarticulated criteria accessible through the analysis of texts, and by the comparison of the performance styles of narrators, it became possible to establish clear distinctions between the two traditions and to disengage the constituent elements of the aesthetic of Märchen narration amongst French Newfoundlanders.

Before taking up the specifics of Märchen aesthetics, a word on repertoire is essential. Even though the stock of narratives from French Newfoundlanders recorded in the late Luc Lacourcière's Festschrift in 1978 is now considerably expanded,[4] while very large numbers of AT tale types have been collected, probably no more than four dozen Märchen types have been noted, excluding multiple versions. Some of these have been widely collected, such as AT 313, *The Girl as Helper in the Hero's Flight,* but others have been recorded no more then once. Even with attrition over time, given the initially minute number of nineteenth century settlers, it is unlikely that the Märchen repertoire was ever very large. Awareness of this was another factor prompting me to explore the performance aspect of tale narration, for quite evidently novelty in plot would not have been a

significant factor in tale appreciation. Indeed, novelty only began to influence people's taste in any significant way with the advent of television.[5]

Both public and private or family narrators shared the same stock of narratives, but in the public *veillée* or storytelling session, it was Märchen that were expected of narrators. The major attraction of the public *veillée* then, was neither novelty, nor breadth of narrative genre, but the particular interpretation of tales provided by the gifted narrator, in other words, his narrative *performance.* Most of the defining features of community aesthetics can be seen in terms of the dramatic, theatrical performance of traditional oral narrative. Nowhere is this more evident than in the performance characteristics of outstanding and creative public storytellers.

Turning to the features of performance, the proper execution of which were much appreciated and admired by habitues of the *veillée,* the question of length should be noted once more. Before the advent of radio, and more tellingly of television, with its visual element, long winter evenings up to the 1960s had little to offer in the way of entertainment outside of parties or "kitchen rackets" full of song and music and dance, and storytelling. Recollections of storytelling evenings detail the careful preparation of the kitchen and food and drink for guests, and never fail to evoke the atmosphere of pervasive excitement; but they always, without fail, point not to specific stories told by narrators, but to the length of tales. Some narrators might take two whole evenings to complete a story, which would imply a five or six hour narration, but more commonly two to three hours was the duration most often mentioned. Admiration was the most characteristic emotion displayed before such verbal tenacity. How storytellers were able to tell such lengthy narratives will constitute part of the concluding section of this essay.

The second feature of aesthetic appreciation, though at first brought to my attention as a negative feature, concerns perceptions of the surface structure of Märchen, specifically the element of triple repetition so characteristic in such tales. This observation on my part is by no means novel, of course; Mark Azadovskii's 1926 *A Siberian Tale Teller*[6] recognised the longstanding and widespread awareness amongst scholars of the phenomenon; more pertinently, in contrasting the seventy five year old storyteller Medvedev, "for whom the exact production of the tale and every detail" were extremely important, with the main subject of his monograph, Natal'ia Osipovna Vinokurova, who seemed not "to place any great value in details of a fantastic nature" and to "have little interest in the plot itself",[8] he may well have

been pointing to a similar dual tradition as exists amongst French Newfoundlanders, a view buttressed by his mention of Vinokurova's frequent rectifications to her stories, during and after narration.

At any event, in Franco-Newfoundland tradition, faithful adherence to the triple repetition of episodes was expected of the storyteller, as much as it was not adhered to in the private or family tradition. Furthermore, triple repetition at the level of plot is echoed in matters of detail and oral style. As one example amongst many, one can point to the names of the three brothers' dogs in local versions of AT 303, *The Twins or Blood-Brothers*. They are variously named Brise-Fer, Brûle-Fer and Passe-Partout, and have achieved such currency as to be teasingly applied as nicknames to children. To omit them in a narration would have been unthinkable, though quite common in the private or family tradition. Even with descriptions of characters or places, phrasing was repetitive, sometimes with word-for-word accuracy. Thus the narrator, introducing the "old witch" who will transform to stone the two elder brothers in AT 303 and be thwarted by the youngest brother, the hero thrice exclaims "Ver de terre! Poussière de mes mains, eune vieille qui sort, les choueux pis la barbe y traînaient par terre!" The formulaic nature of such triple repetition has its simplest expression in the phrase habitually indicating the passage of time: "I marche, i marche pis i marche", often with the equally emphatic addition "pour trois jours et trois nuits",— he walks and walks and walks— for three days and three nights.

Though not particularly stressed by informants, but ever present and recognised with friendly familiarity by audiences, is the use of appropriate opening and closing formulas. Few versions of lengthy opening formulas have been collected, but the closing formula, in multivariant forms, is one of the few conventions of the public tradition which is equally well respected in the private or family tradition.

These features are those which are most commonly articulated or alluded to by informants in their appreciation of public narrators. Also noted by informants is quite another dimension of the narrative performance, the gestural and gesticulatory aspect. This part of the performance is often mentioned, partly because it was so exuberant, exaggeratedly so to contemporary participants, and partly because the very exuberance of melodramatic gesture seems to have been the hallmark of the older generations of French settlers, one which had led to a selfconscious restraint in gesture on the part of contemporary private narrators. The few public narrators still observable have not relinquished this performance trait, and have suffered the consequence

of mockery from their ethnic peers, which has added to the general decline of admiration for the public storyteller.

Also occasionally noted by some informants was the ability of the gifted storyteller to make much of the dramatic, theatrical potential of voice. Voices would be imitated as required, a high pitched, simpering voice for an unpromising heroine, a deep throaty roar for a giant, a bold, clear tone for a hero. Similarly, dramatic delivery was appreciated, with ominous pauses, crescendos, and other theatrical devices adding to the performance.

At this point, a variety of formal and dramatic features can be seen to constitute the core of aesthetic performance. But it is at this point, too, that we must return to one of the earliest series of comments encountered in the field: the frequent referral of the collector to individuals widely considered to be "real" storytellers, most of whom could be, in the abstract, considered public performers. Given a relative uniformity of repertoire amongst both public and private or family narrators, and given the general adherence of the former to aesthetic demands, what is it that prompted so many informants to refer, over and over, to the same small body of names? The answer is, I believe, in the personality of such individuals. The most memorable public performers seem to have been somewhat eccentric characters whose eccentricity, while not necessarily appreciated in day-to-day life, was, paradoxically, the source of their success in the public *veillée*. Such characters—"local characters" they might be dubbed in other circumstances—were able to add creative touches to their otherwise appropriate narrative performance which rendered the performances particularly memorable to those who saw them. I have been fortunate enough, in a twenty year period in which the public *veillée* has given no evidence of healthy activity, to have encountered two such storytellers, one of whom I have come to know particularly well, Emile Benoit.[9]

Paradoxically, he has not been known widely for his narrative skills, though they are considerable, but for his gifts as a traditional fiddler. Yet he is a storyteller, one who not only conforms to the image of the public storyteller as it has been so far presented, but who also is considered locally to be a bit of a character. Moreover, he has been quite articulate in expressing his opinions on an older generation of storytellers, recognising a conscious debt to them, and has demonstrated, again quite consciously, the creative, artistic devices of his narrative craft. These are devices which at times come close to breaking the rules of narrative performance, but so consummate a

performer is he that to those who grew up in the tradition, he is nonetheless wholeheartedly approved.

The growth of aesthetic awareness in Märchen narration began early in life for those of earlier generations. As small children, individuals would first be exposed to the basic structure and content of Märchen at the feet of family narrators. They became familiar with the repertoire of local tradition, learning at the same time through comment and through observation those facets of narrative performance which seemed important to older members of the community. Later, exposure to public narrators would illustrate the craft of the accomplished narrator and occasionally—and memorably—the outstanding and dramatically creative narrator. The mature audience would be sophisticated and sensitive to variation in narrative style, hence individuals' ability to hint at degrees of performance competence.

What places Emile Benoit at the highest level of narrative performance in the small world of Franco-Newfoundland communities? Even today, at the age of seventy six, he is still a lively, animated and alert individual, accomplished in many walks of life—as a fisherman, farmer, blacksmith, amateur veterinarian, sometime dentist, father of thirteen children, outstanding exponent of the fiddle and composer of dozens of tunes for that instrument, a man who travels widely nowadays to perform all over North America, and in Europe too. He is much loved by his audiences wherever he goes, as much for his seductive, seemingly simple, homespun humour and philosophy, as for his playing. But his seeming guilelessness is not innocent; he is a craftsman who works still at his craft.

Quite early in our friendship he told me how, as a lad, he used to watch the formal and informal performances of older musicians and storytellers, deliberately retaining such performance devices or characteristics as appealed to him. His exaggerated gesticulatory vocabulary was consciously acquired, and is indeed one of the reasons why people today consider him somewhat eccentric, for his expansive gesture is part of his "normal" behaviour, and it is considered old fashioned, associated with "the old Frenchmen", one of the characteristics which brought mockery, first from outsiders and, eventually, from younger contemporaries.

He also consciously developed, following the example of now deceased narrators, a gift for creating dialogue between characters in a tale. He stressed how his ability to do that allowed him to control the length of his narrations. I had once told him a ten minute summary of a Märchen I had collected in a nearby French community. He had never heard it before, but two years

later, having forgotten that I had told him the story, I asked him if he knew it. He proceeded to give me a seventy-five minute version of it, with no more motifs than I had provided, but full of lengthy, lively and humorous dialogue. On another occasion, prior to videotaping, in a studio, his version of AT 313, he asked me how long it should be. I suggested ninety minutes; the final version was timed at eighty seven and a half minutes.

A third feature of his performance routine he has developed consciously is his apparently quite original use of props. These range from the use of a cabbage less its heart placed on his head, as a wig, to the use of a long fringed shawl draped over head and shoulders which, in addition to cut-out cardboard fangs over his gums and an exaggeratedly hunched back, enabled him to recreate his vision of a three hundred year old witch; with appropriate distortion of voice, the final effect is devastatingly humorous.

He is also quite aware, at the level of text, of the liberties he takes with traditional expectations. He is not averse to deliberately distorting, parodying even, traditional opening formulas. The classic triple repetition of a verb to indicate the passage of time, he may repeat up to five or six times. The cumulative effect is to draw the audience's attention to such conventional features and provoke laughter through his exaggerated use of them.

Nowhere is this creative element so evident as in his handling of closing formulas. In Franco-Newfoundland tradition, the usual formula is "S'i son pas morts, i vivont encore" or, "If they're not dead, they're livin' yet". Some narrators will occasionally expand this by prefacing it with a personal note to the effect that the narrator was invited to the wedding of hero and heroine or was offered a cup of tea, or the like. But such additions tend to be brief. Emile Benoit expands them to the equivalent of a verbal paragraph, to the point that they become the closing formulas, the conventional ending being omitted. Perhaps because of his effectiveness, he is not censured for his omission. One example would be the following, a conclusion to his version of AT 313; the wedding of hero and heroine is decided and Benoit continues: "Là—i enouoyont quri le minisse, et pis i s'mariont, et pis quand qu'il aviont les noces—mais moi j'pouvais pas beaucoup jouer du violon de ces temps-là! Mais le temps de leus noces i tiont entor, dans le, dans l'spree—il aviont du home brew fait avec du prusse, heh! Holy gee! I m'a fait ve—'Rente là!' Mais j'tais bien reçu though, bye—j'ai joué pou—eune, eune partie d'leu danse—et tout—Mais j'tais bien reçu. Ouais." He has skillfully mediated between the world of the Märchen and the real world, using himself, his

known talents as a musician, the association of home brewed beer and local weddings, as the conduit.

His imaginative use and control of voice and timing, as well as some quite unusual onomatopoeic effects, add another creative dimension to his performances which, in other respects, conform to the norms. His creativity stresses the humorous potential of Märchen narration, a facet of performance which, it seems to me, has received little attention. Yet it is an ever-present feature in Franco-Newfoundland narrative tradition.

There is a final aspect of his art which requires comment, one which is especially important because published collections of Märchen rarely, if ever, acknowledge its existence—it is edited out. I refer to the interaction between narrator and audience. Visually, it includes the eye contact he makes, often with individuals and often to underscore some extranarrative allusion—as for example, when talking about the courtship of hero and heroine he winks and grins at a female member of the audience he has earlier been innocently and publicly flirting with. This visual dimension is made more real by direct verbal asides to the audience which may or may not have a direct bearing on the narrative itself, but the effect is not to interfere with the progress of the narrative, rather to reinforce the emotional bond between narrator and audience. He is remarkably effective in this and it explains in part the affection his audiences have for him, often long after the actual story has been forgotten.

These then are the constituents of the aesthetics of Märchen narration in Franco-Newfoundland tradition: respect for and adherence to the accepted plot structure, appropriate use of formulaic language and repetitive stylistic devices, considerable use of dramatic, or indeed melodramatic gesture, artful use of vocal potential. And on top of these features, the personal, creative elements brought to Märchen narration by particularly gifted narrators.

To what extent these features lend themselves to comparison with other Märchen traditions is perhaps a matter for speculation since, in the European-derived traditions of North America, the Märchen as a viable oral art form may well have all but disappeared. But these thoughts may serve to stimulate work in other areas of tradition. Aesthetic matters, as other folklorists have shown in other generic areas, are not the preserve of members of highly literate, elite segments of society alone.[10]

Notes

1. Thomas, G., "Public and Private Storytelling Situations in Franco-Newfoundland Tradition", in *Arv. Scandinavian Yearbook of Folklore* 36, 1980, 175-181.
2. Summarised in Thomas, G., *Les Deux Traditions. Le conte populaire chez les Franco-Terreneuviens*, Montreal, 1983. This interest in narrators is not of course novel. For a succinct statement on important extant works see Wehse, Rainer, "Past and Present Folkloristic Narrator Research", in *Fairy Tales and Society: Illusion, Allusion and Paradigm*, ed. R.B. Bottigheimer, Philadelphia, 1986, pp.245-258.
3. Thomas, G., "A Tradition Under Pressure: Folk Narratives of the French Minority of the Port-au-Port Peninsula, Newfoundland (Canada)", in *Studia Fennica 20, Folk Narrative Research*, Helsinki, 1976, 192-201.
4. For an early survey see Thomas, G., "L'état actuel de la recherche sur le conte populaire chez les Franco-Terreneuviens", in J.-C. Dupont, ed., *Mélanges en l'honneur de Luc Lacourcière: Folklore français d'Amerique,* Ottawa, 1978, pp.421-430.
5. Thomas, G., "Other Worlds: The Folktale and Soap Opera in Newfoundland's French Tradition", in K.S. Goldstein and N.V. Rosenberg, eds., *Folklore Studies in Honour of Herbert Halpert*, St. John's, Newfoundland, 1980, pp.343-351.
6. *Eine Sibirische Märchenerzählerin*, FFC No. 68, Helsinki 1926. I have made use of James R. Dow's translation of the work, *A Siberian Tale Teller*, Austin, Texas 1974 (Center for Intercultural Studies in Folklore and Ethnomusicology, Monograph Series No. 2), and references are to it.
7. Ibid., 23.
8. Ibid., 24.
9. Thomas, G., "Emile Benoit, Franco-Newfoundland Storyteller: Individual and Ethnic Identity, in R. Kvideland and T. Selberg, eds., *Papers of the 8th ISFNR Congress, 1984*, Bergen, 1985, IV, pp.287-298.
10. I gratefully acknowledge the advice and help of my colleague Martin Lovelace in elaborating this essay.

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Nigerian Dramatists in Search of a Theatrical Idiom. A Folkloristic Perspective on Wale Ogunyemi, Kola Ogunmola and Atiboroko Uyovbukerhi[1]

Austin Ovigue Asagba

> Artists stand at the centre of the creation of form and technique age after age. And it is part of the business of critics to stop and notice what is happening.
>
> E. Ofori Akyea[2]

A persistently recurring issue in the criticism of African drama and theatre in English in the last two decades has been the lack of a wholesome artistic relationship between the predominantly illiterate or semi-illiterate audience and the crop of African intellectual dramatists writing in a foreign language. The need for this harmonious relationship is predicated on the premise that firstly the dramatist writes for his immediate society. Secondly, drama as a social art is better appreciated in performance, and therefore must strive to communicate to its varied audiences. Thus, the dramatist's main obligation to his audience is to cross any gulf or barrier that may impede communication with the former. This artistic obligation is sacrosanct, and a deviation inevitably affects the degree of the social and cultural commitments of the dramatist.

Apart from the conventional linguistic argument that has often been identified as the main barrier existing between the intellectual African dramatist and his audience, other factors of illiteracy, lack of a positive political commitment, the exploration of alien theatrical conventions and sensibilities etc. have also been put forward by critics.[3] These various observable theatrical limitations point insidiously to the need for a theatrical idiom that embraces the socio-cultural life of the African people. Apart from being an embodiment of the cultural heritage of the people, this theatrical idiom, in practice, must engender a dialectical theatrical tradition

which the generality of the people can understand and identify with, socially and politically. This calls for a cultural introspection and revivalism devoid of the sentiments and politics of negritude. Ngugi wa Thiongo's transformation after his Kamiriithu experience is educative:

> It was Kamiriithu which forced me to turn to Gikuyu and hence into what for me has amounted to an epistemological break with my past, particularly in the area of theatre. The question of audience settled the problem of language choice, and the language choice settled the question of audience.[4]

The Ngaahika Ndeenda (I will marry when I want) project at Kamiriithu taught Ngugi and his artist collaborators the efficacy of the indigenous language, and most importantly "learning anew the elements of form of the African theatre".[5] The search for a theatrical form by Nigerian dramatists has been an ongoing process. The syncretic elements embodied in most Nigerian literary dramas is an attempt to identify and reconcile with the indigenous culture as well as communicate to a large percentage of Nigerian theatre audiences. Barring the inevitable ideological division between the first generation of Nigerian dramatists and their newer counterparts, Nigerian literary dramatists make no pretensions to the values of the inherited traditional theatrical elements and forms. The works of the earlier generation of Nigerian literary dramatists like Soyinka and Clark articulate to a great extent the totality of the theatrical conventions of the indigenous culture, in spite of their strong western educational orientation and influences. For instance, Ropo Sekoni's studies of Wole Soyinka's plays are well anchored on the premise of the playwright's familiarity and understanding of the "Yoruba conception of verbal art".[6] Also the radical aesthetics and visions of Femi Osofisan, Bode Osayin, Kole Omotosho and others have to a large extent explored their varied knowledge of the indigenous tradition in their works, even when there are indications of a subversive usage and adaptation of the indigenous culture. This paper considers the continuous search by Nigerian dramatists for a theatrical idiom that embraces the cultural psyche and opens up a communication valve between the dramatist and the majority of his audience who are in the main uneducated in the English language.

The following discussion focuses on three Nigerian plays from the perspective of their folkloristic content[7] and their adaptability to suit the theatrical and social needs of a great percentage of the Nigerian people. While Wale Ogunyemi's *Langbodo*[8] and Kola Ogunmola's *The Palmwine*

Drinkard[9] exist as published works, Atiboroko's *The Man Whose Luck Fell Asleep*[10] is yet unpublished but has enjoyed many performances in schools and higher institutions in Bendel State. Also, in spite of the fact that the three plays share certain similar characteristics, especially in form and content, they are however the products of individual artistic creation and are inspired and conditioned by different social visions.

Wale Ogunyemi's *Langbodo* was Nigeria's entry for the second World Black and African Festival of Arts. It was premiered at the National Theatre, Lagos on Sunday, January 16, 1977 and published in 1979. Like most of Ogunyemi's plays, *Langbodo* has strong traditional imprints, both in its content and form. However, Ogunyemi transcends his purely Yoruba base in an attempt to capture in one single drama the totality of a National Theatrical consciousness and psyche. This ambitious motive is evident in the borrowed theatrical elements of dance, music, symbols and songs from the varied cultural communities in Nigeria. The playwright successfully adapts the loose structure and form of the folktale tradition in exploring the themes of patriotism, national unity, leadership qualities and accountability in a society characterised by varied linguistic and cultural traditions.

Against the background of a play-within-a-play *Langbodo* explores a community's quest for peace, material wellbeing and social cohesion. Having secured the blessings and mandate of King Adejumo and the community at large, Akara Oogun leads the best of the community's seasoned hunters to the mythical Mount Langbodo, the forest of a thousand demons, in search of the mythical object that will ensure peace and material plenitude in a community plagued by hardship, disease and famine, and ravaged by wars. As in most quests of this nature, the seven hunters go through various traumatic ordeals, personified in the broader conflict between the forces of evil and good. The triumph of the latter signals the restoration of harmony and material plenitude in the community. Principally, the wider conflict on the spiritual level highlights the relationship as well as the continuum between the living and the dead. The boon of the quest is a symbolic elephant tusk from the Oba of Benin, and it denotes peace and plenty. However, the play ends on a very cautious and ambivalent note with the First Medium (a representational force of evil) appearing to dominate the affairs of man.

The linear progressional folktale pattern as well as simple plot evident in the journey of the seven hunters also characterise Kola Ogunmola's *The Palm-wine Drinkard* and Atiboroko Uyovbukerhi's *The Man Whose Luck Fell Asleep.* Adapted from Amos Tutuola's fiction, *The Palm-wine Drinkard*

and His Dead Palm-wine Tapster in the Dead's Town (1952), Ogunmola's play is built on a dream motif and predicated on the technique of a play-within-a-play. Broadly, it explores the hero Lanke's quest for his dead palm-wine tapper. Following a typical folktale progressional pattern of episodic encounters, Lanke's ordeal brings him to his dead tapper in deadman's town. In the end he returns home with a boon that will ensure the constant supply of palm-wine. However, before he wakes up from his world of fantasy the egg is broken and he finds himself surrounded by friends who admonish him for his heavy drinking habit.

Oyuvbukerhi's *The Man Whose Luck Fell Asleep* manifests a similar folktale structure of linear progression in its episodic pattern. Adapted from a Persian folktale with the same title, and translated by Eleanor Brockett, the hero, Okoro, the elder of two brothers, sets out on a quest to find his own luck and wake him up. His primary objective is to cure the disease of poverty which had plagued him all his life. He attains his goal after exploring the jungle, through thick and thin, encountering both positive and negative beings. Equipped with a bag of philosophical and magical wisdom he makes his return journey with the hope of a new beginning.

In spite of the obvious differences in plotting, the three plays highlighted reveal similar thematic and theatrical thrusts common to most folktale genres. In performance the folktale elements serve as the fulcrum for audience participation, empathy and education. First, there is a great emphasis on heroism. However, for purposes of elucidation and the author's individual prerogatives, in *Langbodo* Wale Ogunyemi explores collective heroism. The other two plays, Uyovbukerhi's *The Man Whose Luck Fell Asleep* and Ogunmola's *The Palm-Wine Drinkard* explore individual heroism at different levels. Ogunyemi's heroes, Akara Oogun and his fellow hunters, represent the positive aspects of collective heroism acting on behalf of the community. As chosen men of the community in dire straits they must suffer for the rejuvenation of their community.

Also, it is their appointed responsibility to cement the creaky relationship between the world of the living and the dead. In this play, as in the other two plays discussed here, there is no dichotomy between the world of the living and the dead. This is a hallmark of most Africanist plays and it serves as the main theatrical adjunct of most traditional performances. Also, while man is presented as principally responsible for his actions and a prime determinant of his fate, the degree of peace and material plenitude he enjoys depends on his relationship with his environment, neighbours and the spirit forces

around him. This socio-moral dictum is prevalent in the outcome of the seven hunters' encounters with Trees, Hawks, Sand Elves, Egbere and Tree Bears in the first two movements of *Langbodo*.

In the two other plays, *The Palm-wine Drinkard* and *The Man Whose Luck Fell Asleep* the emphasis is on individual heroism. Lanke and Okoro are motivated to proceed on their different quests by an inner urge for material plenitude. However, Okoro is also inspired by the need for spiritual illumination. The implication of the overt individual prerogatives of the two heroes is that they were acting on behalf of themselves rather than the community. On the other hand, the collective action of Akara Oogun and his fellow hunters is predicated on the need for the regeneration of both the spiritual and social life force of the race. In their quest individual needs and comfort are de-emphasised. For instance in the opening scenes Kako rebuffs the love protestations of his new bride as the mission was about to commence.

KAKO: That must be Paminku
PAMINKU: Kakooooooooo! Kakooooooooo!
KAKO: Its Paminku, let's be away!
PAMINKU: Kakooooooooo!
KAKO: Let's be away!
IMODOYE: Why? She is your wife
KAKO: She must not see me
AKARA OOGUN: But why, Kako
KAKO: Women have been the downfall of many. I would not let her be our downfall. Let's be away!

(*Langbodo*, p. 19)

In *The Palm-wine Drinkard*, Lanke's muddled fantasy is pivoted on greed and his insatiable urge for palm-wine, and not primarily to bring his dead tapster from the dead. This is attested to by the excessive display of egoism and greed in the accidental destruction of the boon (egg) he brought back from his quest. Equally, Uyovbukerhi's hero Okoro acts from beginning to the end primarily for individual benefit. While the playwright counsels for individual effort, spiritual and material illumination, he plays down the much needed collective effort for the growth of society, politically, socially and materially. This thematic thrust by both Ogunmola and Uyovbukerhi weakens the relevance of their social visions, especially as it affects a society like Nigeria which is going through historic changes. In performance, Ogunyemi's *Langbodo,* from the perspective of its social and political vision,

may likely appeal more to a Nigerian, albeit African, audience than the other two plays discussed.

Apart from the above differences in authorial social vision the three works are considerably influenced by folkloristic theatrical elements and techniques with which most Nigerian theatre audiences would readily identify. For instance, the concept of "a play-within-a-play" is a common theatrical technique employed by the three playwrights. This is a derivation of the informal and lighthearted atmosphere of most indigenous folk traditions. At one level it psychologically removes any barrier between performers and audience. At another level it makes an overture of presenting the performance as a family affair, in which everybody, both performers and spectators, are active participants and contributors to the whole process of the play. *Langbodo* opens with old Akara Oogun intimating to the audience the collective essence of the performance:

OLD AKARA OOGUN: My friends all, like the sonorous proverb do we drum the Ogidigbo, it is the wise who dance to it, and the learned who understand its language. Our story tonight is a veritable Ogidigbo, it is I who will drum it, and you the wise heads who will interpret it. (p. 1).

Similarly, both *The Palm-wine Drinkard* and *The Man Whose Luck Fell Asleep* open in an informal atmosphere and against the backdrop of "a play-within-a-play". In the former, crowded by friends with music provided by *bata* drummers, Lanke invites the audience to listen to his story:

LANKE: I hope you are pleasantly seated, ladies and gentlemen. I hope you are pleasantly seated my friends. Listen close and hear something.

(*The Palm-wine Drinkard*, p. 3)

In *The Man Whose Luck Fell Asleep* the Narrator, against the background of a liturgical opening song and rite, tells the audience:

NARRATOR: Ladies and gentlemen
The Wind of life can be so rough
When you have only a candle flame
To light your way.
And your luck is fast asleep on some
Distant mountain top.
That was the way it was with Okoro,
Until he decided to do something about it.

What he did and how he did it
Are the burden of my tale tonight.
So please sit back, relax
And enjoy yourselves.

(*The Man Whose Luck Fell Asleep*, p. 2)

Another theatrical device common to most folk traditions which Ogunmola, Uyovbukerhi and Ogunyemi have used to great artistic advantage is the loose structural design of the three plays. Far from prolonging the action unnecessarily and making the plays inorganic, the three playwrights have utilised the "loose structural" device in making topical and moral statements relevant to their society. For instance, in *Langbodo*, the informal and lighthearted opening scenes give way to magico-spiritual rites that quickly established the religious world of the play. The propitiatory rites that precede the hunters' expedition become an occasion for political statements that border on the wellbeing of the community. There is emphasis on sacrifice and patriotism in the speech of the king:

KING: And do you realise there is nothing more deserving of honour than serving one's country.

AKARA OOGUN: Kabiyesi O!

KING: These two objectives have greater value than gold or silver and it is on their account that I have to send you on this errand (p. 6).

In *The Palm-wine Drinkard*, apart from the overt focus on Lanke's quest embedded in its structure, are subtle socio-moral commentaries which expose the frailties and greed in man. These commentaries are given weight through the presentational style which informs the play. Lanke's quest is presented as the fantasy of an over-zealous drunk-drunkard with an insatiable urge for magic power to sustain his drive for palm-wine. This thematic thrust runs through the different episodes. Equally, Uyovbukerhi's play benefits from the above technique. The informal liturgical rites that open the play become the pretext for presenting the story of the two brothers, Okoro and Oko. The story is not just narrated by the narrator, but performed by the players with the former acting as the bridge and anchor point of the different episodes. The different episodes are interspersed with social and moral statements on man. Some of these extol individual determination, willpower and spiritual illumination, others indict and condemn banditry and corruption in high places.

Equally evident in the folkloristic concept and form of the three plays are

simplicity of plot, language, adaptation and refurbishment of local metaphorical images and dance symbols. These indigenous theatrical elements add colour, elucidate meaning as well as enable the local audience to identify with and equally, actively to participate in the plays. In comparison, Ogunyemi, of the three playwrights discussed here, excels in his ability to provide more local colour and adapt to useful purpose traditional materials of theatre. A vivid example is the opening scene of *Langbodo*. These scenes are not only laden with rich proverbs and metaphorical imagery but also reveal the playwright's mastery of the twists and various nuances of language evident in Yoruba idiom. Witness the introduction of Elegbede, one of the expeditioners:

RETINUE: En eh? (Some of them take a closer look at Elegbede's acciput).

AKARA OOGUN: This led his mother to cast him in the bush, and there it was he began to live among baboons and grew immensely strong. After a while he returned to town and started living in the palace. But his nature is still unruly, like the baboons and this is what make people refer to him as Elegbede, the father of the baboon.

RETINUE: Baboon. Ha ha. Ummmmmmmmmm (p. 12).

The above exchange combines simplicity and seriousness of purpose in the revelation of the true character and qualities of Elegbede. Furthermore, it reveals the functional nature of indigenous Nigerian names, but principally it underlines the comic streak and entertainment content of most Nigerian performances—even when they are "serious plays". The collaborative nature of Ogunmola's *The Palm-wine Drinkard* inevitably affected the final product of the artistic endeavour.[11] While the play is pivoted on a strong ritualistic base and interspersed with incantational language, the poetry lacks flavour and colour. Apart from its attendant boredom, its effect on the audience is diversional—witness Third Spirit's incantations in one of the ritual rites:

THIRD SPIRIT (Shouts): I have brought the leaves of the afe tree, our father, Oluugbo!
Whoever has a charm made for him from the leaves of the afe tree,
All the spirits will like him wherever he goes!
The river water you asked me to bring in a bottle,
Here is it!
No one conspires against a river!
Whoever has a charm made for him with this water,
Whatever he asks for will be got without trouble.
(*The Palm-wine Drinkard*, p. 15)

Uyovbukerhi's *The Man Whose Luck Fell Asleep* is anchored on fine poetry rich in metaphorical allusions and imagery. But some of the long speeches, especially those of the Narrator tend to affect continuity as well as the rhythmical flow of action. These are mainly in the Step One. The pruning of some of these speeches will surely improve the flow of action and also eradicate boredom in performance. As an unpublished work, it is still highly experimental. It will no doubt gain tremendously from further performances before it is eventually published.

In conclusion, the three plays discussed show the potential of the folkloristic idiom as it relates to a theatrical performance. Because the three plays are anchored on folktale motifs they are therefore rooted in familiar indigenous theatrical methods and cultural materials. This may engender audience identification and participation. Furthermore, because of the universal appeal of most folktale genres the three plays may also appeal to a cross-sectional audience, both local and international. In this connection the folkloristic theatrical idiom seems a good platform for contemporary Nigerian literary dramatists to explore their different social visions without running the risk of alienating too adversely those segments of society who are not particularly knowledgeable in the English language and conventions of theatre.

Notes

1. This paper was originally presented at the Africa–Middle East Regional Congress of the International Society for Education through Art, August 7-12 1988, University of Lagos, Nigeria.

2. E. Ofori Akyea, "Traditionalism in African Literature: J.P. Clark", in Christopher Heywood (ed.), *Perspectives on African Literature*, H.E.B., p. 118.

3. Biodun Jeyifo's position in his article "Literary drama and the search for a popular Theatre in Nigeria" is informative and supported by this writer. For more details see Yemi Ogunbiyi (ed.), *Drama and Theatre in Nigeria. A Critical Source Book*, Nigeria Magazine, 1981, pp. 411-21.

4. Ngugi wa Thiongo, *Decolonising the Mind*, H.E.B., 1986, p. 44.

5. *Ibid.*

6. Dr. Ropo Sekoni's categorisation and analysis of Yoruba verbal art, especially their preference for metaphoric as opposed to metonymic connection between images in verbal art in relation to the overall conception of aesthetic communication in drama, serves to distinguish between the traditional Nigerian concept of drama, and its Western counterpart. For more reading see, Ropo Sekoni, "Metaphor As Basis of Dramatic Form in Soyinka's

Drama", in Samuel Asein ed., *Review of English and Literary Studies*, University of Ibadan, Vol. I, No. 1, 1-16.

7. The use of the term "folkloristic" transcends the anonymity and stereotypal associations often ascribed to most folk genres.

8. Quotations from Wale Ogunyemi, *Langbodo*, Thomas Nelson, 1979.

9. All quoted passages are from Kola Ogunmola, *The Palmwine-Drinkard*, Ibadan, University of Ibadan, 1972.

10. Unpublished play in the possession of the present writer, Benin, 1988.

11. Apart from G.J. Axworthy's artistic advice, Professor Dapo Adelugba played a major role, especially in the area of theatrical interpretation and presentation of the play.

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Kamtok is Achieving its Lettres De Noblesse

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Preliminary Survey

The appearance of "Kamtok: Anatomy of Pidgin" by Todd and Jumbam (1992) is a very welcome contribution which dissects the linguistic characteristics of this viable Cameroonian lingua franca with a refreshing insight. The authors' labelling of this speech form as Kamtok lends it descriptive and evaluative quality which invests it with a badge of identity as a Cameroonised language since it is actively responsive to the linguistic environment of Cameroon. Scholars such as Schneider (1966), Todd (1974, 1979), Menang (1979), Mbangwana (1983) have all designated it as Pidgin English and have shown how it has come into being and the uses to which is being put.

Other researchers such as Balinga (1978), Beteck (1986), Ndoping (1989) and Eyong (1991) have examined Cameroon Pidgin English and demonstrated how it has negatively influenced the speech of college students and undergraduates as a result of its heavy functional load in the students' speech repertoire.

Some, in the vein of Tiayon (1985) and Lafon (1987), have described its innovative traits and dubbed it as "Camspeak" and "slang" respectively. This high functional load and linguistic spread are confirmed by a study (1983) of languages in lingua franca zones in Cameroon which gave the following results:

Lingua Franca Zones	*Kamtok and English*	*French*	*Fufulde*
French	22.3	82.3	34.7
English	64.5	14.6	4.1
Kamtok	97.8	61.8	10.1

Widespread and functional use of Kamtok by traders, clergy, politicians, the armed forces, and the CRTV (radio and television) music industry is making Kamtok not just a lingua franca in the sense of being a communicative medium in a multilingual society but now importantly it has become fashionable and popular to use many of its forms and words in serious transactions, especially in news media English and pop music production. This popularity of Kamtok is echoed in Ketchatcham (1989) where he describes how Prince Nico Mbarga and Lapiro de Mbanga reached the quasi-totality of the Cameroon population and achieved immeasurable popularity for their consummate use of Kamtok in music production.

The above facts make one hesitate to endorse in its entirety the evaluation of Todd and Jumbam (1992: 4) that:

> The recent introduction of television and the proliferation of videos is already reinforcing Standard English to the apparent detriment of Kamtok.

It should be noted that if Standard English is reshaping the structure of Kamtok, as they rightly demonstrated and predicted, it is equally interesting to observe how much Kamtok is stretching the semantic range and enriching the vocabulary repertoire of Cameroon Standard English (henceforth CSE).

Favourable Use of Kamtok Expressions in CSE

Kamtok is partially a distillation of certain Cameroonian languages and is becoming incorporated into Cameroon Standard English. Certain Kamtok words and expressions that used to be considered interference in CSE are nowadays being used with a snob appeal in serious writing and news media English. These expressions become integrated in CSE and are hardly frowned upon. Such positive use of Kamtok in CSE should be regarded as integration and not interference.

Certain recurrent expressions that used to appear mainly in basilectal and mesolectal varieties of Kamtok have become commonplace in the acrolectal variety of CSE. Below are some Kamtok expressions which are used in CSE and are juxtaposed with British Standard English, henceforth BSE.

CSE	BSE
big heart	bold or daring
big man	rich or influential
big mouth	talkative or loquacious
big mammy	grandmother

money eye	money lover
mimbo eye	drunk
book eye	book-minded
open eye	domineering
chop/eat government money	embezzle state funds
chop/eat njangi	take or have your own share of money contribution
trouble bank	relief fund
chop/eat born house	celebrate birth
trouble shooter	person who is fond of creating problems

Inversion in certain expressions:

CSE	BSE
strong head	head strong
cut short	short cut/path
tie head	head tie/scarf
fufu corn	corn fufu/corn flour

CSE Extending the Semantic Range of BSE Words

Kamtok usage in CSE is resurrecting strange ideas and structures in a native body by giving it native blood and flesh. Such a usage (CSE in a fuzzy frontier with Kamtok) demonstrates a certain degree of creativity and authenticity. Thus:

stranger: BSE — It generally means a person one does not know.
CSE — Refers to those known and unknown e.g. guest or visitor.

e.g. Awah the person you are talking to is my stranger from Melong. He was my classmate at CPC Bali.

BSE — Awah the person you are talking to is my guest from Melong. He was my classmate at CPC Bali.

trust: BSE — To have confidence in
CSE — To borrow or give credit to.

e.g. Could you please trust me your torch?

BSE — Could you please lend me your torch?

now: BSE — Generally means present time or circumstance. In Kamtok, *now*, actually pronounced "na", has been extended to mean an action with emphasis or a tag question.

CSE — Let us eat now
Give us the map now
What are you looking at now?

BSE — We have to eat
You have to give us the map
What must you be looking at?

The same idea of emphasis is expressed in Kamtok by a double pronominal usage. Unit value is also expressed by doubling the unit.

CSE — She went her to the concert
He refused eating him

BSE — She had to go to the concert
He kept refusing to eat.

CSE — These cups cost five five hundred.

BSE — These glasses cost five hundred francs each.

hear: BSE — To perceive with the ears - the meaning of this verb in CSE has been extended to other senses including understand, smell, feel, etc.

CSE — Tell your uncle to see the Headmaster tomorrow - you hear?

BSE — Tell your uncle to see the Headmaster tomorrow - do you understand?
Did you hear that odour?

BSE — Did you smell that odour?
I am hearing a terrible pain on my finger.

BSE — I have been feeling an excruciating pain on my finger.

The Tendency to Use Expressions with Low Informative Value

In addition to the practice of relexifying CSE in the manner of Kamtok it is observed that CSE shows a predilection for using words or expressions with general, vague or low information value; e.g. *Thing* and *spoil*:

CSE: Djibril did not solve my problem until I gave him something.

BSE: Djibril did not process my increment until I offered him a tip.

CSE: Embezzlement and tribalism are things that are spoiling this country.
BSE: Embezzlement and tribalism are the vices that are ruining national development.

Hand in CSE designates invariably arm, forearm, elbow, palm and fingers.
CSE: Pamela cannot hold the fork, she has a wound on her hand.
BSE: Pamela cannot hold the fork, she has an injury on her palm.

Long-hand shirt designates long-sleeve shirt.
CSE: In general my nephew doesn't like long-hand shirts.
BSE: In general my nephew doesn't like long-sleeve shirts.

Follow — it generally means to pursue.
CSE: He has gone to the Ministry of Finance to follow his papers.
BSE: He has gone to the Ministry of Finance to pursue his car allowance file.
CSE: He is following his uncle's wife.
BSE: He is flirting with (dating) his uncle's wife.

Follower means somebody who is junior to you,
e.g. Susan's follower resembles her.
BSE: Susan's junior sister resembles her.
CSE: How many followers do you have Ken?
BSE: How many junior brothers or sisters do you have Ken?

These CSE lexical words or patterns are culled from home languages via Kamtok. The words or expressions may be the result of a need-filling motive which Halliday et al. (1968) established, namely that all second language learners always have their second language influenced by their first language. This is certainly more obvious in a multilingual society like that of Cameroon where one may first acquire a home language, then Kamtok and later on CSE.

This tallies well with Bailey (1973: 7) who explains that:

> Writers (speakers) self-consciously adopt the form of language that will enable them to express their sense of individuality and place. And because they seek a private vision they inevitably invest a borrowed tongue with perceptions first formed in their native one.

It is surely this principle of Kamtok-CSE cross-fertilisation which has moulded expressions in CSE such as:

We are going to eat Christmas with you.
BSE: We are going to spend Christmas with you.
My niece is doing history in the University of Yaounde.
BSE: My niece is reading history in the University of Yaounde.
Bansa is staying with his brother.
BSE: Bansa is living with his brother.
Lum is his senior wife.
BSE: Lum is his first wife.

All these forms emerge to reveal how Kamtok has become fashionable and seeps into the speech of CSE speakers both unconsciously and deliberately. The persona non grata status of Kamtok is giving way to a national acceptance which causes many educated Cameroonians to use various Kamtok words and expressions in their speech. Kamtok in CSE has become so well integrated that its forms are used in official and educated circles without the speakers and hearers noticing. This is surely in keeping with Strevens' statement (1987: 60) that:

> Most NNS (Non-Native Speakers) varieties of English embrace a range of forms and styles, Pidgin-like, at one extreme and NS-like (Native Speakers) at the other. The NNS user is likely to switch effortlessly from one to another as the need arises.

This is precisely how Kamtok becomes integrated into CSE. Its integration has become so smooth and fashionable that it is even developing a snob appeal.

Conclusion

CSE is heavily influenced by Kamtok which is moulded to relay the cultural connotations distilled from the home environment. The incorporation of Kamtok into CSE signals a vigorous change taking place in CSE. Its fulfulling use is constituting a body of lexical richness which guarantees its acceptance and tacit recognition in circles that previously scorned it and regarded it as the speech of the downtrodden or, as Todd and Jumbam (1992: 3) allude to appropriately, as Bad English, Broken English, and Bush English.

If Kamtok is revitalising CSE in the way it has done so far then one can predict that CSE will be favourably responsive to it, especially as Povey (1983: 8) describes the pervasive nature of Kamtok as follows:

> It constantly changes to accommodate a greater measure of local applicability and in that way becomes more closely an African language, developed for African needs.

Such a state of symbiosis makes the two languages (Kamtok and CSE) mutually enriching and cross-fertilising as they shade into each other imperceptibly.

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The Michaelis-Jena Ratcliff Prize is supported by an endowment established by the late Ruth Michaelis-Jena (Mrs. Ratcliff) and will be awarded annually for an important contribution to study of Folklore or Folklife. Individual applicants including students, candidates for higher degrees and established scholars are invited to present material for the award. Contributions, which must be printed or typewritten in English, may be a monograph, thesis, dissertation, an annotated and interpreted collection of materials or a textbook. Articles and brief monographs will not be considered.

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[*Lore & Language* 10/2 (1991) 67-74]

The Historiography of Dialectology

Craig Fees

Although it appeared after, Robert Penhallurick's "The Politics of Dialectology" (*Lore and Language* 9.2 (1990), 55-68) was written before the publication of my study of Harold Orton and the English Dialect Survey (Fees 1991), and consequently neither takes account of the other. The latter is the first historical study of any length which is based on original English Dialect Survey source materials. It corrects a number of mistakes which have crept into the Survey's history, and particularly into condensed summaries. I would like to use Penhallurick's article to address some of these; and then, as an outsider to dialectology, to make one or two comments.

1. *EDS/SED*

The English Dialect Survey, or EDS, was an information-gathering project created by Harold Orton and Eugen Dieth. Concrete planning began in 1946, and over the next four years Dieth and Orton devised, tested, redevised and tested their Questionnaire. Formal fieldwork began in October 1950 and continued until October 1961.

The *Survey of English Dialects*, or *SED*, was the publication programme which Harold Orton launched in 1962 to publish the results of the English Dialect Survey. He saw it then as comprising five separate projects: The *Introduction* (1962); four volumes (twelve books) of *Basic Material* (1963–1971); four volumes (twelve books) of *Selected Incidental Material*; the *Linguistic Atlas of England* (1979); and *Phonetic Transcriptions* of Survey taperecordings.

In subsequent usage "SED" has come to stand for both the English Dialect Survey and the *Survey of English Dialects*, but for the purposes of this discussion I would like to maintain the distinction.

2. "*After Dieth's death in 1956, Orton became the Survey's driving force*". (Penhallurick, 57)
The implication of this statement is the frequently stated belief that until his death Dieth was the driving force behind the Survey. There is a companion idea—widespread, though it does not appear in Penhallurick—that the Survey was Dieth's idea. Neither is true.

The idea for a survey of English dialects predated the 1939–45 War. Indeed, Harold Orton had been appointed to a committee to prepare a memorandum on a linguistic atlas of the British Isles at the Second International Congress of Phonetic Sciences in London in 1935, and he and others began picking up the threads as soon as the war was over. Dieth became aware of this, and resuming a friendship and correspondence which had been interrupted by the war, he wrote to Orton in 1945 asking for more details. In an exchange of letters Dieth proposed a collaboration on the project which, in effect. Orton already had in hand, and together the two men began the long and difficult process of creating an English Dialect Survey (see Orton, Sanderson and Widdowson, 1978, Introduction). It was a full partnership, into which each brought his own talents, skills and personality.

Based at the University of Leeds, financed largely by Leeds, and ultimately conducted almost entirely by fieldworkers trained at Leeds, the practical execution of the Survey clearly owed a tremendous amount to Orton's administrative drive, leadership and fieldwork ability. But Dieth's drive certainly expressed itself in the rigour and detail of the fundamental instrument of the Survey, which was the Questionnaire. Orton recognised this and the importance of the partnership by insisting that Dieth share the *SED* masthead as co-editor of the series with Orton, despite the fact that it was Orton who founded the *SED*, and despite the fact that Dieth, who died in 1956, had little practical input into the Survey's editorial side. I have made the case (Fees 1991, pp. 107-110) that without Dieth there could and probably would have been an EDS, but that without Orton there would not have been. You could go on to argue that Orton was therefore the main driving force behind the Survey, but this is not how Orton wished to present matters, and it would not do justice to the fullness and completeness of their collaboration.

3. *Informants:* "*working-class*" (Penhallurick, 57)
The Survey used agricultural labourers, but its sample was not exclusively "working-class", nor was "working-class" a criterion for selecting informants.

If anything, Orton tended to present the informants as farmers (see, for example, Orton and Wright 1974, 1; Orton, 1953, 275; Orton, 1960, 337), or as persons "associated with the farming community" (Orton, 1951, p. 66). This was because the Questionnaire had to be applicable to all parts of the country and, because it is a reasonably universal industry, large sections of the Questionnaire are given over to farming. Beyond this, the informants "(and preferably their parents too) had to be natives and natural dialect speakers" (Orton, 1951, p. 66), with as little outside influence on their speech as possible—e.g., through education, travel or wartime service. Furthermore, because it was the older vernacular which the Survey was aiming for, "informants had to be at least sixty years of age, and normally not above seventy-five years, although some were actually eighty and over" (Orton, 1951, p. 66). The rest of the criteria were practical: "Besides being knowledgeable, they had to have good heads, good mouths, good hearing, and good eyesight. Further, they had to be people who were willing to spare the necessary time for the interviews..." (Orton, 1951, p. 66).

Orton had no illusion that these people spoke a pure or "uncorrupted" dialect, as might be inferred from Petyt 1982 as quoted by Penhallurick, 57-58. The *SED*, Orton wrote in 1970, "contains information chiefly about the dialect spoken by the older members of the community alive at the beginning of the second half of this century, and further that this type of dialect derived from the vernacular in existence at the beginning of its first half, though subsequently modified continuously by educational influences, the printed word, broadcasting and the disruption of family life due to general mobilization in World War I". (Orton, 1970, 81, cp. Orton, 1940).

4. "*the decision to publish the four volumes of BM [Basic Material]...was taken out of economic necessity*" (Penhallurick, 57).

This has been said before (e.g., Chambers and Trudgill, 1980, p. 22: "This format was determined out of economic necessity, as a less expensive way of publishing the results than the usual set of maps with responses overlaid"...) but as far as I am aware it is without foundation. The decision to publish in *Basic Material* form was taken as early as 1955 (Orton, 1957, 316-317; Orton, 1960, 332), but not as an alternative to *The Linguistic Atlas of England* (*LAE*) which was from the beginning and remained the ultimate goal of the Survey. The Questionnaire for the Survey, published in 1952, was, after all, entitled *A Questionnaire for a Linguistic Atlas of England.* Both the *Basic Material* and *LAE* were original components of the *SED* as

announced in 1962 (Orton, 1962). Publication of the *Basic Material* was completed in 1971, and the *LAE* itself was finally published in 1979. Furthermore, though the *Atlas* turned out in the end to be fairly expensive, it was not initially conceived that way. In Orton, 1971, p. 81, and elsewhere, for example, he detailed his proposals "for an interpretive, small-sized, simple, clear and inexpensive atlas, one that must not be beyond the pocket of the private individual, the scholar, the teacher, the student or the interested amateur". He went on to note that "our printed books of basic material serve all the purposes of the factual atlas", of which he observed in Orton, 1970, 85, "Only the professional can understand its significance..."

The evidence therefore suggests that the *Basic Material* was regarded as precisely that: a necessary stage of collation and editing to provide a clean and reliable data base upon which further work (both inside the *SED* programme and outside) could build. It was "basic" because it provided the foundation for subsequent work, including the *Atlas*. The idea that the "basic" format was forced on them as an economic expedient in my view underrates the experience, thought and foresight that Orton and Dieth brought to their work.

5. *Word Geography of England/WGE*

This was not an *SED* project, though based on *SED* material and co-authored by Orton.

6. "*After the final volume of BM appeared in 1971, the publication programme of the SED became increasingly fragmented, a process definitely influenced by Orton's death in 1975 and eventual disintegration of the Institute of Dialect and Folk Life Studies at Leeds by 1983*". (Penhallurick, 57)

The history of the *SED* is complex, but I am not sure that "fragmented" describes it, nor that Orton's death in itself had the major impact Penhallurick assumes. More important was the expense of the *SED*, the University of Leeds' reluctance to put more money into it after 1969, and the increasing difficulty of raising outside funds in an inflationary economy.

When Orton retired from the University of Leeds in 1964 only one of the four Volumes (twelve books) of *Basic Material* had been published, but he had already begun something of a second academic career in the United States, and over the next several years was away from Leeds for up to eight months at a time. He had assembled a trained and efficient editorial team

which carried on quite well without him, however, and from 1967 this was led by Martyn Wakelin, with full powers to act as leader of the editorial team in Orton's stead. Orton had also ensured, in the setting up of the Institute of Dialect and Folk Life Studies in 1964, the existence of a formal unit within the University which had among its core and founding tasks the completion of the *SED* programme. The Director of the Institute, Stewart Sanderson, had formal responsibility for this, and indeed shepherded the *LAE* into publication following Orton's death. Had the editorial team been maintained under Wakelin's direction as was initially foreseen, and/or had the Institute survived and been fully funded (on which see below), the *SED* programme would almost certainly have carried on project by project, unimpeded by Orton's death. It was not his death which broke up this steady progress, but lack of money.

The University's initial commitment to support the publication of the *Basic Material* came to an end in 1963. Using every diplomatic tool at his command, Orton won promise of support for a further five years, to run from his retirement in 1964. He had told the University that this would be enough to finalise the publication of the *Basic Material* volumes, but the series was still not complete by October 1969, and the University agreed to extend its support for one more term. The final book in the four volumes was published in 1971, with help from outside.

Orton began his fundraising campaign for the *LAE* as early as 1966, but it was already clear that the University, which had spent £90,000 to £120,000 on the EDS and *SED* up to 1971 (Orton 1974, 6)—a sum which would look a great deal larger in current terms—would not spend any more. The *LAE* was completed through outside grants, voluntary help and commercial subsidy. Other plans, such as that to computerise the findings of the Survey, foundered through lack of money (see Orton 1971, p. 82).

The Institute of Dialect and Folk Life Studies did not "disintegrate": it did not simply come apart and drift into nothingness. The Institute was a victim of the first round of financial cutbacks which hit British universities in the 1980s, which came on top of a decade or more of chronic underfunding of the dialect and folklife programme, as the financing history of the *LAE* indicates. The Institute went, taking with it the only organisational structure dedicated to the completion of the *SED*.

7. *Town dialects/urban speech*

I am not a dialectologist and do not fully understand some of the criticisms

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DEPARTMENT OF FOLKLORE

made of the EDS. Would it affect that criticism to know that Orton and Dieth initially conceived of a survey which would take in the dialects of towns and cities? The idea was quickly put away for reasons of economy, but it was only slowly let go, and was still hanging quietly about as late as 1953 (Orton, 1947, 38; Orton, 1952, 7; Orton, 1953, 274). Indeed, a comment from Orton led Maureen Courtney to carry out a study of *The Living Dialect of Leeds* (B.A.) in 1955—it explicitly being the study of a town dialect—"and so contribute to his task of compiling the Linguistic Atlas of England". (Courtney, p. 1)

Over 100 student theses on dialect were completed during the course of Orton's life and work at Leeds. Orton considered these theses to be part of the work and as complementary to the EDS. A full understanding of the latter therefore calls for a full analysis of the former, preferably by a dialectologist who can assess them in terms of Penhallurick's "politics of dialectology". Certain later theses explicitly deal with town/urban dialect (e.g. Beryl Goldsack, "The Phonology of the Dialect of Spitalfields in the London Borough of Stepney" (B.A. 1962); Robert Bowyer, "A Study of Social Accents in a South London Suburb" (MPhil., 1973); Gerald Knowles, "Scouse: The Urban Dialect of Liverpool" (PhD 1974)). It may be that these were exceptions to the rule, or owed nothing to Orton's direction (though see Orton, 1960, 334, where he urges that town dialects "should certainly be studied by somebody soon"), but it is clear that a full and balanced politics of dialectology involving Orton/Leeds/or the EDS must take them into account.

8. *General Comment*

Penhallurick regards the EDS/*SED* as "one of the major achievements of British dialectology this century". (Penhallurick, 56). Harold Orton must be considered one of the major British dialectologists of the twentieth century, and not simply because he co-founded, directed, and found the funding for the EDS and the *SED*. Wolfgang Viereck said some years ago that, "Without his indefatigable efforts dialectological research in England would no doubt still be in its infancy" (Viereck, 1968, 32), and if we look back over Orton's career we can see something of what Viereck meant. In 1929 Orton wrote that, "The organisation of...a school of dialectologists would be an event without parallel in this country" (Orton, 1929, 132), something he achieved at Leeds; and Dieth noted in 1946—the year in which Orton began his career at Leeds—that there were only twenty eight monographs on particular English dialects, of which only eight (one of these Orton's) had been written

by English scholars. As we have noted, *SED* aside, by the time Orton died over 100 dialect theses had been produced at Leeds alone, and the Leeds programme had spawned further work and surveys both in England and abroad. He had been an adviser to the BBC between the wars, a broadcaster and an enthusiastic pioneer and exponent of the mechanical/taperecording of informants (see Adams, Barry and Tilling, 1976, pp. i-ii; Orton, 1974, 7-8). He was by all accounts an inspirational teacher, he was instrumental in establishing the first course in folklife studies in any British university, and he was also the prime mover in the founding of the Institute of Dialect and Folk Life Studies. And yet, despite everything he did for British dialectology and English cultural studies, there is still no dedicated biography or in-depth critical analysis of his career, and his work is trivialised through misrepresentations, the unchecked repetition of mistakes, and what appears to be a superficial and historically ungrounded critique.

Surely dialectology of whatever form—and I am speaking now as an outsider—is mature enough to respect its various founders to the extent of actually looking at them for what they were, and what they did within the world in which they lived, rather than as figures in a political landscape where their reality must necessarily be skewed. And surely dialectology could learn something of value about itself by doing so. But more than this, a meaningful politics must be based on a sound historiography. The evidence, at least as far as Harold Orton and the English Dialect Survey/*Survey of English Dialects* are concerned, suggests that the historiography of dialectology still has a long way to go.

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"Fulwood Farmers and Neighbours" as a Community Folksong

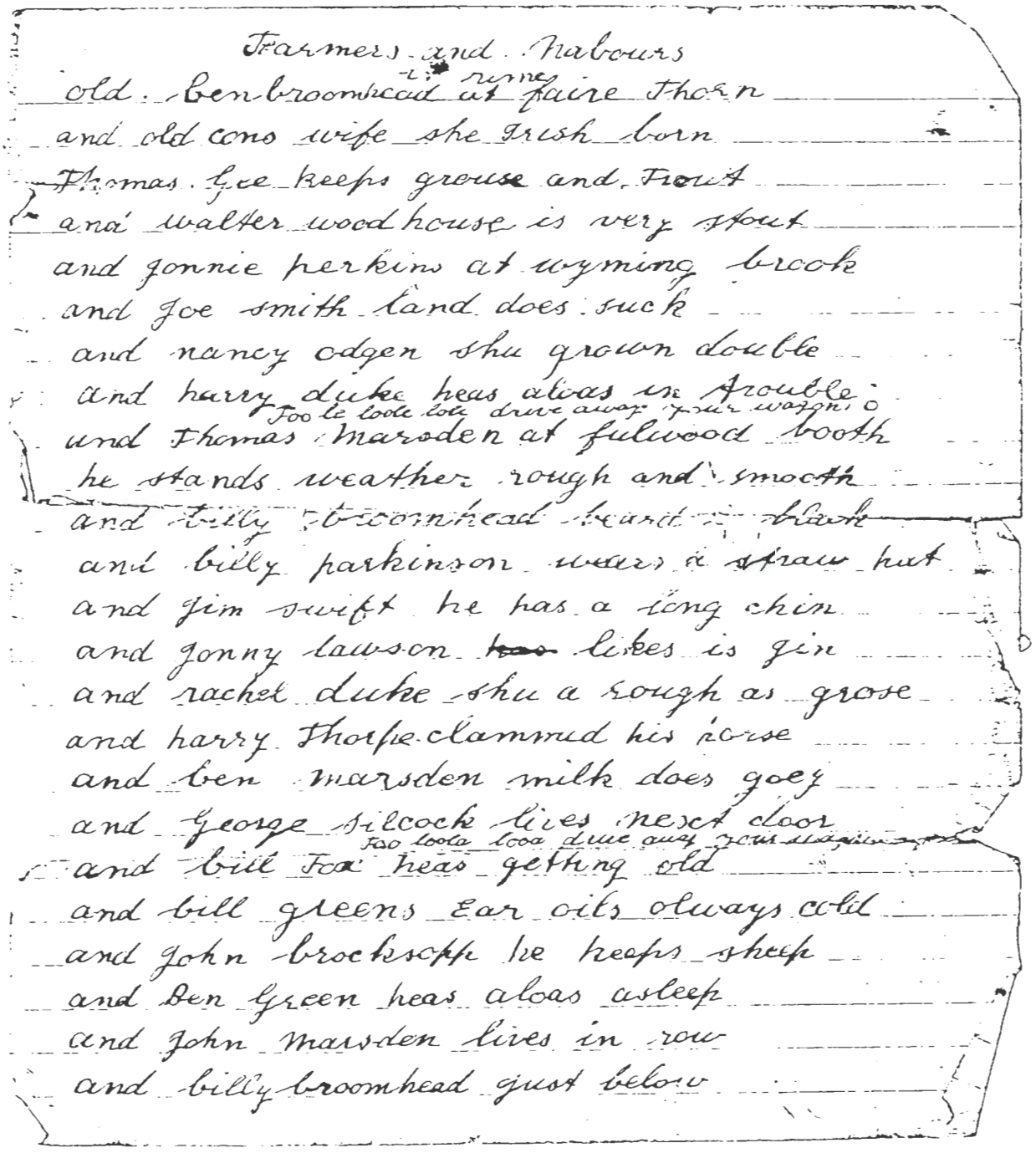
Ervin Beck

"Fulwood Farmers and Neighbours" is an unusual folksong that tenuously survives in the repertoire of a few singers from Fulwood village and the Mayfield Valley on the western edge of Sheffield. In six stanzas and a chorus it gives an abridged census and a geographical tour of that community as it existed sometime around 1890, replete with the names and thumbnail sketches of forty six residents.[1]

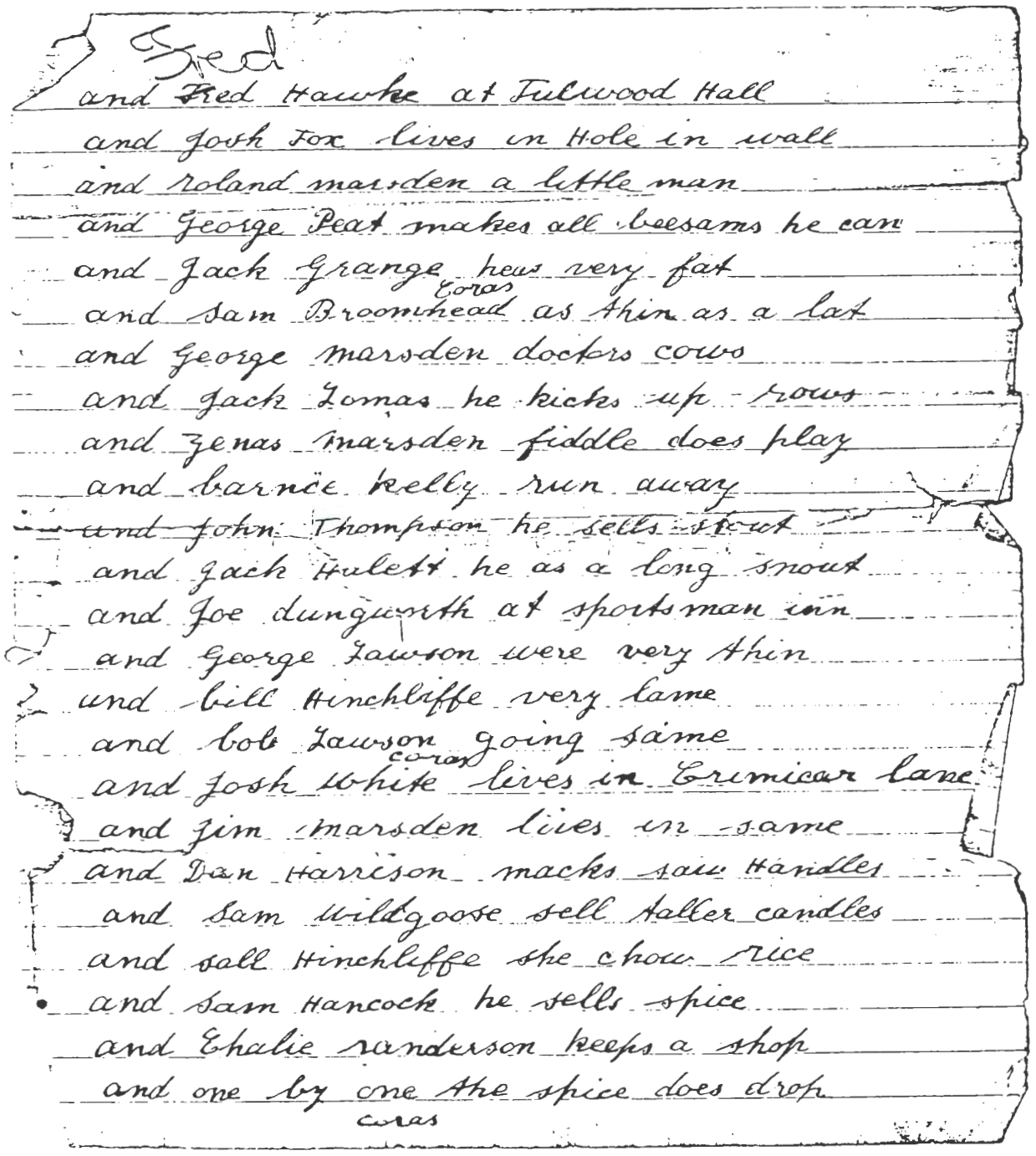
The song is unusual, however, only because so much of it has survived. It represents the fullest version of a type of local folksong that apparently was widespread among small villages in the Sheffield area in the second half of the nineteenth century. Fragments of similar songs have survived from Whiston, Coal Aston and Bradfield, and there are reports of similar songs in Norton and Barlow.[2] Related songs from western Yorkshire include "The Song of Swaledale" and "The Song of Upper Wharfedale"; from Lancashire, "Bowton's Yard".[3] Together such songs constitute a hitherto unstudied type of local folksong that delineates a community of a specific time and place and that might therefore be called the "community" song.[4]

1. *Text*

Except for random fragments known by a few singers, the Fulwood song survives in three different written versions belonging to siblings Grace Walton (nee White, b. 1909) of the Rivelin Valley and George White (b. 1918) of Stannington. The song is not part of any singer's memorised repertoire, and apparently has not been since the death of George and Grace's father, Tom White, in 1968.[5]



Farmers and Nabours
old Ben broomhead at ryming faire thorn
and old cons wife she Irish born
Thomas Gee keeps grouse and Trout
and walter woodhouse is very stout
and jonnie perkins at wyming brook
and joe smith land does suck
and nancy odgen shu grown double
and harry dyke heas alwas in trouble
Foo le loola loola drive away your waggin o
and Thomas marsden at fulwood booth
he stands weather rough and smooth
and billy broomhead beard is black
and billy parkinson wears a straw hat
and jim swift he has a long chin
and jonny lawson ~~has~~ likes is gin
and rachel dyke shu a rough as grose
and harry thorpe clammed his horse
and ben marsden milk does goey
and George silcock lives next door
Foo loola loola drive away your waggin o
and bill Fox heas getting old
and bill greens Ear oils always cold
and John brocksopp he keeps sheep
and Ben Green heas alwas asleep
and John marsden lives in row
and billy broomhead just below



Fred
and Fred Hawke at Fulwood Hall
and Josh Fox lives in Hole in wall
and Roland marsden a little man
and George Peat makes all beesams he can
and Jack Grange hews very fat
and Sam Broomhead (Thomas) as thin as a lat
and George marsden doctors cows
and Jack Tomas he kicks up rows
and Tenas marsden fiddle does play
and barnce Kelly run away
~~and John Thompson he sells sprat~~
and Jack Hulett he as a long snout
and Joe dunguorth at sportsman inn
and George Lawson were very thin
and bill Hinchliffe very lame
and bob Lawson (Thomas) going saime
and Josh White lives in Ermicar lane
and Jim marsden lives in same
and Dan Harrison macks saw Handles
and Sam Wildgoose sell halter candles
and sall Hinchliffe she chow rice
and Sam Hancock he sells spice
and Thalie Sanderson keeps a shop
and one by one the spice does drop
(Thomas)

Both Grace and George now sing it from a typescript based on a copy of the song that Tom presented to Grace upon her marriage in 1934. A second version exists in a handwritten copy of the song made by Tom White and presented to his son George in 1939 when he left home to join the armed forces. Grace also owns a worn, handwritten copy of the song, entitled "Farmers and Nabours in Rime", that came to her from her father's estate upon his death in 1968. It must have been used by Tom White for singing the song and probably pre-dates the 1934 version that he wrote out for Grace. All three versions are similar, especially the first three stanzas. In the final three, however, variant names and lines appear and the arrangements of the couplets are significantly different.

Although the pre-1934 text recommends itself as the "best" one, because of its early date and greater internal consistency, the 1934 text is used as the subject of this study because it has, by now, become the "public" version of the song, thanks to Grace's memorable performances of it (see below) and to its having been printed in Muriel Hall's *More of Mayfield Valley* (Sheffield, 1974, pp. 111-12). That text follows; the tune (and text of the chorus) as transcribed by Ian Russell (Wal 6) from a performance by Grace White on April 30, 1970, appear on p.80 below.

1. "Old Ben Broomhead at Fair Thorne
and Old Con's wife, she's Irish born
And Thomas Gee at Grouse and Trout
And Walter Woodhouse is very stout.
And Jonnie Perkin at Wyming Brook
And Joe Smith his land does suck,
And Nancy Ogden shu's grown double
And Harry Duke he's alus in trouble.
Chorus: Troora-roora-roora-lay
Troora-roora-roora-lay
Troora-roora-roora-lay
And drive away your waggon-O!

2. And Thomas Marsden at Fulwood Booth,
He stands weather rough and smooth.
And Billy Broomhead's beard is black
And Billy Parkinson wears a straw hat.
Old Jim Swift he has a long chin
And Jonnie Lawson likes his gin;
Old Rachael Duke shu's as rough as gorse
And Harry Thorpe he clams [starves] his horse.

3. Old Ben Marsden's milk does go,
And George Wilcock lives next door,
Old Bill Fox is getting old,
And Bill Green's earoles alus cold.
And John Brocksopp he keeps sheep
And Ben Green he's alus asleep.
And Jack Garner lives in t' 'Row',
And Bill Broomhead just below.

4. And Fred Hawke at Fulwood Hall,
And Jack Fox at 'Hole in t' Wall',
And Rowland Marsden is a little man,
And George Peat makes all besoms he can;
And Charlie Randison he sells spice,
And Joe Woodcock thinks it's nice.
Zenas Marsden fiddle does play
And Barney Kelly ran away.

5. And George Marsden doctors cows
And Jack Lomas kicks up rows;
And John Thompson he sells stout,
And Jack Hewlett has a long snout.
Old Bill Hinchliffe's very lame,
And Bob Lawson's going same.
And Josh White lives in Crimicar Lane
And Jim Marsden lives in same.

6. Old Dan Harrison makes saw handles
And Sam Wildgoose sells tallar candles.
And Sall Hinchliffe she chews rice
And Sam Hancock he sells spice.
Old Joe Grange is very fat
And Sam Broomhead's like a lat.
And old Bill Nicholson has a black mare,
Her shoes are all loose and her ribs all bare'.

2. *Date*

Dating the song and the socio-geographical reality that it depicts is like building a house of cards out of internal evidence, implications from related songs, oral history from people five generations removed from 1890 parish registers, and Sheffield directories and census data. Impossible though it may be to identify with certainty the exact year of its composition, that task must be seriously undertaken, since the song must have been of interest to its early singers only insofar as it reflected a very precise social reality. In another, longer publication on the song, I will reconstruct the history, sociology and geography of individual lines in some detail. For now, it will be sufficient here to show in general terms that the song reflects reality in the Mayfield Valley in 1890 or slightly earlier.

According to White family tradition, the song was composed by their father Tom White (1878–1968) when he was a young man and would get together at the Hole in the Wall farm on David Lane to sing it and other songs with his brother Jim White (1873–1936) and their two friends, a Broomhead and a Marsden (perhaps Roland, 1870–1956). Although this belief is a fitting tribute to their father Tom as an important local singer and preserver of the Fulwood song, some historical and traditional evidence render Tom's authorship unlikely.

Harold Armitage, for instance, reports that the similar Whiston song was widely sung already in the 1870s (p. 332), which suggests that a version of the Fulwood song, too, may have existed before Tom White was even born, and that the song that he sang with his friends was, more likely, an updated variant of this pre-existing song. At best, then, Tom and his friends may be credited with composing, or "re-creating", this particular variant, which he alone remembered and eventually preserved in written form. If the White version does date from 1890, Tom's role in fashioning it must have been minimal, since he would have been only twelve years old at the time. His brother Jim would have been seventeen and Roland (?) Marsden would have been twenty.

Hard data from parish registers, directories and censuses give the most convincing evidence for dating the song at around 1890. Of the forty six people and their residences implied in the song, at least thirty are verified by the 1891 census; only thirteen by the 1881 census. More specifically, the song could not be dated earlier than 1887, when Thomas Gee became publican at the Grouse and Trout (1.3), nor later than 1890, when Ben Marsden of Fulwood Grange Farm died (3.1). Unfortunately, it is not that simple. The main exception to such confident dating is Rachel Duke (2.7), who died in 1883.

Yet even the anomaly of Rachel Duke can be accounted for in dating the song at 1890. First, the reference may illustrate the continued influence of an earlier variant of the song—i.e. preserving a reference to a deceased person while the rest of the song chronicles the living present. Clearly, the song cannot tolerate many such anomalies, lest its main function—to document a community of a certain time and place—break down.

However, Rachel is a more likely character than some others for such continued reference. Hers is a "legendary" as well as a historical presence in the poem, because her reputation—"as rough as gorse"—outlived her practical contribution to the community. For example, George White still tells,

with obvious relish, gossip that he heard about Rachel Duke from his father Tom:

> "She were a bit bent, weren't she? [Because her nose was always running], me dad always said she'd always got candlesticks dropping into t'face—[down] the nose. He would never want to eat anything *she* got ready. She dressed rough and talked rough."

Since Tom himself was only five years old when Rachel died, it seems likely that he would have known such things only by oral tradition from his own family. Hence, "rough as gorse" Rachel Duke persisted as a subject in this community song even after her death—a fact that would be less likely for people such as Thomas Gee and Ben Marsden, who are identified by immediate occupation rather than reputation.

In determining a date of 1890 or so, such reasoning around the exception of Rachel Duke is more persuasive than moving the date back to her death year (1883)—which is clearly impossible, given other limits such as the beginning of Thomas Gee's publicanship—or than abandoning the search for a date entirely and assuming that the song indiscriminately mixes persons of different times in the valley. Further evidence for the 1890 dating is implied by the geographical structuring of the content of the song.

3. *Form and Structure*

The song is made up of iambic tetrameter rhymed couplets. Almost every line is a single declarative sentence (subject + verb) that refers to a different person and makes a single comment about location, physique, occupation or personal failing. Only two couplets (2.1-2, 6.7-8) are devoted to a single person, but they still retain declarative syntax. The same basic kind of poetry is found in the fragments that survive from the Whiston and Coal Aston songs, which implies that a certain kind of poetics, as well as content, was distinctive of the Sheffield-area community songs. Harold Armitage refers to it as "doggerel" (p. 332)—and indeed it has a very simple, repetitive quality about it. The sentence/couplet structure also makes it hard to memorise the song because each line is much like every other line. The result is that couplets are easily displaced in the linear sequence of the song, which apparently accounts for some of the difficulties in reconstructing the history in the song (as discussed below).

But the great advantage of couplet structure, for this kind of song, is that new, formulaic lines can be easily composed by singers wishing to add to the song, and outdated historical references can be easily updated without des-

troying much of its fabric. Such is not the case, however, with the Swaledale and Upper Wharfedale songs, which also use couplets in four-line stanzas but longer, more complex sentences. One might expect songs like that to preserve more easily their original form, and songs like "Fulwood Farmers" to be affected more easily by forgetting and revision.

His handwritten texts indicate that Tom White regarded every eight lines as a stanza, followed by singing of the chorus. Grace Walton tends to regard every four lines as a stanza. Either way, the singing of the long song can become rather monotonous because of the predictable poetry and the use of the same tune for both verse and chorus. The sameness may be relieved if the audience joins in the chorus. But one can assume that interest in sheer content superseded aesthetics in early performances of the song.

It must have been easier for 1890 singers to memorise the song than it is for performers today. That is because the sequence of names in the song follows a geographic progression, providing a kind of mnemonic device for singers. Since the singers knew where people lived, they knew who came next in the song. This structural fact is one of the most important in reconstructing the history preserved by the song and in appreciating the song's special nature.

In general, the song covers the geography of the Parish of Fulwood—from Stanage–Redmires–Fulwood Head in the west to Stumperlowe–Fulwood in the east, and from Redmires Road in the north to Ringinglow Road in the south. The area most neglected lies between Ringinglow Road and Porter Brook, although a sizable number of random lines not included in the version given above suggest that singers other than the White family may have sung a separate stanza dealing with people on the Ringinglow slope above Porter Brook.

As George White puts it: "It starts at Redmires Dam...and it finishes up at Fulwood". Although it is not quite that simple, or perfectly regular, the song does indeed move from the top of the valley to the bottom, Fulwood. The progression is more orderly than casual study would imply and becomes more apparent as more information about residence of people in the parish in 1890 is recovered. In fact, the logic of the song is more informed by the geographical relationships of the people named in it than by any other unifying factor, which justifies George White in stressing that the song is truly about "neighbours"—more so than "farmers"—in the valley.

The careful geographical progression is best illustrated by Stanza 3, which moves from west to east down Brown Hills Lane in a sequence that can still

be easily viewed in a drive down that road today: from Ben Marsden at Fulwood Grange Farm, to George Silcock at Lowfolds Farm, to Bill Fox at (west) Brown Hills Farm, to Bill Green at (east) Brown Hills Farm, to John Brocksopp at Birks Green (Swallow Grange), to Jack Garner in "'t [Ratten] Row" (Jeffrey Green), to Bill Broomhead "just below" down Gorse and Douse Croft Lanes at West Carr House (also known as Douse Croft Farm, Washerland Farm and Peterwood Farm). The only aberration from this strictly east, then south, progression is the reference to Ben Green (for ease of rhyme?) which moves suddenly west from Birks Green Farm back to (east) Brown Hills Farm, where in 1891 Ben Green, a bachelor of thirty five years, was employed as a farm servant.

With some nagging exceptions, the other stanzas proceed in a similar, orderly fashion through different areas of the valley: *Stanza 1* is set in the Redmires reservoirs area, moving from Fair Thorn down Redmires Road to Soughley Lane, ending at Soughley Rink Farm. *Stanza 2* does backtrack to two Redmires locations but basically continues the Stanza 1 progression onto Fulwood Head Road and in the Racecourse Farm area. *Stanza 4* is almost as regular as Stanza 3, moving steadily from Fulwood Hall down David Lane, then down the Mayfield Road to Carr Houses. *Stanza 5* is the Lodge Moor and Hallam Head stanza, covering the hospital area, then Redmires Road from the Three Merry Lads to Sandygate and back down Crimicar Lane. *Stanza 6* is the most erratic, moving as it does from Slayleigh Lane down into Fulwood Village proper and then back up the Porter Valley to the May Houses on Fox Lane.

Other community songs must also have followed a geographical order, as the first line of the Whiston fragment implies:

> "At bottom o'tahn the row begins,
> Owd Ann Pilley taks lodgers in." (p. 332)

Apparently the Whiston song took the opposite tack from the Fulwood song and began at the "bottom" of the town and then moved up the row of terraced houses that still line the old street in central Whiston. That such progression is steady and accurate in community songs, rather than approximate and haphazard, is also suggested by the experience of researchers of the Upper Wharfedale song. The odd geographic turns in their 1901 text were corrected by discovery of an 1880s version of the song, which offered a very regular geographical sequence (pp. 10-13).

Even in that unlikely hour when all historical facts about people and places

in the Fulwood song are recovered, Grace Walton's 1934 version probably will not show perfect geographical progression. Tom White's pre-1934 version of the song (not printed here) will probably show a better progression, according to 1890 realities, and it is that version that will be used in a subsequent publication to discuss in greater detail the history and geography of the song.

One interesting turn in the song (5.3-4) dramatically sacrifices geographical for emotional reality:

> "And John Thompson he sells stout,
> And Jack Hewlett has a long snout."

John Thompson Richards (1838–1900) and John Howe Hewlett (b. 1841) are coupled together here, even though John Thompson lived way up west on Redmires Road and Hewlett lived much farther east in the Stumperlowe area of Fulwood village. Why does the reference to Hewlett upset the geographical sequence in the Lodge Moor area? Apparently because of a local controversy that, by stream-of-consciousness, associated John Thompson with Jack Hewlett.

John Thompson Richards operated The Three Merry Lads as a beer house from at least 1881 to 1898. The Revd. John Howe Hewlett—here irreverently called "Jack"—was Richards' parish priest at Christ Church Fulwood and a leader in the local temperance movement. In the early 1880s he led his congregation in establishing a coffee house in Fulwood to counter the appeal of alehouses. When Zenas Marsden took over the Sportsman Inn in 1893, Revd. Hewlett asked him why he was going into the business of selling alcoholic beverages, to which Zenas replied: "If I don't take to it someone else will and didn't Jesus love to be with the publicans and sinners?"[6]

No doubt, John Thompson Richards had similarly intense exchanges with the Revd. Hewlett, in a longstanding controversy that was well known to residents of the Mayfield Valley and Fulwood—especially the Marsden–White relatives of John Thompson and Zenas Marsden, who formulated and sang this version of the song, Hence, Hewlett's "long snout" is not physical and literal, but insultingly figurative—from poking his nose into people's business where he is not welcome.

Although this is apparently the only such emotional, rather than geographical, connection in the song, further study may reveal non-geographical explanations for some of the other puzzling sequences.

4. *The Fulwood Community in 1890*

Today the Mayfield Valley in an idyllic, miniature Yorkshire dale, with moorland and reservoirs at the head and old stone-built houses, drystone walls, narrow, twisting lanes and well-kept fields and gardens on the way down to Fulwood village. In 1890 it must have looked quite similar, although with more signs of everyday, hard toil and poverty rather than the affluence and gentrification that increasingly prevail today. The song chronicles a community where most residents are farmers or farmworkers growing small crops, pasturing sheep (3.5) and cows, and selling milk to each other (2.1-2) or delivering it into the city of Sheffield (3.1). Their agricultural economy is supported by a veterinarian (5.1), some stone masons (6.4) and quarrymen, a blacksmith (4.1), saw-handle manufacturer (6.1), a besom-maker (4.4) and shopkeepers selling groceries (6.1) and confectionery (4.5, 6.4).

Residents tend also to be linked by Nonconformist religious sympathies, as evidenced by the early dissenters' chapel, "The Lord's Seat" (1665) in the Stanage area; Fulwood Old Chapel (1730 Congregational, now Unitarian) and the Mayfield Wesleyan Reform Chapel (1896). Even Christ Church Fulwood (1838 Anglican) was evangelically minded in 1890, and continues that tradition today.

Whether Anglican or Methodist, many residents of the valley were united by blood ties, since most of the people named in the song are related to the Marsden family chronicled by Elizabeth Mary Perkins in her discursive Marsden family genealogy, *A Tree in the Valley*. In fact, the song may have been a predominantly Marsden family view of valley people and affairs, since the White brothers and their friends who sang it at the Hole in the Wall Farm were probably cousins.

The song captures the valley following the building of the Redmires reservoirs (1840ff) and the extension of Fulwood Road into the village (1878), but prior to the integration of the area into the culture of urban Sheffield, as one sees it today. True, by 1890 some farmers and craftsmen have become reservoir-keepers (1.4, 2.4), some deliver milk daily to the city (3.6), and weekend and holiday ramblers from Sheffield patronise tea shops (1.6, 2.4) and pubs (1.3, 5.3) in the countryside, but the integrity of the area as a selfcontained, traditional agricultural community is captured by the song. For instance, it shows no awareness of change or loss, evoking the emotions of lament or nostalgia. The mode of the song is overwhelmingly

unsentimental and matter-of-fact, tending toward satire—which implies a stable, selfconfident community essentially at ease with itself.

5. *The Song in Performance*

The changing significance of the song for the community that generated it and for the singers who performed it can best be understood by considering it in the context of its reported performances. As indicated above, the earliest report is of four young men singing the song when they occasionally gathered at the Hole in the Wall Farm in their leisure hours. Perhaps one of the young men lived there, working as a hired hand (as we know Roland Marsden was doing in 1891 at the east Brown Hills Farm). For them, the song may have contributed to their coming-of-age in the larger, close-knit, responsible adult community. It certainly helped them learn names and residences, although they no doubt knew some long before they learned the song. More important, the song taught them certain traditional stereotypes of character and behaviour that were perpetuated by their community—for instance, Rachel Duke as discussed above, or Harry Duke's penchant for trouble (1.8), or Bill Green's complaining about the cold (3.4). If they updated the inherited song with new lines, then that became their creative, adult gesture toward shaping the community according to their own perceptions.

Perhaps the Fulwood community song was mainly in the song repertoire of young men, more so than older members of the community. Frequent reference to individuals as "old" suggests a youthful perspective on the community. Harold Armitage also links the community song in Whiston to boy singers, albeit in a very different kind of performance situation:

> 'The boys used to go to the first house in the village and sing the couplet which had been composed for the benefit of the family there, and so on through the village, unless, as often happened, their vocal ardour was quenched under a bucket of cold water, or ended untimely by the application of an ash plant.' (p. 332)

Here the boys use the community song in an aggressively corrective, insulting manner during house visitation, although Armitage's description of the response it elicited may be poetic elaboration.

The Whiston record raises the question of the satirical use and meanings of the Fulwood song, including the intention of the performers and the reception by the audience. The Whiston song did indeed contain overt, pointed ridicule of individuals:

> "And her son Tom's a rovin spark,
> For he neer cooms hooam while reight pitch dark.
> Owd Mary Yeardley shoo sells flour,
> An' as it gets lower owd Tommy looks sour.
> Owd Timmy Elliott, he sells meight,
> An' if yo' don't watch him he'll gie yo' short weight." (p. 332)

Furthermore, Armitage says he deliberately did not print the Norton song because it was "not complimentary enough to families still alive to bear reproduction" (p. 332).

Although the Fulwood song contains nothing so nasty, about half of the lines do state or imply uncomplimentary things about people. In addition to Rachel Duke and others discussed above, obvious objects of ridicule include Johnnie Lawson's drinking (2.6), Joe Grange's obesity (3.5), Jack Lomas's aggressive nature (5.2), and neglect of their horses by Harry Thorpe (2.8) and Bill Nicholson (6.7-8).

Many of the seemingly innocuous references in the song—whether to a physique, geographic location, or costume—may have been outrageously funny or personally offensive utterances as far as insiders to the community were concerned. Two examples will make the point. "George Peat makes all besoms he can" (4.4) alludes to Peat's constant hard work in making besoms. In fact, it became an obsession with him, so much so that, at the age of ninety one, on his deathbed, he even "made besoms with his bedclothes".[7] Zenas Marsden's fiddling (4.7) also was excessive, as far as his community reputation was concerned. "He was buried with his fiddle", I was told in 1982 in whispered, scandalised tones by Josh White, Jr. (1891–1986), brother of Tom White.

Even so, the satiric impulse is much more muted in the Fulwood song, compared to the Whiston one. There was a lot of other community "dirt" that could have been included in the song, but was not. The singers could have ridiculed Joe Smith (1.6) for being a voyeur, Nancy Duke (1.7) for having an illegitimate child, Billy Broomhead (2.3) for having a common-law wife and child, Charlie Randerson (4.5) for being stingy, and Dan Harrison (6.1) for being a poacher. Perhaps these reputations were as yet unknown to the young singers at the Hole in the Wall. Or perhaps they were too shocking, too scandalous to be uttered in a song that may be overheard by other people.

In any event, Armitage's comment on the effect of the public use of the Whiston song, and the presence of even mildly satirical elements in the

Fulwood song imply that such songs were likely never in singers' public repertoire. Probably they could be sung only in relatively intimate gatherings—e.g., the Hole in the Wall rather than the Three Merry Lads—where a favourable reaction from the audience could be counted upon. How could one expect any member of the community to sing in public, "And Jack Hewlett has a long snout"? In a religiously conservative community closely bound by ties of blood and neighbourliness, whether one were Anglican or Methodist, Marsden or Broomhead, that and any other of the twenty-odd slurring references could render the performance and performer reprehensible.

So if the White brothers and their friends enjoyed singing "Fulwood Farmers and Neighbours" to themselves and other intimates, it must have been mainly for compensatory purposes—as a socially acceptable way of expressing personal frustration, perhaps, at having to mature in a community full of imperfect grown-ups otherwise lording it over them.

In his mature years, after the community as the song depicts it ceased to exist, Tom continued to sing the song in relatively intimate circumstances. Although he regularly participated in traditional public performances, notably Christmas house-visitation and singing carols and other songs in the pub, he never sang "Fulwood Farmers" in public contexts, according to Grace and George. But he often sang it at home, especially when the family was assembled around the fire or engaged in common activities, such as working in the fields or washing clothes. At such times he would also elaborate on individual characters—such as Rachel Duke and Joe "Moor Peep" Smith—with stories and memories about them.

Sung in such situations, "Fulwood Farmers" began to lose much of its earlier bite and, at worst, became a historical curiosity and, at best, a vehicle for preserving and passing on other traditional materials. For Tom himself, the former satire of the song was transformed into moral instruction for his children and, for himself, nostalgia for a good time long past, especially in the light of the personal difficulties that he faced in his later life. He used the song effectively, however, since son George and daughter Grace became his true heirs as bearers of many folk traditions of western Sheffield. When he gave copies of his songs to his children for important rites of passage—to Grace upon her marriage and to George upon his entering armed service—Tom was both furthering and symbolising that transmission of identity and value.

Apparently Grace is responsible for the only truly public performances of

"Fulwood Farmers". These took place during the regular concerts given by Mayfield residents at the Mayfield School when it was used as a community centre during and immediately after World War II. Every eighteen or twenty months from the 1940s to 1955 a group of Mayfield women, "The Mayfield Stars", planned and presented evenings of songs, skits, readings and other "little performances" to full auditoriums. Profits from the programmes supported charitable projects in the valley.

Some of the most popular numbers were songs sung by Grace White—"all sorts to get you going", but including "Fulwood Farmers". According to Grace, 'They always used to ask for "Fulwood Farmers". It used to suit a lot of people 'cause they knew the song were true. Lots of them didn't know it—no, a lot of them didn't—but they used to enjoy it because they knew a lot of old people, you see." Grace sang it unaccompanied. The audience listened with interest to the verses, then joined her in singing the chorus.

Grace sang her songs while dressed in comic costumes. On one occasion she dressed in such a way that the audience could not tell which was her front or back side. More often, she dressed like an old man, "in old clothes, like, an old trilby hat and a scarf around me neck. Looked like an old man!" Herself resembling an "old" Fulwood farmer, Grace very successfully revived and spread the song back into the Mayfield community. These performances may be responsible for the few couplets of the song that survive in a few other singers' repertoires.[8]

Thus the song was preserved, but under new circumstances and with new meanings. Perhaps it served the important function of reaffirming old community identities and values at a time of severe testing of them—World War II and recovery. But if Grace's audiences "knew a lot of old people", they did so in a different sense from singers of the song in 1890. Not being able to count on the inherent appeal of the repetitious, now incoherent, content of the song, Grace sang it in outlandish costume, making the performance of the song more appealing than the content itself. The song was thereby saved and updated, but with its meaningful history, sociology and geography almost entirely lost, and the people named in it somewhat diminished by the farcical nature of its delivery.

Nowadays, George and Grace, both retired, sing the song mainly at the request of researchers. Since George is weakened by asthma and Grace stays close to home to care for her husband, Stanley, these contacts with folklorists and their small audiences are very important for George and Grace. Haltingly, and with uncertain voices, they sing "Fulwood Farmers"

from their typescripts, or from Muriel Hall's printed version. To them, it is not simply a humorous song. It still retains the power to cause offence. As George puts it, "You see, you've got to be careful who you sing these songs... They've got relation... You can offend people can't you?"

They become more spirited in recalling life with their father Tom and the stories he told them about himself and other residents of the Mayfield Valley. Occasionally, they pause to compare life today with life in their childhoods. George talks of his son Barry's interest in learning to sing the old songs, although he has not done so yet.

"Fulwood Farmers" by now has lost its existential meaning for residents of the Mayfield Valley. Its historical references can be recovered, to some extent, but the life of the song itself is virtually gone. Like other ephemeral art inextricably tied to a certain moment in time, it is amazing, simply, that the song has survived for 100 years, thereby offering us the rare opportunity to reconstruct and enjoy, vicariously, a long-dead local folksong tradition.

References

1. My main efforts have been directed toward reconstructing the local history embedded in "Fulwood Farmers", which I first became acquainted with through Muriel Hall's book (cited in the text). My discussion in this essay is heavily indebted to Ian Russell's study of folksong in the Sheffield area, particularly his dissertation, "Traditional Singing in West Sheffield, 1970–72", 3 vols., University of Leeds, 1977. I am indebted to Dr. Russell for references to most of the related songs and some of the relevant scholarship, and for permission to use his transcription of the "Fulwood Farmers" tune. He has also read the essay and offered helpful suggestions—for all of which I am very grateful. Dr. Russell's dissertation gives a fuller account of the overall social and musical context out of which "Fulwood Farmers and Neighbours" comes.

2. For Whiston and Coal Aston fragments and for reference to the Norton song, see Harold Armitage, *Chantrey Land: Being an Account of the North Derbyshire Village of Norton*, 1910, rpt. Sheffield, Sheffield City Libraries, 1981, pp.332-33. For Bradfield fragments see R.A. Gatty, MSS, Folk Songs, 1907-14, 661164, Birmingham Public Libraries. Reports of a song from Barlow come from J.D.A. Widdowson of Edale (personal correspondence, Feb. 17, 1986).

3. "The Song of Swale Dale" is in Ian Russell, *Traditional Singing in West Sheffield, 1970–72*, 3 vols., PhD dissertation, University of Leeds, 1977, Vol. 3, BroB 19. *The Song of Upper Wharfedale*, Bradford, City of Bradford, 1972, 77 pp. Both the Swaledale and Wharfedale songs are discussed briefly by Roger deV. Renwick in Chapter 3, "The Local Song in Yorkshire", of his *English Folk Poetry: Structure and Meaning*, Philadelphia, University of Pennsylvania Press, 1980, pp.113-57. For "Bowton's Yard", see *The Mike*

Harding Collection: Folk Songs of Lancashire, ed. Mike Harding, Manchester, Whitethorn, 1980, pp.101-102.

4. Armitage uses "town songs" (p.332). Ian Russell prefers "local gossip song" in "Stability and Change in a Sheffield Singing Tradition", *Folk Music Journal*, Vol. 5, No. 3 (1987), 333. Ives (pp.1, 167) uses "monicker song".

A related kind of "community" song can be found in folksongs that delineate the members of an occupational—rather than geographical—community. For examples see the harvest crew ballads in Patrick Shuldham-Shaw, *et al.*, eds, *The Greig–Duncan Folk Song Collection*, Vol. 3, Aberdeen, The University Press, 1987, especially "The Boghead Crew", "The Kiethen Hairst", "The Ardlaw Crew" and "The Northessie Crew", pp.130-35. For American counterparts see "The Scow on Cowden Shore" (pp.61-64) and "The Union River Drivers" (pp.89-91) in Edward D. Ives's study of lumbermen's songs in New England, *Larry Gorman: The Man Who Made the Songs*, Bloomington, Indiana University Press, 1964.

5. Bessie Broomhead (b. 1916), Percy "Pat" Broomhead (b. 1900), Winifred Macdonald (nee Peat), Dorothy Perkins (b. 1929), Elizabeth Mary Perkins (b. 1921), Grace Walton (nee White, b. 1909), George White (b. 1918), Josh White, Jr. (1891–1986), all of the Sheffield area.

6. Elizabeth Mary Perkins, *A Tree in the Valley*, Bognor Regis, the author, 1982, p.86.

7. Interview with Elizabeth Mary Perkins, Sept. 21, 1990.

8. In Ian Russell's dissertation, Vol. 2, by George Hancock, Han G10 2; by John Taylor, Tay 2. Muriel Hall also added two lines (on John Kenny) to the text she obtained from Grace Walton.

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Review Article

The Dialects of Modern German

RUSS, Charles V.J., ed., *The Dialects of Modern German: A Linguistic Survey*, London, Routledge, 1990, 519pp., £45.00.

The reputation gained by R.E. Keller's book on *German Dialects: Phonology and Morphology,* first published as long ago as 1961, of being, with good reason, the best survey of the modern German dialects to have been written in English, and perhaps the best description of this kind in any language, makes it inevitable that anyone setting out to review a similar study must first begin by comparing the book he is interested in with Keller's methods and results. When this is done with *The Dialects of Modern German: a Linguistic Survey,* edited by C.V.J. Russ (University of York), it becomes apparent that there are three main areas in which this new description of the dialects of modern German differs from Keller's survey. The first major difference is that Keller worked as a one-man team. His book on the German dialects is the result of a gigantic effort in compiling and comparing his material, carried out by one single man who distilled the quintessence of the fieldwork as well as that of the inductive and deductive reasoning of a host of specialists. C.V.J. Russ, instead of this, has preferred to give us first-hand accounts submitted by eminent specialists of world-wide reputation who draw on their research and knowledge of one or two German dialect areas in particular. These contributions, all of which present the most recently available range of information, were either written directly in English or translated into English by members of the editorial staff.

The second major difference between R.E. Keller and C.V.J. Russ is of a purely methodological nature. Whereas Keller proceeds by applying strictly, accurately and exclusively the historical and geographical methods familiar to us since the work of J. Grimm, F. Wrede and G. Wenker, and limits his description of the dialects to their morphology and phonology, C.V.J. Russ widens the view in accordance with the practice of modern dialectology, and

brings not only the syntax into his investigations, but also the sociolinguistic and pragmatic points of view.

The third point concerns the range of the dialect areas he has chosen to highlight. In the GDR, the SED apparatchiks who controlled and planned cultural and scientific activities discouraged all efforts at promoting dialectology by giving it no financial support and using all kinds of administrative measures to slow down fieldwork, some of which went so far as to consider the passing-on of information concerning the findings of recent fieldwork to be high treason and therefore a punishable offence. This ban on dialectology by GDR authorities goes back to ideological rulings purporting to preserve Marxist orthodoxy from bourgeois heresy issued by Lenin and later by Stalin, both of whom were confronted with having to deal with multinationalism as a permanent thorn in the flesh of the one and indivisible Soviet Union.

Suffice it to say that with things as they were, even standard works of reference on dialectology such as *H.S.K. Dialektologie* (ed. W. Besch, Berlin 1982;1.1; xiii) and *Lexikon der germanistischen Linguistik* (ed. H. Althaus, Tübingen 1973/80), not to mention Keller himself, were unable to give any up-to-date information regarding the evolution of dialects in the GDR. They are "modern" only in the sense that their geographical distribution reflects the political changes in the area since 1945. There can be no doubt that C.V.J. Russ was helped in his editorial task by a certain measure of liberalisation within the cultural policy of the GDR in the mid-1980s, but this does not detract from his merits in having convinced such eminent scholars as Helmut Schönfeld, Zentralinstitut für Linguistik, Berlin *(East Low German),* Karl Spangenberg, Sächsische Akademie der Wissenschaften, Jena *(Thuringian),* Günter Bergmann, Sächsische Akademie der Wissenschaften, Leipzig *(Upper Saxon),* to make original and up-to-date contributions to this linguistic survey. Thus the only dialects that could not be dealt with were Silesian, Low and High Prussian, Pomeranian and Bohemian, speakers of these having been resettled elsewhere and having either died out or seen their original dialect assimilated into other varieties.

Since no dialectologist can pretend to be equally well and extensively informed on all German dialect areas, there is only one way to test the accuracy and credibility of a work of reference such as the one we have to deal with here. The reviewer picks out a chapter where the dialect dealt with is one which he himself has studied thoroughly and—in the ideal situation—of which he himself is a native speaker. The author of this review being a

Luxembourger, he quite naturally turned to the chapter on Central Franconian, written by Gerald Newton (University of Sheffield).

Reading Newton's survey on Franconian and above all on Luxembourgish, which is analysed in a special sub-chapter, was quite a unique experience for the reviewer. Not that he considered Newton's phonological, morphological, syntactic and sociolinguistic description to be inaccurate and full of errors: on the contrary, he himself could not have done better. But he was amazed to see how different Newton's outlook on his mother tongue was from the map of it he bore in his own mind. Newton, complying with the editor's scheme, looks at Luxembourgish within the context of the isogloss network of Central Franconian, where it is contrasted with all the other German dialects. The reviewer is, however, more inclined to study the great variety of isoglosses which are internal to Luxembourgish and have their spread lying in the east-to-west and north-to-south polarisation which typifies the area. Trying to bring some order into the puzzling pattern of isoglosses within the shoe-shaped area of the actual Grand-Duchy, he is fascinated by the way in which his mother tongue succeeded, after a struggle which lasted for centuries, in preserving its own identity between Alemannic influences to the south (fɛst/fɛscht-line, NHG "fest") and Ripuarian speech habits to the north (lɛtt/lɛkt-line, NHG "Leute"). In the relict area around Arlon (Belgium) in the West, traces of very old Luxembourgish are still to be heard in what people actually say (meiən/meinen, NHG "mähen"), whereas innovations from the countryside around Trier (Augusta Treverorum, the ancient capital of the Western Roman Empire) started to spread out in the early Middle Ages (vorscht/vuːscht, NHG "Wurst"; kæːfən / kaːfən, NHG "kaufen"). In other words, the reviewer's outlook on his mother tongue, a tongue which in 1984 was granted the legal status of third official language alongside French and New High German, is micro-dialectological. Whereas Gerald Newton sees Luxembourgish within the isoglosses of Central Franconian, the reviewer, though he does not close his eyes to the characteristics which link together Luxembourgish and Central Franconian, is more inclined to neglect what both idioms have in common in favour of what makes them different. In doing so, he naturally gives no rein to any visceral pulsations of nationalistic chauvinism. For, though he is an ardent patriot and proud to be a native Luxembourger, he remains in spite of all this first and foremost a man of science, used to an iron discipline of methodical and rational thinking. But the history of Luxembourg, a permanent struggle for independence and national identity, in a country twice invaded over the

course of the last seventy five years by Germany, has the effect of making him look in what he speaks more for the elements which stress the difference between Luxembourgish and Central Franconian than the common links. This might also have been the deep-seated reason behind Robert Bruch's attempt to prove that Luxembourgish was extensively influenced by the Romance speech habits of the Salic Francs, long before the High German Sound Shift spread out its fan on the Rhineland area and thus (superficially) integrated Luxembourgish into the general evolution of German in the landscape along the Rhine. It is a matter of temperament that the reviewer, though he cannot deny that the history of Luxembourgish is closely linked to the general history of German and its dialects, endeavours whenever he gets the opportunity to emphasise his deep conviction that the history of Luxembourgish is in spite of everything more than just one aspect of Rhenish language-history.

Gerald Newton, very familiar with Luxembourgish habits of communication from having lived in Luxembourg and having carried out fieldwork there, considers Luxembourgish also from the sociolinguistic and pragmatic point of view, studying and defining the domains in which it is used and giving an exact description of its function in private and official communication. These investigations bring him to the legitimate conclusion that Luxembourgish is a *language* ("Ausbausprache" according to the Auburger-Kloss definition), playing the part of a third official means of communication by the side of French and New High German.

Though Gerald Newton knows the Luxembourgers and what they speak and how they speak as well as the back of his own hand, he is a native Englishman and not a Luxembourger. Since it is very difficult, if not impossible, for him to identify with the Luxembourgers to the point of feeling exactly as they do, there is nothing which restrains him from giving Luxembourgish on the one hand the status of a language and presenting it on the other hand as a typical example of a Central Franconian dialect, giving for it a model description. A native Luxembourger would, in contrast to this, have held back from doing so by virtue of his susceptibilities concerning the relational links between Luxembourgish and the other German dialects. It is hard for a Luxembourger to accept that what he speaks is considered to be a typical Central Franconian dialect. But as there is no reason for believing that an English gentleman would like to make a German, a "Volksdeutscher", out of him as the Nazis did, he clenches his fists, gnashes his teeth and accepts the lesson.

If one may conclude from the quality of the chapter dealing with Central Franconian that it is matched by all the other chapters of the book, and, when we consider the list of British and European scholars who contributed to this survey of the dialects of modern German, there is no reason why we should not come to this conclusion; we can say that it is a work of reference unique in every respect. It is modern, accurate, condensed, the bibliographical references are up to date and exhaustive and, last but not least, it is a clear and well written book, equally valuable for students as for scholars. Well done, Mr. Russ!

F. Hoffmann

Reviews

MYERS, Jack and Michael SIMMS, *The Longman Dictionary of Poetic Terms*, New York and London, Longman, 1989, £9.95.

The Longman Dictionary of Poetic Terms contains about 1,500 individual entries—averaging 120 words in length—defining the theories, techniques, devices, histories and terminologies of poetry. The entries are alphabetically arranged and include a headword with its etymology or derivation; synonym and/or alternative spelling(s); definition; example or illustration; all with historical, theoretical or technical considerations. Germane authors and pertinent cross-references provide further comprehensive and current knowledge in this easy-to-use compendium of poetry information, covering a range from ancient classical prosody to modern works. Allied fields such as film, music, dance and artistic terms are not neglected in this dictionary written by poets and teachers for poetry buffs and literature students.

W. Bennett

NICOLSON, James R., *Traditional Life in Shetland*, London, Robert Hale, 1990, 206pp., £7.95.

The main reason why this book is "such a good read" is that the author writes about things he has known all his life, and in which he has often been involved. It is true, he refers to a good bibliography, but I am sure these are volumes he read long before he began to write this book.

A glossary of dialect words is at the front, so is digested before reading the chapters on various aspects of Shetland life. Other expressions and rhymes are explained in their context in the text. (I was surprised to find how many Shetland words have similarities not only with the north and east of England, e.g. the Jorvik experience, but also with certain Gaelic ones.)

After setting the scene with the history of the islands, the people and the language, further chapters deal with practicalities such as the croft, house and home, and fishing, and later with characteristic superstitions, folklore and the cycle of life. These show what a high degree of self-sufficiency the islanders have always had, usually from necessity. This also brings with it a breadth of knowledge rather than specialisation.

Finally, Mr Nicolson shows that traditional life is never static, looking at aspects of the ever-changing lifestyle that has come with the popularity of Shetland knitwear, tourism and, most radically, North Sea oil. The cover design is a typical photograph of a shore by Shetlander Bobby Tulloch. This all makes a book which is as enjoyable as it is instructive, and really good value for money.

J.C. Massey

O'DEA, Agnes C., comp., *Bibliography of Newfoundland*, ed. Anne Alexander, 2 vols., Toronto, University of Toronto Press, in association with Memorial University of Newfoundland, 1986, xx, 826 + 524pp., £122.50.

When my wife and I first set out for Newfoundland by sea in the late summer of 1962, we did so with considerable trepidation. All we knew of the New World was what we had seen at the cinema or read in books and magazines. We had built up a somewhat romantic picture of the United States, but Canada seemed somehow less tangible, more elusive, and certainly more remote. Once we received confirmation that we would be spending a year, and perhaps two, in Newfoundland, we naturally began to look for information about the place which would give us some idea of what to expect. We soon discovered that most English people we spoke to had only a very rough idea of where Newfoundland was, let alone what it might be like to live in. Undaunted, we visited the local library in search of enlightenment. The available atlases showed us a rocky island, with settlements dotted around the coast, and the capital city, St John's, prominently placed on an irregularly shaped peninsula to the south east. The name of the city was printed in larger bold type, which seemed to put it on a par with Paris, Moscow or London. This was encouraging, we thought. Spurred on by the starry-eyed optimism of newlyweds about to embark on such an adventure, we searched the library catalogue for relevant books, our appetites whetted by the intriguing but coldly diagrammatic maps in the atlases. The catalogue came up with two titles—one a general history of Canada, and the other written as recently as 1960. There must surely be more, we thought, so we enquired at the counter. The librarian kindly checked for us, but confirmed that there were just these two books, and muttered something about there not being much call for Canadian material—he made no mention of Newfoundland . . .

Undeterred, we quickly located the first volume, blew the dust off it and turned the yellowing pages to the all-too-brief section on Newfoundland. It spoke of fishing, lumberwoods, and wilderness, and even revealed a few basic facts about the population, the most memorable statement being to the effect that tribes of immoral indians roamed the interior! This biased and somewhat alarming revelation did nothing to boost our confidence. The second book, John Parker's *Newfoundland: 10th Province of Canada*, London, Lincolns-Prager, 1950, was a welcome relief, and gave us some useful insights into life and work in the Province. Eventually, in larger libraries we found such reference works as the *Canada Year Book 1962: official, statistical annual of the resources, history, institutions and social and economic conditions of Canada*, which first revealed some of Newfoundland's unique dialect and traditions. It was only when someone sent us the previous year's Simpson-Sears mail order catalogue, however, that our apprehensions eased!

Looking back at these experiences almost thirty years later we can scarcely believe our own ignorance about this, England's first overseas colony, with its long history, diverse culture and rich linguistic and traditional heritage. In those days, of course, we were by no means alone in our ignorance. Since that time, detailed information about Canada and its Provinces has become much more readily available in Britain, not least through the establishment of programmes in Canadian studies at several universities. If only we had known from the outset, too, of the wealth of printed material available on Newfoundland alone, we would have realised what exciting prospects lay before us, leading in my own case to a

happy and longstanding involvement with the Province, its language and its traditions.

It was indeed unfortunate that at that time the project which led in due course to the publication of the *Bibliography of Newfoundland* was still in the early stages of compilation, though its origins reach back to the 1930s when Agnes O'Dea first became interested in the subject. The project received a major impetus with the farsighted establishment of the Centre for Newfoundland Studies as a division of the Memorial University Library. The material already assembled for the bibliography was used as a base for building the very substantial collection which the Centre now holds. Even the preliminary listing of books, pamphlets and periodical articles immediately established the importance of the material, the main entries being microfilmed and photocopied by the National Library. On her retirement in 1976 Agnes O'Dea began the massive task of preparing the bibliography for publication. The original mandate had been to collect all material relating to the Province, but at this stage it was decided to focus attention on books, pamphlets, government documents, atlases, independently paged periodical articles, literary works, and typewritten copy such as theses and royal commission reports. At the same time the decision was made to list the entries chronologically, which has the advantage of indicating the historical development of the Province and the subject.

This magnificent two-volume work is a monument to Agnes O'Dea's tireless devotion to the task for the best part of fifty years. Her diligent search for material led her to unearth numerous items from both public and private collections which would otherwise have gone unnoticed. The result of her efforts is at last available in the 5911 entries which make up the first of these two volumes. The pages are clearly and accessibly presented, with the author's or originating institution's name in bold face. The pages also incorporate a running heading which identifies the dates of publication of listed items, facilitating the reader's chronological search for a given entry. Up to 1960 the entries conform with Library of Congress standards in the fullness of the citation, many of them also usefully embellished with elucidatory notes. Later entries are based on catalogue cards and are therefore somewhat shorter. The listings end with the entries for 1975, and one looks forward eagerly to an updating of this ongoing project in the future and especially to the publication of the substantial list of periodical articles not included in these volumes.

The *Bibliography* as a whole is a celebration of the richness and diversity of Newfoundland life and culture. The second volume consists of author, title and subject indexes, each of which is an indispensable finding aid, not only to individual entries in the *Bibliography* but also to the full range of materials available for consultation in the Centre for Newfoundland Studies and elsewhere. The enormous and exacting task of editing the material for publication and compiling the extensive indexes has been carried out in exemplary fashion by Anne Alexander. The two volumes, handsomely bound and a pleasure to handle, have already established this *Bibliography* as the standard work on the subject, both for the scholar and the general reader. Since a copy first came my way, I find myself using it almost on a daily basis to identify and check some reference or other. I only wish I could have seen a copy of it in 1962 . . .

J.D.A. Widdowson

OPIE, Iona, and Moira TATEM, eds., *A Dictionary of Superstitions*, Oxford, Oxford University Press, 1989, reprint 1990, 494pp., £17.50.

In this age of the computer communication revolution, by paging Oracle, we can obtain a daily update of our horoscope. Under the personal services column in the current issue of the *Sheffield Gazette* are phone numbers for a clairvoyant, and also for private consultations for Tarot card readings. But if anyone wishes to visit Stonehenge on the twenty first of June they will find an exclusion order is legally enforceable, since too many people want to be present at sunrise. These are but small reminders of the living relics of ways of thought that predate us all. These reminders of past notions indicate that many people still expose themselves to fears which, we may rationally believe, have no place in a scientific computerised age. They also illustrate the rationale of the Social History and Industrial Classification which has no classification for superstitions, only beliefs. Obviously one person's superstitions are another person's beliefs.

However, the reprinting of this book after one year should not be regarded as an omen, even though it gives examples of some superstitions that have changed with the times—for example, a telephone ringing at intermittent intervals with no call following is an omen of death (p.395, collected 1982).

The *Dictionary* is provided with an analytical index of some 459 concepts, which incidentally comprises more concepts than complete entries in Radfords' *Encyclopaedia of Superstitions* (1974). These concepts group together thematic entries which are intended to show how superstitions are linked by concepts. The groupings also indicate the relationships that exist between the themes themselves. The largest number of concepts, 67, is listed under the letter "S". Of these *sea/seaman*, *sea feared/revered*, has 79 entries. Although "blood, shedding first" appears in the Analytical Index under *sea/seaman*, the concept "blood as a life force" is not cross-referenced *to sea/seaman*.

This is certainly a most useful book for the general reader, but I suspect that the specialist would have wishes for a two- (or three-) volume work containing entries comparable to Radford's *Encyclopaedia*, and more cross-references. Even so, with church attendances down to three percent of the population, while many attend only christenings, weddings and funerals, the book acts "as a sort of supplement to the national faith".

D. Bates

Ó SIADHAIL Micheál, *Learning Irish,* New Haven and London, Yale University Press, 1988, iv, 331pp., £9.95. Audio cassettes (available separately) £8.00 + VAT.

First published in 1980 by the Dublin Institute for Advanced Studies, this edition of *Learning Irish* is the fifth reprint by Yale University Press of this introductory language course. I first used this text and the complementary audio cassette tapes in 1984 while studying Irish language and literature at Harvard University. These were standard materials for the course, but I also found them to be most useful when I continued to study Irish independently.

In a short but informative introduction, Micheál Ó Siadhail provides the reader with a brief history of the language, detailing the decline of written and spoken Irish since the sixteenth century and the emergence of regional dialects. Of the few remaining Gaeltachtai, the

"isolated and shrinking rural districts" where Irish has survived as a community language, Cois Fhairrge in County Galway serves as the model for the pronunciation and grammar used in this volume. Apart from enjoying a relatively large number of native speakers, Ó Siadhail explains that this dialect is geographically and linguistically the most central and benefits from being extensively documented and studied.

Presented in a well organised and easy-to-follow format, each of the thirty-six lessons, apart from the first which concentrates solely on pronunciation, begins with a full-page list of vocabulary in Official Standard Irish and phonetic spellings, including plural forms where appropriate. Specific points of grammar are then discussed and the lesson concludes with a "text" in Irish and a series of exercises incorporating the material just presented (the answers for which appear later in the book). In addition to the lessons, there are several appendices providing more detailed information on spelling and pronunciation, the plural of nouns and the formation of verbal nouns, as well as a comprehensive glossary of vocabulary (from Irish to English and from English to Irish), a grammatical index and a "key to the symbols used in phonetic transcription" which pulls out from the back cover. Although available for purchase separately, the audio tapes are an integral, and in my opinion essential, supplement to the text, especially for individuals studying independently and without access to an Irish speaker to assist with pronunciation.

As an introductory language course, *Learning Irish is* one of the better works I have come across. Accessible to the enthusiastic learner, it may also be useful to linguists seeking a detailed understanding of the written and spoken language.

C.M. Sughrue

OSKAMP, Stuart, ed., *Television as a Social Issue: Applied Social Psychology Annual 8*, Newbury Park, Sage, 1988, 390pp., £35.00 hardback, £15.50 paper.

With a list of contributors too long to mention individually, this book consists of thirty one papers presented initially, in briefer form, at a conference on "Television as a Social Issue", sponsored by the Society for the Psychological Study of Social Issues as part of the celebration of its fiftieth anniversary. In their discussions, the contributors review the perspectives of three groups of particular interest: the television industry, social scientists, and the general public. Issues involved are the social functions of television, how it portrays various societal groups, how these portrayals affect behaviour, and how family interactions and political choices are affected by television. This book will interest not only social science researchers, but also television industry representatives, media critics, and public officials.

W. Bennett

The Oxford Duden German Dictionary, ed. the Dudenredaktion and the German Section of the O.U.P. Dictionary Dept., chief editors W. Scholze-Stubenrecht and J.B. Sykes, Oxford, Clarendon Press, 1990, 1696pp., £14.95, £16.50 with thumb index.

This volume proclaims itself as "The major new German and English dictionary for the 1990s"—a bold statement in view of the dynamic, constantly fluctuating nature of language.

Thatcherism is listed, *Ecu* (Neither "hard" nor "soft" are defined) appears, translated from English into German although not, ominously, from German into English. *Trabant* is defined as a satellite (presumably like nothing on earth) and mercifully *turtle* contains no green, mutant, hero, or Ninja adjuncts. "In Ost bezahlen"—to be paid in East German currency—may be a dim and distant memory in the late 1990s, but by and large the current state of language is well represented in this extensive work.

The conjugation of irregular German verbs and the translation of stock letter writing phrases will prove invaluable to the rusty correspondent. Whilst it remains a nightmare for lexicographers, the inclusion of regional dialect words and phrases is conservative (how comprehensible will such forms be in 1999?) although travellers enjoying the delights of the Schwaben dish "Nonnenfürzle" may remain replete but mystified.

This dictionary remains a comprehensive "freeze frame" picture of the two languages as they evolve at ever increasing speed.

M. Fisher

PARTRIDGE, Eric, *A Dictionary of RAF Slang*, London, Pavilion, 1990 (first published by Michael Joseph, 1945), 76pp., £6.99.

Reprinted to coincide with the fiftieth anniversary of the Battle of Britain, this book acts as a straw in the wind indicating the changes which have occurred over time on the old restraints in the use of language. First published in 1945, it avoids some indelicate terms and disguises others. "Muck you Jack" drops the letter M in favour of the letter F in one of Partridge's later books (1961), and the terms *officer's ground sheet* and *airman's farewell* are omitted. This former term was frequently used to describe women in the services. The latter was defined as "kiss me under the hangers". *Joy stick*, defined as "aircraft control lever", was used in the context of "she took hold of his joy stick and levelled out". WAAF knickers are described as "black-outs", without a reason being given. A story that circulated in 1939 (Crewe) may prove illuminating: the question asked, "Have you heard the latest Government instruction?" Answer, "No". "All women's knickers have got to be made out of black material." Question: "Why?" Answer: "Because all places of entertainment have got to be blacked out for the duration."

Another omission is the term of contempt used by servicemen to describe male civilians, particularly those in so called reserved occupations which excluded call up to the armed services, namely *The Fireside Fusiliers*, with the attributed regimental motto, "We would rather fuck than fight." This recalling of wartime expressions demonstrates how words enter our personal vocabulary from the influences on our lives. The fact that the members of an undergraduate folklore class at the Centre for English Cultural Tradition and Language in 1991 recognised so few of the same terms is also a good example of how those words which are adapted to meet the excitements and frustrations of one age relatively quickly become démodé.

Eric Partridge, who died in 1979, achieved international renown for his books on the English language, and this slim volume is a useful reference for those interested in fashions in words.

D. Bates

PERCY, Richard James, *Scarborough in the 1930s and '40s*, Nelson, Lancs., Hendon Publishing, 1990, 76 plates, £4.40.

The excellent Hendon series about places in Britain focuses in this case on the "Queen of English Watering Places", Scarborough. Ancient and modern combine here, with the cover conveying the more relaxed attitude that flouted convention during the war years and after, and many plates inside the book illustrating the controlled elegance of the 1930s. Not only the seaside aspects of Scarborough are shown—the damage done by the enemy in places like Short's Gardens and Commercial Street is starkly observed. However, it was of particular interest to me to see the Scarborough seaside at a time when our annual pilgrimage was to Blackpool—Scarborough was considered "too posh". Mr Percy has gathered here a selection of plates that show Scarborough in the 1930s and 1940s as it really was!

W. Bennett

PHILIP, Neil, *The Cinderella Story*, London, Penguin, 1989, 178pp., £6.99.

Most folk love a folktale, and perhaps "Cinderella" is the most loved of all. Perrault's classic version is the basis of most of the countless retellings. Yet this familiarity, Neil Philip believes, is partial and misleading, for Cinderella's story is both stranger and richer than any accepted version. In this book, the author selects about twenty versions of the story, Perrault's included, and links them together to illustrate the tale's development and transmission from its lengthy past. *The Cinderella Story* is a fascinating and enlightening book that traces the occurrences of the story through many times and cultures, from the seventh century in China up to the twentieth century in the U.S.A. So much readable material—and at such a reasonable price too—makes this book a "must" for all those who wish to have an erudite demonstration of the way in which stories come to life and function within the cultures that create them.

W. Bennett

PORTER, Roy, *Health for Sale: Quackery in England 1660-1850*, Manchester, Manchester University Press, 1989, 280pp., £19.95.

Healthy living is a topical concern; alternative medicine offers better health by numerous means. These range from therapies promising to confront psychic blockages via regression therapy, and sound showers to transform moods. There are holistic disciplines for every denomination. But then there always were those who could tabulate a list of ailments from which people could already believe themselves to be suffering. The compilers of such lists would offer their skills or pills which they claimed would conquer all. Using contemporary

provincial newspapers, Roy Porter shows how these people never set themselves up as infallible conquerors, particularly of virulent infections or conditions from which customers were likely to die. Such people were called "quacks"; they drummed up business largely through self-orchestrated publicity.

These early entrepreneurs depended on vending secret nostrums to make a living. Have they found worthy successors in some practitioner who operates under the generic term *alternative medicine?* There is much in this book to cause one to reflect on this and other possibilities, particularly when Porter's starting-point is that these charlatans were less cheats than zealots. "If we are to speak of delusions it was self-delusion", writes Porter. But could it be that we, like our forbears, are willing customers for any elixir that offers the possibility that "life's leaden metal into gold transmutes"?

D. Bates

POSEN, I. Sheldon, *For Singing and Dancing and all Sorts of Fun*, Toronto, Deneau Publishers, 1988, 144pp., obtainable from the author at 295 First Ave., Ottawa, Ontario, Canada K1S 2G7, CAN $9.95 + $2 shipping charges.

Like much of the work of Edward D. "Sandy" Ives, this book contrives to be not only scholarly and informative, but also easy to read and delightfully entertaining. The author adeptly pictures the charm of the region and its inhabitants without unduly romanticising them, and draws the people, history, geography, and tradition together on the thread of his subject—song.

The theme is unique, as an entire local tradition of singing and songwriting is viewed in terms of a single locally-composed song. Despite the fact that the text of "The Chapeau Boys" mentions names of places and people specific to the limited area of its origin, this hundred-year-old narrative song has travelled both orally and in printed and handwritten form to other lumbering areas within a far broader territory. Its migration, however, appears limited to North America, primarily eastern Canada. Posen attributes this range of distribution to a universality of impact which somehow manages to survive regardless of limits one might expect, considering the explicit nature of the textual features mentioned above.

The late Pat Gregg, who wrote the song, is still remembered in the town of Chapeau, and his daughter was among those interviewed by Sheldon Posen in the course of his research. Other informants were primarily singers of some esteem in the larger community. Some of these were performers in the more traditional sense, and others were regarded as professional performers.

The book opens with a preface in which Posen explains how he became interested in the song, after it repeatedly appeared in his collectanea while he was pursuing other research in the Ottawa Valley. The other initial segments of the work are concerned with laying out a geographical and historical framework on which the song depends, and providing an overview of existing texts. A more extensive set of texts appears in Appendix B, where fifteen versions of the actual song and three texts of its descendants are presented. The details of the tale told in the song have been verified both geographically and historically. Since it is not, in the strictest sense, a narrative ballad, such scrupulous analysis is noteworthy. Posen

pays close attention to the historical background of the song's composition as well, and attempts to verify its true authorship, despite some local controversy on the point.

As the work progresses, we are introduced to insights regarding the crafting of local songs as a genre and the subject song specifically. This process is meticulously analysed, using a multitude of criteria.

The various elements of the song's performance are also investigated. Most of its presentations in local venues might be termed "collective performances", since they appear to consist of an aggregate of persons and versions, rather than of an individual vocalist singing alone from start to finish. Posen considers this aspect of the song's performance to emphasise its role as representing a statement of local identity.

The final chapter is entitled "Icon", and it is there that the author characterises "The Chapeau Boys" as a "popular folksong" for the Ottawa Valley. This he defines as a song which both esoteric and exoteric audiences would view as representative of a given cultural, regional, or national group. Posen gives a few examples of "popular folksongs" identified with other regions and groups. He then explains his theory of "popular folklore" as a sort of composite of traditional folklore, popular culture, tourist art, and folklore revivalism. To further exemplify this theory, he cites the "manufactured" Irish folklore which, with its shillelaghs, shamrocks, and green-tinted lager for St Patrick's Day observances, has become almost universally familiar as a peculiarity of North American communities of primarily Irish extraction.

At one juncture, Posen describes what he would consider as the decline of tradition in the Ottawa Valley as viewed in the light of the possible treatment of "The Chapeau Boys":

> . . . *The Chapeau Boys* is a good thing to keep an eye on for anyone with an interest in the health of Chapeau as a traditional society. The first sign that things are amiss . . . will be a general recognition of *The Chapeau Boys* as Our Heritage. This will be followed by a growing feeling of distress among community leaders that the young people aren't learning it. Their uneasiness will be compounded when they find out that the authentic text has been lost and that a plethora of truncated or bastardized versions are circulating orally and in print. Moreover, they will find, in tests administered by the school board, that the young people no longer know what a *turkey* [a lumberman's bedroll/knapsack] is, and what's more, they don't care. So they will trace the Gregg genealogy and write a glossary of the terms in the song, or better, they will hire a folklorist consultant to do it for them. And all the information he comes up with, plus a standardized, authorized text based on the best sources, will be developed into a unit on *The Chapeau Boys* to be taught as part of the social studies curriculum at Chapeau High School during Pat Gregg Week. And . . . this book . . . will be used as a textbook.

An "Afterword" about the happenings within the environs of Chapeau and the changing circumstances of the informants (deaths, closures of local establishments mentioned in the book, etc.) since the conclusion of the original research closes the actual body of the book. The final segments are the two Appendices—Appendix B, mentioned earlier, and Appendix A, a very brief description of the tune of "The Chapeau Boys" (based on either a Canadian lumbering song *Jack Haggerty* or on the much more widely-circulated *Sweet Betsy from Pike* [Villikins and his Dinah], with only minor variations in the third line). This Appendix includes only one notated version of the melody, although the tune is discussed in some detail.

I would recommend this volume even to readers who might not have a direct interest in any of the specifics discussed in it—"The Chapeau Boys", the Ottawa Valley or the lumbering traditions of eastern Canada—because the potential application of Posen's theories and insights to a wider range of locally-composed "popular folksongs" cannot be ignored.

M. Halley

POTEET, Lewis J., comp., *The South Shore Phrase Book*, Hantsport, Nova Scotia, Lancelot Press, 1988, 157pp., $7.95.

This new, revised and expanded Nova Scotia dictionary is a delight—and I'm not "codding" you! It has all the warmth, entertainment and wisdom of the language itself which is used along the South Shore of Nova Scotia, a self-contained and isolated piece of country coastline. Here, strung out along one road between Halifax and Yarmouth, are villages settled by people from Cape Cod, New York, Boston, South Carolina, Germany and many other places. Thus there is a variety in the South Shore language forms that matches those of the Maritimes, Newfoundland, and other country areas of North America. This dictionary is small, yet substantial, popular yet personal. So, do not buy this book "tomorrow next day"; stop "scurryfungering" and get this "hutcher" *South Shore Phrase Book* now!

W. Bennett

PUCKETT, John L., *Foxfire Reconsidered: A Twenty-Year Experiment in Progressive Education*, Urbana, University of Illinois Press, 1989, 359pp., $29.95.

Elliot Wigginton's "cultural journalism" curriculum has been regarded as the most successful recent innovation in language arts instruction on the secondary level of American education. Yet its reputation is based mainly on popular interest in the successful stage play *Foxfire*, the nine *Foxfire* volumes published by Doubleday, testimonials by enthusiastic observers, and Wigginton's book *Sometimes a Shining Moment* (1985). *Foxfire Reconsidered* is a report by outsider Puckett, from the University of Pennsylvania Graduate School of Education, on his disciplined "ethnohistory" of the project, as derived from onsite observations and an intensive study of Foxfire's history, goals, achievements and educational underpinnings (mainly the educational philosophy of John Dewey). Despite Foxfire's obvious flaws, Puckett finds it to be one of the most promising pedagogical options available today.

Foxfire has most clearly failed in its ambitious goal of community development. It has also stressed product (books, magazine, records) over process and has only minimally been able to involve students in important decision-making. Puckett dwells at length on Foxfire's major, persistent problems: how to teach language arts skills while also bolstering self-esteem, and how to transfer Foxfire principles to other language arts classrooms and other subject areas.

The first issue has been somewhat resolved by developing a language arts skill-building course as a prerequisite to the magazine-production course. The second one tests the crucial question of whether Foxfire's success depends on a supercommitted, charismatic teacher like Wigginton or whether Foxfire has identifiable components that can be replicated by other

teachers in other classroom situations. Since Puckett's 1984 inquiry, the question of replicability has been worked on through Foxfire seminars in both Rabun Gap, Georgia, and university centres at various locations in America, where practising and prospective teachers can be trained in Foxfire methodology. Time will tell whether or not Foxfire can be translated into something resembling a national curriculum.

Puckett's report on his sophisticated educational research is free of jargon, making it enjoyable reading and ensuring that public interest in and support of Wigginton's affective, social-reality-based approach to high school English will remain strong.

E. Beck

RIKOON, J. Sanford, *Threshing in the Midwest, 1820–1940,* Bloomington, Indiana University Press, 1988, 214pp., $35.00.

This study of traditional culture and technological change in the midwest states of America covers rural and agricultural patterns in general, whilst focusing on all aspects of threshing in particular. Seven interesting chapters deal with flailing and treading; mechanisation; nineteenth-century stack threshing; twentieth-century shock threshing and threshing rings; organised and formalised threshing rings; the social traditions of threshing; and the continuity and decline of threshing rings. The author considers the succession of threshing systems from manual flailing and animal treading through to the adoption of the combined harvester-thresher. His account of the "golden age of threshing", which began in the late nineteenth century, is most interesting but what I enjoyed most, perhaps, was the chapter on social relationships with its summary of practical jokes perpetrated between neighbours. *Threshing in the Midwest, 1820–1940* should interest all students of rural culture keen to question the impact of agricultural mechanisation on a country's traditional patterns and values.

W. Bennett

RITCHIE, Jean, *Singing Family of the Cumberlands*, Lexington, University Press of Kentucky, 1988,158pp., $20.00 cloth, $8.00 paper.

A touching story told by Jean Ritchie, the last of fourteen children brought up in the Cumberland Mountains of Kentucky. The gentle prose of the author contrasts sharply with the rugged background of rock formations in the Appalachian Range. Rites of Passage, customs, traditions, material culture and most of all, folksongs express a way of life that is unique to one Kentucky family circle. Jean Ritchie makes no attempt to trace the origins of the songs sung by the family—even with our own "Derby Ram"—but lets the songs and music stand alone in a context of group enjoyment. What you see is what you get in this tender story of pioneer stock.

W. Bennett

ROWLEY, Trevor and Michael CYPRIEN, *A Traveller's Guide to Norman Britain*, London, Routledge, 1986, 128pp., £9.95.

This is a gazetteer of 105 Norman sites, mostly ecclesiastical, with ten articles on the special subjects of "The Normans", "Henry of Blois", "The Battle of Hastings", "William the Conqueror", "The Hereford School of Architecture", "The Castles of the Norman Conquest", "The Normans and the English Church", "Norman Architecture", "Canterbury", and "The Domesday Book". In these articles, Trevor Rowley devotes a mere two or three pages to subject-matter with which others have filled volumes, and so manages to produce the occasional masterpiece of condensation, but also characterisation by adjectives ("the Conqueror was a terrible, harsh and ruthless man, as well as a pious, clever, energetic and extraordinarily resourceful one", p.43), and the odd shorthand cliche of the sort immortalised in *1066 and All That* ("the savage campaign of devastation called 'the Harrying of the North'", p.42).

This is a curious book, aimed at readers (and travellers) on the one hand sufficiently knowledgeable and specialised in their interests to seek out *Norman* rather than just Medieval sites, yet on the other hand apparently ignorant enough to require explanations of words like "motte", "bailey", "choir", "crypt", "moat", "keep" and the like, in the otherwise undersized and inadequate Glossary of Terms (pp.126-27). Meanwhile, concessions to the Traveller of the title are minimal, being confined to marginal notes in small print containing Ordnance Survey Map references and some mention of road numbers.

The gazetteer has been printed in two columns, which does not add to its attractiveness, and Michael Cyprien's monochrome photographs, though of high quality, are often reproduced in too small a format to do full justice to their subjects. The Introduction, written by Charles Kightly, is notable chiefly for repeating the old, and here misremembered, chestnut popularised by Sir Walter Scott concerning the Anglo-Saxon food on the hoof and the Norman food on the platter: "the peasants continued to tend their English 'sheep', 'swine', and 'cattle' (sic), and only when these came to be served up at the manor house table were they transformed into the Norman-French 'mutton', 'pork' and 'beef'" (p.5).

Not a book that the modestly knowledgeable would need, nor one that it would occur to those ignorant of things Norman to want.

J. Hunter

RUNYAN, Timothy J., ed., *Ships, Seafaring and Society: Essays in Maritime History*, Detroit, Wayne State University Press, for Great Lakes Historical Society, 1987, 366pp., $13.50.

This book contains twenty essays, including one by the editor. Maps and illustrations are adequate, indeed plentiful in some instances, but not excessive. This is not a picture book.

The Preface informs the reader that "The genesis of this volume can be found in the creation of the North American Society for Oceanic History." It then proceeds to describe this Society and the people involved in its founding, many of whom are authors in this volume. There follow three pages of brief biographical sketches of the contributors.

Only one item of British authorship is included, which is co-authored by Walter E. Minchinton and David J. Starkey of the University of Exeter. It is the first essay in Part IV, and, like much of Starkey's more recent work, deals with eighteenth-century privateers.

The volume is divided into four sections titled as follows: I. Ships and Fleets, II. Fishing and Trading, III. Community and the Sea, IV. Seafaring and the Americas.

The first section includes four pieces on the physiognomy and/or building of vessels. The first article is on archaeological reconstruction of an eleventh-century vessel from fragments found. Third comes a detailed description of a scow sloop traditionally built and used for fishing on the Texas Gulf coast. The piece which follows is entitled "specifications of a Barque", the subject vessel having been built in the 1880s in "Dumbarton, N.B." [North Britain] for an owner in Nova Scotia, and one of the three female contributors continues with an article on "Live Oaking", a practice of harvesting timber for the construction of wooden ships. The second piece in this section is a survey of "The Organization of Royal Fleets in Medieval England". The penultimate essay is on "Underway Replenishment" at the turn of the eighteenth to nineteenth centuries, and the section concludes with an essay treating marine salvage and underwater explosive technology in the mid-nineteenth century.

The section on fishing and trading comprises four articles, the first two of which deal with Canadian seafaring in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, and the last of which deals with a Baltic trading expedition between Britain and Russia in 1715. In the third essay in this section, there is a transcript of a letter written by Edward Erastus Upham to Charles W. Kittredge while at sea, homeward bound from China in 1855, which is both interesting and enlightening.

Section III includes an article on Maine's coastal lime-burning industry, two dealing with the misbehaviour of sailors, through prostitutes and drink, and one treating the first official training ship or "floating school" in North America.

The essays in Section IV begin with Minchinton and Starkey's effort mentioned above and proceed with a biographical piece on John Paul Jones, and articles on maritime prisoners of war during the War of 1812, black seamen in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, and the US Navy in the Adriatic during World War I.

This volume carries a great deal of interesting and worthwhile information for the maritime historian, but only about half the essays reveal data useful to the folklorist or ethnographer, and most of that is of a period so far in the past that it can only be verified by investigations into print or by asking interview questions regarding previous generations. However, although it would not be useful as a primary source for most of this journal's readership, it would still be a commendable addition to any library with a nautical perspective.

M. Halley

RUSSELL, Ian, ed., *Arise, Rejoice and Sing! Village Carols from the Blue Ball Inn, Worrall,* Sheffield, Village Carols, 1988, 57pp., illus., with cassette, £6.00.

RUSSELL, Ian, ed., *While Shepherds Watched: Village Carols from the Fountain, Ingbirchworth,* Sheffield, Village Carols, 1988, 41pp., illus., with cassette, £5.50.

This series of booklets with accompanying cassettes is the outcome of an enterprise by Ian Russell, who, in the course of twenty years of research into Christmas carolling in South Yorkshire and Derbyshire, has amassed a huge collection of tape recordings, notes, manuscripts, publications and photographs, and is now an acknowledged authority on the subject. The commercial side of the venture is supported by Yorkshire Arts, and any profits will go to charities associated with the carollers. The two booklets and cassettes under review follow the publication of another in 1987, *A Song for the Time: Village Carols from the Black Bull, Ecclesfield.*

The Yorkshire and Derbyshire carol tradition is a truly remarkable phenomenon, and is fully and sympathetically dealt with in both booklets. Perhaps it is because the tradition is more for participants than for listeners that it is difficult to convey the special feeling that these sessions arouse. As the Worrall book says, the first session of the year

> "is typified by old friends greeting one another, by good humour and good-natured ribbing, by the exchange of local and family news, and by the treating by fellow singers to drinks. The feeling of goodwill and fellowship and of being part of something rather special, with roots, expectations and obligations, adds to this atmosphere. It is surely a remarkable phenomenon. Why else would people queue in the cold and damp of winter to secure a place in the backroom of a pub, just so that they can take part? Why else would they endure the discomforts of a room, in which there is not even anywhere left to stand, for the best part of two hours?"

Approximately half of each booklet is used to set out the words of the carols which are recorded on the cassettes, with the words of some additional ones (not featured in the session which was recorded) in the case of Worrall. The remaining pages give a history of the tradition in each place, notes on the carols, and a full list of relevant books, music and recordings. It will come as a surprise to the uninitiated to find a total of eleven versions of "While Shepherds Watched" set out in full, most of which on paper appear to differ only in the lines which are repeated. There are also words which patently make no sense (such as those of "How Beautiful upon the Mountain"), and such unseasonal items as "Passing By" and "Holmfirth Anthem" (set on a "summer's evening clear"). But this is the way they are sung, and all is adequately explained in the text.

While each booklet and tape is undoubtedly interesting and well-produced, it needs to be asked for what purpose the series is intended and in particular for whom it is intended? Also, will it have an effect on the living tradition? In his publicity handout Ian Russell writes of "bringing the tradition well-deserved kudos". But participants will tell you that their main concern is not one of "kudos", nor even (these days) whether there is sufficient interest to ensure the survival of the tradition: other matters such as the number of singers at a session (as opposed to watchers or talkers) and the balance of basses and tenors are likely to be of

more concern to them. This series is unlikely to win converts and bring "kudos" because the only way to appreciate the carols is by being there and taking part. People will listen to these recordings in the run-up to Christmas, refresh their memory of the words and tunes, and work up an enthusiasm for the first session. The recordings may even help to keep some of the carols from falling out of the repertoire, as has been the case at some other pubs. A modest enterprise, then, but a useful one.

There is a scattering of misprints and misspellings in both volumes, but these should not detract from the overall honest and informative undertaking which Village Carols represents.

G.A. Lester

RYAN, Shannon, assisted by Martha Drake, *Seals and Sealers: A Pictorial History of the Newfoundland Seal Fishery (Based on the Cater Andrews Collection)*, St John's, Breakwater Books, 1987.

It was a felicitous experience for this reader to delve into a historical work on seal hunting which was informative, artistic, scholarly, and a visual delight. In recent decades one has unfortunately become accustomed to equating literature about sealing with strongly negative political and ecological statements. This was a welcome deviation from that approach—a path less familiar, but likewise more congenial.

The work begins with a Foreword by Leslie Harris, one of the literary executors of the Cater Andrews Collection on which the book is based, and lately President of the Memorial University of Newfoundland. Next comes a Preface by the author, which is primarily devoted to acknowledgements. The five page Introduction which follows is the largest single body of text in the entire volume and comprises a brief history of the seal fishery of Newfoundland. The remainder of the publication is devoted to pictures from the above-mentioned Collection, most of which are accompanied by detailed captions written by Ryan.

This is a small but elegant volume, with the photographs and sketches in sepia tones on glossy ivory paper. The text is in the same sepia colouring and each page has an artistic border, also in sepia. Notwithstanding the fact that none of the illustrations is in colour, this would still make a lovely and engaging "coffee table" book or conversation piece.

The unusual subject matter, the high quality of the illustrations, and the pleasant style and scholarly detail of Ryan's text combine to make this an altogether delightful treatment of a subject about which little has been previously available in print.

M. Halley

SCHMIDGALL, Gary, *Shakespeare and the Poet's Life,* Lexington, University Press of Kentucky, 1990, 234pp., $25.00.

This book asks the question why it was that Shakespeare, who seems to have embarked on a career of the life of a court poet with an aristocratic patron, should have abandoned this career in favour of a life as actor-manager of an Elizabethan playhouse. Schmidgall looks for the answer to this question in the life that a typical court poet might have lived at this time and finds it so unattractive that it hardly seems surprising that an intelligent man should seek to

leave it if he could. Hence the bulk of the book is more about the life that poets led than it is about Shakespeare. The first chapter looks at general features of the poet's life; chapter two considers the front matter of published books to see how the great were courted; the third chapter considers the poet-patron relationship; and the fourth deals with parallels between the life of a courtier and that of a poet. Chapter five looks at the Sonnets as "the history of a courtiership". A brief epilogue offers a reading of *Antony and Cleopatra* to bring out some of the implications this play has for Shakespeare's attitude to following a recognised career and throwing all on one project. There is nothing about the pleasures or otherwise of being a dramatist or theatrical manager, and no attempt is made to consider the dates in Shakespeare's life when certain steps may have been taken. It is the context of Shakespeare's life which is the focus here, and it may be said that much of the information this volume contains is already familiar, even if put into a slightly different frame. At best the book provides only half an answer to the question it asks because it fails to look at life in the playhouse. It does contain a lot of information, though the manner of presentation does not always show off this material to best effect. It might have been a better focused work if Shakespeare was more in the background and the poet's life more in the foreground.

N.F. Blake

SHULDHAM-SHAW, Patrick, Emily LYLE and Andrew R. HUNTER, eds., *The Greig-Duncan Folk Song Collection*, Vol. 4, Aberdeen, Aberdeen University Press, 1990, xxiv, 595pp., £35.00.

Publication of this volume completes the first half of the editing of the Greig-Duncan Manuscripts. Andrew Hunter's introduction shows his personal involvement with the music of the north-east of Scotland over three decades; he also points out the sterling work in the folk revival done by Arthur Argo, who is Gavin Greig's great-grandson.

The 221 items here are all songs of courtship, including subdivisions for night-visiting songs and songs about individuals. Especially in matters of marriage, they reveal the social values of their times. As in previous volumes, all tunes have been translated into staff-notations, and certain songs have a number of variations of words from different sources. The comprehensive final section gives collectors' notes and comments, with details provided particularly for songs specific to the area. Since further volumes are already being edited, it should not be too long before we have all this mammoth collection available for reference.

J.C. Massey

SMITH, John S., and David STEVENSON, eds., *Fermfolk and Fisherfolk: Rural Life in Northern Scotland in the Eighteenth and Nineteenth Centuries*, Aberdeen, Aberdeen University Press, 1989, 101pp., £4.95.

The transition from papers given at a local history day-course, to a succinct, fascinating and easily readable book has been skilfully made by the authors, and the black and white photographs (particularly those from the air), maps, and diagrams all result in a most informative volume. The history of the planned villages in the two distinct areas of fishing and farming

put today's readers in a new position when visiting settlements we usually take for granted as long-established. We are becoming more aware of the work of the British Fisheries Society, but the chapter on manufacturing in rural Aberdeenshire puts a new slant on the industrial revolution and the mobility of the population.

In dealing with the tools of tillage, Alexander Fenton supplements his text with diagrams and period illustrations. Each chapter has its own comprehensive list of sources. All in all, this is an excellent book at a very modest price.

J.C. Massey

STEELE, Ross, and Terry THREADGOLD, eds., *Language Topics, Essays in Honour of Michael Halliday*, 2 vols., Amsterdam, John Benjamins, 1987, xxxii, 490pp.; xvi, 669pp.

These two large volumes represent the esteem in which Michael Halliday is held, and signify the importance which people attribute to the contribution he has made to modern linguistics. It is naturally not possible to do justice to these volumes in the space of a brief review, for even to name all the articles would take up several pages. The first volume contains a comprehensive bibliography of Halliday's work and is then divided into four major sections: starting points; language development; sign, content and change; and language around the world. The volume concludes with a list of references. The second and longer volume contains three major sections: the design of language; text and discourse; and exploring language as social semiotic. These are followed by an extensive interview with Halliday by Paul Thibault, and a list of references. The coverage underlines the width of Halliday's contribution to linguistics, and many articles build on some insight or remark which he had produced during the course of a long and distinguished career. Inevitably some of the contributions are a little lightweight or sometimes whimsical, but the standard of the collection is high. Many contributors have taken the opportunity of taking stock to see how far we have come and where future directions may lie. Some could well prove to be seminal in themselves. It is a collection which ought to be in all libraries and which will be consulted for many years to come. It is a fitting tribute to the scholar it honours.

N.F. Blake

STEWART, Frances D., *Around Haunted Croydon*, Purley, Surrey, AMCD (Publishers) and Croydon Libraries, 1989, 83pp., £3.00.

STEWART, Frances D., *Surrey Ghosts Old end New*, Purley, Surrey, AMCD (Publishers), 1990, 101pp., £3.50.

I must confess I was surprised to find that a place like Croydon has so many reported incidents of ghosts, not only from several centuries back in history, but also more recently from the early development of Croydon airport and later still, the second world war. Pen and ink illustrations of the affected buildings set the scene well for the hauntings which are grouped into geographical areas.

In the second title, a somewhat thicker book, in similar vein, exploring Surrey, there has been feedback from the first publication; many spectres have been experienced by more than

one person. Often the presence is a friendly one—does this endorse the idea that you have to be "in sympathy" to experience such feelings? I am not sure, but it all makes interesting reading, and the author gives a ghostly bibliography for those who wish to pursue matters further.

J.C. Massey

TALASHOMA, Herschel, narrator, *Hopitutuwutsi Hopi Tales: A Bilingual Collection of Hopi Indian Stories*, recorded and translated by Ekkehart MALOTKI, illustrated by Anne-Marie MALOTKI, *Sun Tracks* (an American Indian Literary Series), Vol. 9, Tucson, University of Arizona Press, 1983, xix, 213pp., $14.50.

The Hopi people are North American Indians who inhabit villages on the mesa spurs of north-eastern Arizona and who, so far at any rate, have managed to preserve their cultural heritage remarkably well. But, as the author of the Introduction to this handsome volume points out, the Hopi people are vulnerable to the modern influences of mass media entertainment, so that "with the passing away of the old storytellers, the Hopi folklore tradition now suffers irreparable losses every year". (p.xv). The ten tales reproduced here in the Hopi language, with a parallel English translation, are therefore not just there for the entertainment and delight of readers unfamiliar with the genre, but, much more seriously, represent a rescue operation, or at least the beginnings of one.

The novice reader of these stories may well require some acclimatisation to their peculiar flavour, and certainly he will be presented with a startling amount of violence and obscenity; but the detached, matter-of-fact presentation of these elements will never strike him as barbarous or perverse, but rather as a mark of realism and robust humour. These ten stories are subtle and poetic, and typical of the tales in general is the treatment in several of them of the brothers Poqangwhoya and Palongawhoya. They are humorously represented as mischievous and ill-behaved; they live with their grandmother on whom they play gruesome practical jokes and whom they occasionally mistreat; and they are addicted to the Hopi stick-ball game of *shinny*: "that was the only thing they were good for" (p.43). In fact, these two are demi-gods, and their grandmother is the Spider Woman, an important household god of the Hopi. She has divine powers, and her grandsons, too, are capable of much more than just playing *shinny*: they perform magic acts which protect the good and destroy the evil, so that their presentation in the stories as ne'er-do-well practical jokers and mischief-makers creates a witty discrepancy between their deeds and their manner of doing them.

Apart from Preface, Introduction, and the parallel texts of the ten tales, the book contains a minimal indication of how the Hopi language should be pronounced, (p.202), along with a Glossary of Hopi terms and concepts (pp.202-209), and a Bibliography (pp.211-213). It is attractively illustrated with semi-abstract and geometrical designs based on American Indian art.

J. Hunter

THOMPSON, Paul, *The Voice of the Past - Oral History*, new edn, Oxford, Oxford University Press, 1988, 314pp., £6.95.

This is a fully revised edition of a pioneering work which is both scholarly and practical. Thompson believes that history depends ultimately upon its social purpose:. He discusses the achievements of oral history and suggests that transforming "objects of study" into "subjects" makes for a "more vivid, richer, truer history". The case of Guiseppe Barbieri is quoted. This seventy eight year old retired peasant produced a "workingman's answer to the scholars"; and "the spirit in which to undertake an oral history project could hardly be better put".

For the uninitiated, the chapter on "The Interview" is well worth study. It contains many useful tips and good advice, and is supplemented by a section headed "Model Questions"; this is not a questionnaire but an outline guide for an interviewer. An excellent bibliography is included in the section: "Further reading and notes".

This is an invaluable work for the student with a project to complete, and above all it raised deeper questions about the nature of history for the rest of us to ponder.

D. Bates

TONG, Diane, *Gypsy Folktales*, San Diego, Harcourt Brace Jovanovich, 1989, 252pp., $19.95 hardback, $12.95 paper.

Tong's work is well-presented and extensive. She uses tales not only from her own collecting experience, but also from previously printed sources, including a number of scholarly journals. Her Introduction is full of useful historical and background information and insights into the researcher's attitudes and methodology.

Only one tale in the book is presented entirely in the Romani language and three others in their original dialect English forms. The remainder are in translation from various languages and dialects or in transcriptions of oral tale-telling sessions which have been somewhat simplified for the convenience of the interested reader. Romani terms interspersed throughout the narratives are either explained or easily understood through context.

Each tale is preceded by a headnote informing the reader of its unique and notable characteristics—to the details of which the reader should direct his awareness while reading it. Additional notes are neither overly extensive nor unduly academic, but thoroughly adequate, and are placed at the back of the book to avoid disrupting the flow of the tales. A central section presents a number of vigorous, descriptive and artistic photographs of Greek Gypsies, taken by the author herself.

One of the most valuable inclusions for academic and amateur alike is a quite comprehensively annotated bibliography, incorporating works ranging from those of already well known and respected nineteenth-century scholars of Gypsy lore and narrative, such as Francis Hindes Groome, to less familiar but equally praiseworthy publications of the recent past.

On the whole, the volume more than fulfils the promise of the blurbs on its publisher's advertising insert. It was a delight to read and each section was brimming with fascinating new intelligence.

M. Halley

TOWNSEND, A.D., ed., *The Mellstock Carols*, Witney, The Serpent Press, 1989, 24pp., £4.99.

These original settings of nineteenth-century village carols from the Hardy Family and Puddletown Church Manuscripts have been edited and arranged by A.D. Townsend. The Mellstock Carols comes from a culture of music played and sung in the west galleries or rural parish churches between around 1690 and 1850. Thomas Hardy gives an account of a west gallery choir in operation after many generations in his novel *Under the Greenwood Tree*, where the "viols" of the Mellstock Quire were violins and cello of the recognised type. Any suitable instruments were used in west galleries except organ, piano or guitar types whose individualistic sounds could mar the rhythmic style of the orchestral instruments. West gallery choirs had four or five singers to each part, so the carols can be adapted to modern chamber choirs. The Mellstock Carols are clearly printed in large script that stands alone to the left and under the well-arranged musical notation. Sources, discography, select bibliography, performance and notes are given at the beginning of the volume to create the atmosphere of divine worship through Nativity music. This is a most satisfying volume that can only enhance the musical culture that Thomas Hardy forged and fostered.

W. Bennett

VANDENBROECK, Paul, *Jheronimus Bosch: Tussen Volksleven en Stadscultuur*, Berchem (Belgium), EPO, Breda (Holland), de Geus, 1987, 537pp., 64 plates.

"Extraordinary", "fantastic", "bizarre", "surreal": these are some of the adjectives commonly used to describe the work of the late fifteenth- and early sixteenth-century painter Jeroen Bosch. The artist has often been regarded as one of those inspired eccentrics whose genius can only be understood in terms of the metaphysical or occult. His iconography has been "explained" with reference to alchemy, astrology, demonology, heresy, psychoanalysis, sorcery, and the symbols current in the Brotherhood of Our Lady, to which Bosch is known to have belonged, or even of the secret, heretical sect of the Adamites, to which some believe he belonged.

In his study of the artist and his work, Dr Vandenbroeck argues against the tendency to judge him outside the context of the time in which he lived: his thesis is that, however extraordinary the medium, the message is one which his contemporaries readily understood and endorsed. Jeroen Bosch was the product, as well as the exponent, of an emergent urban culture whose moral outlook was bourgeois and secular. The connection, perceived as of old, between virtue and wisdom, vice and folly, underwent a shift of emphasis in the late fifteenth century. Where wisdom had been seen as a result of virtue (Hugh of St Victor's *ubi caritas claritas*), the late Medieval moralists turned this proposition around: the wise man is

made virtuous through, and because of, his wisdom. The twin roots of this wisdom, and therefore also of virtue, are the secular, humanist values of reason and moderation. And in the corollary equation of folly and vice, folly leads to sin, sin to damnation, and the fool is characterised by his unreason, his lack of moderation and self-knowledge, his extravagance and indiscipline. This idea is abundantly present in Jeroen's work as well as in the literature of the period, notably Sebastian Brant's *Narrenschiff* ("Ship of Fools", 1494), in the *jeux de folye* performed at royal courts even as late as 1560, in proverbs and in contemporary illustrations of which the author reproduces a number in his book.

The fools are to be found amongst the dregs of society: an army of beggars, robbers, vagrants, whores, thieves and adulterers march across the pages of fifteenth century literature and people the paintings and engravings of Jeroen and others—their ranks swollen by all those reprobates whose activities lead others to folly and evil: jesters and jugglers, witches, magicians, innkeepers, travelling minstrels, quacks. Bourgeois morality begins by making a distinction between the deserving and the work-shy, undeserving poor, and ends by laying the blame for their poverty squarely on the shoulders of *all* the poor. This is pure ideology which has nothing to do with any observation of the facts. However, the plight of the poor is seen as the outward manifestation of their folly and wickedness: they are social deviants and are as such a threat to the social order. Their besetting sins are those associated with intemperance and unbridled passions: sloth, gluttony, lechery and wrath.

In spite of these familiar-sounding categories, Jeroen's system of values does not in the least resemble that underlying the ancient Seven Deadly Sins. The sins he castigates are not seen as abstracts or as separate entities: one of them will easily lead to any or all of the others. Also, he pays greater attention to the sins of the body than to those of the spirit, since the former amply demonstrate the fool's inability to control his uncivilised impulses. And they are to do with *behaviour*. That is to say, Jeroen's attitude towards them is pragmatic: his ideals of moderation, self-control, self-denial and the rejection of pleasure are a moral response to the violence of the times, and are above all embodied in the paintings of his hermits, St Anthony and St Jerome. These hermit figures are constantly being threatened by the evil in themselves and the evil that surrounds them. In fact, the threat to an individual's integrity occupies a central position in Jeroen's worldview.

After the first three chapters which outline the climate of thought and morality in which Jeroen worked, the author attempts in the following five to place all this in a social context: he addresses himself to questions such as which social groups subscribed to Jeroen's type of humanism, what type of literature it was which found echoes in his paintings, who wrote it, who read it, and who bought the paintings. These middle chapters are likely to be of particular interest to the social historian since they give a very detailed account of the fifteenth-century Netherlandish world as seen through the eyes, not of its kings, nobles or illustrious men (not even the rich merchant class), but of its guilds and craftsmen—the urban "middle" bourgeoisie; their work ethic, their moderate attitudes towards the acquisition of wealth and property, and their domestic economy. In his chapter on Jeroen the man (chapter 7), the author sees in Jeroen's sale of his wife's real estate a desire not to be totally dependent on his art for a livelihood (this is in the years before his genius is recognised by the great and the good): Jeroen wants the ready cash to be able to paint what *he* wants, to choose his own

subjects without the interference of patronage. It says as much about his self-assurance and self-esteem as does the proud Latinisation of his demotic name with which he signs his panels in meticulous Gothic lettering.

What has induced so many admirers of Jeroen's paintings to read about him (in which process they probably got bogged down in the huge number of books offering contrasting theories and contrary views) is the intriguing strangeness of his language: what do all these funnels, bagpipes, floating fish, eggs, stunted trees, hovels with human faces, cages, bubbles, over-ripe fruits and heads on legs signify? Part two of the book (chapters 9–14) deals with the Bosch iconography, and therefore is probably of greatest interest to this group of readers. A realisation of the extent to which Jeroen relied on folklore is likely to enhance rather than diminish this interest. There is in his paintings an enormous amount of folklore in the form of visualised satire, lying sagas, metaphors, expressions and proverbs. In utilising this cultural material in his paintings, Jheronimus Bosch emerges very clearly as a representative of a newly born, urban bourgeois culture with its roots in rural folklife.

This book, written in Dutch by a scholar of evident stature, is not for the fainthearted: densely textured, multi-syllabled, with nearly 1400 footnotes, massive in size and finely printed, it requires of its readers a high degree of concentration and commitment to the subject. But as an exposition of the man, the painter, the place and the times in which he lived, it is illuminating and sane: after this book, it will never be as easy again to saddle Jeroen Bosch with the cant of sorcery, witchery, alchemy or esoteric lore. An admirable result.

J. Hunter

VARTY, Kenneth, ed., *An Arthurian Tapestry—Essays in Memory of Lewis Thorpe*, Glasgow, published on behalf of the British Branch of the International Arthurian Society at the French Department of the University of Glasgow, 1981, 401pp., £10.00 (members), £13.00 (non-members).

The late Lewis Thorpe was known well beyond his by no means narrow academic circle as the translator of Geoffrey of Monmouth's *History of the Kings of Britain*, Einhard and Notker the Stammerer's *Two Lives of Charlemagne*, and Gregory of Tours' *History of the Franks*, all three Penguin Classics (1966, 1969, and 1974). The Folio Society chose the first of these as one of its publications in 1969 (2nd edn. 1984), and one of the Charlemagne biographies, Einhard the Frank's, in 1970, as well as the author's *Bayeux Tapestry and the Norman Invasion* in 1973. Lewis Thorpe reached a very wide public indeed.

But as his bibliography shows, his major commitment was to Arthurian studies, and Kenneth Varty has here put together a collection of essays by members of the British Branch of the International Arthurian Society (of which Lewis Thorpe was president at the time of his death), and some of their friends from Europe and the United States. Twenty essays are in English, eight in French and one in German.

The title, *An Arthurian Tapestry*, was well chosen, for although Chrétien de Troyes and his work are the focal point of this collection, the overall scope is much wider: the essays address themselves to different strands of Arthurian scholarship, yet show unity of subject-

matter. Central are the essays on Chrétien and his major works, *Philomena*, *Erec et Enide*, *Cligés*, *Lancelot*, *Yvain* and *Perceval*, but these are preceded by essays on the shadowy figure of the historical Arthur, the even more shadowy figure of his, presumably unhistorical, son Loholt, and on Arthur's earliest historian, Geoffrey of Monmouth. Essays on aspects of Arthurian Romance in general include one on the motif of the Blind Promise (Philippe Ménard, pp.37-53), one on the portrayal of the Hermit-Saint (Angus Kennedy, pp.69-82), and one on the legend of the Wild Hunt (Claude Luttrell, pp.83-100).

Nor are the European parallels forgotten: Hartmann von Aue's adaptation of Yvain in Middle High German, the Norwegian *Ivens Saga*, the Swedish *Herr Ivan Lejonsriddaren*, the English *Ywain and Gawain*. Apart from a bibliographical essay on these and other versions by Tony Hunt (pp.203-213), there is one by Annette Patron-Godefroit on the Scandinavian transmission of *Yvain* (pp.239-247), and one on Hartmann's *Erec* by H.B. Willson (pp.129-138). The later essays concentrate on the versions of the Grail Legend which came after Chrétien's *Perceval*.

The book was printed and bound by the Printing Department of Strathclyde University, and falls apart as soon as opened. This is irritating, but no doubt one must console oneself with the thought that a more expensively produced volume might well have contained rather fewer contributions to this vivid and colourful "tapestry".

J. Hunter

WAKELIN, Martyn, *The Archaeology of English*, London, Batsford, 1988, 191pp., £14.95.

As its title implies, this book is not a history of the English language, although it is organised in a way that any history would be. The first chapter is called "Archaeology" and gives a brief summary of what language study involves, together with a short account of the history of English. The chapter is designed to produce a framework into which the later chapters fit. There then follow five chapters devoted to different historical periods: the pre-English Period (i.e. Indo-European and West Germanic), Old English, Middle English, Early Modern English and Modern English to the present day. The distribution of space given to these periods is quite different and somewhat surprising. The modern period and Middle English have far less space than Old English and the early Modern English period. This is perhaps because the late Dr. Wakelin saw his book as providing snapshots of individual linguistic items which are then discussed. The account of the Old English period has many maps, tables and illustrations. The same applies to some extent to the Early Modern English period, with reproductions from dictionaries and other commentaries on language. Many chapters have extensive quotations from sources which cast some light on the language, and these extracts are then commented on so that their relevance to the history of English is made clear. It is a technique which should prove very useful for students doing the A-level English Language exams in which comment on such extracts is favoured. Inevitably there is a lot of information about less standard forms of English, particularly in the modern period. The book has the advantages and disadvantages of the system chosen. It does not tell a coherent and linked story of the history of English, for the passages often seem to bear no relationship to one another. It does, however, give a lively insight into some areas of the history of the

language and makes what it comments on interesting and illuminating. People using it will not come away with any idea of how language works and develops, but they may well be fired to go on further into the study of the English language.

N.F. Blake

WEST, Geoffrey, ed., *Black's Veterinary Dictionary*, 16th edn., London, A. & C. Black, 1988, £18.00.

This sixteenth edition of *Black's Veterinary Dictionary* has been revised and reset to include many new topics—Addison's disease in dogs, nuclear medicine, oilfield hazards, and more information on the dangers to humans of certain animal diseases. The complex nature of recent scientific research has led to the increased use of compound words, of which more have been defined in the dictionary. Existing entries such as *anaesthesia*, *BVD*, *viruses* and the topical *genetic engineering* have been revised and expanded. Having already proved its worth to farmers and stockowners, students of veterinary science and of agriculture, the dictionary surmounts the difficulty of having to consult numerous books on various subjects. With the extensive coverage of zoonoses and poisoning cases, and with comparative medicine given its rightful place, *Black's Veterinary Dictionary* is the essential reference for all connected with veterinary science.

W. Bennett

WHITING, Bartlett Jere, *Modern Proverbs and Proverbial Sayings*, Cambridge, Mass., and London, Harvard University Press, 1989, 710pp., £31.95.

There must be a "Sod's Law" about technology—something to the effect that "new technology to make work easier becomes available only after your need for it has passed." If not, then after reading about the manner in which this comprehensive collection was compiled, such a law should be invented.

In the course of fifty years' reading of more than six thousand books, in addition to newspapers and magazines, Whiting identified the proverbial expressions used in contemporary popular literature. These were then handwritten on slips of used notepaper (waste not, want not), and filed in old shoeboxes. When categories became apparent, more slips of paper were inserted to cross-reference entries. Preliminary sorting then took place. The final step in editing came when entries were typed up on an old typewriter. At this stage decisions were made as to the final classifications.

During the latter years of his life this scholar of proverbs, with seven books on the subject to his credit, suffered from failing eyesight in his one usable eye. Without the help of friends, the thirty shoeboxes, with their selected treasure of 5,567 selected entries, would have been gathering dust, or, perish the thought, might have suffered the fate of many a retired scholar's papers, by ending up on a bonfire.

Headings are numbered, with the main word in bold type. These entries are in alphabetical order, determined by the key noun or verb: *A Fool and his money . . . Money flies.* There are cross-references to more or less parallel sayings, and the source of the quotation is given.

Because of the resulting size and cost of a book containing all similar sayings, which become repetitive, this volume represents only part of the extensive collection. Similarly, there is no bibliography of sources.

To criticise this work feels like nit-picking, but perhaps just two observations may suffice: First, the contents of a book with *Modern* it its title soon fail to be "of the present and recent times". The title may have been more accurately stated as *Proverbs and Proverbial Sayings from Contemporary Literature, 1920? to 1970?.*

Secondly, the qualification "contemporary literature" is suggested because the introduction states that entries "favour the colloquial style", but how many would a researcher find in ordinary or familiar conversation as opposed to literary use? This is clearly a task for someone looking for a thesis to write.

Another class of specialist user could well find this book an investment. To those for whom the name of the game is writing proverbial slogans like, "There is no present like the *Times*", this would prove to be a good source book. For those with a special interest in the genre of traditional verbal folk art, there is much to occupy the mind. For example, the Latin "He gives twice who gives quickly" was alive and well in 1932, 1941, 1968, 1970. Yet, its more expressive contemporary counterpart, "a slow giving is an empty favour", has apparently been lost.

Truly, this is a book that makes its replacement difficult to write, even when shoeboxes, scrap paper, and old "tripewriter" have been replaced with floppy discs and a word processor.

D. Bates

WIDDOWSON, Peter, *Hardy in History: A Study in Literary Sociology*, London, Routledge, 1989, 260pp., £8.95.

This study in literary sociology explores the way Hardy's fiction has been formed by the publishing industry's and media's attempt, through criticism and education, to forge a "Hardy of Wessex" that conforms to a conventional English national culture. Professor Widdowson seeks to release Hardy—and by implication any other writer submitted to these processes—from the constraints imposed by orthodox literary history. Believing that this significant cultural figure is perhaps "commercialised", like, for instance, the Brontes, Professor Widdowson asks, "Who invented this Hardy and why? What are his characteristics and what do they mean?" This case-study examines how a "great writer" is produced in sociological terms, and analyses the critical, cultural, and ideological factors involved. It places Hardy in history in a way that few have attempted before.

W. Bennett

WINCHESTER, Angus, *Discovering Parish Boundaries*, Princes Risborough, Shire Publications, 1990, 88pp., £2.50.

Do not dismiss this slim volume lightly; it is packed with a vast amount of information to arouse the interest of budding local historians—or indeed anyone concerned with the

development of their native area. The substantial text is well illustrated with clear maps and six pages of black and white photographs, and, since diverse areas of England, Scotland and Wales are used as examples, the reader will be likely to find more than one of which he has personal knowledge. The chapters discuss the development of, and differences between, parish and township, and the evolution of local government in different parts of the countries, from medieval times, both manorial and ecclesiastical.

The final chapter gives details of general reference works and also a good list of local studies cited in the text, and the appendix gives a useful glossary of placenames recording boundaries, with located examples of each. This all adds up to a pocket-book that stimulates interest in one's surroundings, and at £2.50, it is certainly excellent value for money.

J.C. Massey

YOUNG, Richard and Judy Dockrey YOUNG, *Ozark Tall Tales: Collected from the Oral Tradition*, Little Rock, Arkansas, August House, 1989, 212pp., $8.95.

Longfellow had it about right. He wrote: "Come read to me some poem/Some simple and heartfelt lay/. . . And lend to the rhyme of the poet/The beauty of thy voice." The tall stories in this collection are simple and heartfelt. True, they are not narrative poems that should be sung, but if someone had lent Ozark pronunciation and dialect (Longfellow's "the beauty of thy voice"), the charm of the stories would have been enhanced, especially by means of an accompanying tape with narrative in context, which presents the storytellers themselves telling these tales of "lies", tall tales, frightful tales, true tales and jokes. To quote a catchphrase, "It's the way y'tell 'em." The power of performance is vital, the teller enhancing the personal relationship between self and audience. The storyteller's emphasis of words, pauses and reflective asides all create allusions to hidden meanings or collective knowledge. In short, they constitute part of the rhetorical side of folklore, providing a unique demonstration of oral tradition and invigorating the stories.

In addition to the types of tales listed above there are tales by "Come-Heres", which is the term for people who move from outside into the Ozarks. Of greater interest are the "Jack" stories—not the English version of the boy making things up to a mother for his past misdeeds, with its golden treasures and magical sources of supply—these Ozark tales follow the American theme (Wolfenstein, 1955), minus the springing bean tree as the dominant theme. The elements of masculine prowess are retained, as is the image of the boy growing fine and big. What is added is the notion of the motivational need to achieve. According to McClelland (1961) this need is the ultimate force underlying economic development. The theory of need achievement value coding appears to fit these stories in two ways. First, response to ego: in the beginning of the stories Jack is in an inferior position to those interacting with him; second, achieved status: Jack changes social ranking relative to other persons, he gains recognition, he accomplishes some end, and is elevated because of his achievements.

In each of the four Ozark stories Jack uses his brains to reach his goal. He uses cleverness, trickery, the ability to outwit and cunning, and at the end of the stories is elevated in terms of these achievements, as the conclusions demonstrate:

1. "he give up drifting and married that pretty girl"
2. "the sisters married Jack and his brothers . . . and the brothers never again had to cook their own supper. And nobody stole from 'em again, neither"
3. "Well" says Jack "I got a twelve pound catfish, a pheasant, a bear, four geese, three turkeys, two buck deer and a stumpful of honey. But Ma" he says "I never did get to shoot nothing"
4. 'Lizabeth grinned real big and said "Pshaw, Jack, I don't need no gold. What I need is a rich old man!" Now, it didn't take no schooling to figure that out, and Jack married up with 'Lizabeth, and they left with all that gold, and went back along the road to find her folks.

This is a book for all those interested in heritage, personal narrative, Aarne Thompson tale type 328, and psychological interpretations of folktales.

D. Bates

ZIPES, Jack, *Don't Bet on the Prince*, Aldershot, Gower, 1986, 270pp., £17.50.

Something in me rebels against the idea of specially written fairy tales, as though the oral folk aspect apparently present in "traditional" tales is not there. What I forget—and Zipes and others remind me—is that "traditional" fairy tales are also written; taken from oral folk custom and belief and transformed by Perrault, the Grimms, Andersen, etc. to conform to the sexist, often misogynist, attitudes of their times and the individual writer. With this background it is an easy step to accept the twentieth century tales which portray a different type of character and story. The motifs are still there—princes given tasks by cruel princesses, witches, animals that speak, magic objects, the "rule of three", enchanted princes, and so on—but the "traditional" gender roles, the compliant passive, yielding female and the strong virile, competent, active male, are removed. The heroines of these stories make up their own minds and are clear about what they want and how they can get it: assertive women in the best sense.

There is a useful and interesting review of the "state of the art" in Zipes' Introduction, followed by a selection of tales for readers of all ages. The book ends with four essays of feminist literary criticism. I did lose patience with some of the analysis of fairy tales, particularly that of the psychoanalytic school:

> To examine selected popular folktales from the perspective of modern feminism is to revisualise those paradigms which shape our romantic expectations and to illuminate psychic ambiguities which often confound contemporary women (p.209).

It is not the psychic ambiguities that confound this contemporary woman.

Despite this, there is a good deal that is sensible and valuable in this volume and it is worth fighting your way through the briar forest of words to get to it. The book is available in paperback which will open it to a wider audience, but I am inclined to think that today's feminist fairy tale heroine would say a brisk "rubbish" to much of the lit. crit. and say that it is more important to get on with the gardening.

M. Fielding

ZIPES, Jack, ed., *Victorian Fairy Tales: The Revolt of the Fairies and Elves*, New York, Routledge, 1987, 381pp., £12.99.

The introduction to this book traces the fairy story from an improper medium of instruction to a subversive means of questioning the so-called productive forces of progress. Zipes has collected twenty two stories which he claims provide examples of two approaches to the fairy story, and whose plots reconcile readers to the status quo of Victorian society. In these stories magic and nonsense enable protagonists to integrate themselves into a prescribed social order. An example can be found in the "Cinderella" by Anne I. Ritchie (1868): "One's obliged to keep up a certain dignity in these Chartist days—universal reform—suffrage—vote by ballot. I've no patience with Mr Gladstone, and it all rests with us to keep ourselves aloof."

The second kind of plot suggested by Zipes is by utopian writers with a profound belief in the power of imagination as a potent force that can be used to question the value of the then existing social relations. "Cinderella and the Glass Slipper" by George Cruikshank (1854) provides an example of this approach: ". . . although there is much boisterous mirth created by drink around these wine fountains, yet your Majesty is aware that this same drink leads also to quarrels, brutal fights and violent death . . . "

In addition to these two suggested approaches, other tendencies can be detected. There is the approach to lessons of the market place—"By break of day, the hairdressers were in request again, and again they raised their charges." Students of gender may think that these moralistic lessons had no lasting effect when they read "The Day Boy and the Night Girl" by George Macdonald (1879), in which the emphasis is on the fusion of female and male qualities. Both can develop courage, honesty, intelligence, compassion—qualities not genetically determined, but relative, and which assume their own particular value in given circumstances. This plot can be compared with statements such as, "It is the nature of women to love children, because the Almighty has appointed HER to bring them up."

Supporters of the need achievement theory of motivation (McClelland, 1961) will be interested in the story of "The Rooted Lover" by Laurence Housman (1897). Here the individual, a ploughboy, is evaluated in terms of his accomplishments (he married a princess) rather in terms of his fixed characteristics given by birth.

"The Happy Prince" by Oscar Wilde (1888) provides an example of social criticism. It is reminiscent of middle class abandonment of Bishop Butler's view (1740) that "He" had distributed men in different ranks, at the same time uniting them in one society where the poor were formally put under the superintendency and patronage of the rich.

As the author expresses it: "the artwork of the fairy tale assumes a religious quality in its apparent denial of the material world." If, as Housman claimed, the true end and object of a fairy tale is the joy of living, then this Victorian trust in the imagination makes one feel sorry for those who have grown up with no better nourishment for their imagination than a diet of television cartoons.

D. Bates

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