Scouse – the Urban Variety of English in Liverpool

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Abstract

Scouse is a linguistic variety defined variously by the various linguistic researchers. It has been the central theme of a numerous research papers for years. As for its simplified definition, it can be described as a semantic phenomenon, i.e. A dialect which has its own traits. These features make it look and sound quite unique and different from other, surrounding dialects. Its phonological features give this linguistic variety a special shape and hence affect its distinguished nature. The main purpose of this research paper lies in the attempt to discover and clarify the complex linguistic nature of this accent by stating the accompanying examples from the language spoken in present-day Liverpool. On pages below, one can also find the most important events as regarding to the historical background of Liverpool as quite developed city nowadays. The reasons and the key dates are also enlisted in order to connect the dots presenting development of the language and the significant events more easily and with understanding. The setting of Liverpool with its inhabitants and in-migrants, migrations in general, has a huge part in this long-term process.

Keywords: Scouse, linguistic variety, dialect, accent, phonology, Liverpool, speaker

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Introduction

When talking about Scouse or Liverpool English, it is not yet clearly defined whether one should treat it as an accent or a dialect or something completely different than these two. This research paper should clarify the status of this linguistic phenomenon which was born in "England's finest Victorian city", Liverpool. The rapid growth of previously such a small and insignificant city is worthy of discussion. Its historical background falls under one of the most important effects which had a tremendous role in shaping this linguistic variety. It is believed that all the consonants and vowels of Scouse were affected by the same historical framework and population movements. It is still arguable whether Scouse has found its rightful place in the world of accents and dialects in general. The problem lies in the fact that it has always been underestimated and looked skeptically at, which is completely normal, given that people need considerable amount of time to become acclimated to something entirely new and exotic. What is more, it can take years (as in this case) for them to accept the imposed change fully.

Every dialect has its own phonological features which precisely define the nature of it. In this research paper, I try to present the most significant facts about Liverpool as the city whose development is certainly worth mentioning. What is more, the connection between the city and its linguistic expression is extremely important, so key facts as regarding to its historical background will be discussed. Furthermore, as for the phonology, the stress will be put on the three most significant phonological features: TH-stopping, Non-rhoticity, and Liverpool lenition. By progressively defining these three components, the shape of this "Lancashire dialect with an Irish accent" is crystallizing more and more in the reader's mind. They represent distinctive and valuable linguistic formula which determines guidelines for its linguistic outline.

1. A Brief History of Liverpool

Liverpool has not always had the status of a great and developed city it has today. Many years had to pass in order for it to truly evolve into such a significant metropolitan center. According to Patrick Honeybone, this urban center in the beginning was just a small and irrelevant fishing village and small harbor (2007, p. 6). Nevertheless, its initial modest size was just a short period image which soon took on larger proportions. 19th century represents a crucial period of time in Liverpool's development. When talking more precisely, a year of 1880 signifies a point when Liverpool finally could be called a city, i.e. it was given its city status. This important event, subsequently led Liverpool to all the great accomplishments. Honeybone quotes some of the most meaningful ones: " Liverpool rose to prominence as England's second biggest city and as the single most important port of the British Empire" (Honeybone 2007, p. 7). Also, as he writes, some of the key dates and facts are: " Liverpool was made a free port in 1647; trade with America started in the 1660s; the world's first wet dock was built in Liverpool in 1715; Liverpool became one of the centres of the slave trade which brought great wealth to the town in the late eighteenth century; by 1850, the town's trade was double that of London and formed more than half of the entire trade in the UK" (Honeybone 2007, p. 7).

The growth of Liverpool as public center is closely linked to the progression of the language itself, i.e. Scouse in this case. This phenomenon will be discussed in more detail in the last chapter of this research.

Going back to the very beginning of Liverpool growth, there are a certain numbers which speak for themselves and which also can be seen in this table (see table 1):

Table 1: Population of Liverpool and Merseyside; Manchester; and Glasgow, 1801-1981 (in thousands)

Year	*Liverpool*	*Merseyside*	*Manchester*	*Glasgow*
1801	78	100	75	77
1811	95	124	89	101
1821	119	165	126	147
1831	165	240	182	202
1841	286*	354	235	275
1851	376	499	303	345
1861	444	575	339	420
1871	493	684	351	522
1881	553	818	341	587
1891	518	900	505	658
1901	685*	1023	544	762
1911	746*	1150	714	784
1921	803	1263	730	1034
1931	856	1347	766	1088
1951	789	1382	703	1090
1961	746	1338	662	1055
1971	610	1267	544	898
1981	510	1127	449	766

Source: Belchem, John. Merseypride: Essays in Liverpool Exceptionalism: *Liverpool University Press,* 2006, 1(1).

Along with its rising population, Liverpool was gradually starting to look like a real cosmopolitan city, and people had high expectations from the beginning: “This vast city will be the greatest and richest ever known to the world...London, compared to it, is out of the way” (Belchem, 41). It had also been called as “the commercial city of the future” (Belchem, 41).

As for the exact time period of population growth in Liverpool, it increased swiftly and in large proportions during the 19th century, with the emphasis on the medial period of the century, as is suggested by Honeybone. (2007, p. 8) However, when looking back on the time before this massive expansion of population, there are a certain events which cannot be overlooked and which had a great impact on the process itself. One of the most significant events, which happened immediately prior to the expansion, was sizeable migration whose participants were Irish people running away from the famine which had been spreading more and more every passing second. According to Honeybone, Liverpool was the first and the most desired place to run to and get away from the famine (1845-1847). Apart from the Irish-born population, a significant number of immigrants also came from Wales and Scotland. These nationalities were of great importance when it comes to the growth of the population in

Liverpool during the 19th century. When talking about minorities in Liverpool who also contributed to the expansion of its population, one should not exclude a black community (with roots in Africa) and the Chinese who were also a major part of the community.

All these factors and events formed the city of Liverpool we know today. It is described as "one of the larger urban centres in the north-west of England" by Kevin Watson in his research paper about Liverpool accent called *Phonological resistance and innovation in the North-West of England* (2006, p. 55).

If one takes a peek into John Belchem's *Essays in Liverpool exceptionalism,* one can not ignore his descriptions of Liverpool as "England's finest Victorian city" nowadays. "An internal 'other' within enterprise Britain" (2006, p. 12).

However, it is a question whether today's Liverpool has met everyone's expectations. With its expanding industry, it has taken on the form of a metropolitan city, with growing population and colossal buildings. It is, for some people, becoming too modern, losing its original and irreplaceable charm. In his research paper, John Belchem quotes one of the literary voices of Liverpool, Helen Walsh, who expresses her disappointment in today's Liverpool:

"There are new bars, coffee shops and restaurants cropping up all over the place. I don't like it. The city is starting to take on the guise of a salesman who lacks faith in what he is selling. Artificial. Insincere" (Belchem 2006, p. 26).

Even in his early years, Liverpool stood out as different from London and Manchester, famous by its uniqueness. It is likely that people are afraid of Liverpool losing its initial differentness.

As for the population and the migrations into Liverpool, there are three nations which had an important role in maturing process of this cosmopolitan city. These are the Scots, the Welsh and Liverpool Irish. The problem lies in the fact that these peoples do not have the same socio-economic status, despite another fact that they live in the same city and none of them are locally born citizens. To be more precise, the Scots and the Welsh are on the highest place on the social ladder, when compared to those locally born and Irish ones, who are on the bottom. "The Liverpool-Irish have always suffered the prejudice and negative reputation which now blight the city itself "(Belchem 2006,p. 34). Just like any other nation, Liverpool Irish have suffered a lot of stereotypes which were thrown at them mercilessly. "...lowly Irish

‘slummy’, reckless and feckless...a symbolic figure of inverse snobbery and pride in the evolution of the true Scottie Road scouser” (Belchem 2006,p. 34). It is also speculated that such a low place on the socio-economic ladder emerged from the fact that Irish people are socially outnumbered in this metropolitan city and, due to that, do not have enough power to fight for themselves. They lack people who would stand up for them in the right way. Furthermore, they have quite distanced and isolated themselves from others, i.e. from the middle of the city action. However, later, there was formed the Irish National Party which “retained the support of second- and third-generation (Liverpool-born) Irish”(Belchem 2006, p. 36).

The fact numbers concerning Irish people were listed by Kevin Watson in his research paper: “In 1846 alone, 280 000 Irish people came to Liverpool, of whom around 170 000 remained in the city” (Watson 2006, p. 13). More than a half of them actually stayed there. The most important period for the new dialect formation were years between 1841 and 1891, which were also closely linked to the population expansion.

2. The Development of Scouse

When discussing the term Scouse, linguists have been giving a various of definitions in order to correctly identify the nature of it. Nevertheless, one feature that is common for all these definition attempts is that Liverpool English is not like its neighbours, it is unique and cannot be so easily linked to the 'others' surrounding it. However, its uniqueness has come with years and years of development and struggle to maintain and stay alive. It is known for a fact that Scouse has been called as such since 1960s. There are a lot of factors which influenced on the development of this linguistic variety.

A phenomenon which has been discussed a lot is a tremendous influence of Norman French and Viking Germanic on English in its early stages. It links them with all of the English varieties including Scouse. One of the main phases in coinage of a new dialect is assuredly influence of the neighbouring dialects and varieties in general.

However, according to Trudgill's model, a new dialect formation cannot be formed without three important phases, as described in his linguistic work: New-dialect Formation in Nineteenth Century Liverpool: A Brief History of Scouse. The first stage is done by adults who are mutually trying to accommodate and erase the differences in order to create a common language. Of course, their children also have a role in the process since their parents cannot thoroughly perfect a new language without their children's shred of creativeness. In the second stage, these united adults and children are then connecting with the first generation of speakers, more precisely, adult's parents. This leads to the third stage in which they all together start a process of koineisation.

In order for a linguistic researcher to thoroughly study and understand the language, he or she must be familiar with the facts about the historical background standing behind that language. Hence, knowledge of some key years would not do any harm. In this case, unavoidable years for Scouse are the ones between 1830 and 1889 which help researchers like Knowles to direct their study to the right track. He suggests the year of 1830 as a period of "pre-Liverpool English", i.e. the significant starting year that served as a base and a springboard for its further development. The final year of the development, 1889, represents the crucial date when official Liverpool English was finally formed. A new dialect is described by Honeybone as that "which had been formed due to the dialect contact and mixture that occurred in Liverpool during just beforehand" (Honeybone 2007, p. 10).

Honeybone claims that the whole process of Scouse formation can be divided into 3 stages. Stage 1 refers to the period before the beginning of 19th century. At this stage, Liverpool English, as we know it today, had not existed yet. It was just at the beginning of the process of putting together all the little pieces which led to the occurrence of such a composite linguistic set. According to Honeybone, Liverpool English was "part of the Lancashire-Cheshire dialect continuum" (Honeybone 2007, p. 10) at the time. Moving on to another important stage that took place in 19th century (especially middle of it); stage 2 being a very complex stage consists of another three sub-stages: - stage 2i: dialect mixture and accommodation among adult speakers

- stage 2ii: koineisation: levelling and the development of inter-dialect forms in the early generations of children of in-migrants
- stage 2iii: focusing of the dialect mixture the emergence of a stable koine

The stage 2iii is crucial for it leads the whole process to Scouse we know today.
And finally, these stages together form a dialect which is "as homogenous and as stable as any other dialect" (Honeybone 2007, p. 10).

With its unique phonology, this specific dialect draws a lot of attention from the neighbouring residents. Nevertheless, Scouse, despite the lack of acceptance in the early years, has succeeded in surviving to the present. Its complex linguistic set will be discussed in detail the 3rd chapter, titled Phonological Features of Scouse.

As for the other dialects which affected the formation of Scouse, another quiet significant was Hiberno English.

Every dialect, along with other features, has its variations. Scouse exhibits three important types: regional variation, social variation, and standard speaker variation.

3. Phonological Features of Scouse

Out of many phonological features which adorn this dialect, three of them have a special meaning and hence are the most meaningful ones: TH stopping, Non-rhoticity and Lenition.

3.1. TH stopping

This phenomenon is described as the process in which dental fricatives [θ] and [ð] are replaced by either dental [t] and [d] or alveolar [t] and [d] are referred to as stops. Honeybone lists examples through which the reader can fathom the concept of this phenomenon more easily. These examples are:

tin [tɪn] : thin [θɪn] and den [dɛn] : then [ðɛn] (2007, p. 13)

As for the presence of this feature, it is a part of contemporary Scouse, according to the research, and can usually be heard among the speakers nowadays.

Now that we have the definitions provided above and that part is resolved, there remains an inevitable question which constantly pops out somewhere in the background, and that is the question about this phenomenon's historical background. According to Honeybone's research paper, there is no clear evidence in respect of which dialect transferred TH stopping to Scouse, but the majority believes that it largely had to do with Gaelic people, who further carried it over to Irish speakers (2007, p. 14).

3.2. Non-rhoticity

In order to completely understand this feature, there is a need for the clarification of the two features: rhoticity and non-rhoticity. They will be explained with the supporting definitions, i.e. illustrating the significant difference between the two. The main dissimilarity lies in the phoneme [r]; and it has to do with its pronunciation which again depends on its position in a certain word. As for the two opposing accents, which can also be taken as representative in this context, they are the ones from the UK and the USA, respectively. Most UK accents are non-rhotic accent due to its omission of the [r] when it occurs in words where this phoneme: a) takes place before a consonant, and also b) is located in a so-called syllable coda. In contrast to this accent, in the the majority of USA accents, the phoneme [r] is not omitted in any of these two situations. In other words, it is always pronounced, regardless of the phoneme order.

After clarifying the basics, it can be stated that Liverpool English is a non-rhotic accent, without any shred of doubt. As always, there arises a question of the historical background and the explanation of how and where this feature came from. The answers to these questions cannot be given with certainty. However, when it comes to the time setting, it is speculated that this is a later date feature which occurred in the early 19th century, according to Honeybone, who also states that " rhoticity is the older state and non-rhoticity is the innovation" (2007, p. 15). Given the fact that he is familiar with both Jones' and Trudgill's research, Honeybone also declares that "much, although clearly not all, of England was non-rhotic in the midle of the nineteenth century, and could have provided non-rhotic input into the Liverpool English koineising dialect mix" (2007, p. 16).

Taking all this into consideration, it is still not certain whether Scouse has always been a non-rhotic accent, or became one. There is plenty of guessing when it comes to this topic, but one thing remains evident: Liverpool English is undeniably a non-rhotic accent at the moment.

3.3. Liverpool Lenition

In order to fully understand this linguistic feature, one should be familiar with the meaning of a word 'lenition' itself, i.e. its translation. Literal translation would be "weakening" or "softening". Furthermore, taking into account its exact meaning, one can deduce the linguistic purpose of this phenomenon. According to Watson, a basic definition of lenition would be: "Processes of sound change which, amongst other things, turn phonological plosives into affricates (affrication), oral fricatives (fricativisation), glottal fricatives or glottal stops (debuccalisation), or deletes them altogether (deletion)" (2006, p. 4,5).

However, this feature has not yet been fully defined and examined among the linguistic researchers. In other words, some linguistic variations would for one researcher be defined as lenition but for the other, a specific linguistic feature would not be count as lenition. Its vagueness in manner makes it hard for linguists to accurately define its nature. However, if one takes a look into Watson's research, we realize that there happens to be a general agreement about the definition of lenition: "Lenition can be categorised as the decomplexification of segmental information". Watson later explains the segment term by saying that it is "more complex than another if it contains a greater number of phonological elements" and, hence, "the loss of elements represents the weakening, or lenition, of the segment" (2006, p. 9).

Before starting any further discussion regarding lenition, in order to fully understand the proces of lenition, one should know the complete and complex picture of phonological elements which participate in this process. More precisely, these features refer to the vowel nature and there are four of them: palatality, lowness, liability and neutrality. These vocalic elements present the base on which vowels are formed. As listed in Watson's research paper about the process of lenition, "the vowel /e/ is a combination of palatality and lowness, and /o/ is a combination of liability and lowness" (2006, p. 8). The last vocalic element, which is called neutrality, is often treated separately. It is referred to as "a non-palatal, non-open, and non-labial articulation" (Watson 2006, p. 6). When talking about the spoken part with the feature of neutrality in it, /ə/ is the one.

Nevertheless, there is a connection between vowels and consonants when the phonetic similarity is looked closely at: /i/ and /j/, and /u/ and /w/ exhibit a certain similarity. It is said that they possess "the same elemental structure" (Watson 2006, 8). Palatality can occur in palatal stops, fricatives and palatalised consonants. As for the third element, called liability, it takes place in rounded vowels and labial consonants.

Another significant element belongs to these vocalic ones, but is treated separately. It is called aperture and appears in "uvular and pharyngeal consonants which, like /ɑ/ are produced by lowering and retracting the tongue body"(Watson 2006, p. 8).

Another term which is relevant and is linked to the phenomenon of lenition is called 'lenition inhibition'. Its meaning has to do with the meaning of individual words of which the term has been composed. Hence, according to Honeybone, lenition inhibition "describes the situation whereby segments are strong enough to resist the innovation of the process" (Watson 2006, p. 10). There are positions which are more prosodic ones and also there are the ones which are less prosodic, in opposition. In his research paper, Kevin Watson, those more prosodic ones as "prosodic strong positions" (2006, p. 11) which are referred to the following ones: "utterance-initial, word-initial and also onset (i.e. Syllable initial) domains" (Watson 2006, p. 11). This feature occurs, other than in Liverpool English, in Spanish too. Watson states these Spanish words as examples of lenition: *bomba* [bomba] 'bomb' and *sabe* 'knows' [saβe] (2006, p. 11).

There is a strength-through-sharing kind of functioning where material is shared between elements and can either be positive or negative. The following picture shows that process:

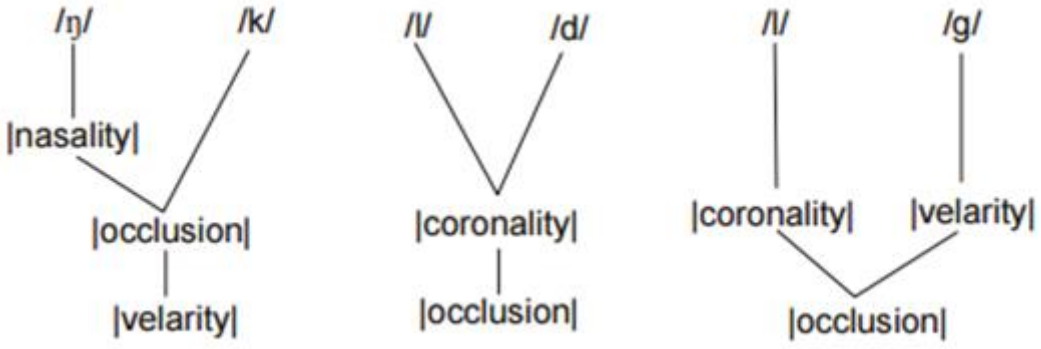

Figure 1: Elemental sharing and Spanish lenition inhibition (Watson, K. (2006). Lenition and Segmental Interaction: Evidence from Liverpool English (and Spanish). *An Ambilingual Interdisciplinary Journal*, 1(1))

As for the examples in Liverpool English, there have been several of them:

Lenition of /d/ and /t/

When talking about the setting of this type of Liverpool lenition, the most frequent one is located in utterance-final position, according to Watson, and this applies for both female and male speakers.

Lenition inhibition in case when it is followed by a nasal segment

Nothing much needs to be said about this phenomenon apart from the linguistic fact that it is mostly caused by the lenition to a fricative.

Knowing the inner lenition phases, one can grasp the whole phenomenon easier and with more understanding. Hence, an image located below shows the crucial steps which form the complex process of lenition with the aim of more accurate apprehension :

	Affrication		*Fricativisation*		*Debuccalisation*		
stop	→	**affricate**	→	**fricative**	→	**glottal** →	**zero**
k	→	kx	→	x	→	h →	∅
t	→	ts	→	s	→	h / ʔ →	∅
p	→	pf / pɸ	→	f / ɸ	→	h →	∅

Figure 2: Processes of lenition (Watson, K. (2006). Lenition and Segmental Interaction: Evidence from Liverpool English (and Spanish). *An Ambilingual Interdisciplinary Journal*, 1(1))

Based on this linguistic scheme, certain words were built. When listing the concrete examples this rule applies to, according to Kevin Watson, the most significant ones would be:

back [bax], dagger [daɣə], shot [ʃɒs], what [wɒh], shop [ʃɒɸ], pad [paz] (2006, p. 3)

All these processes connected to lenition are partially linked to the vowels, which are extremely important part of any language, and hence should be considered separately and with special care. There is no better way to talk about them than through comparison. There is certain dose of dissimilarity between Liverpool English vowels and Northern English varieties ones. In words like: ‘bath’ and ‘dance’, this ‘a’ is considered a short one [a] in Liverpool

English, and a longer one [ɑ:]. This later one can be detected in the south of England. What is more, using the words ‘palm’ and ‘start’, Watson discusses the ‘a’ phoneme which is again distinctly pronounced in Liverpool as opposed to other, neighbouring areas. It is the front vowel [a:] in Liverpool English, and the back [ɑ:] somewhere else. Moving on to the next set of words, and these are: ‘book’, ‘cook’ and ‘look’. The pronunciation of this ‘u’ vowel is again different in Liverpool and elsewhere. In Liverpool English, it is pronounced as the long [u:], as opposed to the ones found in the south who pronounce it as the short [ʊ].

Another difference between the unique Liverpool English and other Northern Englishes, considering vowels, is the presence of diphthongs. The standard ones are considered to be these: [əʊ], [aɪ] and [eɪ]. In opposition to those, in other Northern English languages, there is widely accepted usage of monophthongs.

Moving on to the system of consonants where there are also some dissimilarities between Liverpool English and other, Northern English dialects. For instance, the letter ‘r’ can be problematic when it comes to its pronunciation. Using these examples: ‘car’ and ‘park’, Watson explains that ‘r’ here is not pronounced in Scouse because of its non-rhotic features, i.e. These words are “r-less” (2006, p. 14). This, hence, represents one way in which one can pronounce ‘r’ in Scouse dialect. Another way can be seen in words like: ‘mirror’ [mɪrɛ], ‘American’ [əmɛrɪkən], ‘breath’ [brɛθ], ‘straight’ [streɪt]. In these examples, ‘r’ is “realised as a tap” (Watson 2006, p. 14). Nevertheless, there are cases where ‘r’ actually is pronounced in Scouse dialect, and these, according to Watson, are the ones: ‘red’ [ɹɛd] and ‘right’ [ɹaɪt] (2006, p. 14,15). Their pronunciation can be thanked to their initial position in the words. The following letter, or in this case phoneme, to be taken into consideration is [g], but exhibiting similarity. By taking Watson’s examples into account, I should demonstrate the peculiarity of this phoneme: it is pronounced in ‘thing’ [θɪŋg] and ‘singer’ [sɪŋgɛ] in Liverpool English, rather than being left out as in ‘singing’ [sɪŋgɪn] when it takes place at the final position (2006, p. 15).

“The vowels and consonants used by the middle classes, together with suprasegmental features of rhythm and intonation, are largely Anglo-Irish in origin” (Knowles 1973, p. 33).

4. Grammar

Grammar in general can be defined as a set of rules which serve as the basis for the proper language expression. Every society has its hierarchy which includes a variety of socio-economic class members. It is hard to unite all the classes as far as the grammatical structures are concerned because there are some differences owing to the age, geographical areas etc. In this research paper, I will be mostly concentrated on those middle-class ones, due to the fact that they are the most numerous ones. The following examples are actually some Scouse grammatical "errors" which have become a part of everyday speech in Liverpool and hence are the most representative ones.

4.1. The most common grammatical phrases

Hasn't have

According to Knowles, one of the "grammatical accidents" is *hasn't have* form. It is believed that this is a combination of *hasn't got* and *doesn't have*. Here is the sentence example: "It *hasn't have* to be a proper story" (1973, p. 40). The avoidance of *got* is presumably due to the reasons on socio-linguistic ground.

Collocation of *same* with *all*

"Everybody that comes in here, they *all* speak the *same*" (Knowles 1973, p. 40).

Had have

"*Had I've known* what was in store for me,.."(Knowles 1973, p. 40). This grammatical form is tolerable in conversational style, but unacceptable in academic, formal one. What is more, it can be found in many English varieties.

The subject replacement

The following grammatical form is based on the movement of the subject to the final position in the sentence and, at the same time, being replaced by a preposition. Here are the example sentences: a) "We were coming back home, *me and these twomlands*"

b) "They appealed, *the defendant*" (Knowles 1973, p. 41).

The subject repeated

In some Northern English dialects, both the auxiliary and the subject repetition is often used in communication (like in: "It were great, *were that*" or "He works hard, *does John*"(Knowles 1973, p. 42).), but Liverpudlians more often use just the subject-repeated variant: "It was great, *that*" and "He works hard, *John*" (1973, p. 42).

***There is* + plural complement**

When it comes to colloquial style, concord of number rules are not always strictly followed. Here are several examples for that phenomenon: a) "*There's ladies* in this bar."

b) "*There's these stitches* to my head."

c) "*There's lots of chaps* in the services" (Knowles 1973, p. 42).

And that

This grammatical structure is, again, part of the colloquial context and is used with the aim of shortening the sentence, so that there are no additions. Here are a few representable sentences including this structure: a) "when he goes on (i.e. On television) *and that*."

b) "the murderers *and* all *that*... all the drunks *and that*..."

c) "'s job is in fact scrubbing *and that* in a police station"

(Knowles 1973, p. 43).

Non-standard past tense forms

There are few past tense forms which can occur in colloquial style, but are highly stigmatized and hence should be avoided. These are: *I give, I seen, I have ate / broke / chose / took / wrote* (Knowles 1973, p. 44).

Adverbs = adjectives

In Scouse, there are a few examples of adverbs which can formally carry the function of adjectives. They can be seen in these two sentences: a) "We done it *easy*"

b) "He ran dead *quick*"

(Knowles, p. 44).

You was

Regardless of its archaic nature, this form can seldom be heard among Scousers. What is following is the example sentence: "What *was you* saying" (Knowles 1973, p. 44).

***I says* and *He says* (reported speech)**

In reported speech, there are several deviations from the norms of English grammar. The first one is usage of the 's' in both first and third person singular, instead of just in the third one. The next one is practice of using these present simple forms with past time reference: a) "I says, 'Well I don't like it'"

b) "I says, 'I'll wait till the visitor comes"

c) "And he says, 'I've brought you a cob of cake" (Knowles 1973, p. 44).

Them = those

There is a practice of using *them* in the place where *those* should be:

"in *them* days" (Knowles 1973, p. 44)

As* and *what

In Scouse, pronouns which are used the most are *which* and *that*, but the next commonest are *as* and *what* : a) “the only thing *as* I can remember like that”

b) “there are some *as* take it”

c) “the firm *what* was rending the gable end” (Knowles 1973, p. 45).

According to Joseph Wright, who mentioned these facts in his dialect grammar: “as being generally used in Lancashire and Cheshire, and what in the North Midlands” (Knowles 1973, p. 45).

Never = not

In order to form the negative past tense, *never* often stands in the place where *not* should stand. Furthermore, there is no difference between these two sentences: “I didn’t speak” and “I never spoke” (Knowles 1973, p. 46)

Through* and *with

These words are often used as a replacement for *on account of* phrase. Here are the accompanying examples: a) “I wasn’t expected to live *through* the blood that I lost”

b) “*With* being in the blackout, we just had a candle lit” (Knowles 1973, p. 46).

Off

With certain verbs, as a collocating preposition, the word *off* is used instead of *from*: ”He got a bollocking *off* the chargehand”, “I bought it *off* some blocke” and “She caught flu *off* her brother” (Knowles 1973, p. 46).

5. Vocabulary

Like every other language or dialect, Scouse has its distinctive set of phrases and words characteristic only for that area of Liverpool and Merseyside in general. It is hard to list all of the words and phrases, but I will try to point out the most common ones.

5.1. Phonological variants of standard words

In this chapter, I would list words with their pronunciation in square brackets in order to conjure up an original Scouse speech which can be heard on the streets of Liverpool on a daily basis. These are: *always* [ˋ owɪz], *all right* [ˋ o ˋ raɪt], *ask* [aks] (this form appears in Lancashire and Anglo-Irish), *clothes* [kloʊz], *drowning* [ˋ draʊndɪn], *elektrician* [əlɛkˋ trɪʒən], *generally* [ˋ dʒɛnli], *ignorant* [ˋ ɪgərənt], *lad* [lɑ], *nothing* [ˋ nɒθɪŋg / ˋ noθɪŋg / ˋ nʌθɪŋg], *one* [wɒn], *once* [wɒns], *old* [aʊl / aʊd], *only* [ˋ ɒʊni], *want* [wɒnt / wont / wʌnt] and *yes* [jɪs / jɛ].

In addition to this list, there is one more word which has its unusual alternative when it comes to phonology. It is the word *thing* which can be pronounced as [θɪŋ] or [θɪŋg] (more common), and [θɪŋk] (the alternative form). (Knowles 1973, p. 47, 48)

/i/-forms

Furthermore, there are certain Scouse words which are shortened versions of the standard ones and often end in /i/. What follows is the list of some of them with the suitable explanations in italics:

[bɒni] - *bonfire*, [bɒli] - *ball-bearing used as a child's marble*, [kʊzi] - *bathing costume,* [krɪzi] - *Christmas*, [prɛzi] - *present,* [foti] - *football game,* [goʊli] - *goal-keeper*, [tʃui] - *chewing-gum,* [bobli]- *bubble-gum*, [kɒni] - *condensed milk*, [bɪni] - *binman*, [brɪki] - *bricklayer,* [boli] - *bawlie, rag-and-bone man*, [ʃoli] - *shawlie, old woman in a shawl*, [oʊvi] - *overcoat*, [wɛli] - *Wellington boot*, [sɪgi] - *cigarette*, [sɑni] - *sandwich*, [tʃɪpi] - *fish and chip shop,* [baki] - *back entry*, [ɜri] - *area in front of a house*, [lɛki] - *electricity,* [lagi] - *elastic band*, ['skɒti ˋ roʊd] - *Scotland Road*. (Knowles 1973, p. 49)

Here are a few additional words which belong to this group but are not necessarily /i/-forms: [mɒgi] - *cat,* [kafi] - *café* and [dʒoʊi] - *joey, threepenny bit*.(Knowles 1973, p. 49)

/ɔʊ/-forms

The next set of words are the ones which end in /ɔʊ/, but are less common: [rɒbɔʊ] - *Robinson*, [piɔʊ] - *Peter*, [dɛfɔʊ] - *definitely*, [ˋ mɔʊ baɪk] - *motor-bike*, [kɪdɔʊ /

mi` ladɔʊ] - *kid, my lad*, [nɪgbɔʊ] - *nigger*, [jɒbɔʊ] - *yob* and [bokɔʊ] - *buck, thug*. (1973, p. 50)

5.2. Non-standard words

Knowles gives us a pretty long list of these words in his research called *Scouse: The Urban Dialect of Liverpool.* I would try and point out the most important ones:
dead - an intensifier for adjectives and adverbs (dead good, dead slow), *blind* - an intensifier (positive use - *blind* drunk, negative use - I didn't hear a *blind* thing), *back* - ago, *and all* - colloq. also, in addition, *old* - familiar, well-known, *any old* - chosen at random, *nowt* - nothing, *owt* - anything, *not on* - to refuse a suggestion, request or command, *cod on* - to pretend, *give over* - to stop, *muck in* - to share / to help oneself, *scow (off)* - to play truant / to dodge any unpleasant activity / to scive, *spell* - a short break from work / to relieve someone for a short break from work (e.g. Go for a *spell* and then *spell* the others.), *learn* - to teach, *lend* - a loan / to borrow, *bags* - to claim first refusal on (e.g. I *bags* the biggest), *bags of* - lots of / piles of, *alley* - a child's large glass marble, *back-end* - autumn (e.g. The *back end* of 1942.), *moggy* - cat, *cop shop* - police station, *corpy villa* - a corporation house, *dancers* - stairs, *blower* - telephone, *electric* - electricity (e.g. I've just paid the electric.), *drain board* - draining-board, *bread through* - bread-bin, *tin* - a plain / straight-sided loaf, *round* - a slice of bread, *butty* - open sandwich, topped with jam, sugar, condensed milk, potato crisps or chips etc., *cob* - a hunk of bread of cake / a loaf of irregular shape, *to sweat cobs* - to sweat profusely, *to have a cob on* - to be in a bad mood, *wet nellis* - a Nelson cake / a soft or cowardly person, *bunloaf* - a loaf very rich with currants and dried fruit / a stupid person, *scoff* - food / any meal (e.g. Go and get your scoff.), *loop the loop* - soup, *acker* - apple, *scrump* - to steal from an orchard, *char* - tea, *ale* - colloq. beer, *alehouse* - pub, *on the ale* - drinking (e.g. He was *on the ale* again today.), *bevvy* - a night out drinking, *bevvied* - drunk, *glimmicked / creased / knackered / shattered* - physically exhausted / run down, *skint* - penniless / bankrupt, *jigger* - entry, *joey* - the old, many-sided threepenny bit, *messages* - errands / shopping, *to do the messages* - to do the shopping, *drag* - a smoke, *nous* - intelligence / common-sense / gumption, *ignorant* - ill-mannered, *get* - term of abuse for a soft or stupid person, *last* - adjective of intense disapproval, *gear* - exclamation of approval, *skinny* - mean / tight-fisted, *nesh* - unable to withstand the cold, *left-footer / redneck* - a Roman Catholic, *cack-handed* - clumsy, *gammy-handed* - left-handed, *under the arm* - stinking, *yellow belly* - a coward, *hard - tough / fearless, hard-knock* - a tough, *lug* - ear, *lug-hole* - ear-hole, *yock* - to spit, *the Pool* - Liverpool, *the One-eyed city* - Birkenhead, *kecks* - pants / trousers / underpants, *gaff* -

headmaster, *binman* - dustman, *nipper* - a small boy, *kid* - child, *our kid* - my brother, *fellow* - man / chap/ bloke, *my fellow* - my boyfriend, *the old fellow* - my father, *my girl* - girlfriend, *the girl* - my wife, *the old girl* - my mother, *skin* - fellow, *mate* - friend, *ta* - colloq. thank you, *ay* - yes, *hiya* - a friendly greeting, *terrah-well / terrah* - good-bye, *road* - way (e.g. Get out the *road*.) (Knowles 1973, p. 51,52,53,54,55,56).

5.3. Rhetoric (hyperbole)

The vocabulary of Scouse would not be complete without the figures of speech. The most common one is hyperbole, which enriches the language a bit more. The simplest of these liguistic forms are:

Claws - finger nails, *fangs* - teeth, *boots* - shoes, *deck* - floor

Furthermore, we have phrases, which are longer, including more words, such as:

Give us a shout - Give me a call, *Couldn't knock a hole in a wet Echo* / *Couldn't knock the skin off a rice pudding* - used when talking about a very weak person

(Knowles 1973, p. 56)

Hyperbole + metaphor / simile

As expected, hyperbole does not always stand alone. The following are phrases including both hyperbole and either metaphor or simile:

Scone-head / pinhead
As thick as two short planks / As thick as the wall } a stupid person

(Knowles 1973, p. 57)

6. Connection between the Development of the Dialect with the Development of the City

Looking back into the past and into numerous key facts connected to it, one can easily notice a certain link between the historical background of Liverpool and the accompanying development of Liverpool English.

As it has already been mentioned above, Liverpool was just a small and insignificant village at the beginning, just as Scouse was but a piece of formless dialect in progress. It is believed that their improvements are intertwined. The bigger the population, the greater the number of speakers. This fact contributes to the progress of Liverpool English itself. As expected, these speakers with their various dialects considerably affected shaping of the new-coined dialect at a time.

If we want to precisely date the beginning of the development of Liverpool English (Scouse) with the exact years, 1830 would signify the starting point most accurately. From this point on, Scouse is evolving rapidly all the way to 1889. These are just approximate years emphasized by PhD. Knowles, who is also connecting this period of the language development with "the period of massive immigration from Ireland, which reached its peak in the 1840s" (Knowles 1973, p. 27). Irish people were the ones who made the most contribution as far as the language development is concerned. They added a shred of their linguistic features into the mixture of different dialects out of which part of the defined Scouse arose.

The development and growth of the city were closely linked to the industry which was growing more and more every day. All this contributed and had a huge part in this large process of Liverpool progress.

"The improvements (in communications) were largely a response to the demands of growing industry, in particular the Cheshire salt industry and the coal and manufacturing industries of Lancashire; canals were built to the Mersey, and this led to the growth of the Mersey port" (Knowles 1973, p. 29).

As for the connection transportation, the railway system developed quite a lot at the

beginning of the 19th century. If we want to talk about the exact years, in Knowles' research one can find this information: "The railway to Manchester was opened in 1830, and within a few years rail links were established with the rest of the country" (1973, p. 30). This later led to the building of the railway tunnel which is posited under the Mersey. It was finished in 1886.

Water traffic should not be left out either: "The introduction of the steam boat in 1817 made it possible for the first time to cross the water quickly and easily" (Knowles 1973, p. 30). Furthermore, as regards the water service, ferries also had a huge part in it, helping Liverpool in its further expansion. What is more, all this shaped Liverpool into such a significant port which served as a connection and the local communications midpoint which had a domination over South West Lancashire and North West Cheshire.

Be that as it may, with growing industry, the city itself was growing and prospering, both in size and in quality. All this presented a certain bait which allured new-comers and with this, the population number experienced some huge transformations for the better.

Conclusion

By searching and looking through the various sources and papers, one can find out that language in general is examined to its tiny bits, from its phonological features and theory, all the way through to its practical use by the speakers themselves. Scouse is a significant part of that huge ensemble called language. It has its particularities which give it a special charm. With its complex and unique phonology, it stands out as a separate dialect worth mentioning and discovering more and more, to the smallest peculiarities. That is the beauty of a certain dialect, its distinctive traits. There is a certain refinement in the process of travelling from the written signs on the paper, to the person who articulates them and, in that way, makes those signs alive and dynamic.

In this research paper, I have tried to describe Scouse in more detail, from its historical background and influences from its surrounding (including all those influential immigrants) to the phonetics, phonology, and morphology.

In the process of writing my research paper, Honeybone's, Watson's, Belchem's and Knowles' articles were of great help with all those detailed information and significant facts.

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