Enregisterment, Commodification and Historical Context: 'Geordie' versus 'Sheffieldish'

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Introduction

Those of us who work in the area of Language Variation and Change in the UK are only too aware of the ubiquity, both in scholarly works such as the collections of papers in Foulkes & Docherty (1999) and Auer, Hinskens and Kerswill (2006), and in the media, of reports of the levelling of dialects, and, in the case of the UK, the flood of 'Estuary English'[1] sweeping away local distinctions. At the same time, there is much evidence of public awareness of and interest in regional variation. Since its launch in 2005, there has been an overwhelming response to the BBC Voices project, which invited listeners and readers of the project website (www.bbc.co.uk/voices) to contribute their words for certain concepts, and to take part in activities such as an accent recognition test. An internet search for any named dialect of British English will yield a wide variety of hits from scholarly e-publications to personal webpages and blogs. This presents a paradox which has puzzled me for some time: is the concurrence of dialect levelling and public awareness of distinctiveness just a case of 'you don't know what you've got 'til it's gone' or is there a more significant relationship between the social factors which lead to levelling and those which foster appreciation of dialect?

In this paper, I trace the growth of awareness of the existence of a distinct urban dialect in two major cities in the north of England: Newcastle-upon-Tyne and Sheffield, the location of which can be seen on the map in Figure 1. I examine texts from the 19th century onwards to determine how features of these dialects become indexed and enregistered. I then go on to consider how awareness of a distinct Tyneside or 'Geordie' accent/ dialect arrives much earlier and becomes more widespread than that of 'Sheffieldish', and how this is reflected in the commodification of the former but not the latter.[2]

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[1] 'Estuary English' is the name given to a variety of English reported to be widespread in the South-east of England, the 'estuary' being that of the Thames. Linguists usually place the term in 'scare quotes' because reports of the spread of features this variety, both 'upwards' into RP and 'outwards' into varieties spoken as far away as Glasgow, have been so widely and inaccurately reported in the press. For a comprehensive and scholarly overview, see John Wells' page at http://www.phon.ucl.ac.uk/home/estuary/

[2] I use the term 'commodification' in the same 'narrower, more literal' sense used by Barbara Johnstone in her paper in this volume.

Figure 1: Outline map of England, showing the locations of Newcastle and Sheffield[3]

Levelling and the 'death' of dialects

Premature reports of the death of dialects are nothing new: the two quotes below are separated by more than a century, yet they essentially make the same point about mobility leading to dialect levelling.

> Due to increased mobility in recent years, European dialects have 'levelled', making it difficult to distinguish a native of Reading from a native of London, or a native of Bonn from a native of Cologne' (Auer, Hinskens & Kerswill eds. 2006)

> There can scarcely be a doubt that the genuine South Lancashire dialect, the Folk-Speech of our grandfathers and grandmothers, is fast dying out so far as oral communication is concerned. Railways and compulsory state education are making havoc of the old words. (Taylor 1901: v)

Many of the urban dialects which are reported in Auer, Hinskens and Kerswill as becoming indistinguishable are themselves the product of the same levelling and diffusing processes in the late 18th and early 19th centuries, when the enclosure of common land, the mechanisation of agriculture and the Industrial Revolution provided the 'push' and 'pull' factors which caused people to move from the countryside into rapidly-expanding industrial towns and cities. A large number of dictionaries and glossaries of individual dialects were produced in the late 19th and

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[3] Thanks to Chris Montgomery for supplying this map.

early 20th centuries, and the authors of these all repeat the same refrain: their task is to preserve or at least record a moribund dialect, and the twin factors responsible for that dialect's imminent demise are compulsory elementary education (introduced in 1870) and the railways. Mobility, both social and geographical, is seen as the cause of levelling in both the 19th and the 21st centuries. However, there is also clear evidence in the 19th century of a growing awareness of the distinctive nature of certain urban dialects and the association of these dialects with the industrial working class. Alongside the scholarly dialect dictionaries and glossaries, popular publications and entertainments appear in which dialect is written, recited and sung. Joyce discusses the significance of dialect publications in this period:

> Dialect spoke to "working folk" of all occupations and geographical locations, conferring on them citizenship in the nationalities of "Lanky", Yorkshire "Tyke" or northeast "Geordie".... Dialect literature created its own symbolic working heroes, with the characters of the Weaver in Lancashire and Yorkshire, the pitman and keelman in the northeast, embodying the symbolic virtues of the 'gradely' or the 'canny lad'[4]. (1991: 172)

With the benefit of hindsight, Joyce's account of the association of urban dialects with iconic working-class figures is redolent of Agha's discussion of enregisterment, the identification of a set of linguistic norms as 'a linguistic repertoire differentiable within a language as a socially recognised register' which has come to index 'speaker status linked to a specific scheme of cultural values' (Agha 2003: 231). The repertoire of linguistic forms outlined in dialect dictionaries and used by writers and entertainers reifies the idea of a dialect and provides models for the performance of local identity.

In their study of the enregisterment of 'Pittsburghese', Johnstone, Andrus and Danielson note that the increased mobility of Pittsburghers after World War II created, alongside opportunities for dialect contact and potential levelling, an awareness that their dialect was 'different', leading to 'talk about talk'. As a result 'regional forms are now increasingly heard as signals of authentic local identity and can be used to project localness'. (2006: 93) If we look at the history of representations of Tyneside ('Geordie') and Sheffield dialects in the UK, we see a similar pattern of mobility and contact leading to 'talk about talk' and enregisterment, but starting much earlier than in Pittsburgh. In the next two sections, I shall first consider the role of dialect dictionaries in enregistering a Sheffield dialect word and then discuss the creation of a repertoire of 'Geordie' features, both processes which began in the 19th century or earlier. I shall then go on to consider why commodification is more evident in the case of 'Geordie' than that of 'Sheffieldish'.

'Talk about talk' 1: dialect dictionaries and enregisterment

Although the collection of dialect vocabulary in the UK can be traced back at least as far as John Ray's *Collection of English Words, not generally used* (1674), the publication of dictionaries of specific dialects reached its peak after the formation of the English Dialect Society in 1873. In both Newcastle and Sheffield, dialect glossaries were published in the early 19th-century, suggesting that interest in, and

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[4] 'gradely' and 'canny' are roughly equivalent terms of approval in the Lancashire/ Yorkshire and Tyneside dialects respectively.

awareness of, the local dialect had already been established by that time. In both locations, there is a long history of such publications, stretching from the 1820s to the present, as can be seen in Table 1.

Tyneside/ Northumberland	Sheffield
John Trotter Brockett *A Collection of **North Country** Words* (1825)	Joseph Hunter *The **Hallamshire** Glossary* (1829)
R. O. Heslop ***Northumberland** Words* (1892	Abel Bywater ***Sheffield** Dialect* (1839)
Scott Dobson *The **Geordie** Dictionary* (1961);	S.O Addy *A Glossary of Words used in the **Neighbourhood of Sheffield*** (1888)
Scott Dobson *Larn Yersel' **Geordie*** (1969).	Derek Whomersley ***Sheffieldish**: a Beginner's Phrase-book* (1981)
Douglas Percy *Geordie-English Glossary* (2001)	David Battye *Sheffield Dialect and Folklore Since the Second World War* (2007)

Table 1: 19th- and 20th-century Dialect Glossaries from Newcastle and Sheffield

An examination of the titles of the glossaries in Table 1 shows progressive enregisterment and reification of the urban dialects. In Newcastle, the first dialect dictionaries refer to the 'North Country', then 'Northumberland', with the popular label 'Geordie' not being applied to a dictionary until the 1960's. Hunter's *Hallamshire Glossary* gives a rural-sounding name to what is ostensibly a dictionary of Sheffield usage ('Hallamshire' is the western part of Sheffield)[5], but by 1839, dictionaries are specifically announcing themselves as describing the 'Sheffield dialect', with the slightly humorous popular term 'Sheffieldish' appearing in 1981. In the first case, we see an increasing narrowing of focus as the urban dialect is reified as an entity separate from the dialect of the county in which the city of Newcastle is located. By contrast, the idea that the dialect of Sheffield is distinct enough to merit its own glossary is there in the early 19th-century: if anything Hallamshire is a narrower area than 'the neighbourhood of Sheffield'. However, the naming, or rather, nicknaming of the urban dialect as 'Sheffieldish', comes relatively late. The citation from Joyce (above p. XX) links the 'naming' of a community and their dialect ('Lanky', 'Tyke', 'Geordie') with the sense of citizenship of the urban working class, so perhaps the use of the popular names 'Geordie' and 'Sheffieldish' in the titles of dictionaries produced in the second half of the 20th century is significant.

The publications by Dobson (1961, 1969) and Whomersley (1981) differ from the 19th-century dialect dictionaries in that they are not scholarly, philological publications, but what have been termed 'folk dictionaries.' The covers of these 20th -

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[5] This is probably because Hunter's glossary was produced as a 'spin-off' from his much larger volume *Hallamshire* (1819). This was a work of topography, and the title reflects Hunter's topographical and antiquarian interests.

century 'folk' dictionaries present stereotypical characters associated with the city and the dialect, thus reinforcing the link between linguistic forms and iconic local identities. Dobson's cover shows the original 'Geordie': a miner, identified as such by his miner's helmet and carrying a giant leek. The leek represents the miners' favourite hobby of growing show leeks, the subject of fierce competition in every mining community in the North-east of England. The 'Sheffieldish' dictionary interestingly gives us, not the iconic Sheffield figure of the male steelworker, but a female stereotype: the helpful Northern housewife with headscarf[6]. She is depicted as answering a question posed by another 1980's stereotype: an American tourist with baseball cap, huge camera and equally huge cigar. The tourist has a question mark over his head and a map in his hands, and the woman is saying: 'Bowchief?? Oh, tha meeans BEECHIF, luv!' The joke is that the Sheffield suburb is spelt BEAUCHIEF but pronounced /biːtʃɪf/, creating a shibboleth to catch out incomers or 'off-comed 'uns' as they are known locally. So, in both cases, the cover of the dialect dictionary evokes a humorous but affectionate stereotype.

In dialect dictionaries, we see the process of enregistering certain features by claiming them as distinctive of the dialect. One of the most well-known Sheffield dialect words is *mardy*. I find that locally-born students always know and claim to use this term and it has recently been given national currency by Sheffield-based 'indie' band Arctic Monkeys, who are noted for singing in 'their own' accent and using lyrics that refer to local places and use local dialect words: *Mardy Bum* was one of the most popular tracks on their debut album *Whatever you say I am, that's what I'm not* (2006)[7]. Hunter does not include *mardy*, but gives us the word from which it is derived: 'a **marred** child is a spoilt child'. Whomersley, on the other hand, gives us the word *mardy,* defining this as 'easily upset', and illustrating the definition with a cartoon in which a man is turned away from his wife, saying 'Ahm not talkin' – tha's upset mi!'.

In fact *marred* meaning 'spoilt' in the sense of 'over-indulged' was and still is much more widespread: the first citation in OED with this meaning is from Thomas Pennant (a native of Flintshire, North Wales) in 1790:

> A marble groupe..with London and Commerce whimpering like two marred children.

That this word was current in Sheffield in the 19th century is demonstrated by the OED's citation from the *Sheffield & Rotherham Independent* 3 Aug. **1874:**

> *Mard* adj.   Pettish, peevish, used in speaking of children.

The English Dialect Dictionary has *mard/ marred* recorded in Cheshire (in England, but neighbouring Thomas Pennant's native Flintshire), the Lake District, Lancashire, West Yorkshire (including Sheffield), Nottinghamshire and Staffordshire. Later citations in OED are from D.H. Lawrence, representing the dialect of Nottinghamshire, a county which is contiguous with Sheffield:

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[6] The reason for this may be that, by 1981, the steel industry in Sheffield was already in decline. Indeed, Whomersley's dictionary was published as a guide for incomers relocating to Sheffield for white-collar jobs.

[7] See Beal (forthcoming) for a discussion of the part played by Arctic Monkeys in the enregisterment of Sheffield dialect.

1911: *White Peacock* III. vii. 493 'The little devils are soft, mard-soft'
1913 *Love Poems* 53 Eh, tha'rt a mard-'arsed kid.

Mard/ marred seems to have been more widespread than *mardy*, which EDD cites as occurring in Sheffield, Nottinghamshire and Staffordshire only, a much more restricted area. OED also has citations from Lawrence for this word:

1913 *Sons & Lovers* vi. 127 'Now, Miriam,' said Maurice, 'you come an' 'ave a go.' 'No,' she cried, shrinking back. 'Ha! baby. The mardy-kid!' said her brothers.
1915 *Rainbow* i. 12 Young Tom, whom he called a mardy baby.

That the adjective is still current in Nottinghamshire in the late 20th century is confirmed by its appearance in a citation from the Nottingham-born novelist Alan Sillitoe:

1979 *Storyteller* II. xv. 198 'Get some bleddy oil,' Percy said in a mardy, rasping sort of voice, as if he was on a picnic and not at a funeral.

It seems that *marred* has remained in the NW midlands (this is the word I used as a child on the Cheshire/ Lancashire border), whilst the East Midlands dialects increasingly prefer *mardy.* As a term of reproach used to children, it is exactly the kind of dialect word that tends to survive, passed on from parent to child and older to younger playmate or sibling. Today, both Nottingham and Sheffield speakers would claim *mardy* as a word distinctive of their dialect and it also appears in a folk dictionary of Derbyshire and East Midlands dialects (Scollins & Titford 2000). Entries in the online *Urban Dictionary* likewise agree on the (East) Midlands distribution of this word:

A word popularly used in the Nottingham/East midlands area of england. Words with a similar meaning include: stroppy, moody, sulky, grumpy, childish etc.

A word used commonly in the Ilkeston - Heanor area of Derbyshire meaning the person is a 'cry-baby' or scared to attempt something.

*Childish, easily upset, cowardly - a word restricted to an area between Leicestershire in the South and South Lancashire/South Yorkshire in the North.
http://www.urbandictionary.com/define.php?term=mardy

Dialect dictionaries, from the 19th century to the present day, thus play a part in enregistering a word as belonging to a certain dialect, and the use of these words in songs and other entertainment, from the 19th-century music hall to the 'indie' bands of the 21st century, consolidates the association of these dialect words with specific localities and the symbolic values attached to them. In England, Northerners are stereotypically hardy, in opposition to the despised 'Southern Softies'[8], so *mardy* is an apposite term of contempt.

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[8] See Wales (1999) for further discussion of the binary oppositions perceived between 'North' and 'South' in England. In 2008, I observed a telling example of this on a billboard on Sheffield Railway Station. A new chewing gum with a soft liquid centre was advertised as 'softer than a shandy-drinking

'Talk about talk' 2: The 'Geordie' Repertoire

I have noted elsewhere (Beal 2000) how popular texts of various kinds, from dictionaries, to songs, cartoons and the kind of commodity discussed in Johnstone's paper in this issue, establish for Tyneside a fairly stable repertoire of 'Geordie' features used fairly consistently from the 19th to the 21st century. This repertoire of Geordie features, set out in Table 2, can be found in music-hall songs of the 19th century and persists in dialect writing of the late 20th and early 21st centuries.

'Geordie' spelling/ pronunciation	SE spelling/ RP pronunciation	Wells' Keyword	Examples
<oo>, /uː/	<ou>, <ow>, /au/)	MOUTH	*oot, broon, pooder, doon, mooth*
<ee> /iː/	<igh> , /ai/)	PRICE	*neet, (aal) reet*
<or> /ɔː/	<ir>, <ur>, <er>, /əː/	NURSE	*borth, forst, sorface, porsonal*
<ye>/ ɪə/	<a>, /ei/	FACE	*fyes, Gyteshead*
<aa> /aː/	<ow> /ou/) or <a> (/ɔː/)	THOUGHT	*knaa, waalk, aal (ways)*
divvint /dɪvɪnt/	*don't* /dount/	N/A	*div/ divvint* only
<or> /ɔʀ/	<er>, /ə/	*lett*ER	Word-finally *in beggor, scarpor, remembor, nivvor*

Table 2. The repertoire of Geordie features.

The last of these <or> for word-final <er> indicates a feature not easily represented in semi-phonetic spelling, the Northumbrian Burr (a uvular trill with secondary lip rounding). The only feature which I found had disappeared from the repertoire by the late 20th century was the use of <ye> for <a> in FACE words: interestingly, one of the features that Watt (2002) found subject to levelling in the late 20th century.

The repertoire of Tyneside English was enregistered early enough for it to be used in performative contexts in the 19th–century music halls. As Katie Wales (2006) points out, some of these music-hall songs overtly comment on the differences between the dialect of Newcastle and those of the South and/ or Standard English:

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southerner'. Shandy, a mixture of beer and lemonade, is, of course, a soft drink for 'soft' southerners, as opposed to the hard drinkers of the North.

Some performers certainly creatively exploited the differences between Northerners and Southerners and their dialects. Joe Wilson's song *Varry Canny* [1890] begins:

A Sooth Country fellow one day says te me
Ye Newcastle foaks is queer tawkers
Ye puzzle us sair wi' the words you'll not find
I' Johnson's or Webster's, or Walker's[9]-'
(Wales 2006: 138)

This extract demonstrates awareness on Wilson's part (and, presumably, that of his audiences) that the variety of English spoken in Newcastle was widely recognised as different from that of the 'Sooth Country' which, in turn is aligned with the codified Standard of the famous lexicographers named in the song. This early and widespread evidence of enregisterment is less prolific in the case of Sheffield. A small number of 19th-century songs were written in Sheffield dialect, such as *The Cutler's Song*, which is included in Bywater's glossary, and there were dialect almanacs produced in 19th-century Sheffield, as in other towns and cities in Yorkshire. However there is no evidence from Sheffield of the kind of commodification that Johnstone has demonstrated to be so ubiquitous in Pittsburgh. Newcastle is another matter: all kinds of commodities bearing slogans in 'Geordie' can be bought there. As Johnstone found in the case of the Pittsburgh material, these artefacts are selling 'authenticity': The 'borth sortificat' illustrated in Figure 2 is pink and would be bought for a baby girl (you can get a blue one for a boy!) to prove that she is a 'genuine Geordie'. The 'Geordieland' logo, incorporating the iconic Tyne Bridge, suggests that Geordies are separate from the rest of England: a 'Geordie Nation' (Beal 2004). These are sold in tourist offices, but it's most likely that the recipient would be the parent of a child born to someone who had moved away from Tyneside: diasporas form an important market for such commodities.
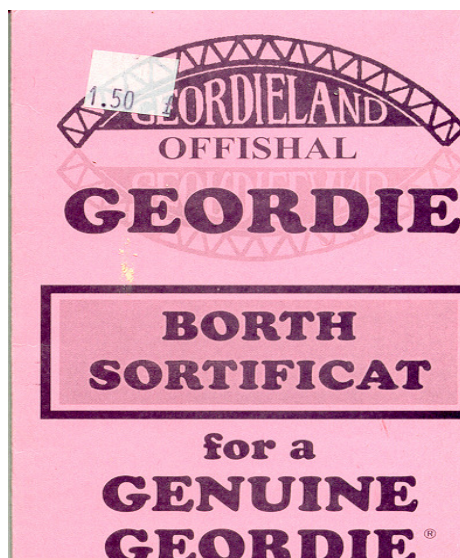

Figure 2. Geordie 'Borth Sortificat'

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[9] Johnson's, Webster's and Walker's refer to the dictionaries of Samuel Johnson, Noah Webster and John Walker. The last-named was an elocutionist, who wrote both the *Critical Pronouncing Dictionary* (1791) and the *Rhyming Dictionary* (1775), either of which could be intended here.

The mug illustrated in Figure 3 tells us how we can know a 'Genuine original Geordie' The punch-line 'divvint he canna be telt' ('Don't: he can't be told') alludes to the stereotypical intransigence of the 'Geordie': 'he can't be told' means 'he won't be contradicted'.
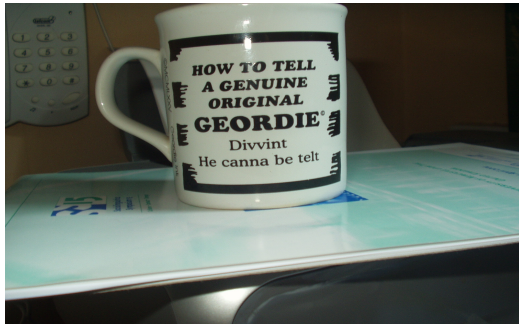

Figure3: Geordie Mug

Why is it that, when both Sheffield and Newcastle dialects appear to have been reified in the 19th century, and features of each dialect enregistered as characteristic of these, one dialect has gone on to be commodified while the other has not? To answer this, we need to look at the history of each city and each group of speakers.

A Tale of Two Cities: mobility, enregisterment and commodification

According to Johnstone (this issue) local speech becomes a potential commodity when third.-order enregisterment has begun, due in large part to geographic mobility. Long before the population movements of the 19th century, the dialect of Northumberland was singled out as one of the most distinctive in England. John Hart in his *Orthographie* (1569) views the dialects of the far North and the far South-West as equally 'beyond the pale' when he states:

> if any one were minded at Newcastell uppon Tine, or Bodman in Cornewale to write or print his minde there, who should iustly blame him for his Orthographie, to serve his neyghbours according to their mother speech.

When improved roads make leisure tourism possible in the 18th century, and aspiring Northerners seek their fortune in London, explicit comments on the dialect of Northumberland/ Newcastle become more frequent. In his *Tour thro' the Whole Island of Great Britain,* Defoe mentions dialect with reference to only two places: like Hart, he sees the speech of Northumberland and Cornwall as the most distinctive. On the former, he has this to say:

> I must not quit *Northumberland* without taking notice, that the Natives of this Country, of the antient original Race or Families, are distinguished by a *Shibboleth* upon their Tongues in pronouncing the Letter *R*, which they cannot utter without a hollow Jarring in the Throat, by which they are as plainly known, as a Foreigner is in pronouncing the *Th*: this they call the *Northumberland R*, or

> *Wharle*; and the Natives value themselves upon that Imperfection, because, forsooth, it shews the Antiquity of their Blood. (Defoe,1748: III, 232-3.)

Defoe here comments on the most clearly enregistered feature of Northumbrian speech in the 18th century: the 'burr', a uvular trilled /r/ which Defoe notes is associated with authenticity in the view of the 'natives'. More normative commentators of the later 18th century are quick to condemn the 'burr' as a 'defect' in the speech of the Northumbrians:

> In the northern parts of England, particularly in and about Newcastle, we find the *r* deprived of its tremulating sound, and very awkwardly pronounced somewhat like a *w* or *oau*. *Round the rude rocks the ragged Rachel runs* is a line frequently put into the mouths of Northumbrians, to expose their incapacity of pronouncing the *r*, as it is sounded by the inhabitants of the southern counties: and indeed their recital of it has a singular and whimsical effect. (Kenrick 1773: 31)

So, by the end of the 18th century, at least one feature of Northumbrian speech, the burr, had become associated with the locality, and with the 'otherness' of this remote (from London) region. As such, it was already a source of both pride and shame. There is also evidence from this period that 'exiles' from this region were performing songs in dialect, albeit in private gatherings, as a means of reinforcing their identity. In his biography of the famous Northumbrian engraver Thomas Bewick, Robinson provides an instance of mobility leading to appreciation of the dialect. He tells us how Bewick, in a letter to his brother, John (then in London) adds a song in dialect, writing 'if you have not the above, it will add one more to your collection' (8th August 1791). Robinson goes on to comment:

> Newcastle can boast of many capital songs in the *vulgar tongue*, remarkable for their genuine wit and humour....John Bewick and his friends...would often entertain themselves with such ditties on an evening, when the work of the day was over. Though resident in London, Newcastle would ever be fondly remembered. (1887: 91)

So, as early as the late 18th century, 'Geordies' in exile were aware of the differences between their speech and that of the people they encountered in their new place of residence, and sought ways of reinforcing their linguistic identity, in this case through songs. In fact, John and Thomas Bewick would probably not have referred to themselves as 'Geordies', but my use of the term here is less anachronistic than the OED entry, or, indeed, the survey of titles in Table 1, might suggest. Katie Wales points out that its earliest use, in songs collected by Ritson (1793) is in reference to the miners who would make up much of the audience in the music-halls of Tyneside, and who became 'industrial icons' of the region, as noted in the citation from Joyce above (pXX).

> My contention is, that thanks to popular culture, by the mid-19th century at the latest the miner and keelman had become industrial icons of the region, and the label *Geordy* affectionately and proudly reflected this. (Wales 2006: 135)

This association of dialect with iconic working-class characters is surely enregisterment by another name. When, in the second half of the 20th century, the

'Geordie' dialect becomes commodified in commercial products such as folk-dictionaries and souvenirs, 'Geordie' is already a recognisable brand, associated with clear visual icons such as the Tyne Bridge and the miner. Sheffield, however, has to share the character of the 'Tyke' with other major cities in Yorkshire, notably Leeds and Bradford, as well as smaller towns such as Huddersfield, Halifax and Barnsley. The extracts from Hunter and Whomersley below demonstrate how the identity of Sheffield and the Sheffielder seem at all times to be interchangeable with those of Yorkshire and the Yorkshireman.

> The present collection gathered in the district called **Hallamshire,** on the southern border of that great county….It is hoped that after all that has been done to illustrate the verbal archaisms of **Yorkshire**, the further contributions contained in this volume may not be wholly useless. (Hunter 1829: xxi)

> A **Sheffielder**…being proud of his city and of being a **Yorkshireman**…easily feels snubbed…. Those who have these attributes will find the **Sheffielder** an absolute joy…. Nowhere else in the world can you find anything like this delightful **Yorkshire** accent. (Whomersley 1981)

It is true that 'Geordie/ Newcastle' and 'Northumbrian/ Northumberland' have also been used interchangeably, but, rather than 'Geordie' identity being embedded in 'Northumberland', the former supercedes the latter, because Newcastle is the only major city in the region and a true regional capital, whilst in Yorkshire Sheffield, Leeds and Bradford have jockeyed for position since the 19th century, with Sheffield often coming off worst because of its marginal position on the southern boundary of the county.

In a perceptual study of Northern English dialects (Montgomery 2007), participants were asked to name the dialects of which they were aware and place them on a blank map of England. The resulting map showed that there was overt awareness of a 'Geordie' and a 'Yorkshire' dialect, but 'Sheffield' was never mentioned. This lack of recognition of 'Sheffield' as separate from 'Yorkshire' seems puzzling given the early cultural prominence of the city. Although it was later to become known as England's 'Steel City', Sheffield's identity was established very early as the source of superior cutlery: Chaucer's *Reeves Tale* refers to a 'Sheffield Thwittel' (a type of knife). The industry developed through a system of small workshops run by 'little mesters'. Workers came from the immediately surrounding areas, and strategic marriages were arranged between members of craftsmen's families.

> For a brief period between 24th November 1653 and 5th December 1660 the marriage registers of Sheffield parish record the place of residence for both partners…. No bridegroom came from further north than Leeds or further south than Nottingham and all but ten of them lived within ten miles of the centre of Sheffield….Between 1625 and 1649 the fathers of 23% of apprentices lived in Sheffield township, 20% in rural parts of Sheffield township, 41.3% within 21 miles, and only 16.2% 21 miles or more away. Hey (1998: 33-4)

Even in the 19th century, when 'big steel' created a demand for workers in Sheffield, in-migration from distant parts of the British Isles was on a much smaller scale than elsewhere. Commenting on the 1841 census, Hey notes:

The distances that some migrants had travelled were greater than in previous centuries – 327 Sheffielders had surnames beginning with Mc and 82 had names beginning with O' – but on the whole the catchment area was similar to what it had always been. (1998: 145)

Thus, Sheffielders in the 19th century did not experience the disruption of networks or the mobility that would lead to awareness of dialectal differences and hence third-order indexicality and enregisterment. The early Sheffield dialect dictionaries of Hunter (1829) and Addy (1888) are associated with topography, defined in the OED as 'the accurate and detailed delineation and description of any locality'. Their work celebrates what is unique about Sheffield and its dialect, but in an inward-looking way. Addy's glossary includes a great number of local place-names, street names etc. An example of this is:

AMERICA, the name of a field in Dore, and also in Cold-Aston.
The one in Cold-Aston is said to have been so called on account of its remoteness from the village

Such information could be of no interest to anybody outside the immediate environment of Sheffield.

It was in the 1980s, when de-industrialisation began to lead to job losses in the steel industry, that Sheffield's close-knit networks became disrupted. Whomersley's dictionary was published as a humorous guide to incomers when the relocation of National Health Service jobs to Sheffield created an influx of white-collar workers. This shift from an industrial economy to one based on 'eds and meds' has continued to the present day: Sheffield's two universities and two NHS hospitals are amongst the city's largest employees, and the 50, 000 students make up about one tenth of the city's population. Of course, this is not one-way traffic: young people from Sheffield attend universities in other parts of the country, and workers are relocated from as well as to Sheffield. This has created the diasporic expatriate community that could potentially create a market for the kind of commodity we have seen exists in Newcastle. There is at least one website for expat Sheffielders, the Sheffield Expats Register and Forum, on which memories of Sheffield are exchanged. The postings often refer to, and use, dialect. A posting from 'Chris W' on 31st August 2006 requests information about Whomersley's dictionary:

I am trying to find someone who knows who published a book called "Sheffieldish". (Sheffield Dialect)
It was published by somebody in sheffield in conjuction with the Star newspaper, but it has since dissapeared[10] and I would like to get in contact with ever it was
Sheffield Forum http://www.sheffieldforum.co.uk/showthread.php?t=139176

There are a number of replies pointing 'Chris W' to Whomersley's book, and lamenting the fact that it is no longer on sale. On 6th November, 2006, 'Firesmudge' posted the following:

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[10] Here and elsewhere, I have reproduced postings on the website exactly as they appear, including misspellings.

I would love a copy had one but someone borrowed it & never got it back. Would be great to have again to practice my accent no that I'm livivng in deepest darkest Scotland.
Let me know if there is a definate source fo it, I had the paperback "red & white "Tha means beechief luv2 version"

What is interesting about this thread is that 'Chris W' turns out to be Whomersley's son, and that he is seeking information about the copyright holder of his father's book because he is about to publish one of his own and, presumably, either needs to obtain permission, or, to take a more cynical view, has started this thread as a marketing exercise. 'Chris W' posted the following on 21st June 2007:

I wanted to know if there is still interest in local subjects. I am glad to see there is. It is odd how things can be in fashion one minute and out the next, so i thought i would ask the forum to see if the interest was still there.
I recently published book a book on Sheffield based on this interest, but it is very different to Sheffieldish and does not contain ANY of the material. Mine is a quiz and walk around book - so look out for it - it is in most of the shops.

The book referred to here is presumably *So You Know: Sheffield?* (2006), a quiz book advertised on the author's website www.soyouknow.co.uk as follows:

It's a great thing to have at parties or Xmas, or why not send it to an Ex Patriot [sic.]?

Chris Whomersley has clearly identified a market for the commodification of facts about Sheffield but even he has not yet seen fit to produce the range of dialect souvenirs to be found in Newcastle. One reason why this has not yet happened in Sheffield could be that, unlike Newcastle, the city has not yet become a tourist destination, so the market for these commodities is more restricted. If we compare the two cities' visitor websites, this difference is apparent. The NewcastleGateshead[11] site has the following:

The cosmopolitan city of NewcastleGateshead was formed when Newcastle and Gateshead joined to become a single visitor destination linked by the River Tyne, the area's famous bridges and inspired by the Quayside, [Newcastle](#) and Gateshead's iconic destination.

A favourite English city-break destination it really has something for everybody:

http://www.visitnewcastlegateshead.co.uk/site/around-the-region/newcastlegateshead

The Sheffield site opens as follows:

Sheffield is a great place to be…you'll soon realise why we're so proud of our city. We just love it.

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[11] NewcastleGateshead is not an official place name. As the website explains, the name was coined when the two conurbations, Newcastle on the north bank of the Tyne and Gateshead on the south, pooled their resources as a single visitor attraction.

What's more, we're pretty sure you will too. Electrifying entertainment, exciting events and astounding attractions are bound to get you hooked.
http://www.sheffield.gov.uk/out--about/tourist-information

So, whilst NewcastleGateshead is already acknowledged as 'a favourite English city-break destination', Sheffield needs to convince the potential visitor that they will come to love the city as its residents do and, once they have tried it, they will 'get hooked'. Although they are not aggressively marketed, the Newcastle Tourist Information Centre (where I obtained the items shown in figures 2 and 3) does have a page on its website on which souvenirs are listed, including the following:

We stock many Geordie titles including Larn Yersel' Geordie, Passports, Dictionaries and Cookbooks. They explore the Geordie dialect and its amusing connotations.
Price £1.50 to £3.75
Postage and Package: UK from £1, Europe from £1.35, Worldwide from £1.55
http://www.newcastle.gov.uk/core.nsf/a/souvenirlist

It would appear that Sheffield is lagging behind Newcastle in the processes of enregisterment and commodification. Both cities were associated with a particular industry prior to the industrial revolution, both experienced the growth of industry in the 19th century followed by de-industrialisation in the late 20th and the development of an 'eds and meds'/ service economy in the 21st . However, the different demographics and patterns of social networks in the two cities, along with the embedding of 'Sheffield' identity in a broader 'Yorkshire' one, led to the identification of 'Geordie' as a local identity and its associated dialect much earlier than 'Sheffield'. This earlier branding of 'Geordie', together with the markets created by a diasporic expat community and a the development of tourism created the conditions for the commodification of 'Geordie' in a range of items from folk-dictionaries to souvenir mugs and tea-towels. This process is still in its infancy in Sheffield, but the range of publications which, like their predecessors Hunter (1829) and Addy (1888) combine dialect with what might be termed 'topography' – facts and figures about the locality, suggests that the commodification of 'Sheffieldish' might not be far away.

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So You Know www.soyouknow.co.uk
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Visit NewcastleGateshead http://www.visitnewcastlegateshead.co.uk

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