# Derbyshire Dialect in the Seventeenth Century.

FROM THE BAKEWELL PARISH ACCOUNTS.

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N April 27th, 1677, the people of Bakewell decided that 'for the prevention of the many mischeifs and inconveniences' which had fallen upon the town ' for want of a due inspection into, and passing of the accounts of the severall officers', a constant register should be kept 'wherin all Accounts, that is to say, of Constables, Churchwardens, overseers of the poor and highways are to be engrossed yearly in particulars.' Evidently some of the Bakewell officers had allowed themselves too much for their own expenses; had spent too much on ale when bargaining with various workmen to be engaged on repairing the church; had been too generous to vagrants passing through the town. After 1677, when their expenditure is checked, very few of the items are disallowed, and one realises afresh how keen were the traditions of public service, and how large a part the church played in local administration. This 'constant register' so begun is found written at the end of the volume containing the earliest Bakewell register of births. marriages and deaths; through the care of the vicar and churchwardens, this volume was recently sent away for rebinding, and a most excellent job was made of it. The churchwardens of 1677 would approve of this expenditure, and the philologist and historian of to-day are grateful also.

Much useful information on social conditions can be obtained from the accounts. The churchwardens record details of their expenditure when the church was 'butified'. They pay for vermin killed within the parish, one shilling for a fox head, 2d. for an 'urchant,' and 4d. for a raven's head. New bell ropes are purchased and oil for the bells; payment is made to the ringers on days of rejoicing, with beer, bread, cheese, fire and candle-light on Nov. 5th. The constables arranged for the carrying of the hue and cry,—let us hope more effectively than Dogberry, though their relatively small expenditure casts a little doubt on their zeal. There is an entry for 1684, when Richard Stafford was constable:—

'Paid a messinger to carry A hue & cry to
Edensor About takeinge ye Robbers on
chappell faire day

o. o. 3'

When the town was concerned more nearly, they were perhaps more enthusiastic in their pursuit of wrong-doers. Godfrey Fouljamb's accounts, 1679-80, contain the following item:

'given to ye Clerk of ye peace o lmite 2 buchers of Chesterfield for bringing unlawful meat to sell

0.4.0'

In 1679, Willm Bloodworth spent 6/2d.

'with Takeing a woman to ye Justises which ffrancis Burton charged with ffelony and keeping her: 2: nights & a day and whiping her.'

The overseers of the poor gave money to the poor people of the parish and arranged for the care of the sick, while on the churchwardens and constables devolved the less pleasant duty of arranging for the speedy transportation elsewhere of the sick who did not belong to Bakewell. The poor but ablebodied vagrant seems to have been quite generously treated. John Greaves and Richard Ouldfield, overseers of the poor in 1679, bought

'2 Coates shirt hose shewes & a cap ffor Josep Wedgwood'

at a cost of 10/7d., a miraculously small outlay in these days of clothing coupons and rising costs, but their care was evidently in vain, for a later entry is:

' paid for a sheet for Josep wedgwood o. 1. 6 for his winding & buring o. 2. 6'
They also spent 1/10d.

'in Removeing ye Dancing master.'

Of what the dancing master was guilty we are not told, probably only of inability to make a living in Bakewell. The accounts provide many vivid details for the social historian, and for the philologist there is also valuable material, as will be shown by a very brief account of the problems involved.

The fifteenth century had seen the spread of Written Standard English, with the language of London as the pattern for men in all parts of the country to imitate in their writing. By the sixteenth century all were agreed on what was the Written Standard, although all could not follow it with absolute accuracy; and, while regional dialects continued to be spoken, the existence of a Spoken Standard became acknowledged. The Elizabethans felt it necessary to show how well adapted was the English language for all types of literary composition, so that they were very concerned about the writing of the best English, and incidentally they tell us something about the standards of speech then emerging. All say that the English of those living north of the Trent and in the far west differs in important ways from the standard speech, which is that of the better-class people of London and its neighbourhood. Hart1 (1569) wants spelling reformed so that those of the north and west can readily understand how the better English of the south is pronounced.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> An orthographie conteyning the due order and reason, howe to write or paint thimage of mannes voice, most like to life or nature.

Puttenham¹ (1589) says that

'any speech used beyond the river of Trent, though no man can deny but that theirs is the purer English Saxon at this day, yet it is not so courtly, nor so currant as our Southerne English is: no more is the far Western mans speach. Ye shall therefore take the usual speech of the Court and that of London and the shires lying about London within 60 miles and not much above. I say not this but that in every shire of England there be gentlemen and others, that speak, but specially write, as good Southern as we of Middlesex or Surrey do, but not the common people of every shire.'

Verstegan<sup>2</sup> (1605) gives an example of the different pronunciations of the north and far west:

'and of this different pronunciation one example insteed of many shall suffise, as this: for pronouncing, according as one would say at London—'I would eat more cheese yf I had it'/ the northern man saith, 'Ay sud eat mare cheese gin ay had et'/ and the westerne man saith: 'Chud eat more cheese an chad it.'

Apart from these geographic variations there were also arising new social variations. During the Tudor period the lower and middle classes were becoming more prosperous, and the *nouveaux riches*, wishing to be considered correct in speech, brought in mistaken innovations. Long words were frequently used with the wrong meaning and abominably mispronounced and muddled. The women especially are attacked for attempting to popularise an affected pronunciation.

All this time, within Standard English and within the dialects, phonological changes were taking place, as a result of which the old pronunciation of vowels and

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> Arte of English Poesie.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> A Restitution o Decayed Intelligence in Antiquities.

diphthongs gave place to the sounds as we know them to-day. The changes themselves followed different lines and varying paces in the different areas, so that the development of vowel sounds in the various dialects and the development of their equivalents in standard speech are interconnected. The problems, therefore, of historical dialect study are complicated, and it becomes of first importance to have reliably located material with which to work.

Parish accounts offer the best possible material. They give a selection of the language of a small, definitely-defined area, written or fair-copied by a local man, and, at their fullest, they ensure that local words, used perhaps in one particular meaning only in a small area, will be recorded, thus supplying supplementary material for the Oxford English Dictionary, and for Wright's English Dialect Dictionary, which deals mainly with modern dialect.

The Bakewell accounts begin in 1677 and they show that since Puttenham's time the written English of Derbyshire has come to have most of its grammatical structure and a large part of its vocabulary exactly similar to that of the Standard English of that time. There is evidence also that some sounds are identical with those of seventeenth century Standard English, and following the same lines of development; others are different and develop to give the dialect sounds as we have them in Derbyshire to-day. The phonology, vocabulary and grammar of the accounts will now be discussed.

## PHONOLOGY

In most cases the Middle English (M.E.) original will be given, together with the Modern Standard pronunciation. Phonetic symbols are given in square brackets.

#### Vowels.

# M.E. a/o followed by a nasal

Standard English has now one form only for each word, e.g. thank and long, but M.E. dialects had thonk or lang also, forms in either a or o being found for the same word. Evidence from the drama and other sources shows that by about 1600 the southern form, whether in a or o, was being accepted as the normal. B. has disbondid, 'disbanded,' 1685, but no other examples of variations from the Standard.

#### M.E. a

M.E. short vowels in open syllables were lengthened so that *maken*, 'make,' eventually becomes Stand. [me:¹k]. The Northern dialects in M.E. sometimes kept the short vowel, especially in the verbs 'make' and 'take,' so giving 'mak, tak' in modern dialects in Scotland and the northern and north-midland counties, including Derbyshire. B. has *mad*, 'made,' 1682, which may show the shortening extended to the preterite.

Where M.E. a was lengthened, B. has spaid, 'spade,' 1681, and proclamed, 'proclamed,' 1689. Both of these show the normal development as described by Wyld¹ whereby M.E. a > [æ:] > [e:] > [ē:¹], and they indicate that the stage [e:] had been reached in Derbyshire at that time.

On the other hand greaves, 'graves,' 1683, speade, 'spade,' 1677, and yeat, 'gate,' 1689, show a lagging behind at the [ $\epsilon$ :] stage, from which, with other words containing the same spelling of the vowel, the development was to [ $\epsilon$ :] in modern dialect.

## M.E. ar

B. has *pertition*, 'partition,' 1684. Wyld says that ar > [ær] > [æ:r] and so Modern Stand. [a:]. If this is so, the spelling here may show the pronunciation [pæ:rti/un] but, more likely, it is simply an inverted spelling, evidence that M.E. *er* and *ar* had reached the same pronunciation.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> A Short History of English, H. C. Wyld, 1921.

guirding, 'guarding,' 1685, suggests that the sound had been retracted and lowered to  $[ \land ]$ . The E.D.D. gives examples of ar being pronounced  $[ \land ]$  in a few words here and there, but there is no record of the sound being retained in Derbyshire to-day in such words.

#### M.E. e

B. has attinding, 'attending,' 1681. The substitution of i for e is found in Tudor times in various regional dialects of north and south, but it seems to have been regarded later as a social characteristic only, showing the writer to be of lower classes.

### M.E. er

In words where M.E. er did not become ar, it became [ər] and later [^]. B. has seirg, 'serge,' 1680, showing that a pronunciation very like that of Modern Standard had been reached at that time.

## M.E. e:

M.E. long tense e: had become [i:] in Standard English by about 1533, according to Wyld. B. has favor, 'fever,' 1689, showing a retention of the [e:] sound. The E.D.D. records [fe:və] as a pronunciation for North Derbyshire in modern times, suggesting that the sound has now died out in Bakewell.

B. has also *daines*, 'dean's,' 1683, again showing an [e:] sound unrecorded by the E.D.D.

# M.E.cr

B. has heare, 'hair,' containing M.E. long slack  $\varrho$ : Wyld says that this sound retained the  $[\epsilon:r]$  pronunciation, then becoming  $[\epsilon:r]$  and so Modern Standard  $[\epsilon:r]$ . The spelling here shows the  $[\epsilon:r]$  stage and is comparable to the greaves spelling, noted above under M.E. a. It would be interesting to know if there were ever a [he:r] pronunciation in Bakewell. None is recorded by the E.D.D. The two words may have developed some way together, or the r of 'hair' may have caused a divergence.

### M.E. o

B. has *Munday*, 'Monday,' 1679, from O.E. Monandæg, with shortening of the o. Such a spelling is common for the fifteenth to the seventeenth centuries, according to the N.E.D.

### M.E. o:

B. has shewes, 'shoes,' 1679 and 1683, and showes, 1678, containing M.E. long tense o:. The former must indicate a [u:] or [iu:] sound; while the latter probably indicates an [a:u] sound, later becoming [e:u].

## M.E. o:

B. has toow, 'two,' 1678, and tow, 1677, containing M.E. long slack  $\varrho$ :. It is difficult to be quite certain what pronunciations are implied, probably [tu:] for the first and [ta:u] later [te:u] for the second.

# M.E. $\varrho:r$ and $\varrho:r$

B. has coarts, 'courts,' 1678; coartes, 1682; corts, 1680, court, 1680; coardes, 'cords,' 1678; Poarch, 'porch,' 1682. These spellings show an [o:r] pronunciation, leading to the Modern Standard [o:].

For M.E. o:, B. has boords, 'boards,' 1682, and boards, 1683. The second shows an [o:r] pronunciation, the first an [u:r]. In most words the Standard pronunciation is now [o:], except for poor, moor and a few others, where [pu:ə, po, mu:ə, mo] are found. The E.D.D. records that [buəd] is still found in north Derbyshire.

# M.E. i:

B. has pointe, 'pint,' 1689, points, 1689, pont, 1689. The M.E. form is  $p\bar{y}nt$ , but for the present Standard development there must also have been a form  $p\bar{v}nt$ . Wyld considers that by the end of the sixteenth century M.E. oi and i had probably reached the same stage [ai], and while some dialects remained at this stage, the Standard [ai] was also developed. In Derbyshire [ai] still remains from M.E. i:

## M.E. u

B. has pilpitt, 'pulpit,' 1689, pilpit, 1689, together with pulpit and pillpit. I have found no explanation of the fronting, which seems to occur in no other words, and does not persist in modern dialect speech.

## M.E. u:

B. has pond, 'pound,' 1689. In O.E., lengthening frequently took place before such consonant combinations as mb, nd etc., but unlengthened forms persisted in some areas. While [pu:nd] gave Modern Stand. [pa:und], the dialects, especially in the north and north-midlands, kept [pu:nd] which was sometimes lengthened much later. A modern Derbyshire pronunciation is [pa:nd], and the above spelling, pond, may show a sound between [5:] and [a:] which is indicated by the evidence in the drama also.

## M.E. ai/ei

B. has neales, 'nails,' 1677, 1684, 1689; neailes, 1680, 1689; lead, 'laid,' past part., 1679, 1683, 1689; meamed, 'maimed,' 1679, 1683, 1690; maimed, 1679; weating, 'waiting,' 1681, 1682, 1690, 1691; waiting, 1685; freay, 'fray,' 1682; wayhne, wayhen, 'wain,' 1685, conveiyhing, 'conveying,' 1684; distraned, 'distrained' 1690; receait, 'receipt,' 1682; recat, 1689.

Wyld gives the stages in the development of this sound as  $[a^i > æ^i > æ: > e: > e: > e:^i]$ . The ea spellings above show the stage  $[\epsilon:]$  and from this sound comes [e:] in modern Derbyshire speech. Of the other spellings, eai, ai, ayh, eiyh suggest the tense [e:], perhaps with diphthongization already beginning.

The word key [ki] from O.E. cæ3 would now be pronounced [ke:¹] like the other words containing M.E. ai, if the word had developed on normal lines. B. has keay, 1678, showing [kɛ:] or [ke:] and this has given modern Derbyshire [kje:].

# M.E. ai/ei followed by r

B. has stares, 'stairs,' 1677 (three times); repar, 'repair,' 1689; repare, 1681.

It seems to me that these words, like distraned, recat, favor etc. should contain an [e:] sound, but there is no evidence of it or any development from it to-day. The E.D.D. gives an [e:] sound in 'stair' and 'pair' in some parts of the country, but not in Derbyshire. If such a sound is heard to-day in any part of the county in these words, I should be grateful for information of it.

B. has cheere, chair, 1679; pa for mending ye Cuckstoole & for a cheere for ye same. It is difficult to know whether to treat this here or under M.E. a:r, since the M.E. forms are chaere or chairer, and, according to the N.E.D. the word was originally of three syllables, later of two, chayer. It may be supposed that in some parts of the country a form che:-yer existed and from this [t/i:ə] developed, which remains to-day in the midlands.

# M.E. eu, iu

B. has butifie, 'beautify,' 1677, 1682. This spelling is common in Derbyshire at that time and may indicate [bu:] instead of the Standard [biu:].

#### CONSONANTS

The unvoiced stop becomes voiced in *Dublicates*, 'duplicates,' 1690 and in *stable*, 'staple,' 1683, while f is voiced in *sertivecat*, 'certificate,' 1689. The spelling *shoffull*, 'shovel,' 1682, may show an unvoicing of the v, but it is more likely to be an inverted spelling, suggesting that since f had frequently become voiced, v could therefore be spelt f.

B. has yate, 'gate' very frequently, 1678, 1679, 1680, 1684. This sound [j] from O.E. 3 is found in both north and south in early and in modern dialects.

Occasionally s becomes [f], as in B. Shuanna, 'Susanna,' 1690, and Shusand, 'Susan,' 1689. This remains in

modern dialects in Derbyshire and elsewhere in isolated words.

The medial consonant is lost in *Wensday*, 'Wednesday,' 1679, which had become a common pronunciation all over the country by that time; in *Bawcross*, 'Ball Cross,' 1682; *sirpis*, 'surplice,' 1682, *sirpus*, 1684.

The final consonant is lost in hew in cry, 'Hue and cry,' 1679; and sise boords, 'sised boards,' 1683. Such reductions of consonants in unaccented syllables are fairly common in English. They arise from carelessness and laziness and then are gradually accepted as correct. The addition of a final consonant, on the other hand, arising probably from excessive care in speech, is found more among the lower classes and is evidence of social dialect. B. has Shusand, 'Susan,' 1689, and Churchwardings, 'Churchwardens,' 1682. The spelling galland, 'gallon,' 1689, is a non-social byform.

#### UNACCENTED SYLLABLES

Vowels in unaccented syllables are reduced in the following: flaggin, 'flagon,' 1677; Amonition, 'Ammunition,' 1679; Amonishon, 1685; bargin, 'bargain,' 1683, showing the modern pronunciation; sirpus, 'sirplice,' 1684; agitent, 'adjutant,' 1689; malyshe, 'militia,' 1679.

#### VOCABULARY

WORDS OR FORMS USUAL IN THE SEVENTEENTH CENTURY, UNUSUAL OR OBSOLETE NOW.

after, 1686, at the rate of.

beayly, 1683, bailiff.

buisness, 1677, business.

clot, 1685, clod.

collers, 1680, collars for bells.

coppe, 1682; for a Coppe & Irons for ye Townes slead 0. 6. 0. N.E.D. cop—movable frame attached to front of wagon or farm cart, or projecting all round to extend its surface.

cramps, cramping the steeple, 1677, 1700.

Cuckstoole, 1679.

Corfew, 1682; Curfur, 1691, curfew.

droughts, for leading Stone with their droughts, 1677, teams.

farder, 1690, farther.

fat, 1699, vat.

geale, 1679, 1682; goale, 1685, 1692, jail.

gudgeon, 1687.

hack, 1681, tool for breaking or chopping up.

helme, 1643, handle.

holeberts, 1687, halberds.

juriors, 1687, jurors.

lidyeat, 1689; lidyate, 1683, a lidgate or swing gate.

like, 1685, yt had like to have killed.

milner, 1679, miller.

nugg, 1677, a nog or nogg, peg or pin.

officiors, 1687, officers.

revets, 1693, rivets.

rubbidge, 1700, rubbish.

rundlit, 1689; rundlet, 1689, 1690, a cask or vessel.

saxton, 1680, saxston, 1677, sexton.

sind, signed, 1677.

stale, 1682, handle.

standish, 1669, a stand containing ink, pens, etc.

stoop, 1680, 1683, 1684, 1678.

supersedious, 1681; Going with Justis Gibs warrand to serve George Browne & serching ye house & geting ye Supersedious charges 0. 8. 6.

N.E.D. supersedeas, you shall desist.

tabling, 1694, boarding.

tale, 1696; News that broad money must go by Tale; tale money—money reckoned by counting pieces taken at nominal value, not by weight.

tenters, 1685, attendants.

tenting, 1679, attending.

thimbles, 1682; for 2 thimbles; a Latch & a Staple o. 1. 6. N.E.D. ring or socket in heel of a gate.

wakeing, 1696; for wakeing with widow Deane, sitting up with.

waiting, 1689, watching.

# WORDS WHICH WERE DIALECTAL IN THE SEVENTEENTH CENTURY

causing, 1682, causeying, paving.

hinginge, 1684, hanging.

piggin, 1697, piggen, 1696, a small pail or vessel; now used for a ladling can.

summer trees, poles decked with flowers erected during summer games.

urchants, 1681, 1682, hedgehogs. The form ending in t is confined mainly to Yorkshire and the neighbouring counties.

wiskit, 1684, wiskets, 1677, basket.

# WORDS FOUND EARLIER THAN THE N.E.D'S. FIRST REFERENCE.

short, 1679; paid to mr. Dodson which he was short of his assesment.

The earliest date for this particular meaning in the N.E.D. is 1697.

sile, 1683, sill; one of the lower framing timbers of a cart. First N.E.D. reference 1875.

wether doore, 1683, weather door, a louver hole in a church steeple, N.E.D. first reference 1753.

FORM OR MEANING NOT FOUND IN N.E.D.

Apprabaton sermon, 1683, trial sermon.

Colters, 1687; fr Boulsters Pinns & Colters for ye church yates.

couching, 1687, 1700; fr 3 load of lime & couching 0. 4. 0. Not in N.E.D. in this sense. E.D.D.—to slake lime, to lay or spread lime for slaking—Cheshire.

extraordinary, 1687, 1688 (3 times); extriordinary, 1687; pd fr my Ordinary & extrordinary 0. 1. 0.

The N.E.D. does not seem to have the word in quite this sense.

fecril (perhaps ferril or fecwil) 1698; 2 yards of green fecril for surplice bag 0. 0. 8.

Furlong, 1685, furlough, for lodginge of :5: disbondid souldiors with a Furlong to Bristoll.

Hackhalm, 1696; paid for a Hackhalm o. o. 1.

N.E.D. hack—tool for chopping or breaking; haulm, halm—collective, stems or stalks of various cultivated plants.

indite, 1678, pd for inditing ye Hay Rick o. 2. 8. The meaning of 'inditing' is not clear.

laring, 1689; for Candls laring by i pond o. o. 4. N.E.D. lair—resting place of a corpse, tomb.

E.D.D. lear—v. with up, to brighten up, found in Scotland.

The second is the meaning appropriate to the context.

payes, 1681; for payes o. o. 6. There is no indication of its meaning.

plating, 1685; for a hooke for ye yate & plating it o. o. 8. 1684, fr plateing ye bearr lane yate. E.D.D. to clinch a nail, to rivet.

searching, 1686; for searching and dressing ye church leads. N.E.D. has not this precise meaning of examining to see whether repairs are necessary.

slipstile, 1700. This compound is not in N.E.D. or E.D.D.

sprittle, 1682; pd for one sprittle o. o. 8. N.E.D. sprittle s. a shoot; v. to scrape or pick with some instrument. Neither N.E.D. nor E.D.D. has it as a tool used in cleaning.

suiting.

1682 pd Bell for washing ye poarch & bell chamber 0. 3. 0 for shooting ye Arches 0. 3. 8.

1698 for suiting ye Middle Isle 5. o. o.

1699 for suiting the Church.

for cleansing the walls and suiting & washing the 2 Isles of the Church and S<sup>t</sup> Catherines Quire in all 7. 15. 0.

E.D.D. suit of water—change of water.

N.E.D. suit to splice (a rope), mend (a bar), fit (together) yeld, 1697, ye Yeld yate. Perhaps Bakewell people can help with this word. It may be a form of old; and it may be the name of one of the gates of the church-yard. Failing that, it may mean 'aisle.' The N.E.D. gives two examples of it with this meaning for 1527 and 1535.

sceuing, 1683; sceuing up ye bells. Here a bell-ringer or builder may be able to help. N.E.D. skew—to insert or set back in an oblique manner. Are bells inserted obliquely or must we look for another meaning?

#### GRAMMAR

NOUNS.

The old plural of 'money' is found: Robd of his monys, 1687; while in the phrase clock pullises, 1697, we have the double plural. The phrase for saxton wage, 1677, shows the noun unchanged for the possessive.

An adjective is used as a noun: spent in taking a many woodstealers before ye Justises, 1682. This was fairly common from the sixteenth century, although nowadays an adjective must be used before the 'many.' PRONOUNS.

For the pronoun 'they' that is used, 1690 (twice). The is frequently written for 'they' in Derbyshire to-day, and presumably it represents a genuine pronunciation, although I myself have not heard it.

Yeld is common in field-names in Derbyshire; it is a dialectal form of O.E. hielde, helde, 'slope.' Bakewell church and churchyard lie on a steep slope.—ED.

For 'what' as is used; pd John Twigg as he gave 0. 0. 6, 1678. This is a social variation, still found in all parts of the country.

#### VERBS

A singular verb is used for the plural in which was tooke, 1679. This is a social variation, found in all parts to-day. For 'helped,' third person plural, help is found, 1678. This may be the use of the singular for the plural verb, or the word may come under the loss of final consonants.

Past participles differ from those of Standard English in two instances: tooke, 'taken,' 1679, and catched, 'caught,' 1695. Both are still heard in various parts of the country.

The present participles are more interesting. In four cases the y of the verb is omitted before the participial ending 'ing.' We find buring, 'burying,' 1678, 1679, and carring 'carrying,' 1678, with carringe, 1684. The E.D.D. does not record this for modern dialect and I have not heard it.

For the gerund 'taking' take is found.

It is hoped that the value of church accounts to the student of dialect has been shown. If anyone can inform the writer of the existence and whereabouts of other detailed accounts of the sixteenth or seventeenth centuries she will be very grateful.