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ENREGISTERMENT, INDEXICALITY AND THE SOCIAL MEANING OF 'HOWAY': DIALECT AND IDENTITY IN NORTH-EAST ENGLAND

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1. Introduction

In this chapter I consider the relationship between regional dialect and identity by focusing on a single salient dialect form, *howay,* as it is used in the UK print media and in face-to-face interaction. By salient, I mean that *howay* is 'in some way perceptually and cognitively prominent' (Kerswill and Williams 2002: 81). This prominence is attributable to at least two factors. First, *howay* is unique to the North-East of England and is widely recognised as a marker of North-East identity, in particular a working-class identity. Second, *howay* tends to be foregrounded in interaction because of the important functions it fulfils. Referentially, it means something like 'come on' and it is used generally as a directive (e.g. 'Howay, let's go'), but the precise social and pragmatic meanings associated with *howay* are context dependent, and thus variable. This flexibility in meaning first became apparent to me during a linguistic ethnographic study I conducted in two socially-differentiated primary schools in Teesside, North-East England (Snell 2009). In Section 5 of this chapter, I present some examples of the children's spontaneous use of *howay*. I begin my analysis, however, by first investigating the ways in which *howay* has been used in the UK print media (Section 4). The newspaper data allows me to broaden the scope of my analysis beyond the urban conurbation of Teesside to the North-East region as a whole, which is important because the identity of Teesside is very much bound up with a wider North-East regional identity. By comparing these two data sets I will show that *howay* is tied to geographical location and to social class,

but in no straightforward or fixed way. I begin with an account of the developing perceptual prominence and 'enregistration' of the North East dialect.

2. Enregistration and commodification of the North-East dialect.

Joan Beal and colleagues have pointed out that to outsiders 'the North-East is perceived as a single, homogeneous entity dominated by Newcastle and the figure of the "Geordie[1]"' (Beal, Burbano-Elizondo and Llamas 2012: 10; see also Wales 2006: 205). Newcastle is a city in the urban conurbation of Tyneside, which is around sixty kilometres north of Teesside (see Figure 1). While there are important differences between the dialects of Teesside and Tyneside (or 'Geordie'), they do share a repertoire of regional dialect forms, including the feature that is the focus of this chapter, *howay* (for a full description of the Teesside and Tyneside dialects see Beal et al. 2012). Moreover, outside of the North-East, dialect differences are often erased in public consciousness. Recent perceptual dialectological studies have shown that Geordie is one of the most recognisable dialects in the UK, but that people associate it with the North-East region as a whole, not specifically with Newcastle (Montgomery 2007).

[INSERT FIGURE 1 HERE]

Joan Beal's work (e.g. Beal 1999, 2000, 2009, fc) allows us to better understand the perceptual prominence of Geordie from an historical perspective. She points to evidence beginning in the nineteenth century of a growing awareness of urban dialects, such as Geordie, and the association of these dialects with the industrial working class and iconic local identities, which for Geordie include the miner and the 'unemployed Geordie with his flat cap and whippet'[2] (Beal 1999: 44). This linking of linguistic forms with social personae is

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[1] 'Geordie' is the name given to speakers from Tyneside, as well as to the variety of English spoken there.
[2] Northerners are often stereotyped as wearing 'flat caps' (i.e. a rounded cloth cap with a small brim) and owning whippet dogs. Other scholars have also noted the relationship between urban dialects and iconic working class identities. In relation to Liverpool, Crowley (2012: 107) refers to the figure of the dockworker, which embodies Liverpool working class identity. Kiesling and Winosky (2003) draw attention to the cultural model of the male

evocative of the processes described by Agha (2004: 37) as enregisterment; that is, the processes through which a repertoire of linguistic forms (a 'register') 'become differentiable from the rest of the language (i.e., recognizable as distinct, linked to typifiable social personae or practices) for a given population of speakers'. These processes of differentiation work through 'appeal to *metapragmatic models* of speech, that is, culture-internal models of actor (role), activity (conduct), and interactant relationship (social relations) associated with speech differences' (Agha 2004: 25). In order to find samples of a register, a scholar must be able to observe and document as data 'regular patterns of metapragmatic typification' (Agha 2004: 29). An act of metapragmatic typification occurs when a language user makes evaluative judgements about different linguistic forms in a way that points to the metapragmatic models of speech they associate with those forms. Such evaluative behaviour may be explicit, as when an individual assigns an evaluative label to a register (e.g. describing someone's speech as 'posh' or 'slang'), or implicit, as when an individual's semiotic behaviour (e.g. utterances, facial expressions, bodily movements) implicitly evaluate the indexical effects of co-occurring forms in interaction (Agha 2004: 26). Social and cultural information about a register is transmitted across space and time when similar acts of metapragmatic typification are repeated by multiple language users and linked together into a 'speech chain' (Agha 2003: 246-247).

Beal's (2000, 2009) account of the enregistration of 'Geordie' focuses on explicit metapragmatic discourse, as expressed in proscriptions on language use, dialect dictionaries, songs and cartoons. She shows how features of Geordie were enregistered in the nineteenth century and later 'commodified' in products sold as part of an emerging tourist industry (e.g. folk-dictionaries, mugs, tea-towels and cookbooks) (see also Johnstone et al. 2006 and

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working class steelworker in Pittsburg (see also Johnstone [2010: 35]on the 'authentic Pittsburgher' and working class men). These iconic figures are male, reflecting a long enduring association between urban working-class identity and masculinity (Scott 1988).

Johnstone, this volume, on 'Pittsburghese'). She concludes that 'Geordie' has now become a recognisable brand, one which can be exploited in the marketing of the North-East region.

In this chapter I narrow the focus to just one feature of the North-East dialect and suggest that it has become an 'enregistered emblem' (Agha 2007: 235) of North-East working class identity. To say that *howay* is an enregistered emblem is to claim that it is widely recognised as marking a particular social persona (Agha 2007: 235). That it is widely recognised can be seen in the way this form has been commodified in novelty mugs, cards, T-shirts and key rings (Figure 2). Evidence that *howay* is linked to a particular social persona can be found in UK newspapers, where it is used to evoke images and figures related to the North-East and to working class culture. I explore these media images in Section 4. The introduction of interactional data in Section 5 complicates this account, however, by introducing an alternative set of meanings for *howay*. I end the chapter by drawing upon linguistic anthropological approaches to indexicality in order to understand the relationship between the media representations of *howay* and its use in interaction. Before beginning the analysis, I therefore introduce the notion of indexicality in the next section.

[INSERT FIGURE 2]

3. Indexicality and stance

In using the term indexicality I am drawing upon Ochs' (1992, 1996) model of direct and indirect indexicality and Silverstein's (2003) 'orders of indexicality'. Ochs (1992, 1996) describes how language has the capacity to index (i.e. 'evoke') a range of socio-cultural information, such as affective and epistemic stances, social acts (e.g. commands), and social identities (including roles, relationships and group identities). These different 'situational dimensions' are related to one another, Ochs argues, through a network of cultural associations, norms and expectations, which are shared by members of a community. She

refers to these as 'culturally constructed *valences*' (1996: 417). It is via these links or 'valences' that, in theory, any situational dimension can help to constitute the meaning of any other situational dimension.

'Stance' is a central component of Ochs' model and has become an important concept in much recent sociolinguistic work (see e.g. Jaffe 2009). It refers to the processes through which speakers use language (along with other semiotic resources) to position themselves and others, draw social boundaries, and lay claim to particular statuses, knowledge and authority in ongoing interaction (cf. Du Bois 2007: 163). Meanings indexed by interactional stances may be fleeting, but these local social meanings may help to constitute more enduring social identity meanings. For example, tag questions in English have been associated with a feminine linguistic style. But the link between tag questions and the social category of gender is not direct; it occurs only through a series of ideological conventions which associate a stance of hesitancy with female identity (Ochs 1992). So we can say that tag questions directly index a stance of hesitancy and only indirectly index a female identity: '[i]t is in this sense that the relation between language and gender is mediated and constituted through a web of socially organized pragmatic meanings' (Ochs 1992:341-342). Ochs illustrates her argument in relation to gender, but the model can be applied to social identity categories more generally (including, for example, class identity).

While Ochs focuses on two levels of indexicality (i.e. direct and indirect), the work of Silverstein refers to multiple levels or 'orders' of indexicality. Silverstein's approach makes it possible to conceptualise extended chains of indirect indexicality. The process begins when a particular linguistic form or 'nth order indexical' becomes associated with social values, for example through correlation between the linguistic form and some social characteristic of the users or contexts of use of that form, so that it acquires social meaning. Johnstone, Andrus and Danielson (2006) use Silverstein's model in their account of the enregisterment of

'Pittsburghese'. They trace how first-order (i.e. nth order) correlations between the monophthongisation of the diphthong /aw/ (in words like *down*) and demographic identities (such as being from Pittsburgh, being male, and being working class) become available for further construal. They map the historical processes by which monophthongal /aw/ becomes a second order (i.e. n + 1st) index available for stylistic manipulation, such that individual speakers who use this form variably may 'use it less when they are trying harder to sound educated or cosmopolitan, or more when they are trying harder to sound like working-class men or like other Pittsburghers' (2006: 83). Johnstone et al. (2006: 94) go on to suggest that, in addition to doing second-order indexical work, some regional forms become 'available for self conscious, performed identity work'. They argue that this constitutes a third order (i.e. n+1+1) of indexicality in which variants such as monophthongal /aw/ become even more ideologically laden and are used in self-conscious performances of a person's knowledge about the features that stereotypically constitute a variety such as Pittsburghese (Johnstone et al. 2006: 99).

Johnstone and colleagues assign actual values to Silverstein's variable *n* in order to elaborate the historical process through which Pittsburghese has come to be enregistered, but this is not meant to suggest that the process is necessarily linear. As Eckert (2008: 464) points out, Silverstein's nth order index is always available for reinterpretation because the link between form and meaning is made within 'a fluid and ever-changing ideological field'. This means that n + 1st order indexicality is 'always already immanent as a competing structure of values potentially indexed in-and-by a communicative form of the n-th order, depending on the degree of intensity of ideologization' (Silverstein 2003: 194). The point that the social meaning of a linguistic form is open to continual reinterpretation is significant for the analysis of *howay,* which takes up the remainder of this chapter.

4. *Howay* and media representations of North-East identity

I have suggested that howay is an enregistered emblem of North-East working-class identity. Evidence for this can be found in UK newspapers, where it acts as 'a shorthand' for indexing images of person and place (Wales 2006: 29-30). I investigated these images by using *LexisNexis* to search all UK newspapers for occurrences of *howay*. I focused initially on the 15-month period between November 2005 and February 2007, because this is the period during which I conducted the primary school fieldwork and I wanted to explore the kinds of images that were circulating at that time. I then decided to extend my search to include the 15-month period immediately prior to my analysis (January 2012 to April 2013)[3]. Generating two corpora meant that I could compare the use of *howay* over time, and in particular, look for evidence of an increase in the salience of *howay* and the North-East region during this period. I coded each occurrence of *howay* for the main topic of the news article (or section thereof) within which it occurred, the title of the newspaper, and whether it was a regional or national publication (and if national, whether it was tabloid or broadsheet), and whether each token occurred in the headline, photo caption or main body of the text. Summary results for topic can be seen in Tables 1 and 2.

[INSERT TABLES 1 AND 2 HERE]

In the regional newspapers, *howay* occurred frequently in local news stories, which ranged in topic and often included direct quotations from local residents (who used *howay* as part of their quoted speech). There were no equivalent examples in the national press and thus such instances are categorised as 'other' in Tables 1 and 2. While there was no change over time in the frequency of occurrence of *howay* in the regional newspapers, the number of tokens doubled in the national press from 24 in the first corpus (2005-2007) to 48 in the

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[3] This analysis originally appeared in a conference paper presented at iMean 3, University of Western England, 18-20 April 2013.

second (2012-13). This increase occurred in the topic categories of football, where references usually involved Newcastle United (e.g. 'Howay the lads!'), and celebrity, which in this case meant North-East celebrities (e.g. 'Howay, Cheryl [Cole] is back at last'). In particular, there were many more references in the second corpus to television and popular music stars from the North-East, including the singer Cheryl Cole, television presenters Ant and Dec, the comedian Sarah Millican, and the 'reality TV' stars from MTV show *Geordie Shore*[4]. There were no references at all to Cheryl Cole or the stars of *Geordie Shore* in the earlier corpus but multiple references in the later corpus.

The rise in popularity of North-East celebrities and football teams goes hand in hand with a rise in prominence of the North-East region and dialect. In Montgomery's (2012) terms, the North-East dialect has increasing 'cultural prominence'. In two perceptual studies, one of the North of England and one of the Scottish-English border, Montgomery found that Geordie was the dialect area most commonly recognised by his research participants. It was also the most well regarded dialect area based on an analysis of the labels and evaluative comments participants used. Montgomery interprets these findings in relation to the cultural prominence of the North-East, which he measures by using the relative exposure of the area in the print media. He searched *The Times* and *Sunday Times* for all mentions of Newcastle-upon-Tyne between 1989 and 2004 (the date of the first study) and then from 2004 to 2008 (the date of the second study). Mentions per head of population were already high in 1989 (0.00404, the highest figure of the ten locations Montgomery investigated), but increased by 128 percent between 1989 and 2004 and by 222 percent by 2008 (Montgomery 2012: 659). Montgomery's study provides further evidence for Beal's (2009) point that the North-East region and dialect has become a recognisable brand imprinted in the national consciousness, and it helps to explain the increase in use of *howay* in the national press.

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[4] This is a British reality television series set in the city of Newcastle. It is broadcast on MTV and is the British adaptation of the American MTV show *Jersey Shore*.

In the regional newspapers most tokens occurred in the main body of the news articles (88% in Corpus 1 and 74% in Corpus 2), but in the national press just over half of all occurrences were in headlines. Here it was often the case that even the broad referential meaning of *howay* (i.e. 'come on') was lost, being replaced with a splash of North-East colour amidst familiar tabloid word play, as when it was used as an alternative for standard English 'away' (e.g. 'Anchor's howay', 'A weekend howay', 'Up, up and howay'). In such examples, *howay* is bleached of its referential meaning (i.e. 'come on') and what remains are indexical meanings related to the North-East region and its associated figures.

Overall, then, *howay* was used in the national press to index the North East or persons associated with the North East. As well as indexing regional identity, however, it seemed also to be linked to social class. First, it occurred most frequently in tabloid newspapers (67% in Corpus 1 and 88% in Corpus 2, see Table 3), such as *The Mirror* and *The Sun,* which are read by a predominantly working-class audience. The latest figures from the National Readership Survey report that 32 percent of those who read *The Sun* fall into the category ABC1 and 68 percent fall into the category C2DE (which are taken to equate to middle class and working class respectively, based on occupation). Compare this with the broadsheet newspaper, *The Guardian*, whose readership is 85% ABC1 (NRS Oct 13-Sept 14). Drawing upon a different data set (the British Household Panel Survey), Chan and Goldthorpe (2007) find that broadsheets, taken as representing 'highbrow' cultural taste, are read more frequently by individuals in higher-status occupational categories, while the reverse is true for 'lowbrow' tabloids (2007: 1109). Second, the topics that prompted the use of *howay* in both corpora were evocative of working class culture. Football is traditionally associated with the working classes (though this association has recently been challenged, see e.g. Crompton 2008: 4), as are the other sports that occasioned the use of *howay* in the corpora, darts and pigeon racing (which also have 'a "northern" feel about them' [Townson 1997, reproduced in Dobre-Laza

2003: 2]). Celebrity culture, particularly in relation to reality TV stars, is also perceived stereotypically to be a working-class preoccupation. As Tyler and Bennett (2009: 389) point out, '"celebrity preferences" are now regularly invoked alongside other social cues, such as accent … as a way of making class judgements' (cf. Bourdieu 1984).

Based on this broad analysis of the frequency of occurrence of *howay* in the newspaper corpora and the topics associated with its use, it is possible to hypothesise that an nth order indexical model linking *howay* with regional and class identity circulates through the 'mass mediated speech chains and networks' of which these newspapers are a part (Agha 2007: 132). Further evidence for this emerges in the close analysis of specific examples from the newspapers. One example in particular stood out to me because it did not fit neatly into any of the main topic categories that were part of my coding scheme. (It is categorised as 'other' in Table 2). This was a mock letter published by the tabloid newspaper *The Daily Mirror* in February 2012.

The background to the letter is that Director General of the BBC, Mark Thompson, is preparing to step down. A cartoon character who appears in the newspaper, Andy Capp, applies to replace him. Andy is a working-class figure from Hartlepool, a town in the urban conurbation of Teesside. He was created by cartoonist Reg Smythe (also from Hartlepool) in 1957 and has appeared regularly in a comic strip in the *The Daily Mirror* and *The Sunday Mirror* since that time. By the time of Smythe's death in 1998 the comic had been syndicated to newspapers across the world. As a result of this popularity, Andy has become, to quote Russell (2004: 270), 'one of the great universal figures of amiably dissolute working-class masculinity'. His iconic status has been commemorated in a public statue in Hartlepool, which was erected in 2007 (Figure 4). Andy's application to the BBC is imagined thus by *The*

Daily Mirror (this is an abbreviated form of the letter – see the online version of the newspaper [Reade 2012] for the full form):

Extract 1: Excerpts from Andy Capp's letter to the BBC printed in *The Daily Mirror*

1   Dear Stuck-up Southern Jessies,

2   I've never written one of these types of letters before but the dole says it's the only way I can

3   get me beer money, so here's what they call a job application […]

4   Let's be honest, it's just not workin' is it? And there's no one with more knowledge about

5   not workin' than me. Except for Flo. Who's studied me not workin' first-hand.

6   But then, being an old lass who's never gonna trouble the Miss Hartlepool judges again,

7   she's obviously barred from top jobs with youse anyway. Which is the one thing you're

8   gettin' right.

9   […] I'm throwin' me cap in the ring. Well, gettin' Flo to. I don't want to strain me arm as

10   there's a darts match down the pub tonight.

11   Your problem is you've lost touch with the common man. I count meself as a daytime TV

12   expert (apart from between opening time and 3pm when I go back to me couch for me

13   afternoon nap) an' youse are gettin' it all wrong […]

14   […] Your football coverage would be much more enjoyable if we could see more action

15   replays of the fights. Especially between the panellists. This is what we want to see our male

16   role models doin' on the telly.

17   Instead what do we see? Dancin'. Every time Flo switches the box on I see some jessie in

18   too-tight trousers and a blouse prancin' around lookin' like they need a pie and 10 pints. [...]

19   BBC3 and 4. Howay, man. What are they aboot? Arty-farty garbage watched by one man

20   and his dog […]

[INSERT FIGURES 3 AND 4]

In this mock letter *howay* appears together with other enregistered north-east forms, such as the vocative *man* (line 19, 'howay man' being a very common collocation), *youse* for second person plural (lines 7 and 13), possessive *me* (which is used here categorically and thus does not reflect real life use – see Snell 2010) and some features of pronunciation represented through non-standard orthography (e.g. 'aboot', 'gettin'). This repertoire of forms is linked with particular social practices and with the kind of person who engages in such practices: a north-eastern man who is interested in drinking beer, eating pies and playing darts, and ultimately hiding all of this from his long suffering wife Flo. Andy presents himself as a 'real' man, one who enjoys fights, but does not like art or other cultural (and stereotypically feminine) pursuits like dancing, and who stands in stark opposition to soft 'Southern Jessies'[5] (line 1). This news item presents a very overt, distinctive (and arguably negative) metapragmatic stereotype of North-Eastern working-class masculinity[6]. Non-linguistic features, such as Andy's flat cap, are part of this stereotype (Figure 3). A picture of Andy accompanies the letter in the online version of the newspaper and this visual image further reinforces the link between linguistic forms like *howay* and a particular social persona.

I searched the corpora for other spoofs of this kind, in which a stylised North-East dialect was used for humour. I found one other example, this time in the earlier corpus. The example comes from the *London Evening Standard,* a London-based regional newspaper. It was categorised under 'football' in my original coding scheme because the news item relates to a BBC documentary on corruption in football. In this news item, a columnist parodies the

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[5] Beal (forthcoming) highlights a set of dichotomous stereotypes which have evolved over centuries and 'define the North as cold, harsh, uncivilized, poor, working-class and socialist, and the South as warm, soft, civilized, rich, middle-class and Conservative'.

[6] It is clear that residents of Hartlepool recognise Andy as a embodying a negative stereotype of the region because of the controversy that surrounded the campaign to build the commemorative statue. Although the statue was eventually erected in 2007, some local businesses had initially refused to sponsor the project 'for fear of a PC backlash' should they be associated with 'a flat-cap-wearing wife-beater' (Harris 2002).

responses of key football figures to the documentary. Among these is Paul "Gazza" Gascoigne, former England international footballer from Tyneside who is known for his drinking binges and reckless behaviour in addition to (and often instead of) his sporting achievements. His fictional response is repeated in full in Extract 2 below.

Extract 2: Paul "Gazza" Gascoigne's imagined response to a question about 'bungs' (i.e. bribery) in football (Curtis 2006)

1   Howay man, I cannet see what the problem is, like. I was regularly offered one before a

2   match, and sometimes at halftime, like. Then, after the match, me and Jimmy Five Bellies,

3   we'd be offered four or five more, like. Then we'd have a few borrels of the broon, purron a

4   pair of plastic breasts, take wor kecks off and run through the toon before hoying it all up in

5   a kebab shop. What's that? Bungs? Why aye, man, I thought yer said BUNS.

As with the previous example, the writer uses *howay* together with other salient features of the north-east dialect to develop the caricature (e.g. sentence final 'like' [lines 1, 2 and 3] and 'wor' for first person plural possessive pronoun [line 4]). This repertoire of linguistic forms is linked with particular social practices – drinking copious amounts of Newcastle Brown Ale (i.e. 'the broon') and engaging in disorderly behavior, like removing one's trousers ('kecks') and being sick ('hoying') in a kebab shop. The result is a negative caricature of Gazza as unintelligent and uncouth.

Broad qualitative analysis of the newspaper corpora suggested the existence of an nth order indexical model linking *howay* with regional and class-based identities. As discussed above, nth order values are always available for reinterpretation. In Extracts 1 and 2, this reinterpretation appears to be based on cultural values and beliefs (i.e. ideologies) that associate North-East working class identity with a lack of education and/or intelligence, anti-

social behaviour, poor eating and drinking habits, sexism, and physical masculinity (Connell 1995). In both cases, then, *howay* comes to index a particular gendered persona – the work-shy sexist or drunken lout. In the Teesside school data, however, there is evidence for a different kind of reinterpretation. I turn to this data next.

5. *Howay* in face-to-face interaction

Between November 2005 and January 2007 I conducted ethnographic fieldwork in two primary schools in Teesside. These schools were chosen deliberately to highlight a social contrast. Ironstone Primary was situated in a lower-working-class area of Teesside, and Murrayfield Primary in a lower-middle-class area (all names used in this chapter are pseudonyms). These class designations were based on 2001 Census statistics (taking into account factors such as housing and levels of employment) and government measures of deprivation. Since the pupils were living in the areas immediately surrounding their schools, the two groups of children were broadly classified as 'lower working class' and 'lower middle class'. Through ethnographic fieldwork I began to understand how these demographic differences translated into actual experience (see Snell 2009 for detail).

I made weekly visits to the Year 4 (aged 8 to 9 years) classroom in both schools and participated in school life as a classroom helper. I followed the same children into Year 5 (aged 9 to 10 years). Throughout, I spent time with the children in the playground, chatting and playing games. As a result, I was able to develop some knowledge of the children's personalities, interests and friendships, and engage with their activities both inside and outside of the classroom. After seven months, I began recording the children using a radio-microphone. This method produced a rich repository of children's spontaneous speech. The quantitative and interactional analyses presented in this chapter are based on 50 hours of

radio-microphone recordings (25 hours from each school), collected when ten pupils from each school wore the radio-microphone for half a day. These recordings were supported by the observations and field notes I made throughout 15 months of ethnographic fieldwork and informal interviews with the class teachers.

I drew upon the data to investigate grammatical and discoursal variation in the children's speech. Quantitative analyses of the distribution of linguistic variants across the two groups of children revealed familiar class-based differences: the working-class participants used more 'non-standard' and locally marked linguistic forms than their middle-class counterparts. (c.f. Labov 1966; Macaulay 1977; Trudgill 1974; Reid 1978; Wolfram 1969 – see Snell 2014 for a review). For example, there were only 7 tokens of *howay* in the Murrayfield data, 3 of which were attributable to a single speaker, Craig. In the Ironstone data there were 42 tokens from 10 different speakers (see Snell 2009 for full analysis). *Howay* was thus linked to class identity in the sense of marking differences in frequencies of use between class-differentiated groups, but analyses of the children's language use in context revealed a more complex picture.

Interactional analyses indicated that *howay* had a range of potential meanings (an 'indexical field' in Eckert's (2008) terms) related broadly to issues of authority, fair play and egalitarianism. These general meanings become more specific in local contexts of use. By way of illustration, I share below an extract from my analysis of one episode involving the repeated use of *howay* (for more detailed analysis see Snell 2012). It was recorded when nine-year old Robert was wearing the radio-microphone during a game of 'bulldog' in the Ironstone Primary playground. Bulldog is a 'tag-based' game common across England in which one or two players are selected to be the 'bulldogs' and must stand in the middle of the playground. The other players stand at one end of the playground and try to run to the other end without being caught by the bulldogs. If they are caught then they must also become

bulldogs. Robert used *howay* seven times during the fifteen-minute game (a much higher rate than any other speaker in the data set). I present short episodes from this game in Extracts 3 and 4. As Extract 3 begins, Robert is involved in an argument with Sam about whether Sam has been 'tug' (i.e. caught) and should thus 'go on' (i.e. become a bull dog).

Extract 3[7]

```
1   Robert:  go on

2            you're on

3   Sam:     I'm not

4   Robert:  yea::h

5   Sam:     I didn't know

6   Robert:  yeah you did

7   Sam:     no I never

8   Robert:  [yeah you did

9   Sam:     [(xxxxxxxxxxx)

10  Robert:  she said

11  Sam:     everybody told me [Gemma was on

12  Robert:                    [she said
```

[7] **Transcription notations (based on the system developed by Gail Jefferson [see e.g. Jefferson 1984):**

(text)	- Transcription uncertainty
(xxxxxxx)	- Indistinguishable speech
(.)	- Brief pause (under one second)
(1)	- Longer pause (number indicates length to nearest whole second)
(( ))	- Description of prosody or non-verbal activity
[	- Overlapping talk or action
[	
text	- Emphasised relative to surrounding talk (underlined words)
te:xt	- Stretched sounds (stretched sounds? Do you mean 'long sound' or extended sound?)
sh-	- Word cut off
>text<	- Speech delivered more rapidly than surrounding speech.
TEXT	- Shouting
(.hhh)	- Audible inhalation
(hhh)	- Audible exhalation

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13   Sam:     nobody said-

14            nobody said Clare

15   Robert:  just go on

16            (1.4)

17            I'll get tug in a minute anyway

18   Sam:     so

19   Robert:  howa::y

20            (2.1)

21   Robert:  howay you have to take it

22            (2.3)

23   Robert:  Chris has taken it

24            he hasn't been tug yet though

25   Sam:     yea:h

26            he doesn't know that

27            (1.5)

28            it's because I didn't-

29            I didn't even know she was on

30   Robert:  yeah but he-

31            he soon goes on

32            ((Background noise - 5.2 seconds))

33   Robert:  Sam won't take it

34   Sam:     I wasn't even-

35   Robert:  because he got tugged by Clare

36            (0.8)
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37              he should take that though
```

In line 1, Robert directs Sam to 'go on', but Sam does not accept this (line 3), Over the next six turns disagreement between the two boys is signalled through a series of opposing polarity markers (yea::h / no), broken only by Sam's attempt to account for his position in lines 11-14 (cf. Goodwin 1990, 2006: 128-9). Sam explains that he did not know that Clare was a bulldog and thus cannot legitimately have been 'tug' by her. In line 17, Robert changes tactic and tries to cajole Sam into accepting his fate by projecting a stance of camaraderie ('I'll get tug in a minute, anyway'), thus suggesting that the two boys are in it together, but this stance is rejected by Sam (line 18). Robert responds with 'howa::y' (line 19), which he articulates with an extended vowel sound in the second syllable and a distinctive fall-rise intonation, a pattern that according to Ladd (1980: 150) may be used to 'do something like a holistic "contradiction" or questioning of speaker A's assumptions'. This is exactly what Robert is doing. Moreover, the assumptions being questioned extend much further than the immediate interaction. *Howay* enables Robert to take a stance of authority with regard to the local social and moral order. Fair-play and equity are important aspects of these playground games: Sam has been tug and therefore should 'go on' just like Chris has done (lines 23, 30-31), and his resistance to do so is deemed unacceptable by Robert. Sam is thus negatively evaluated as someone who flouts the rules of the game and is not a team player. Robert continues with 'howay, you have to take it' (line 21, i.e. you have to accept that you have been caught). Sam appears to acknowledge the validity of Robert's stance when he offers further explanation for his behaviour (in lines 28-29), claiming again that he did not know that Clare was a bulldog.

Extract 4 occurs around five minutes later. Robert finds himself in a tricky situation because both he and Sam are now being unfairly marked by the bulldog (i.e. the bulldog is

standing very close to Robert and Sam with outstretched arms, ready to catch them if they try

to run). Robert attempts to negotiate his way out of this situation, again using *howay* to assert

his authority with regard to the social order.

Extract 4:

```
1    Robert:   howay you need to let u::s

2    Sam:      you need to let us out

3              (1.7)

4    Sam:      if I did that-

5              Hannah you're on

6    Hannah:   I know I am

7    Sam:      so you have to let us out

8    Robert:   you can't just stand there

9              (1.2)

10             you need to actu-

11             see what I mean

12             Nathan's just ran

13             (2.7)

14   Robert:   no if you get me here then it doesn't count

15             coz you're just letting everyone go except for me

               .

               ((1 minute 55 seconds later))

               .

16   Robert:   howay you can't guard

17             ((Background noise – 3.7 seconds))
```

```
18  Robert:   someone at least-
```

Robert's utterance on line 1 means something like 'come on, you need to move out of the way and at least let us try'. Sam builds on Robert's utterance, repeating 'you need to let us out' (line 2) and then 'you have to let us out' (line 7). Sam, who was previously at odds with Robert, thus now demonstrates alignment with him. Together they take a collaborative stance against their interlocutor, who is negatively evaluated as flouting the implicit rules and 'spirit' of the game. Robert goes on to explicate these rules in lines 8-15, and makes the authoritative judgement, 'no if you get me here then it doesn't count coz you're just letting everyone go except for me' (lines 14-15).

Around two minutes later, the same situation arises again, and Robert again takes action: 'howay you can't guard' (line 16, meaning 'you can't stand in front of us'). The use of *howay* here (and elsewhere) marks a change in footing, defined as 'a change in the alignment we take up to ourselves and the others present as expressed in the way we manage the production or reception of an utterance' (Goffman 1981: 128). There is a subtle change in 'production format' in these utterances: Robert remains 'animator' and 'author' of his words, using Goffman's terms, but now speaks on behalf of a wider moral authority (a change in the 'principal' of the utterance), in the name of 'we' not merely 'I'. Robert is appealing to a shared sense of what is considered right, fair, and acceptable within this game, and within the local community more generally, and *howay* encapsulates this appeal. So the meaning of 'howay you can't guard' (line 16) is actually something like 'come on, don't stand guard over us; it's not fair, *and you know it*'.

This was typical of the way *howay* was used during the rest of this game of bull dog, and also in the data more generally. It indexed meanings related to authority, fair play and

egalitarianism, and was often used in situations in which the speaker felt that their interlocutor had somehow infringed upon their rights. The following examples are taken from the data collected across both schools:

1) 'What you eating now then, howay' (Clare, Ironstone Primary, during a lunch-time dispute)

2) 'Aw howay Andrew, you're going to hit me' (Danielle, Ironstone Primary, trying to discourage unwanted attention from a boy in the playground)

3) 'Howay, I haven't put any bit in' (Holly, Murrayfield Primary, who feels she is not being allowed to contribute to a group task)

4) 'Howay, where's Matty man? He supposed to be going in goal' (Daniel, Murrayfield Primary, complaining when his team concedes a goal because they do not have a goalkeeper)

Robert was the most prolific user of *howay* in the data set. Indeed, across *both* schools, it was the confident outgoing children who used this feature most frequently. The status of these children likely contributed to the indexical meanings of *howay*. At the same time, the use of *howay* also helped to constitute their peer-group status. Although fleeting, the stances taken by Robert in Extracts 3 and 4, and the way that others align with him, reinforce his identity as a confident peer-group leader.

6. Discussion

Drawing upon my analysis of the newspaper corpora I suggested that an nth order model linking *howay* with region and class is circulating in public discourse (or at least within the print media) and thus is available for n+1st order reinterpretation. I then presented two different types of metapragmatic data: comedic spoofs appearing in newspapers, which

explicitly link *howay* with regional, class and gender-based stereotypes on the one hand, and interactional utterances which implicitly evaluate the indexical effects of this form on the other. These two data points highlight the existence of alternative schemes of value. This should not necessarily surprise us. As Agha (2003: 242) points out:

> [t]here is no necessity … that … evaluations [of a register] always be consistent with each other society-internally; in fact their mutual inconsistency often provides crucial evidence for the co-existence of distinct, socially positioned ideologies of language within a language community.

In this case the data suggests the co-existence of two different ideologies related to language, region and class. The comedic spoofs of the Andy Capp job application and Gazza's testimonial reinterpret the nth order link in terms of an ideology that ties north-east working-class identity to characteristics and practices such as laziness, toughness, propensity to drink and fight, and sexism. This ideology likely has most currency for those outside of the North-East whose exposure to the North-East register is fragmented, occurring mostly through popular media and fiction rather than face-to-face interaction (cf. Agha 2007: 166; Agha 2003: 242). The children's interactions, on the other hand, involve reinterpretation based in a local ideology about what it means to be working class in the north-east of England (cf. Eckert 2008: 462). Going back to Ochs' model of indexicality (set out in Section 3), it is possible that components of the meaning of 'north-eastern working class identity', such as toughness and egalitarianism, help to constitute Robert's authority in relation to the local social and moral order and his appeal to fair play in taking corrective action. Robert's stance in Extracts 3 and 4 is confrontational, but some more general sense of solidarity attached to *howay* (derived from the association with working-class culture) may serve to mitigate the

potential face-threat and thus retain the spirit of camaraderie in the playground game[8]. The highly localised dialect form has acquired this 'indexical potential' through the 'history of usage and cultural expectations surrounding that form' (Ochs 1996: 418). Included in this history is its prominence in the media, its association with Newcastle United Football club and North-East celebrities, and its appearance in novelty items that celebrate the North-East dialect and culture, in particular working-class culture. Meanings related to region and class are thus part of the wider indexical valence of *howay* even though more immediate indexicalities of stance and act may be most relevant for speakers/hearers when they use/interpret this form in interaction (as in Extracts 3 and 4).

The two sets of data appear to evoke contrasting personae: a sexist lout who lacks regard for social decorum versus a reliable peer-group leader who values fair play. It is possible to see these personae as two sides of the same coin, however. Wales (2006: 28) points out that it has historically always been the case that against the negative images of the industrial north of England and northern speakers 'there are the more positive stereotypes … of the resilient Northerners, hard-working and humorous in the face of adversity, blunt speaking and straight-forward, friendly to strangers… they have "no side": they are what they seem' (see also Beal 1999: 44). Andy Capp might be a work-shy sexist, but he is also straight-forward, down to earth, honest with his views and humorous, the 'amiable' as well as 'dissolute' of Russell's (2004: 270) description (quoted above). This more positive evaluation of Andy and North-East identity helps to explain why working-class north-easterners are able to enjoy the Andy Capp cartoon strips (for a similar argument in relation to the cartoon 'Sid the Sexist' in Newcastle-based satirical magazine *Viz*, see Wales 2006: 31 and Beal 2000).

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[8] Compare Bucholtz's (2009) analysis of the Mexican American youth slang term güey and Kiesling's (2004) analysis of dude.

7. Conclusion

In this chapter I have shown that it can be illuminating to focus on a single salient dialect

form in order to explore more general linguistic and social processes. I used my analysis of

howay to investigate the relationship between language, regional identity and class in the

North-East of England, focusing on different kinds of data and different levels of social

meaning. Throughout I have described the link between *howay* and regional and class identity

as an nth order indexical link and explored its relationship with other levels of social meaning

by considering how different ideologies bring about different n+1st order reinterpretations.

This is not to suggest, however, that the link between *howay* and region/class necessarily

temporally precedes the link between *howay* and other levels of social meaning, such as the

interactional stances described in my analyses of the Teesside school data. Social meanings

associated with region and class may help to constitute social acts and stances related to fair

play and egalitarianism in interaction, but at the same time, working-class speakers who

repeatedly take such stances are constructing a particular kind of working class identity (Snell

2010: 649, Ochs 1992). In other words, the children's language use informs ideologies of

region and class at the same time as it is shaped by them (cf. Bucholtz and Hall 2005: 591).

The result is a circular chain of indexicality in which meaning flows from local interactional

stances to styles, personae and macro-level identity categories, and then back to local

interactional use. Certain types of metapragmatic data may highlight particular points in the

chain as being most salient, but it is difficult (if not impossible) to see where the chain begins

and ends (Snell 2010: 650; Moore and Podesva 2009: 479). As Silverstein points out, the

dialectic nature of indexicality means that 'there is no possible absolutely preideological –

that is – zero-order, social semiotic' (1998: 128-9; 2003: 196–197).

There remain some question marks over my account, however. I have posited the

existence of an nth order model linking *howay* with regional and class-based identities and

suggested this may inform speakers' use of *howay* on the ground, but I have not provided

direct evidence of uptake of this model by the children who participated in my research.

Describing the local interactional meanings of *howay* does not in and of itself tell us about the

images of person or place that the children themselves associated with this form. Additional

data is needed. It would be useful for example to elicit explicit metapragmatic commentary

from the children and other Teesside speakers via interviews, focus groups and

questionnaires; matched-guise techniques and other tests of perception would also be

valuable. Unfortunately, none of these methods were included in my original Teesside study. I

end therefore with a call for future studies of language variation and identity to include

multiple data points and an extended analytic tool kit, for as Bucholtz and Hall (2005: 607)

point out, 'identity in all its complexity can never be contained within a single analysis'.

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Figure 1: Map of the North-East

[INSERT MAP]

Figure 2: Commodification of *howay*

Figure 3: The cartoon strip character Andy Capp

Figure 4: Statue of Andy Capp

Table 1: Corpus 1 (2005 – 2007) – Distribution of *howay* across topic in National and Regional newspapers

	National		Regional NE		Regional (other)		Total
Football	8	33%	6	19%	2	25%	16
Celebrity	5	21%	0	0%	2	25%	7
Newcastle/NE	5	21%	1	3%	2	25%	8
Language	4	17%	12	38%	1	13%	17
Other Sport	1	4%	0	0%	1	13%	2
Literary	1	4%	3	9%	0	0%	4
Other	0	0%	10	31%	0	0%	10
	24		**32**		**8**		**64**

Table 2: Corpus 2 (2012 – 2013) – Distribution of *howay* across topic in National and Regional newspapers

	National		Regional NE		Regional (other)		Total
Celebrity	20	42%	2	6%	4	50%	26
Football	19	40%	13	38%	2	25%	34
Newcastle/NE	4	8%	1	3%	1	13%	6
Language	2	4%	2	6%	0	0%	4
Other Sport	2	4%	0	0%	1	13%	3
Literary	0	0%	2	6%	0	0%	2
Other	1	2%	14	41%	0	0%	15
	48		**34**		**8**		**90**

Table 3: Occurrences of *howay* in tabloid and broadsheet newspapers

	Corpus 1 (2005-7)		Corpus 2 (2012-13)	
Tabloid	16	67%	41	85%
Broadsheet	8	33%	7	15%
TOTAL	24		48	

Language and a Sense of Place. Enregisterment, Indexicality and the Social Meanin Language and a Sense of Place. Language and a Sense of Place. Studies in Language and Region. Chapter. Chapter. Dialect - a variety of a language spoken by a group of people and having features of vocabulary, grammar, and/or pronunciation that distinguish it from other varieties of the same language. Â The study provides invaluable dialects and inexhaustible material not only to penetrate into the deepest roots of language, its historical past but can sensibly, without bias and one-sidedness to evaluate and understand the characteristics of the formation and development of literary norms, different social and professional dialects and language options. Â They help to characterize heroes more brightly, to transfer identity of their speech, and sometimes serve also as means of satirical coloring.