

WHY DOES EVERYONE SAY EVERYBODY?: COMPOUND INDEFINITE PRONOUNS IN RURAL ONTARIO*

Alexander Russell
University of Western Ontario

1. Introduction

When one considers the size of the great waves of British settlement that swelled Upper Canada's population in the 19th century, it may be surprising to some that their speech has had little apparent impact on the way that English is spoken in Canada today. The accent and speech patterns in the province of Ontario retain far more in common with the speech of American states like Pennsylvania and New York, which provided much of English Canada's founding "Loyalist" population, than with the British settlers who would later come to outnumber them. One must remember, however, that these settlers came from all corners of the British Isles (Chambers 2004: 227) and if they were to have an impact, those who shared a specific trait as part of their regional speech would have had to make up a significant share of the settler population.

My recent examination of the speech of the District of Muskoka, a rural area in central Ontario, has revealed an overwhelming tendency (97%) among older speakers (classified as those born before 1954) to prefer compound indefinite pronouns ending in *-body* (*somebody, nobody, etc.*) to those ending in *-one* (*someone, no one, etc.*), two seemingly redundant sets of closed-class grammatical items that are not generally perceived in everyday conversation. In the following article we seek to show that an historical preference for the set of compound indefinite pronouns ending in *-body* in Ontario is likely the result of a shared preference for the same set of pronouns amongst the three largest groups of British settlers in 19th century Ontario, the Scots, the Northern Irish and the northern English. We will propose an underlying dialectal explanation for this preference in North Britain, compare usage of the variants in everyday British speech today with that of Ontario, and will show how a certain change in usage amongst the young in Muskoka has parallels in the British Isles.

2. Settlement Patterns

2.1 The Settlement of Ontario

The founding population of Upper Canada, modern-day Ontario, consisted largely of groups of settlers from the American colonies who arrived in the late 18th and early 19th centuries. An initial group, known as the *United Empire Loyalists* made up of refugees from the American Revolution was soon followed by a much larger group of Americans mainly in search of their own arable land,

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known as *Late Loyalists*, who came, for the most part, from the Midland states of Pennsylvania, New York and New Jersey. As Chambers notes, these immigrants and their descendents established local customs in all areas from farming and construction practices to moral values and, in addition to their Midland American culture, these people brought with them “the sounds and syntax of those same middle states on the Atlantic coast (1997:9).” Thus the sound of speech in Upper Canada is directly descended from these Loyalists.

Successive waves of immigration appear to have had little linguistic impact as most of the Britons swelling Upper Canada’s population beginning in 1815 ended up in villages founded by Loyalists and would have watched “their children grow up speaking a variety of English more like their Loyalist neighbours than like their own” (Chambers 2004: 226-228). What follows is the examination of a tendency in compound indefinite pronoun usage in the English of Ontario that may be the result of the regional origins of the huge numbers Britons (including Irish) who settled the province in the 19th century.

2.2 Post 1815 British Settlement

As many as 823,000 Britons arrived in Canada between 1815 and 1860 (Boberg 2010: 71). Because this influx took place over the course of 45 years and at a time of relatively high fertility rates, the Canadian-born population was never overwhelmed and by the time of the 1871 census, 83 percent of Canadians were born in Canada (Boberg 2010: 72). The largest group at the end of the period of great influx was the Irish. Protestants formed over two-thirds of Ontario’s Irish-origin population and Boberg estimates that three-eighths of Ontarians were Scots-Irish at the time of confederation (2010: 76). As for the second largest group, the English, Dollinger (2008: 82-83) determined that two-thirds of the English settlers came from northern England. Boberg (2010: 77) also mentions that northern England was “perhaps the most important element” of English settlement in Ontario and that if settlement from northern England is combined with that from both Scotland and Ireland, “it is immediately clear that settlement from southeastern England – the London region – was a very small portion of the British migration to Canada.” According to Dollinger, his data suggests “that speakers of varieties farther removed to the English standard immigrated to British North America at a percentage of more than 90%” (2008: 83).

Most Ontario towns were a blend of all three British groups. While it is true that the 20th century would see the arrival of large groups of settlers from beyond Western Europe, these groups have had little impact on the basic nature of Canadian English since “local speech patterns would have been well established in Canada’s original four provinces by the 1860s (Boberg 2010: 82).” This is an indication that very little regional dialect development would have taken place in Muskoka, since its settlement did not begin until the end of that decade and, as we will see below, a large majority of the settlers were born in Ontario. It is for these reasons that I consider the English spoken in Muskoka to be ‘thoroughly Ontarian’ and to be representative of much of the province.

2.3 Early Muskoka Settlement

Large scale settlement in Muskoka began with the passing of the *Free Grants and Homestead Act* in February of 1868 after the settlement frontier of Ontario had stabilized along the northern edge of the province’s agricultural zone, just to

the region's south (Houston and Smyth 1980:37). Early settlers were mainly of British origin, though not necessarily born in the United Kingdom as 66% of the Muskoka population was born in Ontario by 1881, and the proportions of each British settler group in Muskoka were quite similar to those of the province as a whole. It seems clear that the English in Muskoka at the time could be considered to be representative of Ontario as a whole and there is no reason to believe that the 'Ontarianness' of the English spoken in the region has subsequently diminished since the main population growth in the area continues to be from inside the province, though it is possible that the demographic changes in the last half century that have occurred in the province's major centres may have led to an urban/rural distinction. Nevertheless, the Muskoka dialect is likely typical of a significant proportion of Ontario natives, including their tendency to use one or another form of indefinite pronouns.

3. Compound Indefinite Pronouns: *-body* and *-one*

3.1 Definition

Compound indefinite pronouns in English, as defined by Quirk et al. (1985: 376), are composed of a determiner morpheme *every-*, *some-*, *any-*, or *no-*, and a nominal morpheme *-one*, *-body*, or *-thing*. The eight indefinite compound pronouns with personal reference can be divided into two groups; those ending in *-body*, and those ending in *-one*:

| | |
|-----------|--------------------|
| everybody | everyone |
| anybody | anyone |
| somebody | someone |
| nobody | no one (or no-one) |

Quirk et al. (1985:376-378) state that these pairs of pronouns "are equivalent in function and meaning" though the latter (those in *-one*) are said to be regarded as "more elegant." Indeed, Svartvik and Lindquist (1997:11-12) mention that these two groups are generally considered to be in free variation, and that "no difference is usually made between the two sets." Despite these assertions, the distribution of these pronouns has not been well studied, perhaps because they go unnoticed in normal conversation.

In a 1976 paper, Dwight Bolinger postulates that the seemingly stylistic difference between the groups, a difference that may convey a sense of elegance in the use of the *-one* forms for example, is in fact the result of a semantic contrast (229). He states that the prime characteristic of the personal pronouns and the demonstratives is to "embody references to distance from the speaker, to selfness and otherness (1976:230)." Raumolin-Brunberg simplifies this by saying that we tend to use the forms in *-one* and not the ones with *-body* when referencing "an intimate or otherwise tightly knit group," as can be seen in the following two examples *No one in the room spoke for some time*, and *Nobody in the world is more patriotic than I am* (1994:308). It appears, however, that "Bolinger only discusses tendencies and not rules" (Raumolin-Brunberg 1994:308) and "the choice is a matter of preferences and tendencies rather than absolutes" (Svartvik and Lindquist 1997:12). Therefore, the fact that there doesn't appear to be a semantic contrast necessitating both the *-body* and *-one* sets leaves open the possibility that some people might only use one set.

3.2 Distribution of *-body* and *-one*

By examining both Svartvik and Lindquist's (1997) analysis of compound pronouns and Lindquist and Levin's (2000) follow up, we will be able to analyse our Muskoka data in a trans-Atlantic context. Svartvik and Lindquist compiled data from eight corpora and separated for variety (British vs. American) and channel (written vs. spoken) (1997:13). Three corpora are from the 1960s, five are from the 1990s, and they are evenly split with respect to variety (four American and four British), and channel (four written and four spoken). Among the British corpora are two components of the British National Corpus (BNC), one formal (the demographic component) and one informal (the context-governed component) (2000: 209), while the Longman Spoken American Corpus (LSAC) consists of spontaneous conversations (2000: 203). Using this data Svartvik and Lindquist, and subsequently Lindquist and Levin, have provided a solid foundation for the examination of differences in distribution of the two forms. The results of these two studies, with each corpus shown individually above the total for each country, are given in the following table:

| Variety | Corpus | <i>-body</i> | | <i>-one</i> | | Total |
|----------|----------------------------|--------------|--------------|--------------|--------------|--------------|
| British | LLC | 589 | 76.8% | 178 | 23.2% | 767 |
| | Spoken | 3,137 | 68.6% | 1,437 | 31.2% | 4,574 |
| | BNC _{Demographic} | 834 | 67.7% | 397 | 32.3% | 1,231 |
| | BNC _{Context} | 1,452 | 68.4% | 672 | 31.6% | 2,124 |
| | Total | 6,012 | 69.1% | 2,684 | 30.9% | 8,696 |
| American | SAE | 112 | 68.7% | 51 | 31.3% | 163 |
| | LSAC | 1,195 | 71.7% | 471 | 28.3% | 1,666 |
| | Total | 1,307 | 71.5% | 522 | 28.5% | 1,829 |

Table 1: Distribution of compound indefinite pronouns ending in *-body* and *-one* in various British and American corpora of spoken English

A strong tendency towards the use of the *-body* set in spoken English is clear from Table 1, and it is also apparent that there is no major difference between spoken British and American English as they both approximate 70% *-body*. It must be said that the numbers in Table 1 do not take into account regional differences inside the two countries, nor do they touch on differences in age or gender, although the fact that the London-Lund corpus (LLC) is from the 1960s (the rest are from the 1990s) and shows *-body* to be 8% higher than any of the other corpora may be an indication of a slow change towards *-one* over time.

Though it is spoken English that is of the greatest importance in this study, it is also worthwhile to look at the distribution in written forms and to examine how written language can affect historical analysis and influence certain types of speech. The following table shows the distribution of the indefinite pronouns in written British and American English.

| Variety | <i>-body</i> | | <i>-one</i> | | Total |
|--------------|--------------|--------------|--------------|--------------|--------------|
| British | 960 | 23.9% | 3,055 | 76.1% | 4,015 |
| American | 877 | 26.9% | 2,379 | 73.1% | 3,256 |
| Total | 1,837 | 25.3% | 5,434 | 74.7% | 7,271 |

Table 2: Distribution of compound indefinite pronouns ending in *-body* and *-one* in various British and American corpora of written English

With the use of *-one* being approximately three times more common than that of *-body* in written English, table 2 shows that the forms in *-one* are indeed the more literary of the two. Another form of language is that used in the media. By comparing spontaneous speech with National Public Radio (*NPR*) newscasts, Svartvik and Lindquist have shown that usage in the media differs from both written and spoken corpora. They offer as a tentative explanation the fact that “much of the *NPR* material is scripted and thus likely to be closer to written text” (1997:16). It is likely this mixture of spoken and written forms that leads the *NPR* data to lie somewhere between the two. Lindquist and Levin address regional differences in radio material by comparing the *NPR* data to a corpus of BBC material. The results can be seen in the following table (2000:208):

| Variety | Source | <i>-body</i> | | <i>-one</i> | | Total |
|--------------|--------------|--------------|--------------|-------------|--------------|-------------|
| British | BBC | 308 | 32% | 668 | 68% | 976 |
| American | NPR | 1452 | 49% | 1520 | 51% | 2972 |
| Total | Radio | 1760 | 44.6% | 2188 | 55.4% | 3948 |

Table 3: Distribution of compound indefinite pronouns ending in *-body* and *-one* in two corpora of British and American radio broadcasts

The BBC data supports the notion that radio material is closer to written text than spontaneous conversation. In fact, the BBC data closely resembles British written English, while the *NPR* data lies almost exactly halfway between spoken and written American English as can be seen by comparing Tables 1 and 2. The Muskoka corpus is entirely based on spontaneous conversational English and, as such, it is important that we only compare our data to other corpora consisting mainly of spontaneous speech, such as those in Table 1.

3.3 *-one* and *-body* in Muskoka

The following data come from private, informal conversations with Canadian English speakers native to the Muskoka region of Central Ontario. The conversations took place between August, 2011 and February, 2012. As can be seen in Table 5, the speakers are divided into two groups, one of speakers over the age of 58, and the other of speakers under 36. The older group is made up of 18 speakers, 10 female and 8 male, while the younger group is made up of 17 speakers, 9 male and 8 female.

| Age Group | No. | Year of Birth | <i>-body</i> | | <i>-one</i> | | Tot |
|----------------|-----------|---------------|--------------|------------|-------------|------------|------------|
| Older Male | 8 | 1920-1949 | 122 | 99.2% | 1 | 0.8% | 123 |
| Older Fem. | 10 | 1924-1953 | 62 | 92.5% | 5 | 7.5% | 67 |
| All Older | 18 | Before 1954 | 184 | 96.8% | 6 | 3.2% | 190 |
| Younger M | 9 | 1975-1993 | 11 | 29.7% | 26 | 70.3% | 37 |
| Younger F | 8 | 1975-1983 | 49 | 56.9% | 37 | 43.1% | 81 |
| All Young. | 17 | After 1974 | 60 | 48.8% | 63 | 51.2% | 123 |
| Overall | 35 | Total | 244 | 78% | 69 | 22% | 313 |

Table 4: Distribution of pronouns ending in *-body* and *-one* in recorded conversational English with 2 groups of Muskoka natives divided by age

To focus on the total for the area (78% *-body*) would be to overlook the near categorical usage of the *-body* set by the older group, and the precipitous drop in usage of this form by the younger group. It is evident that the strong preference for *-body* compounds that once existed in Ontario is eroding, but the fact that a change has occurred over the last few decades is not particularly surprising, as large scale changes are happening all over the globe. In a later section, as part of our attempt to explain the dominance of the *-body* set amongst the older speakers, similar changes happening in other English speaking areas will be revealed.

A comparison of two sisters of a similar age and (apparent) personality type in the younger group, interviewed separately, provides one indication as to the source of the changes taking place. The older sister (YF5) went to college in Toronto and later worked for several years as a teacher of English in a number of different countries. She used the *-body* forms at 18.8% in our interview, thus showing a substantially lower percentage than both age groups. Trudgill (1986: 54) has stated that externally motivated changes require face to face contact in order to be successfully implemented, and in YF5's time abroad she most certainly will have been exposed a variety of different dialects of English. Her younger sister (YF8), on the other hand, has remained in the area her entire adult life and as such has had far less contact with speakers of other dialects. In our interview she used the *-body* forms 96% of the time, a rate similar to that of the older speakers. This reinforces the notion that weak ties "provide important bridges for the diffusion of innovations" (Milroy and Milroy 1985: 365) since YF5 will have had contact with speakers from all over the world without time to have built the strong ties that her sister, YF8, will have maintained at home.

Another informant (OM8) provides us with an interesting example of the difference between written and spoken compound indefinite pronoun usage. This local historian has written a number of books about Muskoka. In our conversation of approximately one hour he used the *-body* forms 100% of the time (10 out of 10), but an examination of one of his (self-edited) books showed that he used the *-one* forms in writing 70% of the time (7 out of 10). Not only does this confirm the difference between written and spoken English in terms of compound indefinite pronoun usage, but it also demonstrates how one needs to be careful when using written text to determine past usage of these pronouns.

What follows is an examination of the development of the compound indefinite pronouns as well as a look into some of the regional variation in the British Isles that may have contributed to the distribution of these pronouns in Ontario.

3.4 Why is the *-body* set overwhelmingly dominant?

The best clue as to the source of the dominance of *-body* amongst the older Muskokans comes from Dwight Bolinger's aforementioned study (1976:229) where he mentions a dialectal split in Britain between Scotland and England. His insights may be the key to determining why a particular regional variety of spoken English in North America (and perhaps many more) would so overwhelmingly prefer the *-body* set. He states (1976: 235-236):

As we might suspect, Scots and Scottish English, where *body* survives as an independent indefinite pronoun, have a pronounced preference for the *-body* compounds.

McClure's opinion is confirmed by L. Colin Wilson who states that the "most commonly-used impersonal pronoun in Scots is *ye*, just as 'you' is used in colloquial English in the same sense", but in formal English where 'one' is used as an impersonal pronoun, in Scots "it is not 'ane' or 'yin', but rather *a bodie* (literally 'a person')" (2002: 97). Wilson later adds that "although English offers a choice between forms in that, for example, 'nobody' and 'no-one' are identical in meaning, in Scots the only equivalent to these is *naebodie*" (2002: 221). The idea, then, that the use of '*a body*' as an indefinite pronoun, or at least the use of *body* as a noun meaning 'person', may lead to a preference for compound indefinites in *-body* is reasonable considering the fact that the development of compounds ending in *-one* is "closely connected with the development of the substitute or proword *one* (Raumolin-Brunberg 1994: 312)."

The Oxford English Dictionary states that *body*, meaning 'a human being of either sex, an individual', is the original head morpheme of the compound pronouns ending in *-body* (Raumolin-Brunberg 1994: 312). According to the OED, this meaning lasted in Standard English until 1833, though its use must have been waning by this time. This is borne out in the Helsinki corpus of English texts (covering pre-1150 to 1710) since it contains only one occurrence of *body* with this meaning (1994: 312). It is important to note, however, that due to the rise of the Standard, the Early Modern English part of the Helsinki Corpus does not include clearly dialectal texts (Raumolin-Brunberg, Kahlas-Tarkka 1997: 64), and that the editors of the OED, in their efforts to focus on the (written) 'standard', decided not to include dialect texts among its sources after 1600 (Wales 2006: 94). This leaves us without a complete knowledge of the extent to which this sense of the noun is used in the British Isles, though it is clear that the use of *body* meaning 'person' persists in Scotland. There is evidence that term also survives in both Northern Ireland (Corrigan 2008) and northern English (see the Lancashire Family and Social Life Archive) though, we must admit that any link between the maintenance of *body* meaning 'person' in regional varieties of English with preferences for *-body* pronouns can be given as no more than circumstantial evidence.

In the next section we will individually examine spoken corpora from each of the three regions in order to determine the modern distribution of the two types of compound indefinite pronouns in Northern British varieties.

4. Compound indefinites in regional varieties of English

Since the main sources of 19th century immigration to Canada were Northern Ireland, Scotland and the north of England, it stands to reason that if there were any long-lasting impact on the English of the Loyalists that had been established at the end of the 18th and beginning of the 19th century, the trait in question would have a greater chance of survival if it were prominent in all three British areas. In the sections that follow, we will look at each of these three regions in the British Isles in turn, starting with Scotland because it is likely that this is the ultimate source of the trend found in Canada followed by the north of England because of an historical dialectal connection with Scots and because the transplantation of the English language into Northern Ireland was the result of a massive influx of Scottish and northern English settlers in the 17th century.

Before looking at the development of compound indefinites in Scotland we must consider what Douglas (2006: 41-42) refers to as "the two key strands" of Scottish English. The first variety known as Scots, "being descended from

Old English and sharing in the general history of West Germanic speech in the British Isles, is appropriately considered as part of 'English' in the purely linguistic sense of the term" (McClure 1994: 23-24). The second variety, Scottish Standard English, is a form of English that developed through contact with southern, London-based English in the 18th century. It is beyond the scope of this article to examine in detail the development of these two varieties, but it is important to note that Scots and the modern northern English dialects share an ancestor Old English dialect known as Northumbrian, which stretched from the Humber River in the English Midlands to the Firth of Forth in Scotland. These varieties have shared a large number of features both in the past and the present (Douglas 2006: 42). In the subsequent two sections we will try to determine that a preference for the *-body* compounds is one of these shared features.

The period of development for these pronouns in the context of this study becomes particularly important when it is compared to the Anglicization process of the written language in Scotland. Consider the following statement by Raumolin-Brunberg and Kahlas-Tarkka (1997: 64): "Bolinger's claim (1976) about the particularly frequent use of the compounds in *-body* in the Scottish dialect does not find support in the historical development evidenced in the Helsinki Corpus of Older Scots (see Meurman-Solin 1993)." I found no mention of the compound indefinite pronouns in Meurman-Solin's *Variation and Change in Early Scottish Prose: Studies based on the Helsinki Corpus of Older Scots*, but this corpus covers the years 1450-1700 and if there is indeed no evidence for frequent use of the *-body* compounds, it may well be because by the time these forms came into common use (i.e. after 1640), the written Scottish language had been almost completely anglicized.

4.1 Anglicization in Scotland

Meurman-Solin (1993: 39) states that the first written vernacular Scots documents extant "are in a language that in many ways resembles the Northern English dialect," but she adds that an "increase of political independence and the development of a social, economic and cultural infrastructure, a differentiation process began in the North." As late as 1489, according to McClure (1994: 47), the phonology and grammar of Scots were still substantially the same as those of northern English. He adds that "all dialects of England other than that of the metropolitan area show in the course of the fifteenth century a progressive assimilation towards London norms", though the history of Scots shows a period of steady independent development, and this rise of Scots as a national standardized dialect, according to Devitt (1989: 9), continued until the mid-16th when it could no longer resist the influence of Standard English.

If we take Devitt's year of 1659 as marking the end point of the Anglicization process, a time after which "there was not much left to record" (Görlach 1997: 211), then by the time the prevalence of the *-body* forms becomes relevant in written Standard English, the Scots were already writing in Standard English and would be more influenced on the page by the London Standard than by the spoken Scots they would have heard around them. McClure emphasizes that, as the Anglicization process of written Scots proceeded apace, "there is no evidence that the spoken language of the mass of the populace was affected to any extent" (1994: 37). The mother tongue of non-Gaelic Scotland was, and remained, Scots. In his discussion of the impact of the Reformation on Scots, Murison adds that "English gradually took over as the

literary or written language of Scotland, while the local forms of speech, the dialects, continued as the spoken tongue” (1979: 9). Görlach declares that when it comes to historical periods “we depend on written sources, and written uses are largely coextensive with formal ones” (1997: 214). There is, in fact, only a tiny corpus of private letters in Scots, and Görlach asserts that the rarity of these letters is clear evidence that the use of Scots was not permitted in this text type by sociolinguistic conventions (1997: 215).

One can thus make no assumptions about the prevalence of the *-body* forms in spoken Scots based on an historical examination of texts written in Scotland, and the Anglicization of the written language occurred well before Standard English had a significant impact on the spoken Scots of the masses. In the following section we will attempt to establish the historical use of the *-body* compounds as accurately as possible, and consider the usage today.

4.2 Compound Indefinite Pronouns in Scotland

Though the spoken Scots language has resisted Anglicization far longer than the written language, it has not been immune. From a historical perspective, according to Romaine, “Scots has been dying out for centuries, but Anglicization still has a long way to go. As far as accent is concerned it may never be completed” (1982: 77). She claims that Scots usage has been compartmentalized to the home, as more fully Scots types of speech (particularly urban working-class) have been condemned by the middle class as markers of a stigmatized identity. Thus, Anglicization has slowly been working its way down from the top of the social scale (1982: 76-77). One way in which this Anglicization has penetrated the Scots language, particularly that of urban Scots, is in the case of the indefinite pronoun. Beal states that in present-day urban Scots the indefinite pronoun is *yin* (‘one’), but she admits that “in earlier Scots and to some extent still in traditional dialects [such as the Northeast mentioned above], *a body* or *a buddie* is used” (1997: 348).

Evidence for this long standing English influence can be found in an 1873 study of the dialect of the southern counties of Scotland, where Murray notes the usage of both the generic English indefinite *one* and *a body* (191). Wilson (1915: 90) states that “The E[nglish] indefinite pronoun ‘one’ is generally expressed by the phrase ‘a buddee.’” Despite a subsequent diminution in the usage of *a body*, it is important to note that neither researcher makes any mention of the use of the *-one* compounds listing only scotticized forms such as *sumbody*, *oniebuodie*, *neabuodie*, *aabuodie*, *yveriebuodie* (the last two being equivalent to *everybody*) (1873: 198-199). This appears to provide some indication that the usage of the *-one* forms is relatively recent in Scotland, and that the *-one* compounds are not historically part of the Scots language.

As has been demonstrated, the written records of Scots and Scottish English available are not sufficient to determine past usage of the compound indefinite pronouns, so the only alternative available is to use modern spoken material to make predictions about the past. The Scottish Corpus of Texts and Speech provides transcripts of a number of conversations with native Scots that have been recorded over the past decade. A search for the distribution of the compound indefinite pronouns has provided some interesting results. It is important to mention that particularly Scots forms have been grouped in with their English counterparts (i.e. *aabody* with *everybody*, *onybody* with *anybody*, and *naebody* with *nobody*). The results are displayed in the following table:

| Region | <i>-body</i> | | <i>-one</i> | | Total |
|------------------|--------------|--------------|-------------|--------------|-------------|
| Scotland | 1004 | 68.7% | 458 | 32.3% | 1462 |
| Aberdeen | 204 | 91.9% | 18 | 8.1% | 222 |
| Moray | 106 | 84.8% | 19 | 15.2% | 125 |
| Northeast | 310 | 89.3% | 37 | 10.7% | 347 |

Table 5: Distribution of *-body* and *-one* in Scotland as a whole, and in the Northeast of Scotland

What we find if we look at the nation as a whole (row 1), is that the distribution of the indefinite pronouns is very close to that found in the general British and American studies shown in Table 1. Given that Scots forms part of a continuum with Standard English, it is difficult to ascertain the exact extent to which Scots is spoken, but Wilson (2002: 9) notes that a study conducted in 1996 by the General Register Office of Scotland suggests “that around 30% of the population of Scotland overall uses Scots to some extent, with that figure reaching as high as 90% in the north-east.” Therefore, if we confine our search to the Northeast (the counties of Aberdeen and Moray in particular), we see that the *-body* forms make up nearly 90% of the compound indefinites. This is a strong indication that the underlying regional dialect can impact the usage of indefinites in the English spoken in that area.

The low overall number for Scotland is likely a sign of the ongoing Anglicization of the language spoken there. Unfortunately we were unable to search according to age, though a new study by D’Arcy et al. (to appear: 10) has shown that this is indeed the case. J D McClure does not believe that these *-one* forms have penetrated Scots in its purest form, but are making headway in Scottish English and says, “my impression, now as in 1976, is that the *-body* forms are native to Scots and Scottish Standard English, and that to the extent that the *-one* forms are becoming more frequent in the latter (not the former) it is because of the influence of Anglo and American English from the media” (personal communication). Though the Scottish Corpus of Texts did not permit me to search according to age, there is some evidence that it is likely among the young that we find the greatest impact of Anglicization, as will become apparent as we take a look at usage in both northern England and Northern Ireland.

4.3 Compound indefinites in the North of England

We have seen that there is a strong historical connection between the dialects of the North of England and the dialects spoken in Scotland. The North of England is a particularly distinct part of the country with many dialectal peculiarities, though it must be said that, just as is the case in urban Scotland, “it is in respect of accent rather than dialect that Northern Englishes reveal much of their continuing strong distinctiveness” (Wales 2006: 201). As for the written language in the North, just as in Scotland, by the 17th century, “regional dialects are all but extinguished in formal writing as a result of the ‘standardisation’ of written English” (Wales 2006: 68). One other thing that both Scotland and the North of England appear to share in common is an historical preference for the compounds ending in *-body*.

An investigation of several dialect grammars covering Yorkshire, Lancashire and Cumberland and dating from the late 19th century through the mid-20th, such as Wright (1892: 126) and Hargreaves (1904: 84), shows no mention of the *-one* compounds in Northern dialects, as only the *-body* forms are present. It is also important to note that the use of *body* meaning ‘person’ was widespread in the area (see Heslop (1892: 73, 507) for Northumberland and Blakeborough (1912: 13) for North Yorkshire) and has survived, at least until the time of the Lancashire survey (see below). The following table shows the distribution of the compound indefinites by approximate year of birth in a corpus of spoken northern English.

Table 6 is derived from a combination of three corpora including two sets of interviews making up *The Newcastle Electronic Corpus of Tyneside English* (37 interviews from the Tyneside Linguistic Survey of the late 1960s, 18 interviews with 36 Tynesiders from the Phonological Variation and Change in Contemporary Spoken English (PVC) corpus made in 1994) and interviews with 8 Newcastle informants available from the *Dialects of English* project available at the website of Edinburgh University Press.

| Age Group | No. | Year of Birth | <i>-body</i> | | <i>-one</i> | | Tot. |
|----------------|-----------|---------------|--------------|--------------|-------------|--------------|------------|
| Oldest | 25 | 1900-30 | 134 | 91.8% | 12 | 8.2% | 146 |
| Older | 32 | 1931-54 | 178 | 84.3% | 33 | 15.7% | 211 |
| All Older | 57 | Before 1954 | 312 | 87.4% | 45 | 12.6% | 357 |
| All Younger | 24 | After 1974 | 103 | 44.6% | 128 | 53.4% | 231 |
| Overall | 81 | Total | 415 | 70.6% | 173 | 29.4% | 588 |

Table 6: Distribution of *-body* and *-one* in Tyneside including data from the *Newcastle Electronic Corpus of Tyneside English*, and *Dialects of English* project divided by age

The data show a strong preference for the *-body* forms, though again, just as we’ve seen in Ontario and Scotland, the overall numbers can be misleading. The use of the *-body* forms totals 70% (analogous to the general numbers for Britain, America and Scotland), but when separated for age it is clear that those born before 1954 use the *-body* forms nearly 90% of the time, while those born in the 1970s use this set less than 50% of the time, a similar drop at a similar age to that found in Muskoka. This suggests that the changes that have been taking place in Ontario have parallels elsewhere in the English speaking world.

The combined results of two corpora of Lancashire English, 30 speakers from the ‘Family and Social Life’ archive and 30 speakers from the ‘Childhood and Schooling’ archive from the Centre for North West Regional Studies (CNWRS) at Lancaster University, which make up part of *The Lancaster Speech, Writing and Thought Presentation Project* available online, show that those born before 1954 used the *-body* forms at 82%. Since there is no data for people born after 1960 we are unable to determine if the preference for the *-body* set has dropped, though this is the most likely scenario. It seems that the historical preference for *-body* is not as strong in Lancashire, perhaps because of a greater impact by the London-based standard. Nevertheless, a reasonably strong preference for *-body* that was most certainly stronger in the first half of the 19th century during the period of greatest emigration to Canada, would mean

that the English of the North of England can be considered a strong contributor to the Ontarian preference for the *-body* forms.

4.4 Compound indefinites in Northern Ireland

The history of the English language in Northern Ireland is intimately linked to both of the aforementioned northern British regions through the historical migration and ‘plantation’ of people beginning in 1609. Scotland is generally considered to have provided about two thirds of the 17th century British settlers, while England provided the remaining third (McCafferty 2003: 117). Of the English, a majority came from the northwest Midlands which gives substance to the “association of the present Anglo-Ulster dialect of Mid-Ulster with that of the north-west midlands of England in the seventeenth century” (McCafferty 2003: 118). This Mid-Ulster dialect is the dominant variety in Ulster in terms of speakers and geographical area of the three Northern Ireland dialects that are the result of British settlement patterns during the Plantation.

There are three northern Irish regional dialects: Ulster-Scots, Mid-Ulster English and South-Ulster English. Ulster-Scots is lowland Scots in type, Mid-Ulster English is a ‘mixed type’ spoken in areas where Scottish influence was offset by large numbers of English settlers, and South-Ulster English is more closely related to dialects in England (Harris 1985: 14-15). In much of Northern Ireland, Ulster-Scots and Mid-Ulster English have penetrated each other in such a way that they now form a continuum, thus, the Mid-Ulster dialect is a mixture of Scots and northern English dialects and “there is no absolute demarcation between Ulster Scots and [Mid-]Ulster English linguistically, socially or geographically” (Montgomery: 2006: 297). Given the regional origins of these British settlers and the strong tendencies towards *-body* compounds in those areas, it stands to reason that the *-body* forms would have been dominant amongst a majority of the speakers in Ulster, leading to a predominance of these forms amongst their descendants, including those who settled in Upper Canada.

On the website for a series of studies on English Dialects at Edinburgh University Press, extracts from 29 interviews made by Karen Corrigan with Northern Irish speakers representing all three dialect regions and a variety of ages are available for examination. The International Corpus of English Ireland Component also provides data from across Ulster. The following is a summary of the distribution of the compound indefinite pronouns in these two studies:

| Corpus | No. | Year of Birth | <i>-body</i> | | <i>-one</i> | | Tot |
|----------------|------------|----------------------|--------------|--------------|-------------|--------------|------------|
| Corrigan-NI | 22 | Before 1970 | 37 | 97.4% | 1 | 2.6% | 38 |
| | 7 | After 1974 | 3 | 25.0% | 9 | 75.0% | 12 |
| | 29 | Total (Corr.) | 40 | 80.0% | 10 | 20.0% | 50 |
| ICE-NI | 66 | Before 68-71 | 58 | 95.1% | 3 | 4.9% | 61 |
| | 68 | After 65-69 | 70 | 77.8% | 20 | 22.2% | 90 |
| | 134 | Total (ICE) | 128 | 84.8% | 23 | 16.2% | 151 |
| Overall | 163 | Overall | 168 | 83.6% | 33 | 16.4% | 201 |

Table 7: Distribution of *-body* and *-one* in Northern Ireland including data from the Northern Irish part *Dialects of English* project, as divided by known age

One can see that there has been a significant change between those born before and after 1970 (the methods used in the ICE do not allow for precise age distinctions). The precipitous drop in the use of the *-body* forms seen in the Corrigan data is not reflected in the ICE data, though that corpus does show an 18% drop in *-body* usage. This would appear to support the notion that the same robust preference for *-body* compounds seen in Muskoka existed in Northern Ireland right up until the post baby-boom generation. We can get an idea as to how settler populations can influence indefinite pronoun usage by comparing the data in the Northern Irish portion of the ICE with that of Southern Ireland, which had far fewer Scottish settlers and a much larger component from southwest England and Wales. In Southern Ireland those born before 1968-71 used *-body* only 66.7% of the time while those born after 1966-69 used it a mere 53.7% of the time. Just as a combination of Scottish and northern English preferences for *-body* appears to have led to a preference for those forms in Northern Ireland, these three varieties combined with Loyalist English appear to have created the same preference for the *-body* pronouns in Upper Canada.

5. Conclusions

The preceding study addressing the unequal distribution of compound indefinite pronouns in spoken Canadian English indicates that the preference of the *-body* pronouns in a group of Ontarians over the age of 58 most likely has its origins in the British Isles. The sections examining the development and distribution of the compound indefinites in the north of Britain show that the *-body* compounds were quite likely the only forms available in the traditional dialects, leading to a strong preference for the *-body* forms in the 'Standard' regional English spoken until the 1970s. Thus, the settlement of Ontario in the 19th century by speakers of these varieties of English led to a strong preference for the *-body* forms amongst their descendants.

The other interesting trend revealed in this study is the fact that the *-one* compounds are becoming more and more prevalent among the younger, post baby-boom generations. This is not only happening in Canada, but also in formerly *-body* dominant regions in north Britain. The most likely explanation for this shift in pronoun usage is that it is the result of increased mobility, including both migration and travel, increased exposure to various media, and increased education resulting in more exposure to standard varieties. In her study of northern English and the changes that have taken place in recent decades in northern England, Katie Wales notes that commentators have pointed to the influence of schooling, mobility and migration, the dissolution of class structures, and the 'levelling' of regional culture and occupation "at the expense of the regionally distinctive" as potential causes of these changes (2006: 200). Wales also emphasizes the influence of the mass media on speech (2006: 164), as do Foulkes and Docherty (1999: 14-15). In his analysis of changes in Montreal English Boberg offers a reasonable summary of the source of modern language changes in proposing that "[r]egional isolation from supraregional speech varieties has been considerably eroded by a rise in travel, internal migration, and electronic communication (2004: 266)."

This study provides some interesting implications for future studies. In a Canadian context, we should see a lower usage of the *-body* forms in Newfoundland since its founding population came almost exclusively from southern Ireland and southwest England. We have shown (see section 4.4) that

the former doesn't have as strong a preference for *-body* forms as the northern regions, possibly a result of the large numbers of settlers from southwest England, though more research on southern England is needed. We should also see a tendency towards *-one* in the descendants of the 19th century settlers in Australia and New Zealand as the southern portion of Britain played a more significant role. In fact, D'Arcy et al. (to appear: 17) have shown that there is a strong tendency in New Zealand towards the *-one* forms which lends credence to the hypothesis that the origins of the Canadian preference for *-body* lie in northern Britain. Furthermore, since we have examined the impact of the 19th century British immigration on the speech of Loyalist settlers in Canada, it would be interesting to attempt to establish the distribution of the two sets of pronouns in late 18th century America at the time of Loyalist migration to Canada. Some waves of immigration, such as that of the Scots-Irish in the 18th century to Pennsylvania and to the Upper South (Montgomery 2001: 117) should have brought speakers with the same tendency towards *-body* as those found in Canada. If it could be shown that strong tendencies towards the *-body* forms existed in the main source areas for Loyalist settlement, then the later British settlers would have been merely reinforcing or enhancing a tendency that already existed amongst the Loyalists.

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