"The Geordie accent has a bit of a bad reputation": internal and external constraints on stative possession in the Tyneside English of the 21st century

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Has possessive *got* had its day?

1. Introduction

The subject of stative possession has generated much interest over the past decade, particularly regarding the origin of the construction *have got* and its use in different varieties of British and North American English (e.g. Tagliamonte, 2003, 2013; Jankowski 2005; Tagliamonte *et al.*, 2010). In these varieties, *have got* alternates with *have* to mark possession in sentences such as those in (1) below.

(1) a. We've **got** a nice lounge there you know, with French doors, and we **have** these seats we can take outside and sit (0711b).[1]
     b. That's the worse type of person. They **have** nothing and then they've **got** something and they think they are better than anybody else (0804a).

Although *got* is historically the past tense of the verb *get*, its use here does not mean 'has acquired', in the active sense, but it expresses the state of possession and is synonymous with lexical *have*.

Various explanations have been offered in the literature regarding the origin and development of the expression *have got*. Three main lines of argumentation have been put forward, which will be discussed and evaluated in this paper:

(i) **Crowell's (1959) expressivity argument**
     The increasing use of *have got* was motivated by the need for greater expressivity in contexts where the lexical verb *have/has* had been reduced (to *'ve* or *'s*). This was becoming increasingly the case in phonologically unstressed environments (Crowell, 1959: 280–3).

(ii) **Kroch's (1989) syntactic argument**
     The use of *have got* is syntactically motivated. It is favoured in negative and interrogative contexts, which indicates that *have* is being avoided as a lexical verb precisely in those

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contexts that admit *do*-support. This claim by Kroch (1989: 207–10) is based on data from Noble (1985) who studied stative possession in British English plays from the 18th to the early 20th century.

(iii) Jespersen's (1961) grammaticalization hypothesis

The word *got* as the past tense form of the verb *to get*, meaning 'to acquire', became reanalyzed over time to mean 'possess' (see Jespersen, 1961: 47). In other words, a process of grammaticalization has taken place whereby the past tense form of the lexical verb *get* becomes a grammatical marker of stative possession over time.

In addition to such internal linguistic explanations put forward to account for the development of *have got* versus *have* over the past three centuries, social factors have also been implicated in governing the usage of these variants. It has been argued, for example, that *have* has become more favoured in North American English than in British English because of the long prescriptive tradition of stigmatizing *have got* in North America (Tagliamonte *et al.*, 2010: 161–2). Differences in the frequency of occurrence of *have* as opposed to *have got* have also been ascribed to factors such as age, gender, class and/or education (see section 3.2 below).

In this paper we investigate the distribution of both forms[2] in the Diachronic Electronic Corpus of Tyneside English (DECTE). This study has commonalities with recent work such as Tagliamonte (2003, 2013) in that it also draws on spontaneous spoken language. However, the sub-corpus of DECTE targeted in this research differs from earlier accounts which draw mainly on 20th century materials in that the data used here is more recent, covering the period between 2007 and 2010. In this study we aim to ascertain which of the internal linguistic factors discussed in the literature on stative possession determine the choice of variant in DECTE and evaluate whether or not the distributions tie in with the various explanations previously given for the rise or demise of *have got*.[3]

The paper will follow a similar methodology to that adopted in the quantitative variationist studies of Tagliamonte (2003, 2013) and Tagliamonte *et al.* (2010). Specifically, our study will focus on examining the phenomenon from a diachronic perspective, comparing our findings with those of Yoshizumi (2008), which examines two earlier sub-corpora of DECTE from the 1960s/70s and early 1990s, in order to track the development of *have got* over a longer period of time (see section 4.1 for details).

2. Markers of stative possession

In order to be able to fully account for the distribution and function of *have* versus *have got* in present-day English (PDE), it is necessary to understand their historical development.

Have is the oldest of the stative possessive markers and has been present in the language since the Old English (OE) period. Consider the following examples from the OED:[4]

(2) a. Ic **hæbbe** fif gebroþru
'I have five brothers'
(*West Saxon Gospels: Luke (Corpus Cambr.) xvi. 28, c. 1000)

b. If we note well what enemies we **haue**.
(*R. Grafton Chron. II. 44*, 1569)

Have got is a more recent form of stative possession. Attested meanings of possession with this variant can be found from the 16th century onwards (Visser, 1963–73: 2002). Consider the following examples from the OED:[5]

(3) a. What a beard **hast** thou **got**; thou **hast got** more haire on thy chinne, then Dobbin my philhorse hase on his taile
(*Shakespeare Merchant of Venice ii. ii. 89*, 1600)

b. Miss, you **have got** my Handkerchief; pray, let me have it
(*Swift Compl. Coll. Genteel Conversat. 68*, 1738)

The introduction of *have got* as an alternative to *have* has now created a situation in PDE whereby the more recent form competes with the older one to express stative possession. This phenomenon is known as 'layering', which has been claimed to be an important principle in the process of grammaticalization: new grammatical morphemes enter the language and co-exist alongside older ones expressing the same function (see Hopper, 1991: 22). The question remains, however, as to whether these two variants are completely functionally equivalent or whether they differ in subtle ways. This issue will be examined in more detail in the following sections.

3. Constraints conditioning variation

3.1 Internal constraints

3.1.1 Contraction

The hypothesis put forward by Crowell (1959: 280–3) that the increasing tendency to contract *have/has* to *'ve* or *'s* led to the insertion of *got* for greater expressivity predicts that there will be a strong correlation between the use of *got* and the contraction of *have/has*. Consider the DECTE examples with full *have/has* in (4a–b) and with contracted *have/has* in (4c–d):[6]

(4) a. I'm going as a fairy because I **have** a theory that I actually really do look like a fairy (0701a)
   b. So I decided to study Vivienne Westwood ... 'cause she **has** like a Victorian style (0701b)
   c. I**'ve** got a Sunderland top (0803a)
   d. She**'s** got a mark on her forehead (0714a)

3.1.2 Type of subject

The question of *have* contraction is also linked to the type of subject involved. Historically, contraction is thought to have begun with pronouns and then later spread to noun phrases (see Tagliamonte (2013: 154) for discussion). The examples in (5a–b) illustrate the use of *'s/'ve got* with pronoun subjects whereas those in (5c–d) contain *has/have* with full NPs (5c–d):

(5) a. Newcastle's better – it**'s got** a lot more shops and things (0704a)
   b. Surely if they**'ve got** that much money they should have better manners (0705a)
   c. The Geordie accent **has** a bit of a bad reputation (0701a)
   d. All the puppets **have** strings and I can't even remember what the storyline was (0701a)

Tagliamonte *et al.* (2010) also found that the person form of a subject played a role in determining the distribution of *have* and *have got* in their Canadian data, with the second and the third person singular forms favouring *have got*. The following examples illustrate the different person forms used in our DECTE data:

(6) a. I waddle like a duck because I**'ve got** these terrible knees (0711b)
   b. I says 'You're lucky you**'ve got** a father' (0804b)
   c. We've got to calculate if we**'ve got** enough 'cause by gum they**'ve got** big appetites here (0711b)

3.1.3 Subject reference

It has been pointed out (e.g. Jespersen, 1961: 51) that *have* tends to occur with subjects the reference for which is general rather than specific. The correlation between general subject readings and the use of *have* has been reported both for British and Canadian English (see Tagliamonte, 2003 and Tagliamonte *et al.*, 2010, respectively). Contrast the general subject readings in (7a–b) with those that are more clearly specific subjects in (7c–d):

(7) a. Children now really don't show respect for professional people ... they**'ve got** no respect then for the police (0708a)
   b. You know what delicatessen is? You **have** meat and cheese and herbs (0708a)[7]
   c. I think he**'s got** a stronger accent than me (0706b)
   d. I've got relations there ... they**'ve got** two houses (0713a)

3.1.4 Type of object

Jespersen's (1961: 47) suggestion that the origin of *have got* is due to a process of grammaticalization is based on his observation that the form was first used with concrete objects (i.e. objects that could be physically acquired) rather than abstract ones. In (8) we see how *got* is first used with the active meaning of 'acquired' and then subsequent uses from the same speaker illustrate its use as a stative possessive:

(8) I **got** a snail and then some more aquatic frogs ... and bought two hamsters ... I**'ve** still **got** them and I**'ve got** a German shepherd (0701a)

The generalization of *have got* to abstract objects in later stages of the language suggests that this form is moving along a grammaticalization path. Following Cruse's (2006: 33) definition, "[C]oncrete in semantics refers to whatever can be seen, heard, tasted, smelled, touched, or felt directly. Whatever has an indirect relation to sensory experience is abstract", we thus distinguish the underlined objects in (9) as concrete (9a–b) versus abstract (9c–d):

(9) a. My step-dad**'s got** <u>a friend</u> called em ee what's he called? (0706b)
   b. They**'ve got** <u>my four hundred and sixty quid</u> for this season (0713b)
   c. The Geordie accent **has** a bit of <u>a bad reputation</u> as well (0701a)

d. I **have** <u>a memory</u> once of being locked in my room (0710a)

3.1.5 Sentence type

Results from Noble's (1985) study of British plays from the 18th to the early 20th century reveal that *have got* is favoured in negative and interrogative contexts. This leads Kroch (1989: 207–10) to suggest that the use of *have got* in these contexts, which also admit *do*-support, is part of a more general tendency to disfavour the use of *do*-support with the lexical verb *have*. The following examples from DECTE illustrate negative (10) and interrogative (11) sentences with and without *do*-support:

(10) a. We **have**n't **got** a house manager at the moment (0711a)
      b. My mam **has**n't really **got** an accent (0703b)
      c. I don't **have** any interests (0702a)
      d. Mum doesn't **have** that much family here (1022b)

(11) a. **Have** you **got** the right glasses on? (0713b)
      b. Does she **have** blonde hair? (1020a)

In contrast to Noble's (1985) findings, Tagliamonte (2003, 2013) observes that, in her British dialect data, the tendency is for *have* to be favoured in negative and interrogative contexts. She also points out that, in fact, *do*-support is limited in most of the dialects she has observed.[8]

3.2 Sociolinguistic constraints

In addition to the internal linguistic constraints outlined in 3.1 above, it might also be the case that sociolinguistic factors play a role in determining the use of *have* versus *have got.*

3.2.1 Age

The age of the speaker can be a crucial factor when determining language change, particularly when one is working with synchronic data, since it allows the analyst to track changes in apparent time. Tagliamonte's (2013) study of British dialects reveals that, in each community, the oldest generation uses the most *have* and there is a shift in apparent time towards *have got.*

3.2.2 Sex

It is well known in sociolinguistic research that women tend to favour forms that are closer to the standard language and have more prestige whereas men often favour non-standard variants (Labov,

2001: 293). Indeed, Tagliamonte *et al.* (2010) demonstrate that *have*, which is commonly considered to be the more prestigious form in North America, is being favoured by young women in Canada, and Tagliamonte *et al.* (2010: 167) argue that this particular social group appears to be leading a change towards the more conservative *have* form.

3.2.3 Social class and education

By the same token, we would expect *have got* to be favoured by less educated speakers in those varieties where *have* is considered to be closer to the standard. Indeed, this appears to be the case in Canadian English: Tagliamonte *et al.* (2010) find that *have* is consistently favoured among speakers with post-secondary education, at least in the older generations.

Tagliamonte *et al.* (2010) also examined the impact of social class (in terms of occupation, i.e. white-collar versus blue-collar workers) on the use of these variants. This distinction proved not to be significant, however, in determining preferences for *have* versus *have got*. In our analysis of DECTE, we will follow Tagliamonte *et al.*'s (2010) classification of education (secondary versus post-secondary). We will, however, not consider occupation, as a majority of the informants in our data-set are in third level education.

4. Method

4.1 The DECTE corpus

DECTE is a diachronic corpus of text transcriptions and audio files of interviews with a wide variety of people from the North East of England, dating from 1960 up to and including 2010. In total, DECTE currently contains 99 interviews, recording 160 speakers who generated 804,266 words of text. The interviews come from three different research projects carried out at Newcastle University: (i) the *Tyneside Linguistic Survey* (TLS) of the 1960s–1970s; (ii) the *Phonological Variation and Change in Contemporary Spoken English* (PVC) project of the 1990s and (iii) *NECTE2*, from 2007–2010. It is this third subcorpus that we focus on in our analysis of stative possessives (see Table 1).[9]

4.2 Data collection and analysis

Initially, all occurrences of *have* and *have got* were collected, and then, in order to ensure that the context in which these cases occurred actually allowed for variation, exclusions were made. *Have* was thus

Table 1: The DECTE data-set used in our analysis	
	NECTE2: 2007–2010
Interviews	44
Informants	88
Female	49
Male	39
Age: 16–20	34
21–30	24
31–40	4
41–50	6
51–60	10
61–70	3
71–80	2
81–90	5

excluded: (i) in non-present contexts; (ii) when it had dynamic rather than stative meaning; e.g. *have a drink*; or (iii) when it formed a lexical unit, e.g. *have an impact*. *Got* was similarly excluded as the past participle of *get*. This left us with a total of 804 tokens.

Each occurrence was categorized for the internal constraints discussed in 3.2 above. In addition, each participant was categorized as male vs. female and by their age range (16–29, 30–59, 60–90). Speakers were also selected in accordance with their educational history: those with secondary education versus those with post-secondary education, following Tagliamonte *et al.* (2010).[10]

5. Results and discussion

As our intention is to compare our findings with those of previous research, such as Yoshizumi (2008) and Tagliamonte (2003, 2013), we have used the same statistical tools as these studies,

namely *Goldvarb*, which has been the bedrock of the quantitative paradigm for some time now.[11]

5.1 Frequency of *have* versus *have got*

A preliminary investigation of the frequency of the competing forms shows that *have got* dominates, at 69% (Figure 1).

If we compare this to Yoshizumi's (2008) analysis of earlier DECTE data, however, we see a fluctuation in the frequency of usage. Yoshizumi reports that *have got* was favoured by 58% of speakers in the 1960s/1970s and then there was a dramatic rise to 81% in 1991–1994. Such a development might lead one to propose that *have got* is taking over from *have* as a marker of stative possession. Yoshizumi (2008: 25) suggests that, because the increase in the use of *have got* was led by the younger speakers in the 1990s, we can see this as an indication of linguistic change in progress.

Our results from 2007–2010 demonstrate, however, that this does not, in fact, appear to be the case. Although *have got* is still more frequent than *have*, the difference is not as great as it was in the 1990s. Indeed, these data are interesting in that they demonstrate how distinct populations of speakers (in this case, varying across real time) can have differing usage preferences. As Milroy (1992: 162) points out, "variation, when subjected to fine-grained analysis, may at a given time appear to be moving in a particular direction, but the direction may change, and the realizations may all drift back again to where they started off".

5.2 Internal constraints

As noted earlier, Crowell's (1959) hypothesis that the increasing tendency to contract *have* to '*ve* or '*s* led to the insertion of *got* predicts that there will be a strong correlation between the use of *have got* and the contraction of *have*. Indeed, this is corroborated by our findings. In Table 2 we see that the contracted '*ve* or '*s* form (marked by '1' here) significantly correlates with the use of *got* (chi-square: 559.88, d.f. = 1, p = 0.000). *Got* is used in 99.6% of the cases with a contracted
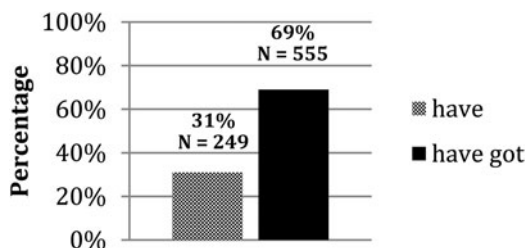

Figure 1. Frequency rate of *have* versus *have got*

Table 2: Contraction of *have* ('ve, 's)

7 (18)		h	g		
1	N	2	492	494	61.4
	%	0.4	99.6		
0	N	247	63	310	38.6
	%	79.7	20.3		
Total	N	249	555	804	
	%	31.0	69.0		

form of *have* and in only 20.3% of cases when *have* is not contracted (i.e. '0' here).

However, the assumption that pronoun subjects will correlate more strongly with *have got* because, historically, contraction began with pronouns and then later spread to NPs, is not borne out in our data.[12] Table 3 shows that NP subjects (marked as '1') occur more often with *have got* (at 64.4%) than with *have* (35.6%), which is also the case for pronoun subjects, and there is no significant difference between subject types (chi-square: 0.64, d.f. = 1, p = 0.425).

Tagliamonte *et al.* (2010) observed that the person form of a subject played a role in determining the distribution of *have* and *have got* in their Canadian data, with the second and the third person singular forms favouring *have got*. A similar effect was also found in our DECTE data, where the second person appears to favour *have got* more than the first or third.[13] Table 4 shows that second person subjects (marked as '2') occurred in 75% of the cases with *have got* while *have* was used in these contexts only 25% of the time. The difference between this distribution and that in first (marked '1') and third person (marked '3'

contexts comes out as significant in a Goldvarb analysis but is not significant according to a chi-square test (GV: FG10 PERSON Group # 7 – 2: 0.830, 1: 0.376, 3: 0.462; chi-square: 2.96, d.f. = 2, p = 0.2).

In accordance with Jespersen's (1961: 51) observation on generic versus specific subjects, our results show a tendency for specific subjects to co-occur more frequently with *have got* more than generic subjects do (an effect reported for other dialects of British and Canadian English, as noted by Tagliamonte, 2003 and Tagliamonte *et al.*, 2010, respectively). Table 5 demonstrates that specific subjects (marked as '1') co-occur with *have got* in 70% of the cases, as opposed to 64.5% with generic subjects (marked '0'). This difference is not particularly great and does not reach significance in a chi-square test (i.e. chi-square: 1.61, d.f. = 1, p = 0.204). However, it does come out as significant in our Goldvarb analysis (GV: FG7 SPECIFIC Group # 5 – 0: 0.297, 1: 0.546).[14]

Yoshizumi (2008) also notes a stronger preference for *have got* with specific rather than generic subjects in the 1991–1994 DECTE data, although

Table 3: NP versus pronoun subjects

11 (12)		h	g		
0	N	228	517	745	92.7
	%	30.6	69.4		
1	N	21	38	59	7.3
	%	35.6	64.6		
Total	N	249	555	804	
	%	31.0	69.0		

Table 4: Grammatical person

7 (10)		g			h
2	N	108	36	144	17.9
	%	75.0	25.0		
1	N	245	115	360	44.8
	%	68.1	31.9		
3	N	202	98	300	37.3
	%	67.3	32.7		
Total	N	555	249	804	
	%	69.0	31.0		

she states that there was no such effect in the 1960s/1970s sub-corpus.

Similarly, we found a significant effect of object type on the choice of variant, with concrete objects favouring *have got*. This supports Jespersen's (1961) theory of grammaticalization, namely, that the origin of *have got* is due to the reanalysis of the past tense form *got*, meaning 'acquired.' The fact that, in our data, *have got* occurs quite regularly with abstract objects demonstrates that it is highly grammaticalized. However, the tendency for *have got* to be favoured more by concrete objects than abstract ones suggests that some degree of persistence still exists (Hopper 1991). Table 6 shows that

Table 5: Specific versus generic subjects

6 (7)		h	g		
0	N	50	91	141	17.5
	%	35.5	64.5		
1	N	199	464	663	82.5
	%	30.0	70.0		
Total	N	249	555	804	
	%	31.0	69.0		

Table 6: Concrete versus abstract objects

5 (6)		h	g		
0	N	109	139	248	30.8
	%	44.0	56.0		
1	N	140	416	556	69.2
	%	25.2	74.8		
Total	N	249	555	804	
	%	31.0	69.0		

Table 7: Negative versus affirmative sentences

4 (5)		h	g		
0	N	191	527	718	89.3
	%	26.6	73.4		
1	N	58	28	86	10.7
	%	67.4	32.6		
Total	N	249	555	804	
	%	31.0	69.0		

concrete objects (marked by '1') occur with *have got* in 74.8% of the cases, whereas abstract objects (marked '0') differ significantly in that they appear with *have got* only 56% of the time in these contexts (chi-square: 28.27, d.f. = 1, p = 0.000).

Similarly, Yoshizumi (2008) also found a preference for *have got* with concrete objects in her 1991–1994 sub-corpus of DECTE.

The strongest effect in our data appears to be that of sentence type, with negative sentences significantly favouring *have*. Table 7 reveals that *have* occurs in 67.4% of negative contexts (marked as '1') as opposed to only 32.6% *have got* in these same contexts, despite the fact that, overall, *have got* is the most frequently used form in our data.

The difference between negative and affirmative (marked '0') contexts with regard to the distribution of *have* and *have got* is significant (chi-square: 59.92, d.f. = 1, p = 0.000).

This is in direct contrast to Noble's (1985) findings, from British plays of the 18th to the early 20th century, that *have got* is actually favoured in negative contexts: a result which led Kroch (1989: 207–10) to suggest that the use of *have got* in negatives is part of a more general tendency to eschew the use of *do*-support with the lexical verb *have*. Tagliamonte (2003, 2013) observes that, in her British dialect data, it is actually *have* that is favoured in negative contexts, which ties in nicely with our findings. However, there is one important

Table 8: *Do*-support across different sentence types

Group #4 −− horizontally.

Group #8 −− vertically.

		0	%	1	%	Σ	%
		+ − − − − − − − − − − − + − − − − − − − − − − − + − − − − − − − − −
0	h:	177	25:	11	28 |	188	25
	g:	527	75:	28	72 |	555	75
	Σ:	704	:	39	|	743	
		+ − − − − − − − − − − − + − − − − − − − − − − − + − − − − − − − − −
1	h:	14	100:	47	100 |	61	100
	g:	0	0:	0	0 |	0	0
	Σ:	14	:	47	|	61	0
		+ − − − − − − − − − − − + − − − − − − − − − − − + − − − − − − − − −
Σ	h:	191	27:	58	67 |	249	31
	g:	527	73:	28	33 |	555	69
	Σ:	718	:	86	|	804	

Table 9: The rise of *do*-support in negative sentences in DECTE			
	1960s/70s	1991–1994	2007–2010
No *do*-support	40 (83.3%)	73 (93.2%)	39 (45.3%)
Do-support	8 (16.7%)	5 (6.8%)	47 (54.7%)

difference between Tagliamonte's 20th century data and our DECTE sub-corpus from the 21st. Tagliamonte (2013: 151) observes that *do*-support is limited in most dialects (she reports 'only a smattering', except in Cumnock in Scotland, where it appears 33% of the time). In our DECTE sub-corpus, however, negative sentences are regularly formed with *do*-support, as Table 8 demonstrates (where '0' marks affirmatives, '1' negatives without *do*-support and ∑ *do*-support negatives). Out of a total of 86 negative sentences, just over half are formed with *do*-support (N47), which forces use of *have*:

By contrast, in negative sentences without *do*-support, *have got* dominates (N28 *have got* versus N11 *have* out of a total of 39 negative sentences without *do*-support).

The relatively infrequent use of *do*-support in Tagliamonte's dialects could be due to a number of reasons including the relic nature of some of the dialects in her study contra urban Tyneside English or that the nature of the discourse event captured in her data-set differs somewhat from that which obtains in our DECTE sub-corpus. Indeed, our analysis of this feature in the earlier sub-corpora of DECTE displayed in Table 9 shows that *do*-support in negative sentences did increase dramatically between the end of the 20th and the beginning of the 21st century.

Interestingly, Yoshizumi (2008) reports that negative contexts have no significant effect on the choice of *have* versus *have got* between the 1960s and 1990s, which suggests that the favouring of *have* from 2007 onwards is (at least partly)

driven by the increase of *do*-support.[15] In this regard, the DECTE data appear to be moving in the same direction as North American English. In their study of the *Longman Corpus of Spoken and Written English*, Biber *et al.* (1999: 163) note that the use of *do*-support in American English accounts for 90% of negative contexts (with an accompanying definite NP).[16]

Similarly, we undertook an analysis of interrogative contexts over the three time periods of DECTE which revealed an increase in the frequency of *do*-support (see Table 10).

When analysing the distribution of *have* and *have got* in interrogative contexts, however, no significant differences were found. Table 11 shows that *have* and *have got* are distributed in a similar way in both interrogative contexts (marked as '1') and declarative contexts (marked as '0') (chi-square: 0.06, d.f. = 1, p = 0.799). It should be noted, however, that the number of interrogative contexts in our data is very low (only 24 tokens out of a total of 804), which is probably a relevant factor.

Thus, it appears, at least in this corpus of British English, that *do*-support is on the increase in possessive stative contexts. The strong favouring of *have got* in Noble's (1985) negative and interrogative contexts might be due to the fact that his data stop in 1935 and it is therefore difficult to fully compare the data-sets.

Returning to the observation that *have got* appears to be on the increase in DECTE between the 1960s and the 1990s, and then falls again in 2007–2010 (58% to 81% reported by Yoshizumi (2008) and then decreasing to 69% in our analysis), it is possible that this can be explained in terms of the interaction between *do*-support in negative (and perhaps interrogative) contexts and the use of *have*. *Do*-support forces the use of *have*, as **do have got* is ungrammatical, so any increase in *do*-support will be mirrored by an increased use of *have*. Having said that, if we remove all negative and interrogative contexts from our data-set, the rate of *have got* is still less than Yoshizumi's (2008) figure of 81% (*have got* = 73.7% (N = 512), *have*

Table 10: The rise of *do*-support in interrogative sentences in DECTE			
	1960s/ 70s	1991– 1994	2007– 2010
No *do*-support	15	22	24 (77.4%)
Do-support	0	0	7 (22.6%)

Table 11: Interrogative versus declarative sentences

12 (13)		h	g		
0	N	241	539	780	97.0
	%	30.9	69.1		
1	N	8	16	24	3.0
	%	33.3	66.7		
Total	N	249	555	804	
	%	31.0	69.0		

= 26.3% (N = 183)), therefore it appears that *have* is gaining some (albeit small) ground in the 21st century sub-corpus.

5.3 External constraints

Table 12 shows that *have got* is favoured most strongly by the oldest and the youngest groups of speakers. The middle-aged group also favour *have got* but less strongly (chi-square: 9.34, d.f. = 2, p = 0.009).[17]

Again, this distribution demonstrates that distinct generations of speakers can have quite different preferences (Milroy 1992: 162) and contrasts with Yoshizumi's earlier findings that the relative frequency of *have got* increases when moving from the older to the younger age groups.

More interestingly, perhaps, Table 13 demonstrates that male speakers favour *have got* more than female speakers do. Males use *have got* in 73% of the cases, as opposed to 65% for females, which is a significant difference (chi-square: 4.90, d.f. = 1, p = 0.027; GV FG2 GENDER Group # 1 – f: 0.451, m: 0.563).

Table 12: Age of speaker

	have got		have	
	N	%	N	%
Youngest speakers	430	69.9	185	30.1
Middle-aged speakers	63	57.8	46	42.2
Oldest speakers	62	77.5	18	22.5

As noted earlier, it is often the case that sociolinguistic research finds that women tend to favour forms that are closer to the standard language and have more prestige whereas men often prefer nonstandard forms (Labov, 2001: 293). Tagliamonte *et al.* (2010) demonstrate that *have* is being favoured by young women in Canada, and Tagliamonte *et al.* (2010: 167) argue that this particular social group appears to be leading the change towards *have*. Our results from DECTE reveal that, although *have got* is the favoured form overall, which distinguishes our data from the Canadian findings, women in Tyneside also tend to use a smaller proportion of *have got* than men do.[18] However, we cannot interpret these findings in the same way as Tagliamonte *et al.* (2010) did for their Canadian data. They argue that *have* is the more prestigious form, owing to the long history in American grammatical tradition of stigmatizing *have got*. By contrast, there is no such prescription reported for British English as far as we are aware and there is no evidence that *have got* is stigmatized in Britain (see Tagliamonte *et al.*, 2010: 171). Indeed, our DECTE data reveal that educated speakers use *have got* as frequently as the less educated speakers do. Table 14 shows that speakers with a post secondary education (marked as 'p' below) use *have got* in 66.9% of their sample data. For speakers with only secondary education ('s' in the table) the figure is 72.2%, which is not a significant difference (chi-square: 2.52, d.f. = 1, p = 0.112; GV FG4 SCHOOL Group # 2 – s: 0.558, p: 0.462).

Thus, the fact that a speaker's education has no effect on the choice of variant suggests that *have* is no more 'standard' than *have got* in Tyneside. This contrasts with Tagliamonte *et al.*'s (2010) Canadian results, which reveal that *have* is consistently favoured by speakers with post-secondary education, at least in the older generations.

Table 13: Sex of speaker

1 (2)		h	g		
f	N	155	299	454	56.5
	%	34.1	65.9		
m	N	94	256	350	43.5
	%	26.9	73.1		
Total	N	249	555	804	
	%	31.0	69.0		

Furthermore, our findings contrast sharply with Yoshizumi's (2008) results for the 1991–1994 DECTE data. She reports that female speakers in this sub-corpus favour *have got* significantly more than male speakers do, although in the 1960s/1970s it was the male speakers who preferred *have got*. This result is presented as somewhat surprising: Yoshizumi points out that the tendency for females to favour *have got* has not been observed before in other varieties of Northern British English (2008). In New Zealand, however, the favouring of *have got* by females has been reported by Quinn (2004, 2009), although no sociological explanation for this was given. Thus, it appears that the preference found by Yoshizumi for females to favour *have got* in 1991–1994 is not necessarily a sign that women are leading the way in a change towards *have got* in Tyneside but could simply be a manifestation of fluctuation in the data which can only be detected by ongoing longitudinal research. We have already noted that the greater use of *have* in our 21st century sub-corpus appears to be closely linked with a recent increase in *do*-support, particularly in negative contexts. Correlations of *do*-support and sex reveal interesting patterns: women use significantly more *do*-support than men in this data-set (chi-square: 5.112, d.f. = 1, p = 0.02). Given the interrelationship between *have* and *do* in interrogative and negative

Table 14: Education

3 (4)		h	g		
s	N	88	229	317	39.4
	%	27.8	72.2		
p	N	161	326	487	60.5
	%	33.1	66.9		
Total	N	249	555	804	
	%	31.0	69.0		

Table 15: *Do*-support and sex in DECTE

	Men		Women	
	+*do*-support	-*do*-support	+*do*-support	-*do*-support
Negatives	40% (N14)	60% (N21)	64.7% (N33)	35.3% (N18)
Negatives + interrogatives	32% (N16)	68% (N34)	63.3% (38)	36.7% (N22)

constructions, such a result is not unexpected. If these are removed from the analysis, however, female speakers still show a slight preference for *have* by comparison to their male peers. That being said, the difference between gender categories is no longer significant (chi-square: 2.059, d.f. = 1, p = 0.51) as Table 15 indicates.

As *do*-support is a common feature of the 2007–2010 data but very rare in the 1960s and 1990s subcorpora, one might argue that women are, in fact, innovating with respect to this variable, which ties in with Labov's (2001: 293) observations that this social group often introduce innovative (non-stigmatized) forms.

6. Conclusion

Three theoretical stances have been taken in previous research to explain the dynamics of *have vs. have got* introduced in §1. Two of these (specifically, the contraction argument put forward by Crowell, 1959 and the grammaticalization approach of Jespersen, 1961) have both found support in our 21st century sub-corpus of DECTE. The very strong correlation observed in our data-sets between *have*-contraction and the use of *have got* supports the former, while the favouring of *have got* with concrete rather than abstract objects corroborates the latter.

As regards the syntactic explanation for the dynamics of *have* vs. *have got*, the argument discussed in Kroch (1989: 207–10) that the latter is favoured in order to avoid using *do*-support, is not evidenced in our sub-corpus. In fact, we find that *do*-support is on the increase, particularly in negative contexts, and this has risen sharply in the 21st century. As *do*-support forces the use of *have*, we see that *have* is significantly favoured in negative contexts, a result which was not found by Yoshizumi (2008) for the earlier sub-corpora of DECTE. It is clear, therefore, that syntactic structure does play an important role in determining the choice of variant – though our data appear to suggest a different syntactic reason for the change than that described by Kroch. Since *do*-support appears to have increased between the 20th and 21st centuries, it is possible that *have* may eventually become the specialized marker in negative (and probably also interrogative) contexts, creating a sharp contrast between these and affirmative declaratives, which strongly prefer *have got*.

With regard to extralinguistic constraints, the gender patterns in the sub-corpora we examined reveal interesting differences between our data and those of the earlier stages of DECTE. Yoshizumi (2008) found that in the early 1990s, women showed a strong preference for *have got*, but our investigation of the 2007–2010 data demonstrates that this is no longer the case. Although the results are not significant when interrogatives and negatives are omitted from the analysis, women do have a tendency to use *have* more frequently than men. Moreover, the rise of *have* tokens in negative and interrogative constructions used by this cohort is likely to be a result of the significant gender difference in the use of *do*-support as a strategy. It would be interesting in future research, therefore, to pursue this line of inquiry with a view to establishing whether this trend is indeed indicative of sociolinguistic change in real time or whether it is the result of the potentially divergent nature of male versus female talk in interaction.

Notes

1 These examples, like that in the paper's title reproduced in (5) and (9) below, are from the *Diachronic Electronic Corpus of Tyneside English* (DECTE) which will be the primary data-set used for the analyses presented in this paper. The information in brackets at the end of each example is the speaker identification number. The data is freely available to download upon completion of an access request form at: http://research.ncl.ac.uk/decte/corpus.htm.

2 'Have' also includes *'ve, has, 's*.

3 The more recent alternative *got*, e.g. *They got no principles* (Tagliamonte *et al.*, 2010: 152), did not feature in our data-set at all and may indeed be a specifically North American innovation.

4 OED reference: HAVE 1(a) and 3 (a).

5 OED reference: GET 24(a).

6 Note that there are no examples of contracted *have* without *got* in our 2007–2010 sub-corpus.

7 *You* is used to mean 'one' here.

8 Tagliamonte's data cover a wide range of British dialects but not Tyneside.

9 Full information on these sub-corpora can be found in Corrigan *et al.* (2012), and in Allen *et al.* (2007).

10 Secondary education includes post-16 Advanced Levels and vocational qualifications, whereas post-secondary is reserved for participants who are studying at university or who have a university degree.

11 We would like to express our thanks to Claire Childs for assistance with the statistical analyses.

12 Though it must be said that NP tokens were relatively scarce in the data-set.

13 Yoshizumi ([2008](#)) did not consider person in her multivariate analysis of DECTE.

14 As an anonymous reviewer points out, the specific/generic distribution of *have/have got* which Jespersen suggested is independent of the spread of the two forms. It would of course be interesting to see whether Jespersen's suggested distribution is robust and maintained in the 21st century but that is beyond the scope of this particular paper.

15 Yoshizumi ([2008](#)) does not mention *do*-support in her study.

16 See also Nelson's ([2004](#): 305–6) study of English in Hong Kong and India, which shows a relatively high rate of *do*-support in negative contexts.

17 This variable was similarly excluded from the Goldvarb analysis on account of the uneven distribution of speakers in this social category.

18 It is important to note, however, that age proved not to be significant here.

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