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On the enregisterment of the Lancashire dialect in Late Modern English: Spelling in focus[1]

1 Introduction

In 1870, Lancashire antiquary William E. Axon (1846-1913) lamented that "the old difficulty about the absurdly unphonetic nature of our ordinary orthography" rendered it unfit "for representing dialectic shades of pronunciation" (1870: 79). His words echoed Westmorland writer Ann Wheeler (bap. 1734-1804), who nearly a century before had admitted to the readers of her *Westmorland Dialect, in Three Familiar Dialogues* (1790) that "Provincial Orthography is one the most difficult Tasks of Literature, for in the Application of Letters to Sounds and Pronunciation scarcely two People think alike" (viii-ix). Axon's remarks on the unfitting nature of orthography to capture Lancashire pronunciation habits were shared by other contemporary antiquarians and writers that strived to reproduce the "peculiarities of dialect and manners" (Harland and Wilkinson 1867: 202). Sir James A. Picton (1805-1889) explained that such peculiarities of dialect comprised "1. Obsolete and peculiar words and phraseology. 2. Peculiar grammatical forms. 3. Peculiar contractions in the combination of words. 4. Peculiarity of pronunciation" (1865: 8-9). The first three types, Picton noted, "require[d] some investigation", whilst he underlined that "the peculiar pronunciation. . .is patent and obvious to all, and is that by which *strangers* principally *identify the Lancashire speech*" (1865: 28, my emphasis). These Late Modern English (LModE) views reveal both the perennial concern of dialect writers to adequately recreate the idiosyncrasy of provincial speech, and at the same time that such distinctiveness was more immediately linked with popular images and ideas about what *the* Lancashire dialect sounded like.

More recently, this difficulty inherent in the literary representation of dialect has been a source of linguistic concern, especially when considering literary respellings as material to investigate older dialect speech. As is well known, they have often been neglected or criticised on account of their unreliability for historical linguistic purposes. Wolfram and Schilling (2016: 346), for example, rightly claim that "For descriptive and practical reasons, it is virtually impossible to be faithful to dialect pronunciation in writing", although they admit that "there are certainly different degrees of accuracy that distinguish writers". In spite of this, and seen from a perspective that does not look into the accuracy of the representation, literary respellings are meaningful in that they have

[1] I wish to thank the editors and two anonymous readers for comments and suggestions on an earlier draft of this paper. Any errors that remain are my own responsibility.

the potential to highlight specific features which are associated with particular identities. They may be understood as resources that offer fertile ground to "shed light on which particular linguistic features are salient to the speakers of a given community, perhaps even to the extent that this leads to, or at least reflects, those features being 'enregistered' in the dialect" (Honeybone and Watson 2013: 306). In fact, the conscious modification of orthography to recreate dialect voices in the literary text is part of a wider selection of linguistic forms that may be salient enough to be recognised as peculiarities of the dialect and indexical of its speaker attributes (or manners) from within and beyond the speech community.

This paper places literary representations of Lancashire English into the context of enregisterment and the sociolinguistics of spelling. Drawing on *The Salamanca Corpus* (SC), I examine Lancashire dialect writings published between 1700 and 1900 representative of both dialect literature (DL) and literary dialect (LD) (Shorrocks 1996). I undertake an analysis of the data to determine, firstly, the repertoire of forms that were circulated in representations of the dialect. Secondly, this paper engages with current research that sees orthography as "a social practice. . .which involves members of a community in making meaningful choices, albeit from a constrained set of possibilities" (Sebba 2007: 31). My interest does not lie in determining the accuracy of the representation; rather, this paper aims to identify the respellings employed to represent the pronunciation features that may have been salient at the time and associated with a particular Lancashire identity. That is, I attempt to pinpoint the traits that writers understood as peculiarities of pronunciation in their attempt to recreate the authentic dialect speaker or, at least, "those things [the audience] associated with dialect" (McCauley 2001: 297). In this sense, I invoke Bucholtz (2003) and argue that the socially meaningful choices made by Lancashire writers can be seen as authenticating practices whereby the dialect was constructed and circulated, having authenticity effects concerning how it was experienced by the audience. In other words, respellings highlighted a set of enregistered forms that were understood or imagined to be authentically Lancastrian. The analysis follows Honeybone and Watson's (2013) methodological framework in which respellings are treated as sociolinguistic variables and quantified to measure the relative salience of the phonological features they represent. I examine three of the enregistered traits found in the corpus, namely the MOUTH, GOAT, and PRICE diphthongs, trying to determine if they were respelt to the same degree across time and type of representation.

The paper is divided as follows. The first section provides a short overview of Agha's theory of *enregisterment*, focusing on the role of dialect writing in the process and studies that have considered this framework for historical investigation. Then, I summarise recent sociolinguistic approaches to orthography, paying special attention to pronunciation respellings found in literary representations of dialect. Section 4 surveys the longstanding literary tradition of Lancashire, the contexts in which it developed, the values attributed to the dialect speaker, and the authenticity effects sought by these texts. Some methodological remarks, the analysis and discussion of the data are presented in section 5. There is hope that this paper may contribute to research on enregisterment and the historical sociolinguistics of spelling (e.g. Villa and Vosters 2015), which remain unexplored in relation to older Lancashire speech and other regional dialects. Also, it seeks to add to our understanding of the impact of language ideologies on the representation of speech more generally, whilst showing that writing practices can provide insight into how speakers may evaluate the distinctiveness of certain linguistic features.

2 Enregisterment, or the idea of a dialect: an overview

Asif Agha's groundbreaking theory of *enregisterment* underlies some important recent works on varieties of English, especially those concerned with how they are constructed and publicly circulated as (relatively) stable sets of linguistic features that index sociocultural values. As is well known, Agha (2003: 231-232) defines *enregisterment* as "the processes through which a linguistic repertoire becomes differentiable within a language as a socially recognized register of forms", or, as he put it later, the process "whereby distinct forms of speech come to be socially recognized (and enregistered) as indexical of the speaker attributes by a population of language speakers" (2005: 38). Enregisterment, therefore, comprises the mechanisms whereby linguistic features take on and index sociocultural meaning, this link becoming visible through a series of practices and discourses that put it on display. These practices, which Johnstone (2011: 657-658) calls metapragmatic, "help people show one another how forms and meanings are to be linked", and include, amongst others, "dialect writing, dialect dictionaries and, more recently, websites dealing with issues of dialect and local identity", as Beal (2010: 94-95) explains. By disseminating habits of speech, either of perception, recognition or production, these practices create public awareness of the values indexed by the features represented, as well as collective ideas about dialects.

The theory of enregisterment is grounded in and coupled with Silverstein's (1976, 2003) orders of indexicality, which refer to the various levels at which linguistic forms are imbued with social significance. His taxonomy comprises three orders that, according to Beal (2010: 94), "relate to ascending levels of awareness within and beyond the speech community" (see Johnstone et al. 2006). The first order refers to the correlation between a linguistic form and a social category, which is observable from beyond the speech community, for example by a linguist. At the second order of indexicality, there is awareness of the link between that linguistic form and its meaning: people notice that speakers of a given social class, place, etc. use that particular form. Finally, third-order indexicality shows that the features associated with specific social categories are the object of overt comment and public representation in a range of different practices both by insiders and outsiders of a given variety. Bucholtz and Lopez (2015: 681) point out that these linguistic forms that are socially meaningful "can then be deployed as part of deliberate and reflexive identity performances".[2]

Such an ideological approach to the study of dialect has permeated recent studies that have explored enregisterment in modern and historical contexts. Picone (2016: 334) emphasises that it "has recently been harnessed by many sociolinguists due to its power to explain the circumscription of a dialectal 'voice' in the public imagination", notably visible in Johnstone's extensive and influential work on Pittsburghese (e.g. 2013). Research concerned with older varieties of English yet remains largely unexplored. Picone (2014), Amador-Moreno and McCafferty (2015), and Paulsen (2016) have examined these processes in US and Irish Englishes, whereas Beal (2009, 2016, 2018), Ruano-García (2012), Cooper (2013, 2014, 2015), and Beal and Cooper (2015) have

[2] It has been argued that these orders show some kind of correspondence with Labov's (1972: 178-180) concepts of *indicators*, *markers* and *stereotypes*, respectively (see Johnstone et al. 2006: 82-83). However, Beal (2016: 16) holds that "there is no implication that forms involved in third-order indexicality are liable to disappear as Labov predicted would happen to his stereotypes. Indeed, third-order indexicality involves what Agha terms enregisterment".

addressed the enregisterment of northern varieties of British English during Early and LModE. They have considered different types of discourse, namely dictionaries, newspapers, correspondence, and especially dialect writing, which, because it relies consciously on regional speech forms, Clark (2013: 261) highlights, "may not only be an intentional act, but an act of enregisterment".

Literary renditions of dialect have traditionally been explored on account of the linguistic insight they may give on the language of bygone times, especially when contemporary records are scarce or non-existent. Whilst far from detailed descriptions of the language, which Schneider (2013: 68) categorises as "hypothetical, imagined speech", research has shown that they provide guidance to advance our historical understanding of some traits (e.g. Beal 2000; Blake 1981; García-Bermejo Giner 1999, 2008, 2013; Minnick 2007; Wales 2010). Nevertheless, and although "work in enregisterment has reawakened scholarly interest in literary texts" (Hodson 2016: 28), this type of evidence awaits further and detailed examination as regards its role in shaping and disseminating ideas about what the dialects represented were like. In fact, regional writing is a clear conduit by which the correlation between language, place, and sociocultural values, as well as the ideas derived from it, are foregrounded, circulated, and consumed.

None of the studies that has approached historical enregisterment in varieties of British English has paid detailed attention to the spelling patterns whereby they have been recreated in literary discourse. To my knowledge, Clark (2013) and Honeybone and Watson (2013) remain landmarks in this regard. They examine the link between spelling choices and the salience of specific forms collectively associated with the modern varieties of the Black Country and Scouse, respectively, highlighting that "orthography depicts not only a representation of a sound pattern alone, but also links to a framework of social identity in much the same way" (Clark 2013: 445).

3 The sociolinguistics of spelling

Over the past few years, research on orthography has witnessed an increasing interest in how it can be understood as a social practice that allows for the possibility that some conscious spelling choices are imbued with social significance and index specific personae. Sebba (2007: 48-50) illustrates this potential with the example of Spanish <k> /k/. The use of <k> where Spanish standard orthography only licenses <c> or <qu> /k/ (e.g. <kasa> for *casa* 'house' and <ke> for *que* 'what') is associated with countercultural groups and seen as a "form of symbolic resistance to mainstream Spanish culture" (50). The use of <k> is actually very rare in Spanish, which makes it possible that variants like <ke> index the idea of otherness and thus users of the language come to associate it with subcultural minorities, an association which remains alive and is clear from practices like street graffiti. Similarly, Sebba (2008) shows that the social potential of spelling choices is central to the construction of identities, evident in online environments as in the case of Sacha Baron Cohen's fictional character Ali G. Sebba (2009: 385) explains that "the written version of 'Ali G' 's language style functions both as a group identity marker for his fans on the internet, and as a contextualization cue within their communications" (see also Sebba 2012).

These instances reveal both that English spelling is not "almost absolutely invariant" (Milroy and Milroy 1991: 67), and, consequently, that such scope for variation is ample enough to activate and perpetuate social meanings that are shared and circulated in different types of practice. Of course, a spelling variant has no inherent social meaning, and it is the possibility of variation itself that enables a variant to take

on and index specific values, as it involves making choices that show divergence from the norm. Such choices can only be meaningful on the premise that the sound-spelling correspondences are transparent enough for readers to identify them as alternatives to another word, which likewise applies to their indexical force. In this sense, Jaffe (2000: 504) claims that "The 'indexical' nature of non-standard orthography also presupposes reader knowledge of the codes represented. . .These include, for example, knowledge of phonological and morphosyntactic features of the language being depicted".[3] To this Sebba (2007: 33-34) adds another prerequisite: variation can be either unlicensed (i.e. the variant has social meaning by virtue of its contrast to the standard form) or licensed, in which case, he notes, it should have extralinguistic associations (e.g. regional, ideological) so that it is not seen as a neutral alternative. The activation of social meaning largely depends then on a number of factors and a limited set of strategies that fall within what Sebba calls the *zone of social meaning*. He explains that it refers "to the fact that in order to be socially meaningful, an item must be different from some element of the repertoire in a specific way, but must also be sufficiently similar that it can be recognized as a variant of, or alternative to, that thing" (2012: 6-7), as in the case of Spanish <k>.

Respellings can take different forms and respond to different strategies (see Preston 1985; Androutsopoulos 2000: 520-522; Sebba 2007: 34-41). Jaffe (2012: 204-205) arranges them into the following categories:

a. eye dialect: spellings that do not represent alternative sounds, but simply indicate standard pronunciations by means of alternative spelling forms; e.g. <sez> for *says*;

b. allegro forms: spellings intended to represent connected and informal speech, such as <hafta> for *have to*;

c. dialect respellings: spellings that represent actual differences in pronunciation of a dialect; we can refer to <dat> for *that* (suggesting the pronunciation of /D/ as [d]), and <loike> for *like* pointing at [OI] instead of /aI/;

d. prosodic spellings: forms that suggest prosodic features, including stress (e.g. <rePEAT>) and vowel lengthening, as in <goooood>;

e. homophone spellings: alterations that are phonologically unmotivated; e.g. <m8> for *mate*;

f. interlingual spellings: spellings that aim to represent the pronunciation of a loanword in another language; e.g. <äktschn> in German for English *action*.

This variety of respellings is widely documented in different instances of speech representation, ranging from media texts to letters and literature. In the latter case, writers often exploit the first three categories in their endeavour to render linguistic habits, style, and achieve social characterisation. When it comes to dialect writing, Picone (2016), for example, shows that eye dialect and dialect respellings figure amongst the most usual categories found in US literature, arguing that dialect respellings "can indeed be beneficial in reconstructing aspects of earlier dialect" (338).[4] Similarly, eye dialect and allegro forms are the most frequently employed respellings to

[3] Regarding the spelling choices of dialect representations, Beal (2006: 532) remarks that "This dependence upon a known or shared 'normal' relationship between sound and spelling makes semiphonetic spelling at times difficult to interpret without prior knowledge of the accent represented".

[4] In place of *dialect respellings*, Picone (2016: 331) uses *pronunciation respellings*, a label which, in my view, captures their function more accurately. The term *regiolectal spelling* has been proposed by Androutsopoulos (2000: 521).

represent Pittsburghese in the corpus of this variety compiled by Johnstone (2013), who concludes that they do not "represent the same thing, and they evoke different kinds of meaning" (32-33). Indeed, besides the tantalising historical information they do offer, and the different types of sound they purport to represent, pronunciation respellings are a powerful resource for dialect writers to highlight potentially salient features that are linked with values widely understood as characteristic of the variety represented. This is so because "the primary communicative potential of written dialect is not symbolic, but indexical" (Androutsopoulos 2000: 514-515), and so is that of the spelling choices which crucially underpin the textual recreation of a dialect.

One important question that should not be overlooked relates to the consistency and density of the pronunciation respellings. The fact that one literary representation of dialect is more or less consistent and dense in this respect has commonly been accounted for in terms of both readability and the writer's experience with the dialect itself. On the one hand, the number of respellings employed is "marked within the limits of comprehensibility" (Sánchez-García 2012: 438) on the basis of the reader's knowledge of the codes recreated, which has an immediate impact on the features selected and the choices made. On the other hand, the quality of the representation responds to the writer's knowledge of the variety represented, either as insiders or outsiders, who target respectively an in-group or out-group audience. Whilst this distinction has an obvious effect concerning the sense of linguistic detail and how respellings are interpreted by the target reader,[5] Jaffe (2000) notes that non-standard texts written by outsiders are prone to contain inconsistent respellings more frequently, as they offer "no potential for representational control to those represented" (509). In fact, she argues that they "multiply the potential for stigma, because the default assumption will be that these inconsistencies belong to the speaker represented rather than to the transcriber" (Jaffe 2012: 217). In the case of texts written by insiders, however, there is control of the representation regarding speaker, space, speech, and related social values. The Lancashire texts discussed in this paper support Jaffe in that representations aimed at local audiences are far more dense and detailed in terms of dialect than those produced for outsiders. The evidence, however, further suggests that the uneven deployment of certain respellings does not seem to lie in the writer's representational abilities and knowledge of the dialect alone. Rather, the degree with which pronunciation respellings are combined with their corresponding standard forms seems to respond to the localisedness and salience of specific features, because, as in real speech, salience "is not an 'all or nothing' matter" (Honeybone and Watson 2013: 312). It is certainly possible that outsiders, who appropriated the dialect in their attempt to recreate and circulate it from beyond, looked at representations produced by insiders so as to accomplish the same kind of linguistic effects, regardless of their motivation and the final intent of the representation. It is reasonable to assume that both types of representation drew upon a comparable set of respellings, inconsistencies not being necessarily explained on account of poor skills or remote contact with the dialect in all cases.

Another critical aspect is that of tradition and convention. Some of the pronunciation respellings found in dialect works reflect a longstanding tradition of literary representation in which some of them have been conventionalised to represent

[5] Sánchez-García (1999: 280) notes that "each reader may interpret those non-standard spellings differently. For instance, a northern reader on facing spellings such as <cum> 'come', <sum> 'some' may consider them eye-dialect indicating the normal pronunciation of the area with a velar vowel /u/".

those features that best typify the dialect in the popular imagination. As Sánchez-García (1999: 270) writes, "It is the continuous and generalised use of a certain sequence which will eventually make it attain a permanent status over other occasional spellings" which may be "peculiar to a specific author". Actually, it is by means of the recurrent deployment of such respellings in stylistic practice that the sounds they evoke "take on sufficient meaning to participate in processes of enregisterment" (Eckert 2012: 97). Their generalisation to evoke and highlight specific dialectal sounds therefore contributes to activating and propagating ideas about which features are enregistered in the dialect, even though their indexical meanings may have shifted over time. Despite the fact that some of them might be shared thanks to metapragmatic activities like dialect writing, the meanings of some pronunciation respellings are not necessarily static but rather dynamic, especially when they are viewed from a historical perspective. Historical shifts in this respect reflect the readers' and writers' changing responses to the association between meaning and the sound evoked by the respellings used, one which "take[s] place within a fluid and ever-changing ideological field" (Eckert 2008: 464).[6]

4 Lancashire dialect writing

Awareness of Lancashire as a distinct dialect dates back to, at least, the seventeenth century. Unlike many other Englishes, it has a longstanding literary and lexicographic tradition where it is treated and represented as another variety with distinctive features. Of course, awareness of such forms must have predated their attestation in the printed record when the trials of the Pendle witches in East Lancashire were dramatised by Thomas Heywood (1573-1641), Richard Brome (c.1590-1652), and Thomas Shadwell (1640-1692). They offered a sketchy yet valuable testimony of contemporary ideas and attitudes towards the dialect, which was associated with superstition (see Ruano-García 2010a: 61). A different view is found in *A Lancashire Tale* (c.1690-1730), which is probably the earliest extant work written entirely in the dialect with the purpose of narrating a daily affair in a country setting. The story relies on crude, even brutal, humour to tell the misadventure of Gilbert Scott who was fooled when he sold his mare at Warrington Fair (see Ruano-García 2010b).

LModE witnessed the publication of an important number of works, especially during the second half of the nineteenth century. In 1746, John Collier's (1708-1786) (pseud. Tim Bobbin) celebrated *A View of the Lancashire Dialect* was first published in Manchester. He has been considered the father of Lancashire literature given the success that the dialogue had all across the country, with successive reprints well into the nineteenth century that showed how "'Tummus and Meary' remained popular among working people for its comic and vivid action" (Vicinus 1974: 188). Collier's detailed representation of the dialect was compounded with "bawdy, comic, and 'clownish' depictions of Lancashire folk", which, Hakala (2010b: 390) writes, "were deemed 'erroneous,' inappropriate representations of the Lancashire character", as also was his reproduction of Lancashire speech, later criticised by nineteenth-century writers

[6] Eckert (2008: 463-464) explains that "A form with an indexical value. . .is always available for reinterpretation — for the acquisition of an *n* + 1st value. Once established, this new value is available for further construal and so on". Similarly, Beal (2018) asserts that "each reading or performance of a dialect text constitutes a link in the 'speech-chain' (Agha 2007: 64-67) by means of which messages about the indexicality of linguistic repertoires are transmitted and reinforced".

(Hakala 2010a: 79). Despite this, Shorrocks (1999: 88) notes that in this work the "use of regional dialect creates a local setting, contributes to the realism, is important to the characterization, and was no doubt thought funny *per se* by the higher classes in the mid-eighteenth century". He goes on to explain that "Many later pieces would reflect the same mix of humorous entertainment and antiquarian specimen" (1999: 88). In effect, later works echoed Collier's legacy in portrayals of a dialect that was treated both as a resource for comedy and an object of antiquarian fascination. Collier himself wrote *Lancashire Hob and the Quack Doctor* (1763) and Henry Clarke (bap.1743-1818) published the squib *The School Candidates* in 1788. This burlesque features Lancashire speaker Pantagriskin, one of the figures for ridicule that is tailored to satirise "the commonly absurd Manner of conducting the Election of School-masters" (n.p.). Here, Clarke constructs Pantagriskin's speech with forms that had been widely employed in Collier's dialogues: *monny* 'many', *teaw* 'thou', etc. Similar features are attested in Robert Walker's (1728-1803) *Plebeian Politics* (1798). This work is entirely written in dialect, adapting contemporary events to the mouths of Whistle-pig and Tum Grunt, two Lancashire clowns, whose language "contains a rich vein of forcible expression, the venerable and valuable reliques of the Ancient Anglo-Saxon and Galic languages" (*Preface*: iv). This piece is a comic dialogue with satirical purposes where dialect is utilised as a radical voice with political undertones within the context of the French and Napoleonic wars. As Navickas (2012: 187) remarks, Walker's "use of dialect and vernacular mode marked an assertion of regional identity and appeal to the then isolated radical survivors in the locality, but may have also been an attempt to avert censorship".

The first decades of the nineteenth century saw a remarkable decline of dialect writing. This was because the self-educated writers "lacked sufficient confidence in themselves and their own culture to write seriously in dialect" (Vicinus 1974: 189). Most dialect works appeared in the form of ephemeral specimens such as broadsides, almanacs, and pamphlets, the Napoleonic War "Jone from Grinfelt" ballads being clear instances of dialect circulating at this time. The flourish of Lancashire writing during the second half of the century coincided with the growth of large industrial cities such as Manchester and Rochdale which became major centres of Lancashire prose and poetry. A large number of works were published from the 1850s, during the time that key authors such as Ben Brierley (1825-1896), Samuel Bamford (1788-1872), Edwin Waugh (1817-1890), and Margaret Lahee (1831-1895) gained literary recognition, contributing to the establishment of a literary tradition that extends into the twenty-first century (see Hollingworth 1977; Wales 2006: 115-141).

Dialect was now a mode of popular entertainment where the average reader, Vicinus (1974: 190) notes, "was attracted to a world close to his own plot, conversation and character". This world mirrored his concerns and preoccupations often set in domestic contexts or showing his recreation in a pub. The celebration of family virtues and the daily life of the working classes became common subject matters, whilst social criticism and the political affairs of the trade unions permeated the works of authors such as Joseph Burgess (1853-1934).[7] The rural setting of Warrington Fair and Collier's dialogue was not, however, rare in nineteenth-century works, as it provided a link to the past scene of "homely labour and plenteous living" (Bamford 1854: x) to which country

[7] Comedy and humour remained common subject matters in the nineteenth century. The image of the swaggering Lancashire man appears in contemporary stories like Waugh's *The Lancashire volunteers* and Brierley's *Ab-o'th'-Yate in London*, though Brierley's narrative often "introduce[d] the dimension of pathos in making its political statements" (Hakala 2010a: 109).

people now inhabiting the industrial cities felt emotionally and culturally attached. Bamford (1854), for example, nostalgically advocated "a continuation of the past, a bettering of it, a derivation from it, an improvement, but not an abandonment" (xi), preserving in his works the essence of the place and subject, whilst shaping local and regional feelings by connecting past and present. Like Bamford, other writers such as Waugh and Brierley used dialect "to assert the persistence of a traditional dialect linking modern Lancashire to a receding past", as Hakala (2010b: 208) points out. The vernacular spoke best to this effect, being conceived as an optimal resource to recreate the world they knew best, however much impressionistic and dissociated the traditional dialect was from the actual varieties used by nineteenth-century people.[8] To make it meaningful, Vicinus (1974: 190) asserts, "It was essential to retain the particularity of place and object". Of course, the sense of Lancashire authenticity to which the use of dialect notably contributed also built upon the common acceptance of a set of shared values. According to McCauley (2001: 289), they include "Temperance and thrift. . .common sense, industry, self-reliance, stoicism, and group unity, both community and family". In fact, Grindon (1892) described the "peculiarities of character" as "industrious, frugal, sanguine, persevering, inflexible in determination" (170), whilst highlighting "their own honesty and sincerity of purpose" because one "of the original characteristics of the county is to be fair and unsuspecting" (172). All these values described a characterological type that, albeit taking different shapes in different works, was linked with the distinct dialect voice found in these writings, and that acted as a powerful resource for the configuration of the Lancashire identity consumed by local audiences.[9] Indeed, these attributes were most frequently valorised in works produced by insiders. For instance, native William E. Axon described how the outsiders' idea that "a Manchester man [was] supposed to have a huge pocket. . .[in] the smoky, grimy streets of Manchester" (9) collided with a past reality where the industrious and sedulous Lancastrians dwelled in the county's "fertile valleys, decked with pleasant farms" (10). Such negative views, which witness the contemporary industrial city landscape, were sometimes appropriated by outsiders and projected in their recreations of the dialect, likewise seeking an effect of authenticity that out-group readers could readily identify.

Dialect writing, therefore, played a critical part in the legitimisation of the Lancashire dialect as a vehicle of expression that somehow challenged the hegemony of standard English. Such recognition was compounded with lexicographical and antiquarian projects that, largely boosted by the English Dialect Society, saw dialect as a worthy object of enquiry and protection. Lexicographers and glossarists harnessed

[8] Like other northern counties, Lancashire saw the development of urban dialects during LModE. John Whitaker referred to "the Mancunian dialect" (240) as early as 1775 in the *Specimen Dictionary* published in his *History of Manchester*, where some words and forms are labelled as peculiar to the city; e.g. *nappern* 'apron', *shog* 'to jog, to go on uneasily'. Crowley (2012) claims that "there is sufficient cumulative evidence" (35) challenging traditional accounts that contend "that Liverpool vernacular could have been the same as that used in Lancashire as late as the 1830s" (36).

[9] There were other highly popular forms of entertainment such as penny readings and the music hall where dialect took centre stage. It worked as a resource for the configuration of identities; as Wales (2006: 132) notes, dialect was "consciously *emblematic* of social and regional identities; and of the associated community values of common sense, stoicism, homeliness, humour and self-reliance".

Lancashire items to describe and preserve the county's linguistic and cultural heritage, providing models to articulate their own sense of place. Similarly, as Edney (2011: 59) highlights, for both writers and readers, "using dialect offered a medium for the expression of ownership of place and also of their own creative productions that was not available, or was diluted, in Standard English". Literature not only "provide[d] models for the performance of local identity" (Beal 2009: 141), but also, and consequently, of authenticity concerning space, speaker, and speech.

In this last connexion, Hakala argues that

> In the context of mid-nineteenth-century Lancashire, these performances of authenticity could make social meaning even for those who did not do the performing. In other words, through their intersecting face-to-face and discursive social networks, Lancastrians, regardless of whether or not they themselves could approximate the traditional vernacular, could identify with the local values, norms, and mores indexed by it. The voices that emerged from Lancashire dialect writing may not have been authentic, but they carried powerful social meaning. (2010b: 389)

The notions of authenticity and of the authentic speaker have recently been challenged by sociolinguists who claim that they are largely ideological constructs, yet critically underlie the construction of identities through language. Bucholtz (2003) proposes instead the concept of authentication, which "views [identity] as the outcome of constantly negotiated social practices" (408). Accordingly, she goes on to say, we should "speak not of authenticity but more accurately of authenticity effects, achieved through the authenticating practices of those who use and evaluate language" (408). Seen from this angle, the literary representations of the Lancashire dialect could be regarded as highly conscious social practices which built upon a series of authenticating devices whereby the dialect was constructed. These practices, including a wide range of resources such as respellings, achieved authenticity effects, offering the link between place, speaker, and language that recreated what was imagined to be Lancashire. As such, the spelling choices circulated in these texts not only highlighted those enregistered forms associated with the dialect and activated meanings that, as we have seen, shifted over time. Also, and consequently, their linguistic and social potential indexed ideas of authenticity that readers expected, consumed, and propagated.

5 Analysis of the data

5.1 Methodological remarks

In order to identify the linguistic forms that were enregistered as peculiarly Lancastrian and the respellings deployed to highlight them, this study is based on a selection of literary works including representations of the dialect written in LModE. They are now part of the SC and have been chosen according to three criteria that respond to my endeavour to offer data that may be taken to represent how the dialect was understood at the time. Firstly, I have considered works written for native and non-native audiences, being here respectively represented by examples of DL and LD. This has enabled me to determine if both insiders' and outsiders' linguistic ideas about Lancashire built upon a comparable set of forms, and if there were shifting perceptions over this period. Also, I have been able to ascertain whether or not these two types of representation deployed the same set of respellings, and if there is some kind of convention in the way certain features were represented. Secondly, only prose texts and dialogues, some of them

written in verse (e.g. ballads), have been selected for scrutiny. This does not mean that regional drama provides useless data for this purpose; the available dialect plays included in the SC are very few, with no specimen recorded from the 1700s. Finally, I have attempted to provide a balanced sample of material from the two centuries considered; yet this has not been feasible because of the few available texts that were published during the eighteenth century and the first decades of the 1800s. Whenever available, I have selected at least one text from the first and second halves of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries written by different authors. As displayed in Table 1, the analysis is based on a total of nine texts, which amount to c.38,000 words (see Appendix).[10] Even though this is not a particularly large sample, it may suffice to provide preliminary insight into the enregisterment of the dialect in LModE.

Table 1. Corpus material

Quantitative material		
Text type	1700-1800 N texts (N words)	1800-1900 N texts (N words)
DL	2 (15,119)	3 (11,460)
LD	2 (1,166)	2 (9,947)
Total	4 (16,285)	5 (21,407)
TOTAL	9 (37,692)	
Qualitative material		
Text type	1700-1800 N texts	1800-1900 N texts
General works	2	6
Localised works	0	5
TOTAL	13	

As already noted, Honeybone and Watson (2013: 312) assert that salience "is not an 'all or nothing' matter", and, as such, they claim that "it is important that we try to understand the relative salience of features" (312) because "it may be too simplistic to assume that all processes have the same potential for salience" (310) (see also 307-311 and references therein on salience; Honeybone et al. 2017). This analysis takes their argument as a starting point, treating respellings as sociolinguistic variables. Although the data provide a relatively important number of apparently enregistered features, the analysis of respellings focuses on three of the most frequently attested forms in the corpus, namely the MOUTH, GOAT, and PRICE diphthongs. I have manually annotated them according to whether they were spelt following standard or non-standard patterns, thus counting the number of instances of standard and Lancashire forms.

The data have been checked against non-literary evidence, offering qualitative insight into how such forms were treated in other contexts where direct discussion about the dialect and its values is documented. The qualitative evidence comprises thirteen texts that comply with, at least, one of the following criteria (see Cooper 2013: 89): first, there must be direct discussion about the features that distinguish the Lancashire dialect; second, there must be examples of general discussion of the dialect, with comments on its peculiarity and values (e.g. slovenly, plain). Table 1 shows that the qualitative material comprises general works that address Lancashire speech and

[10] Because of the length of the two nineteenth-century LD works analysed, I have selected two random samples of dialect, which amount to c.5,000 words each.

provide commentary revealing ideas about the dialect: "Persons unaccustomed to the Lancashire dialect declare it, at first sight, to be harsh, uncouth, and awkward" (Milner 1874: 31). Also, the analysis considers localised material like glossaries from different parts of the county that contain remarks on the pronunciation and spelling of dialect items. Examples are *awhoam* 'at home' and *shough* 'shoe', which, according to Taylor (1901), were pronounced respectively "awom" and "shuff" in South Lancashire.

5.2 Enregistered Lancashire features

Quantification of the data has revealed a common set of forms that consistently occur in the corpus, in cases both of DL and LD. Table 2 shows that they comprise features including Definite Article Reduction (DAR), *l*-vocalisation, the rounding of /a/ followed by a nasal consonant, as well as the retention of verbal *-n* with plural subjects, *r*-levelling in the past forms of BE, and instances pointing at the lengthening of ME /e/ in cases such as *geet* 'get' and *weel* 'well' where <ee> suggests a long monophthong [i:].

Table 2. Consistently occurring features: raw data and NF / 1,000

Features	1700-1800		1800-1900		TOTAL	
	tokens	NF	tokens	NF	tokens	NF
DAR (*t'mon* 'the man', *th felley*'the fellow')	249	15.29	560	26.15	809	21.46
MOUTH (*abeaut* 'about', *teaw* 'thou')	411	25.23	347	16.2	758	20.11
past BE (*I wur* 'I was')	178	10.93	280	13.07	458	12.15
ot / *ut* 'that'	290	17.80	127	5.93	417	11.06
l-vocalisation (*aw* 'all', *towd* 'told')	189	11.6	185	8.64	374	9.92
clitics (*shanna* 'shall not', *whimmeh* 'with me')	259	15.90	95	4.43	354	9.39
/a/ + nasal (*bond* 'band', *mon* 'man')	163	10.01	157	7.33	320	8.48
PRICE (*neet* 'night', *loik* 'like')	49	3	150	7	199	5.27
preterites (*coom* 'came', *catched* 'caught')	57	3.5	129	6.02	186	4.93
2nd p subject *thou*	65	3.99	104	4.85	169	4.48
GOAT (*gooah*, *goo* 'go')	50	3.07	107	4.99	157	4.16
lengthening of ME /e/ (*geet* 'get')	73	4.48	46	2.14	119	3.15
ME /a:/ (*tak'* 'take')	28	1.71	68	3.17	96	2.54
verbal *-n* (*come'n* 'come')	40	2.45	21	0.98	61	1.62
OE /ü/ (*mich* 'much')	3	0.18	40	1.86	43	1.14
ME /aI/ (*cheear* 'chair', *efeath* 'ifaith')	29	1.78	3	0.14	32	0.84
<oo> for / <-le> (*pood* 'pulled', *kiboo* 'kibble')	16	0.98	13	0.6	29	0.76
w-formation (*whot* 'hot')	7	0.42	13	0.6	20	0.53

Most of these features have been reported as characteristic forms of traditional Lancashire English. Trudgill (1990: 23) remarks that the old rounding of /a/ + nasal is distinctive of the "west, from Lancashire to Herefordshire", which the *Survey of English Dialects* (1962-1971) finds in an area comprising the South of Lancashire and most of the West Midlands (see Upton and Widdowson 2006, Map 2). Indeed, Wright's *English Dialect Grammar* (1905: 7) (*EDG*) records [Q] for *man* in Lancashire and other West Midland dialects. Similarly, the retention of ME verbal *-n* for the present indicative plural is a characteristic of the West Midlands, preserved in some areas of Derbyshire, Cheshire, Staffordshire, as well as Lancashire (*EDG*: §435; Upton, Parry and Widdowson 1994: 492). This was likewise used for the past plural of BE in Lancashire and western Yorkshire, persisting in a relic area of the North-West Midlands by the mid-twentieth century (Orton, Sanderson and Widdowson 1978: Maps 21-23). Also,

ot/*ut* ‘that’ is recorded in Wright’s *English Dialect Dictionary* (1896-1905) as an exclusively Lancashire pronoun and conjunction, which is first attested in 1841 (s.v. *ot* pron. and conj.); the SC has earlier examples from the 1700s.

The nineteenth-century qualitative material likewise testifies to the Lancashire distribution of most of these forms, highlighting their distinctiveness as “peculiarities” or “leading characteristics” of the dialect. As displayed in Table 3, at least four of the works scrutinised evaluate them as salient Lancashire forms. It seems that realisations of the MOUTH diphthong, *l*-vocalisation, the rounding of /a/ + nasal, and clitics (mostly contraction of pronouns) were those understood as most peculiar to Lancashire during this time. Heywood (1861: 25) commented on the fact that words like *mon* and *lond* were “firmly retained amongst us”, noting that the rounding of /a/ “although a common archaism it is in the present day one of the distinctive characteristics of the dialect”. The Anglo-Saxon heritage of Lancashire was likewise noted in relation to “strong preterites”, in which use, Heywood (1861: 9) wrote, “we abound”. Actually, Gaskell explained that

> the Lancashire dialect has been peculiarly retentive of the Anglo-Saxon preterite, generally preferring the strong conjugation to the weak. A Lancashire man does not say “he climbed a hill,” but he “clom” it; . . .not he “came,” but he “coome;. . .not he “heaved,” but he “hove;”. . .not he “grinned,” but he “gran.”” (1854: 24)

Like strong preterites, the retention of verbal *-n* was taken as clear proof that “instead of saying that the Lancashire dialect is a corruption of English, it would seem truer to say that English is very often a corruption of Anglo-Saxon” (Gaskell 1854: 23). In fact, Picton (1865: 21) insisted that these Lancashire peculiarities were not “mere corruptions, but differences as old as the language itself”. Yet he acknowledged that some of them were perceived as unintelligible, especially “the peculiar contractions” (25) which, like *innin’* ‘if you will’ and *munney* ‘must I’, were “exceedingly puzzling to a stranger” (26). This “‘shorthand’ of speech” (26), Picton stated, accounted for the outsiders’ views of Lancashire speech as “coarse, vulgar, and debased”, which produced in them “only aversion and disgust” (28). In this sense, Milner (1874) vindicated that the “strong *patois* of Lancashire” (33) was

> only harsh in the hands of those who cannot write it, or in the mouths of those who cannot read it. The chief characteristics of the dialect in this connection are first, to broaden sounds; second, to soften them; and third, to draw or elongate them. It is emphatically a broad-chested speech. (31)

The expressiveness of the dialect in this regard was confirmed by forms showing *l*-vocalisation, such as *faw* ‘fall’ and *aw* ‘all’ which were pronounced with a “broad and open ‘o,’ as in ‘fo’ and ‘o’.” (32). This tendency to broaden sounds, however, admitted of exceptions, including forms showing the “change of ‘ou’ to the thinner sound ‘eaw,’ as in ‘heawse;’” (32). Cases like *heawse* ‘house’ were evaluated as highly salient of Lancashire speech, which Picton (1865: 32) described as a shibboleth that “is usually written *heawse*, *eawt*”, but whose pronunciation differed across the county. Contemporary glossaries largely testify to this prominent feature by providing standard equivalents for similar items that were also possibly evaluated as distinctive enough to deserve a place in such Lancashire compilations.

It is worth noting that these common traits show some variation over LModE. This is not especially pronounced in most cases, which suggests that they were seen as distinctive of the dialect and were thus enregistered as such. If we take six of the most and least numerous phonological features as examples, we can see that there is some relative stability in terms of their frequency. Obvious exceptions relate to the realisation of the MOUTH diphthong and *l*-vocalisation (Figure 1). Their varying frequency could be taken to simply suggest that Lancashire realisations of MOUTH became less salient in the course of the nineteenth century, as also did cases showing *l*-vocalisation.

Table 3. Consistently occurring features documented in the qualitative material

Features	Collier (1775)	Walker (1798)	Bamford (1854)	Gaskell (1854)	Heywood (1861)	Milner (1874)	Picton (1865)	Morris (1869)	Peacock (1869)	Axon (1870)	Nod. & Miln. (1875-82)	Cunliffe (1886)	Taylor (1901)
DAR			X	X				X	X				
MOUTH	X	X	X	X	X	X	X			X	X	X	X
l-vocalisation	X	X	X		X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	
past BE		X	X		X	X	X						
/a/ + nasal	X	X	X	X	X		X	X	X	X	X	X	
preterites			X	X	X		X	X			X	X	
GOAT		X	X				X	X	X	X		X	X
ot/*ut* 'that'		X			X		X				X	X	
lengthening of ME /e/		X	X				X	X				X	
PRICE		X	X	X		X	X	X	X		X		
clitics	X	X	X	X	X	X	X		X	X	X	X	
verbal -*n*	X	X	X	X	X		X				X		X
ME /a:/								X	X	X	X		
OE /ü/			X					X	X		X		

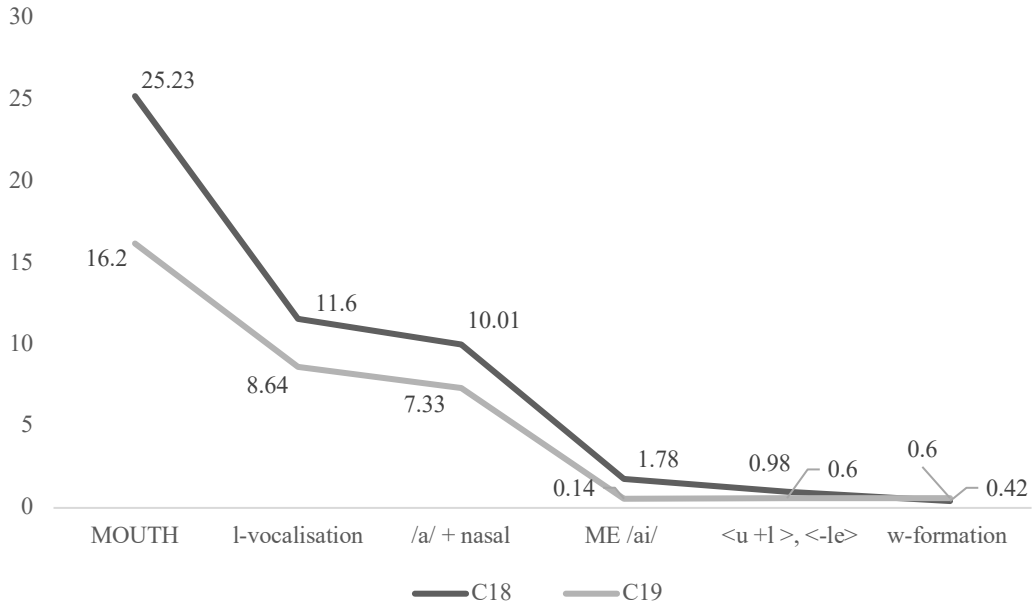

Figure 1. Variation of Lancashire forms over LModE: selected sample (NF / 1,000)

Although this could account for the shifts detected, such changes seem more complex, involving questions relating to the type of representation, and thus linked with the knowledge of the dialect and the audience addressed. Figure 2 charts their distribution across DL and LD, revealing that their frequency in cases of DL was quite consistent and stable. This would indicate that both MOUTH and *l*-vocalisation remained salient to insiders of the dialect as well as to local audiences, which the qualitative material seems to confirm, as we have seen. The LD data suggest, however, that whilst *l*-vocalisation also remained a stable feature during the course of LModE, MOUTH would appear to have shifted towards a form that was less salient to non-Lancashire readers, at least in the texts analysed.

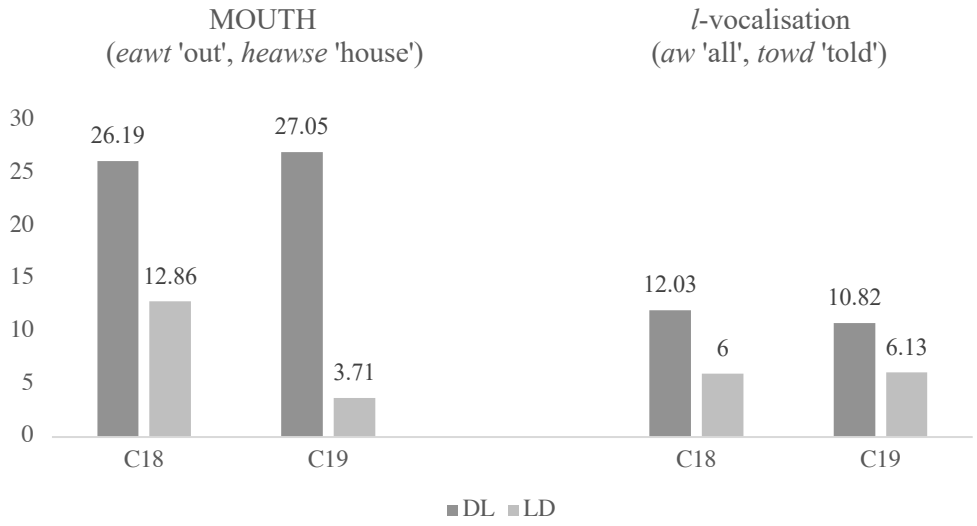

Figure 2. MOUTH and *l*-vocalisation across DL and LD (NF / 1,000)

There is evidence concerning other differences that likewise point to variation in the texts examined as regards this set of features. Even though all of them consistently occur in both DL and LD, during the eighteenth and the nineteenth centuries, the data go some way towards suggesting that insiders and outsiders had differing perceptions of the degree to which these forms were associated with the dialect. Figure 3 shows that in the eighteenth century the most prominent features to local audiences seem to have been the use of *ot*/*ut* 'that', the rounding of /a/ + nasal, and the lengthening of ME /e/, whereas the rounding of /a/ + nasal and the retention of verbal *-n* featured amongst those that non-native readers may have evaluated as more peculiar to Lancashire. During the nineteenth century, the distribution of these forms seems to have remained relatively steady in most cases, pointing at stable ideas about the dialect and its recreation. Cases of *ot*/*ut* are amongst the most pronounced in DL, and instances of the rounding of /a/ + nasal are commonly attested in examples of LD (see Figure 4). The realisations of the GOAT diphthong were, however, apparently more strongly associated with the dialect by insiders in the 1800s, whilst outsiders' representations included the PRICE vowel on a more frequent basis.

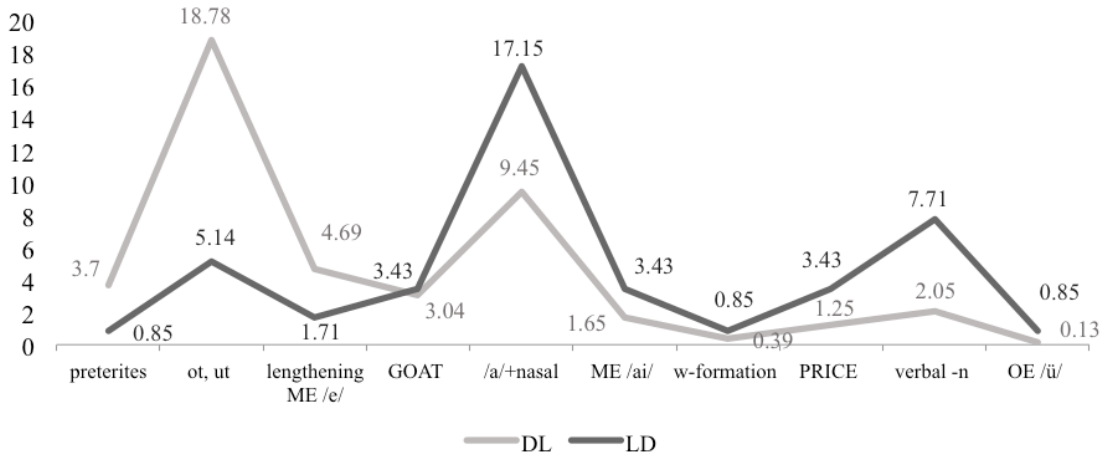

Figure 3. Repertoire of Lancashire forms across DL and LD (1700-1800) (NF / 1,000)

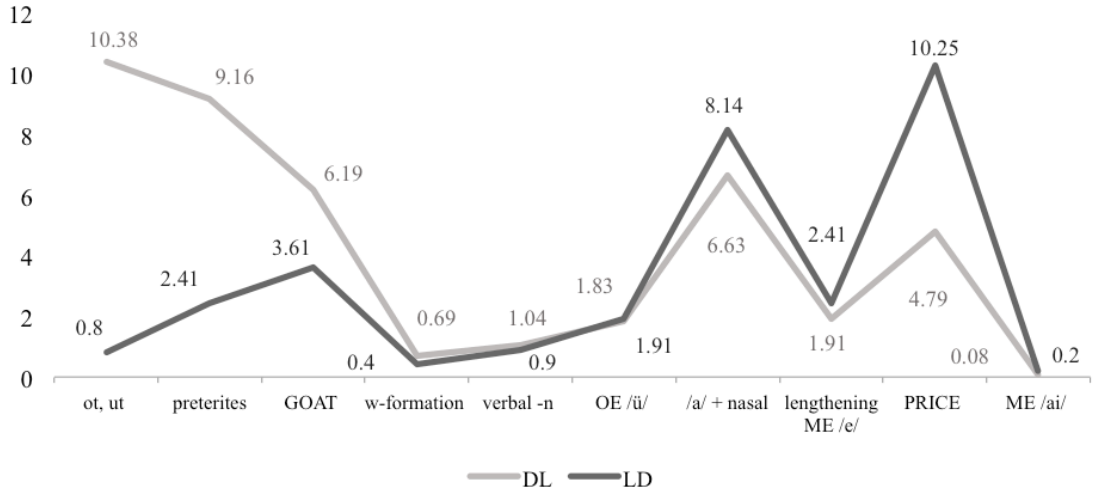

Figure 4. Repertoire of Lancashire forms across DL and LD (1800-1900) (NF / 1,000)

Additionally, the data testify to a series of features that are not attested in the eighteenth-century LD material, but are found in the DL data, as well as widely documented later in the nineteenth century in both types of representation. They include forms that have likewise been reported as traditional and peculiar to Lancashire and the West Midlands, including the retention of weak plurals (e.g. *shoon* 'shoes'), the [U] realisations of /Q/ before nasals, especially /N/ (e.g. *amung* 'among'), the retention and devoicing of ME /Ng/ > [Nk] (e.g. *yunk* 'young'), along with *hoo* 'she' and other items, such as *nowt* 'nothing' and *summat* 'something'. There are also instances of the unsplit /U/ (e.g. *blud* 'blood', also in *amung*, *yunk*), which are slightly more frequent in cases of LD than DL (NF / 1,000 = 4.02 vs 2.96). These changes in the register mirror outsiders' shifting perceptions and uses of the dialect during LModE, which were possibly motivated by the widespread circulation of Lancashire writings produced by insiders in the nineteenth century. The fact that none of these old forms are attested in the eighteenth-century LD material would suggest that non-native audiences were not highly aware of them, DL later contributing to promote and circulate them as authentically Lancastrian, which LD texts appropriated and shared with outsiders. Again, the qualitative material supports their treatment as Lancashire variants. The retention of OE weak plurals, for example, was qualified by Heywood (1861: 8) as a common oral peculiarity that Gaskell (1854: 24), however, noted as a vulgarism: "It may be considered vulgar to use these words 'een' and 'shune' now, but we have excellent authority for them". Similarly, Heywood (1861: 17) described that *hoo* 'she' was "one of our most peculiar terms", which, he remarked, was "limited in its use by the English Apennines dividing Lancashire and Derbyshire from Yorkshire". That forms like *lung*/*lunk* 'long' and *think* 'thing' were claimed as natural to the county is confirmed by Bamford (1854: s.vv).

5.3 Lancashire pronunciation respellings

We have seen that the set of consistently occurring features include the realisations of the GOAT, MOUTH, and PRICE diphthongs, whose frequency in the corpus is not comparable either across time or the type of representation in which they appear (cf. Table 2). Figure 5 shows that there are also important differences in regards to how often the words in these lexical sets are respelt. The PRICE vowel is spelt according to non-standard patterns less frequently than GOAT and, especially, MOUTH words, which are spelt non-standardly c.80.5% of the cases where this diphthong is represented (758/942). The immediate implication that follows is that MOUTH had and evoked a marked social meaning, being thus understood as a highly salient Lancashire feature unlike PRICE, whose non-standard spelling representation in the corpus comparatively amounts to just 28.2% (199/705). Whilst these percentages reflect overall patterns during LModE, a closer scrutiny of the spelling practices employed to represent them across time and type of representation reveals interesting differences that inform about their degree of salience and how they were perceived.

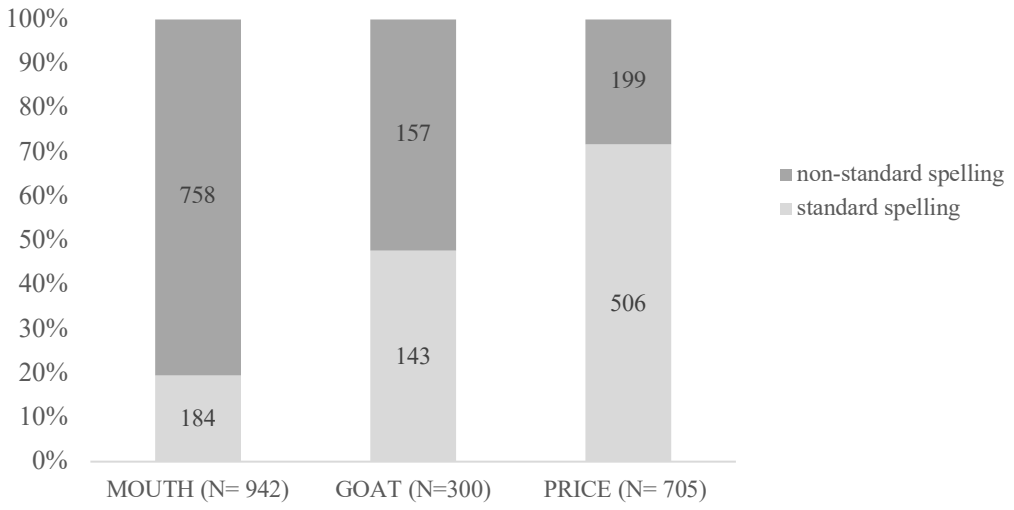

Figure 5. (Non-)Standard spelling forms over LModE: raw data

5.3.1 The representation of MOUTH

As already noted, Picton (1865: 32) evaluated the realisations of MOUTH as a highly salient feature, which he qualified as "the South Lancashire shibboleth" and illustrated with examples that include *deawn* 'down', *heaw* 'how', and *theaw* 'thou'. This was indeed a longstanding distinctive characteristic of the dialect that had previously been commented upon as a noticeable sound, and which, as a result, became a good candidate for the literary recreation of the dialect. Heywood (1861: 28) had remarked that in South Lancashire the sound /au/ was chiefly adopted "in the diphthong *eaw*", which Bamford's (1854: 165) glossary also showed with variants such as *ceaw* or *keaw* 'cow'. Likewise, Collier's prefatory words to *The Miscellaneous Works of Tim Bobbin* (1775) highlighted that "in other [southern] Places we sound the *ou* and *ow* as *eu*; as *theaw*; for *thou*; *Keaw*, for *Cow*; *Heawse*, for *House*; *Meawse*, for *Mouse*" (sig. A2).

Picton (1865: 32) explained that the pronunciation of MOUTH varied across Lancashire. According to Cunliffe (1886), in Rossendale (North Lancashire), the diphthong "takes the sound of aa, as 'faal,' 'graand,'. . .nearer the sound of the syllables ai a; whilst in Rochdale the sound is eau, 'feau,' 'greaund,' but more open than the triphthong in beauty" (iv-v). Ellis (1889) reported on low and low-mid monophthongs and centring diphthongs for *down* in South and central Lancashire, South-west Yorkshire and North Derbyshire, e.g. [a:], [æ:], [E:], [a@], [æ@], [E@] (Maguire 2012a, 2012b). In the same vein, *EDG* (111-2; §170) records different pronunciations for *down* in the county, including "dān" and "dǣn" in South Lancashire, along with diphthongs such as "daQn" and "daun" in other districts of the South and elsewhere in North and central Lancashire. Despite this, contemporary metalanguage agrees that MOUTH words were regularly respelt <eaw> since, at least, the eighteenth century. Table 4 quantifies the spelling variants found in the corpus to represent MOUTH.

Table 4. Pronunciation respellings for MOUTH (N=758)

Respelling	1700-1800		1800-1900		Total
	DL	LD	DL	LD	
<eaw>	394	15	103	37	549
<eau>	0	0	206	0	206
<eow>	0	0	1	0	1
<aw>	1	0	0	0	1
<u>	1	0	0	0	1

Instances of <eaw> clearly outweigh other respellings, and they are employed very consistently to represent a wide range of words except in one of the DL texts written by Ben Brierley. Here, preference is given to the related variant <eau> that is often used to respell a large set of words including high-frequency grammatical items (e.g. *about* <abeaut>, *thou* <theau>), as well as lexical words, such as *loud* <leaud> and *house* <heause>. <eaw> is Brierley's regular choice for *down*, *how*, and *now*, along with other words like *crowd* <creawd> and *drowned* <dreawnt>; apparently, his spelling choices were phonologically unmotivated. Only very occasionally can we find alternative variants in the data. <aw> is used to respell *about* <abawt> in the anonymous *A Lancashire Tale* (c.1690-1730), where <u> is found in <misduttim> to represent *misdoubt him*. <eow> is documented in Sammy Buttercup's *Poor Widow Smith* (1893) for *house*, which is likewise respelt <heawse>.[11]

It is quite likely that the use of <eaw> as the most frequent choice to recreate MOUTH in both types of representation lies in the extraordinary and longstanding impact of Collier's dialogue where it has been first attested. The first instances of <eaw> in the SC are found in the second half of the eighteenth century, which suggests that writers possibly appropriated Collier's choice. This way, they contributed to the conventionalisation of <eaw> to highlight and visualise this enregistered pronunciation feature, regardless of the Lancashire location of the story and the realisations of MOUTH.[12] The data indicate that MOUTH was indeed highly salient and meaningful to those who wrote and read Lancashire writings in LModE, as words containing the diphthong are respelt very frequently according to non-standard patterns, as we have seen. The distribution of (non-)standard spellings across time and type of representation (see Figure 6) suggests that MOUTH remained a truly distinctive feature for local audiences during the eighteenth and the nineteenth centuries, with 98% (704/718) of non-standard spelling forms being used to represent these words. By contrast, it seems that MOUTH became less associated with the dialect for outsiders during the 1800s: it is respelt non-standardly just 17.9% (37/207) of all possible cases in the LD material, in which <eaw> is especially restricted to grammatical words, such as *now* <neaw> (x13) and *thou* <theaw> (x13). These results should be taken with a pinch of salt, though, as they represent just two texts.[13]

[11] This may possibly respond to a slip made by the transcriber of this Lancashire sketch published in the Australian weekly newspaper *The Traralgon Record*, as MOUTH words are elsewhere respelt <eaw>.

[12] Ellis (1889: 1762) stated that "the Lan. spelling *eaw* [was] invented by Collier (*Tim Bobbin*), and used by all La. dialect writers, whatever the pronunciation of their district. In Collier's district at Rochdale, D 21, people now say (ƎʹʊtƏ)".

[13] Poor knowledge of the dialect does not probably account for the sparse deployment of respellings in the nineteenth-century LD material. These two texts were written by

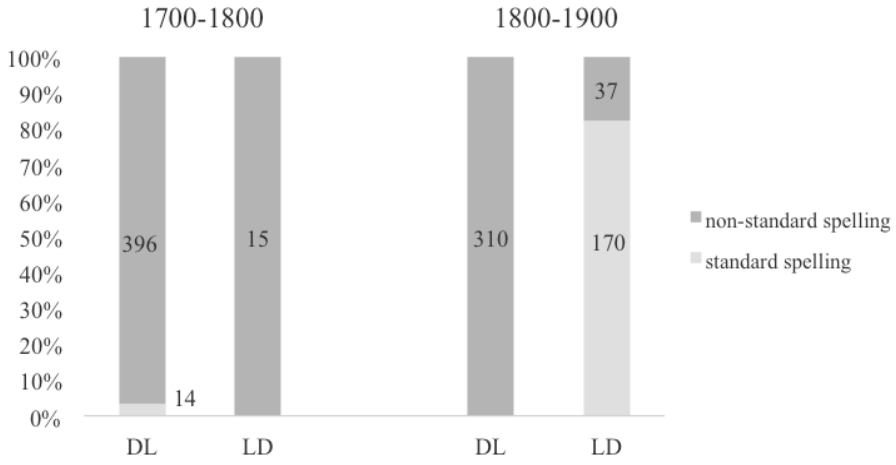

Figure 6. (Non-)Standard spellings across time and type of representation: MOUTH

5.3.2 The representation of GOAT

There is comparatively less direct contemporary discussion on the distinctiveness of the realisations of GOAT. Picton (1865: 31) referred to *booan* 'bone' and *goo* 'go' to illustrate the peculiar change of "Short *o*...into *oo*", as Axon (1870) later did to exemplify some of the "peculiarities of our folk-speech" (69) with *gooah* 'go' and *whoam* 'home'. Walker (1798) had already glossed *gooah* nearly a century before, along with similar variants (e.g. *klooas* 'clothes', *toose* 'those') that he may have felt were characteristic (and obscure) enough to deserve an entry in the glossary added to *Plebeian Politics*. In this sense, later glossaries from different parts of Lancashire listed pronunciation variants that were given as peculiar to the dialect. We may refer to *thróoat* 'throat' and *tóoas* 'toes' that were "chiefly used and understood in the rural districts of South Lancashire" (Bamford 1854). Of interest are also *nooàs* 'nose' and *gooat* 'goat', which Morris (1869) and Peacock (1869) respectively cited from Furness and Lonsdale, in the North of the county. Cunliffe (1886) noted that *goo* 'go' was used in Rochdale.

This evidence suggests that GOAT took the form of [U]-type vowels and diphthongs in words descending from either OE /A:/ (e.g. *go*, *toe*) or ME open syllable lengthened /o/ (e.g. *nose*, *throat*). In fact, *EDG* (124-5; §120) records "gu@" for *go* in some areas of North and South-mid Lancashire, along with "gū" in the South of the county. The variant pronunciations "nōz" and "nu@z" are attested for *nose* in central Lancashire, and the North, South and some districts of Mid Lancashire, respectively (147; §93). Ellis (1889) found that in words with ME open syllable lengthened /o/ (e.g. *coat*) [OI]-type diphthongs were largely absent, save in some districts bordering Yorkshire (Maguire 2012a, 2012b), which *EDG* confirms for *coat* (104-5; §120). He explained that in southern districts the ME vowel "seems naturally inclined to (uu) in the form (*œ*′u), but occ. becomes (ói), probably as a variant of (úɐ)" (1889: 330). This diphthong was, Ellis (1889) noted, the natural development in words with OE /A:/, as in

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Manchester born William H. Ainsworth (1805-1882) and Mary E. Blundell (1855-1930), who was originally Irish but moved to Little Crosby, Lancashire, at the age of 20. Both of them seem, therefore, to have based their choices on what they assumed the general readership understood and knew about the dialect.

"(rúɐd) road" (330) in the South of the county, and "(túɐd úɐk) toad oak" (353) in central Lancashire.

There seems to be therefore a correspondence between the realisations of GOAT and the spelling forms used to represent them in the qualitative material. Respelling GOAT words with <oo(a)> is a reasonable choice, especially when attempting to capture the high monophthong [u:] and the centring diphthong [U@] documented in contemporary surveys. Literary representations of the dialect equally deployed these respellings to represent words belonging to this lexical set. Table 5 shows that <ooa> is the most usual respelling in the corpus, which we can find in a wide range of frequent and infrequent words including *both* <booath> and *waistcoat* <waistcooat>. <oo> is often found to respell the verb *to go* (e.g. <goo>, <gooin'>), whilst <ooCe> is the common choice to represent the pronunciation of *those* <thoose>. Nineteenth-century LD texts, however, show some preference for <oa> in cases such as *ago* <agoa> and *bone* <boan>, which is also respelt <booan> in Ainsworth's *Lancashire Witches* (1849). Similarly, <oa> is regularly employed to represent the pronunciation of *home* <whoam>. Ben Brierley's use of <ooe> to respell *mostly* <mooestly> seems an isolated pattern, as GOAT words are elsewhere represented with <ooa>.

Table 5. Pronunciation respellings for GOAT (N=157)

Respellings	1700-1800		1800-1900		Total
	DL	LD	DL	LD	
<ooa>	21	0	25	3	49
<oo>	11	2	32	1	46
<ooCe>	14	2	9	0	25
<oa>	0	0	4	32	36
<ooe>	0	0	1	0	1

Even though DL and LD built upon a comparable set of respellings, and GOAT had quite a marked local meaning over the period with 52.3% (157/300) of non-standard spellings in the corpus (cf. Figure 5), their distribution across time and type of representation reveals some interesting variation. In the DL material, GOAT words are frequently respelt according to the patterns described above, which is particularly noteworthy in the eighteenth century where standard spellings are rarely employed to represent the sound (see Figure 7). In the nineteenth century, the percentage of non-standard spellings amounts to 55.5% (71/128), which is not an insignificant number, suggesting that GOAT remained fairly emblematic of the dialect for insiders during the period. By contrast, the data indicate that this feature was usually spelt standardly in nineteenth-century LD where Lancashire forms represent a total of 36% (36/114). Eighteenth-century representations go some way to suggesting that the realisations of GOAT were perceived as distinctive by out-group readers, although the sample is too small for reliable generalisations.

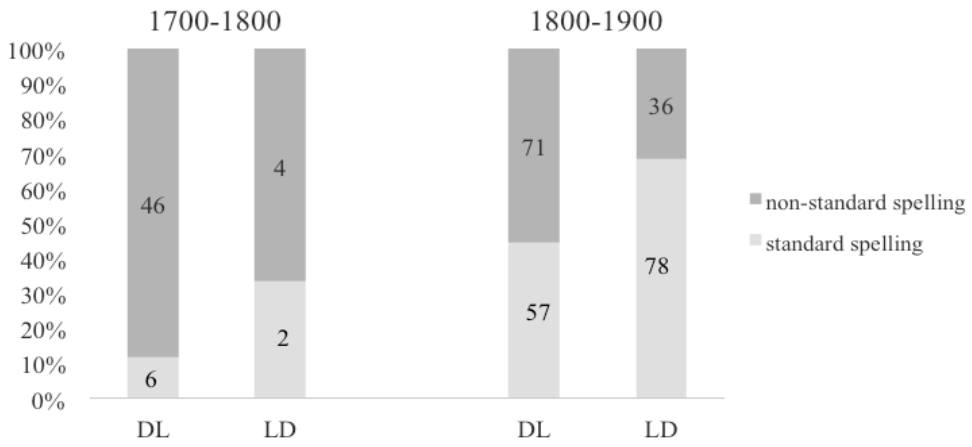

Figure 7. (Non-)Standard spellings across time and type of representation: GOAT

5.3.3 The representation of PRICE

As with the previous diphthongs, the corpus indicates that PRICE words were respelt according to different patterns. Table 6 displays that <ee> was the most frequent respelling employed by Lancashire writers, followed by <oi>/<oy> and a few examples in which <ei>/<ey> are used.

Table 6. Pronunciation respellings for PRICE (N=199)

Respellings	1700-1800		1800-1900		Total
	DL	LD	DL	LD	
<ee>	25	5	29	52	111
<oi>/<oy>	14	0	14	50	78
<ei>/<ey>	5	0	5	0	10

Contemporary evidence shows that these respellings testify to the realisations of PRICE in the dialect. In fact, Milner (1874: 32) noted that "In place of the thin 'i' we get the broader and quite Greek sound of 'oi;'", which Axon (1870: 65) summarised by stating that "long i = oy". Heywood (1861: 40) recorded some instances of such diphthongal realisation of ME /i:/, including *loike*, *whoyle*, and *quoite* which did suggest an [OI]-type diphthong that "In the North. . .seems confined to South Lancashire and its immediate neighbourhood, and generally represents *u* or its substitutes *i* or *y*". Picton (1865: 31) agreed with his contemporaries that "Long i changed sometimes into oy", adding that it sometimes changed "into long e—Leet for Light, Neet [for] Night". This second change suggesting a high long monophthong [i:] < ME /i+C(t)/ was likewise attested by pronunciation variants recorded in general glossaries of the dialect (e.g. *eawl-leet* 'owl-light' in Nodal and Milner 1875), as well as localised compilations. Morris (1869) glossed *freet* 'fright', whilst Peacock (1869) listed *deet* 'dight'.

These observations were corroborated by contemporary surveys for specific districts. Ellis (1889: 331) found that these words "have the distinct form (*ái*) as (t*ái*m) time, continually conceived as (tO´*i*m)" in the localities of Chorley and Leyland, in central Lancashire, whilst *right* was pronounced "rìt" (339) in Hoddlesden, to the East.

EDG (139; §154) records an [OI]-type sound for *like* in South and central Lancashire, whereas "rīt" is given as the usual pronunciation for *right* across most of the county.

It is worth noting that neither of the two sounds noted in the qualitative material were localised to Lancashire alone. Both Ellis (1889) and *EDG* found them respectively in neighbouring districts of Yorkshire (also noted by Heywood 1861), as well as widely across the North (see Beal 2004: 125). Cooper's (2013: 97) study of the enregisterment of nineteenth-century Yorkshire dialect, for example, also documents [OI] realisations of the PRICE diphthong in literary representations of the dialect where they are equally represented with <oi> (see also Ruano-García et al. 2015: 150).

Honeybone and Watson (2013: 324, 333) argue that the extent to which a dialect feature is localised is closely linked with its potential for salience, and thus has an immediate impact on the degree with which it is respelt in literary representations. The localisedness criterion, as they put it, encourages us to consider that the more localised a feature is, the more frequently it is spelt non-standardly in such speech recreations. We should expect therefore that PRICE words are respelt to a comparatively lesser degree than GOAT and MOUTH, writers often choosing standard patterns for the words belonging to this lexical set, which Figure 7 confirms.

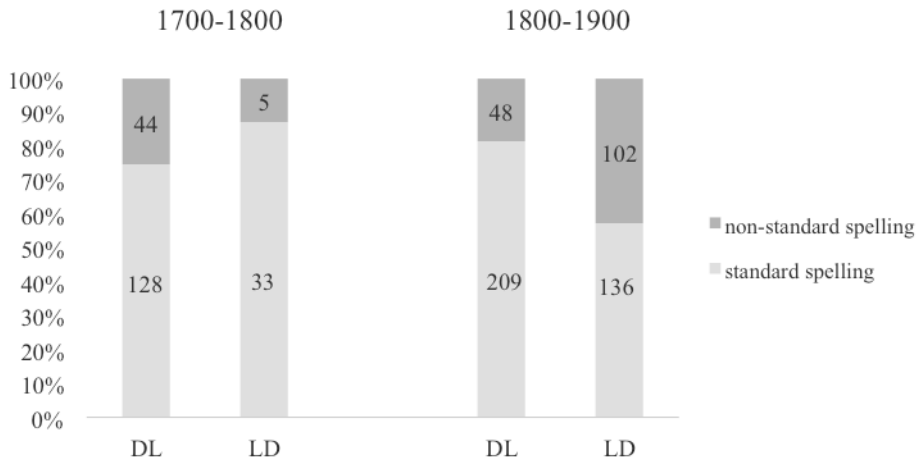

Figure 7. (Non-)Standard spellings across time and type of representation: PRICE

Standard spellings are chosen in 76.6% (161/210) of possible cases in the eighteenth century, whilst nineteenth-century writers preferred standard forms c.70% (345/495) of the time. Interestingly, as shown in Table 6, instances of <ee> outweigh examples of <oi>/<oy>. This suggests that, even though [i:] was a widespread northern pronunciation, <ee> was possibly regarded as a more meaningful device to authenticate the recreation of the dialect and impregnate it with an easily recognisable regional feeling. In the DL text written by Brierley, <oi>/<oy> are used on seven occasions (e.g. *drive* <droyve>, *shiny* <shoiny>) whilst <ee> is found thirty-six times: *night-cap* <neet-cap>. Such a preference for <ee> is obvious in Blundel's novel too where no instances of <oi>/<oy> are documented. The distribution of PRICE spellings suggests, therefore, that the realisations of the diphthong were not perceived as particularly distinctive of Lancashire either inside or outside the county, whilst testifying to their degree of localisedness.

6. Conclusion

This paper has been concerned with the enregisterment of the Lancashire dialect by scrutinising LModE literary representations of this variety in an attempt to determine the set of linguistic forms associated with it, as well as to examine the respellings used to highlight such enregistered features. The analysis has shown that the dialect was distinguished by a set of commonly occurring features in cases of DL and LD, suggesting that both insiders and outsiders shared ideas about what the traditional Lancashire dialect was like. Forms like *l*-vocalisation, the rounding of /a/ + nasal, the realisation of MOUTH, and contractions feature amongst those recurrent traits that were evaluated as peculiarities of the dialect in non-literary texts with discussion on such forms and their meanings. Also, a closer scrutiny of the distribution of these traits across time and type of representation has pointed to variation in terms of their frequency, which goes some way to indicating shifting perceptions from within and beyond the speech community. Not all of the enregistered features found in the corpus seem to have been understood alike by native and non-native audiences, nor in the eighteenth and the nineteenth century, which would confirm Johnstone et al.'s contention that corpora can reveal "shifting indexicalities over time" (2006: 84).

In line with this, a careful investigation of the spelling practices deployed has revealed important differences relating to the degree of localisedness of some features, whilst corroborating Honeybone and Watson's (2013) methodology to treat respellings as variables which can tell us about the salience of these traits. Indeed, none of the three features examined is spelt non-standardly 100% of the time; variability is also expected in the analysis of real speech. The frequency with which MOUTH, GOAT, and PRICE are spelt following standard or non-standard patterns has raised some important points. Firstly, native and non-native representations relied to a very large degree on the same set of respellings, which would suggest that dialect enregisterment builds upon shared practices or authenticating devices that have been transmitted over time. This is especially obvious in cases where MOUTH is represented. Forms like <eaw> were (and remain) conventionalised to respell words that were otherwise pronounced /aU/ in standard English, to index ideas of place and activate meanings and values of temperance, self-reliance, etc.[14] Secondly, the distribution of (non-)standard spellings has shown that the more localised a feature is, the more salient it is and is thus respelt in recreations of the dialect. As such, the data indicate that the cline of salience of the features analysed might have been MOUTH > GOAT > PRICE, even though their frequencies in the corpus, as indicated in Table 2, may suggest otherwise (i.e. MOUTH > PRICE > GOAT). Thirdly, and consequently, the inconsistencies that we have observed regarding the representation of some features with (non-)standard spelling patterns do not seem to respond to the skills of a writer and their knowledge of the dialect represented alone. By treating Lancashire dialect writing and spelling choices as social practices, not only have we ascertained a repertoire of forms that provide a window into how the traditional dialect was perceived during this time. Also, such an approach has enabled us to delve deeper into the enregisterment of individual features highlighted by respellings that 'placed' these texts and indexed ideas of authenticity concerning space, speaker, and speech.

[14] MOUTH remains a highly salient feature, especially of a more restricted area that includes Wigan and other parts of Greater Manchester. I am most grateful to one of the reviewers for kindly bringing this to my attention.

In sum, there is hope that this paper adds to the history of the Lancashire dialect by showing that this history may have been shaped by how the dialect and their speakers were imagined and represented. As I have attempted to demonstrate, enregisterment proves especially useful for such an undertaking, which in the case of Lancashire is here for the first time addressed. In fact, the use of Agha's theory in combination with recent sociolinguistic perspectives on orthography offers a productive framework to explore such perceptions and representations in the context of practices that seek authenticity effects, and at the same time capture and circulate ideas about how people talk. Additionally, the methodology followed here, which has rarely been applied to literary texts, makes it possible to reconstruct some of those linguistic ideas, which can be scrutinised to uncover patterns of salience with regard to specific traits, and gain more refined insight into the social meaning of the spelling forms that visualise those features. The combination of such theoretical and methodological approaches contributes, therefore, to our understanding of the social embedding of variation more generally, the meaning of writing practices, as well as of the impact of ideologies on the construction and circulation of varieties both past and present.

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Appendix: Corpus

DL

Anonymous. c.1690-1730. *A Lancashire tale*. Folger Library MS V.a. 308: fos. 53v-55v. [991 words].

Anonymous. 1800?. Jone's Ramble from Grinfelt to Owdham. In *William Hay MA, scrapbook, vol. III*. Chetham's Library MS: 109. [441 words].

Brierley, Benjamin. 1869. *Ab-o'th-yate at the Isle of Man. To the editor of Ben Brierley's Journal in the year 1869.* Manchester: John Heywood. [9,698 words].

Buttercup, Sammy. 1893. *Lancashire sketches: Poor widow Smith*. Published in *Traralgon Record Supplement*, Friday, August 4, 1893, 2. [1,321 words].

Walker, Robert. 1798. *Plebeian politics*. Manchester: Printed by W. Cowdroy. [14,128 words].

LD

Ainsworth, William H. 1849. *The Lancashire witches: A romance of Pendle Forest*. London: Henry Colburn. [5,173 words].

Blundell, Mary E. 1900. *A Daughter of the Soil*. London and New York: Harper and Brothers, Publishers. [4,774 words].

Clarke, Henry. 1788. Cant V. *The school candidates: A prosaic burlesque occasioned by the late election of a schoolmaster at the village of Boudinnoir*, 41-45. Utopia (i.e. Manchester). [483 words].

Collier, John. 1763. Lancashire hob and the quack doctor. *Tim Bobbin's toy-shop open'd or, his whimsical amusements*. Manchester: Joseph Harrap. [578 words].