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FACULTAD DE FILOLOGÍA

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Geordie Dialect in Australia: A Linguistic
Analysis of Geordie in Rolf Boldrewood's

The Miner's Right (1890)

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This thesis is submitted for the degree of English Studies

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Abstract:

This paper is going to explore the features of Geordie dialect as it was represented in 19th century Australia, examining the phonetic and lexical features employed by the British writer Rolf Boldrewood (1826-1915) in the novel *The Miner's Right: A tale of the Australian Goldfields* (1890). In order to carry out this analysis, it is necessary to take into account the origins, sociolinguistic perception and the historical context of both Australian and the Geordie dialect, paying special attention to the migratory movements of Geordie speakers to Australia, as it was a pivotal event which brought for the first time this variety to an Australian context. The literary dialect found in Boldrewood's novel has evidence of Geordie features, which will be scrutinized to define the distinct characteristics of that variety as it was represented in an Australian context.

Keywords: Geordie dialect, Australia, 19th century, migration, literary dialect, Rolf Boldrewood.

Resumen:

Este ensayo va a explorar las características del dialecto Geordie, tal como se representó en la Australia del siglo XIX, examinando las características léxicas y fonéticas empleadas por el escritor británico Rolf Boldrewood (1826-1915) en la novela *The Miner's Right: A tale of the Australian Goldfields* (1890). Para llevar a cabo este análisis, es necesario tener en cuenta los orígenes, la percepción sociolingüística y el contexto histórico de las variedades de Australia y Geordie, con especial atención a los movimientos migratorios de hablantes de Geordie a Australia, ya que este fue un evento fundamental que llevó por primera vez esta variedad a un contexto Australiano. El dialecto literario documentado en la novela de Boldrewood evidencia algunas de las características del dialecto Geordie que se analizarán desde distintos puntos de vista para definir las características distintivas de esa variedad según se representó en un contexto Australiano.

Palabras clave: Geordie, Australia, siglo XIX, emigración, dialecto literario, Rolf Boldrewood.

1. Introduction:

The English language has changed and developed through history, with a wide range of varieties which have flourished in different areas of the world. This development has been the main result of the colonization of the British Empire to continents such as Australia, America and Africa. The conquest and mistreatment of the natives in the new lands led to the economic development of mines and plantations, and the need arose to use a common language that both colonizers and settlers could understand (Sledd 49). English started to adapt to new environments in the 18th century, when British English norms were just English and its grammar and lexis had not fully stabilized (Algeo 424). The main distinctions between varieties could be recognized in the vocabulary and pronunciation, as they were a reflection of their environment, traditions and forms of government, meanwhile the written varieties remained nationally distinctive but internationally intelligible (Sledd 50).

As Algeo claims, Canadian, American, Scottish, Australian Englishes, among many others, are direct descendants of British English, which makes it have a position above the daughter varieties, in terms of honor and priority, being a language that is not limited by national boundaries (423). At the same time, as is well known, English in England is not a homogeneous language, as it is distinguished by a myriad of linguistic varieties or dialects. These dialects also have well-defined phonetic and lexical features, which are as different as any other form of English in other continents, to the extent that speakers of Standard English in England would face difficulties for understanding them. Through time, British English has become “as regional as any other variety” (Algeo 424).

Among many other ways of representing varieties of a language, English dialects are most commonly depicted in literature, which allows to compare the distinctive portrayals and perceptions of the language around the world, including how do speakers of any given variety see the way they speak and how they are perceived by speakers of other varieties.

They may experience problems for understanding each other, due to their distinctive cultural backgrounds and linguistic features. For example, Australian English, is directly influenced by its society's ethos, as well as the inherited characteristics of its convict and aborigine forerunners. In contrast, the regional Geordie dialect from the North-East of England finds its influence in the first invasions of the Angles and the Saxons from Germany and Denmark.

Curiously enough, what such different varieties in terms of place, phonetics and lexis have in common is that they were influenced by speakers from other countries, even though they share a common British linguistic heritage, which brings the question of how the speakers of different English dialects would perceive each other if they came into contact. The best tool to analyse the social perception of different English varieties is found in literature through the characterization of different speakers.

In this paper, the phonological and lexical features of Geordie dialect found in Rolf Bolrewood's (1826-1915) *The Miner's Right: A Tale of the Australian Goldfields* (1890), are scrutinized in order to explore the representation of this variety according to how it was used and understood in 19th-century Australia. To do so, the paper takes into account the migratory background of Geordie speakers in Australia.

2. Australian English

Australian English is a variety of Standard English, which has developed a rich vocabulary and complexity in a very short period of time. Multiple words of this colonial variety belong both to aboriginal languages and Cockney, marking a distinct pronunciation and use of the language which might not be understood by other English speakers (Menner 121).

With the British settlement in Australia, several forms of pidgin and creole English were used between white colonizers and the Aboriginal population to understand each other, which

ended up becoming a new variety (Australian Aboriginal English 585). British colonization was the key for the transplantation of English to other parts of the world, and for the contact between different languages and cultures.

2.1 Historical context

The first arrival of British settlers took place in 1770, but the European settlement did not take place until 1788, which was later followed by the creation of the Sydney's penal colony (Burridge and Kortmann 570). The main reason for this was that, after the American Revolution, Britain had to deal with overcrowded jails all around the country, as it no longer had the opportunity to send convicts to the continent (Beal, *Beyond Standard English* 215). In addition, the conditions of the British jails were insanitary, there were contagious diseases and the food was scarce (Ballyn 21). Apart from the need to find a new location for the convicts, the British became interested in acquiring flax and timber, which consolidated the possession of the new continent, as well as in protecting the trade routes to Asia (17).

Convicts from different points of Britain were sent to Australia, where they had to face social stratification with free settlers. Soon, a contrast between the convicts' Australian English, the governing class' Cultivated English and the free settlers' General Australian English were born as a consequence of dialect contact from areas from the south of England and Ireland (Beal, *Beyond Standard English* 216). The majority of the convicts did not return to England, partly because they could not afford it, but more likely because they felt they would find more opportunities in Australia than in their homeland. Once they arrived to the continent, they went through a pragmatic system of job assignment, which considered their previous work experience (Ballyn 21). In the new land, the convicts could separate from their family, try to reunite with them in Australia, or even reinvent their life and break completely with their past (22). The convicts could reinvent their lives from scratch, creating the basis for a completely new society in Australia.

The transportation of convicts came to an end around 1850, as a consequence of the activist opposition found in England, as well as the generalized belief that the constant arrival of convicts to the settlement would have long-term consequences in the newborn society (Ballyn 17). This transportation was revised when the colony began to grow and free migrants arrived to the continent, because it came to be perceived as a form of slavery (23).

Migratory movements were essential for the creation of new settlements in Australia. It is widely believed that the majority of the new settlers belonged to the southeast of England, therefore, Londoners owned the linguistic control, which gave them advantage in social networks and the marketplace (Kiesling 76). Sydney colony was established in 1820 and colonizers went west and south, creating more settlements around the country (76). One of the main motivations for these migrations were the goldrushes, which attracted emigrants from different parts of the world, bringing in contact several languages and colonies (76).

The newcomers had to deal with the difficulties of communicating with the natives, as they encountered multiple aboriginal languages. Moreover, there was extreme social disruption in the continent after the arrival of Europeans, when the aboriginals found themselves in need to communicate with each other when they were replaced into towns, stations and pastoral properties (Burrige 572). Even though both the natives and convicts suffered dislocation from their homeland, when the convicts finished their sentence they could join society and acquire a new life, meanwhile the natives did not have the opportunity to share that possibility (Ballyn 19). In addition, the natives were also the victims of genocide, the result of a systematic attempt to finish with the Indigenous people in Australia (18).

Due to the physical distance with other English speaking areas, new varieties of English started to flourish (Burrige 568). This geographical separation was crucial to understand the development of Australian English and its dialect diversity, as “English has

been spoken along Atlantic shores centuries longer than Pacific ones” and the language itself “became mixed in migrations in multiple directions and waves” (Kiesling 82).

2.2 Origin of Australian English

The origin of Australian English can be traced to the first contact between different varieties of English and aboriginal languages. As Burridge claims, the first settlements and contact of different indigenous languages had as a result a melting pot effect or blending of original British dialects, which ended up with the homogeneity of the language (568).

The transition point in which British English was influenced by aboriginal languages and vice versa is visible in the development of pidgin languages. As is known, a pidgin can be defined as the “makeshift language that springs up when different speakers of different linguistic backgrounds come into contact and need to talk”, the socially dominant language being the one from which most of the lexicon is adopted, even though some features can be borrowed from other varieties (571). These pidgins are active languages that change and transform over time. After they have long been in contact, the language experiences a metamorphosis which results into a variety which can be used and understood by speakers with different native languages (572).

Pidgins tend to develop into creoles. Both are different stages in the same development process, in which the creole appears “as soon as children in a community are brought up speaking the pidgin as their first language” (572). The varieties of English and creoles spoken by aborigines are so complex that they can either be extremely similar to Standard English, or unintelligible, like creoles, whose users would never call themselves English speakers (574).

Due to the contact between Aborigines and white settlers, and the migratory movements from southern European non-Celtic countries, two varieties developed: Aboriginal Australian English, and Wogspeak (Kiesling 80). Later, this development of varieties in contact had as an ultimate result an independent variety which embodied the

national identity of the country, what suggested that Australian had well-defined norms as a national standard (Collins 83).

2.3 Sociolinguistic perception of Australian English and its varieties

Despite the fact that in the nineteenth century Australian English was rejected and considered inferior due to its similarity with criminal slang and cant, it progressively began to be perceived as a distinctive variety different from British and American English later in that century (Beal, *Beyond Standard English* 216).

The different perceptions of Australian English depend on the origins of the receptors and the disparities between social classes. Anna Wierzbicka explores how Australian English reflects the ethos of its society through language: “antisentimentality, jocular cynism, a tendency to knock things down to size, mateship, good-natured humour, love of informality...” (361). This ethos descends directly from the origins of the colony, in which the presence of convicts in an egalitarian society was predominant, which created a society based on friendliness, cult of informality and congenial fellowship (362).

The different uses of Australian English reveal marked disparities between social classes, as it has been proved that lower social classes tend to use specific features from Australian English, while upper social classes try to imitate the standardized variety (Kiesling 79). The likeliness of a variety to survive depends on its “ethnolinguistic vitality” which relies on economic, political, institutional power and demographic factors, as it creates a social perception linked to success, competence and intelligence (Callan and Gallois 52). The higher the social power of speakers of a language, the more probable it is to become predominant among non-standard varieties related with “values of friendliness, belongingness, solidarity and family orientation” (53).

There has been a tendency to reject different Australian varieties. Aboriginal Australian has marked differences concerning phonology, syntax, vocabulary, and even though they still provide the language with the remaining influences of the natives, most of these features have disappeared. Similarly, Wogspeak, which has its origin in the way in which migrants learned English, is becoming less popular due to the generalized desire to speak Australian English (Kiesling 81). It has been demonstrated that the attitudes of Anglo-Australians tend to be more favourable when ethnic groups are both physically and culturally similar to the Australian ones (Callan and Gallois 53). The desire of a shortened social distance between cultures by Australian speakers indicates a clear rejection of foreign accents and a desire of resemblance with RP pronunciation (55).

3. On the Geordie Dialect

Geordie refers to the “dialect or accent of people from Tyneside, esp. Newcastle-upon-Tyne, or (more generally) neighboring regions of north-east England” (*OED* s.v. *Geordie*, n. 4.b). The development and history of the dialect, was moulded by different migratory movements inside and outside the country during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, which increased identity awareness among their speakers.

3.1 Origins of the Geordie Dialect

The origins of the Geordie dialect are still noticeable in the present-day use of the variety. When the Roman occupation finished in the fourth century A.D, the Welsh speakers of Hadrian’s Wall were left unprotected, and they decided to hire mercenary soldiers from southern Denmark and northern Germany, better known as Angles and Saxons, who arrived to the area that is known as Tyneside (Simpson). Rather than carrying out their task, Angles and Saxons started to settle in this area, expanding to the north and south, creating the kingdom of Northumbria. In addition, they brought their own language, whose characteristics

influenced the locals' variety, and many of them survived in what later developed as Geordie dialect. As Simpson claims, the use of this variety did not mean an incorrect use of English, as most of its vocabulary, pronunciation and spelling has an antique Anglo-Saxon origin (Simpson).

Apparently, there are multiple reasons why the dialect is called Geordie. Simpson explores several theories including those that contend that it was related to the name of the railway pioneer Geordie Stephenson and a term for referring to miners, as they used the so-called 'Geordie lamps'. Nevertheless, the most reasonable one is related to the first Jacobite rising in 1715, when George I (1660-1727) became king of Wales, England and Scotland, against James Stuart, the Catholic. James Stuart was supported by the Jacobites in nearly all Northumberland, except for Newcastle, where George's supporters were called 'Geordies'. Despite the multiple theories about its origin, probably all of them made the word Geordie a mark of identity for the inhabitants of Newcastle and the North East more generally.

3.2 Sociolinguistic perception of the variety

The fact that the Geordie dialect mainly belonged to the working classes and that it was linked with erroneous and colloquial English, reveals that it was considered to be inferior to Standard English. This perception was caused partly because Standard English was used by the middle class educated speakers, it was institutionalized and had greater prestige in society (Sato 262). As a consequence, any characteristic that diverged from this Standard was perceived as inferior. Despite the unjustified negative attitude towards this variety, dialect speakers were "fiercely loyal" to their language, and they even used it as a way of resistance to any type of exploitation or inequality (264). Concerning colloquialisms, Kenyon declares that the fact that colloquialisms are deemed inferior to formal or literary style leads to misunderstanding, as their use depends on the particular situation that the speaker is facing (35). Because of this, there was a misconception of the Geordie dialect in the past, as it was

not culturally inferior to Standard English. Interestingly, this misconception made some middle class Northumbrians try to erase features like the ‘Northumbrian Burr’ from their speech in the late nineteenth century, by sending their children to the south of England, while upper and lower classes embraced that characteristic (Beal, *Beyond Standard English* 196). Nevertheless, Geordies’ awareness of their particular use of English has increased over time, to the extent that they are somewhat detached from the cultural and linguistic idiosyncrasy of the rest of the country: they constitute what Beal calls a “Geordie Nation” (Enregisterment, *Commodification* 147).

3.3 Geordie throughout history

As Beal explores, when leisure tourism became popular at the end of 18th century and Northerners looked for better job opportunities in the southern part of the country, comments about Newcastle became progressively more frequent, employing the Geordie dialect as a mark of speech identity, but also as a mistake that should be avoided (Enregisterment, *Commodification* 148, 149). These opinions accentuated the contrast between the more popular Standard English and other dialects. This contrast was not only perceived inside the different areas of the country, but also Geordie speakers in exile became conscious of their distinct way of speaking, and decided to reinforce it through songs about their land (149).

During the nineteenth century, there was a change in the perception of Geordie dialect, as people were more aware of the connection between them and the working classes, as well as of their diverse phonetic and lexical features (140). This awareness was depicted through the publication of dialect glossaries in Newcastle, as a way of showing interest in the local dialect (141).

Nevertheless, migratory movements did not only take place inside England, as people also moved overseas to colonies, such as Australia. In order to understand the sociolinguistic relevance of these migratory movements, there is valuable evidence documented in different

travel journals, cultural traditions, songs, and materials about goldrushes in Australia, which reveal the desire of continuity with the homeland and the strong social impact of dialects (Wales 67).

Wales explains that these migratory movements to the new land in the 1800 were, at the beginning mostly convicts who were later followed by the arrival of northerners (67). Both the long trip to Australia and the arrival to the colony meant a direct contact between speakers from different parts of northern England. Even though users of different dialects tended to join each other on board to maintain local identity, the voyage was the first connection between varieties, which made the passengers adapt to each other's speech so that they could communicate (68). This situation continued when they arrived in Australia, as immigrants from the same areas in England tended to stay together in temporary settlements, cooperate and look for other locals who had already arrived in order to keep their cultural identity and transmit it from generation to generation, which made it clear that "re-location, then, did not necessarily mean dis-location" (70).

Despite the notorious presence of Geordies in the Australian goldrushes, Wales declares that their dialect had a minor impact on the predominant speech varieties (74). Because of this, it can be argued that these migratory movements did not mean the disintegration of the Geordie dialect, but the opposite; keeping their dialect in a new environment like Australia, surrounded by distinct varieties of English, was a way of strengthening their sense of community and local identity.

4. Linguistic Analysis:

4.1 Objective

As already indicated, the main objective of this study is to explore the lexical and phonological features of the Geordie dialect as represented in Rolf Boldrewood's (1826-

1915), *The Miner's Right* (1890), a novel set in southern Australia at the time of the gold-rush.

4.2 The author

Thomas A. Browne (1826-1915), who wrote under the name of Rolf Boldrewood, was born in London, and he migrated when he was still a child. He was a late nineteenth-century forerunner in his production of adventure and historical fiction in Australia. His works reveal that he wrote drawing on his working experience, as a magistrate and official (Widdowson 352). Boldrewood tried to portray faithfully the history of Australia through his literary works. He wrote extensively about his perspective of the history of his country, especially about the complexities of Australian society before the Federation, trying to achieve historical accuracy in his writings (Rodwell 156,158).

Most of his novels explore the themes of nationality and colonization in a wide range of ways. They reveal how Australian colonies aimed to develop a feeling of nationhood, their own identity and sense of belonging to a community (Rodwell 213). Also, he portrayed how Australian literature introduced its own concepts and meanings of reality in British and European society (201). This concept of nationality is directly related with the dialectal recreations of speech, which are marks of identity of the speakers represented.

4.3 *The Miner's Right: A Tale of the Australian Goldfields* (1890)

In *The Miner's Right: A Tale of the Australian Goldfields* (1890), Sydney is depicted as a city which has been extremely influenced by Anglo- Saxon culture, due to the colonial interests of “excavating and collecting the traces of Indigenous Australian culture” (D’arcens and Jones 100). Boldrewood’s novels explore the ancient instincts of colonization and lack of knowledge about the importance of cultural difference between the natives and colonizers (94). As a result of this contact between cultures, in the novel there are several characters

who belong to different parts of England, whose origin can be guessed through the characteristics of their dialects. This way, Boldrewood pictured a society of immigrants, in which each character had their specific duties, but they are always part of the same community.

Geordie is one of the dialects represented in this novel, which suggests that there was a significant Geordie population in the Australian goldrushes. Boldrewood describes them as extremely masculine, corpulent, noisy and proud of their dialect through a mid-Kent narrator (Wales 72-73). The representations of Geordie speech are examples of literary dialect, which refers to those pieces of literature written mainly in Standard English, but with instances of dialect. The text addresses a standard speaking audience, as Boldrewood himself was not a Geordie speaker. Beal explains that the local pronunciation of Geordie dialect speakers has been illustrated through multiple literary representations, which mirror the cultural and linguistic identity of the area and their speakers (From Geordie Ridley 349).

5. Methodology

The analysis is based on the passages representative of the Geordie dialect as used by different characters of the story. The material has been scrutinized with the corpus linguistic software AntConc, which has made it possible to arrange word lists and analyze the use of dialectal forms in their context, in order to explore their uses and meanings. The analysis is based on a total of 338 types that amount to 675 tokens in total which I have classified into cases of lexis and phonology.

5.1 Results: Lexis

Boldrewood's representation of the dialect relies on an important number of dialect words. The evidence furnished by the *EDD* and *OED* point that many of them were specific to Geordie and some other dialects, such Yorkshire and Kent. Examples are *ware* which

means “v. To spend, lay out; to bestow upon; to squander, spend in vain”, *danged*, which refers to “To throw violently; to knock, bang”... Interestingly, the data include examples of items that seem to have been used in colloquial speech, and they were not restricted to Geordie or Northern English alone (see below).

Among the items most representative of Geordie is *cannie* (canny), which, according to the *EDD* means “agreeable, pleasant, nice, good; comely, dainty” or “applied as a gen. term of approbation or affection to persons and things.”

Moreover, there are other words used by Geordie speakers which seem to have been used in other northern dialects, such Yorkshire and Lancashire. For example, we may refer to the word *gan* which appears many times, and the *EDD* defines as “v. to go”. Similarly, we may refer to *summat*, which means “somewhat”, *yoller*, referring to the act of “To bellow; to bawl; to yell discordantly; to speak indistinctly through passion”, *lad* which is “a serving-man, attendant; a man of low birth and position”, *yon*, “that; those” which is “used of a person or thing a little way off but within sight”, or *na*, used as marker of negation. The *EDD* reveals that they are words commonly used in Newcastle but they are not exclusive to the area, as they were also used elsewhere in the north of England.

Furthermore, there are colloquial words that were not apparently used by Geordie speakers alone: they reinforce the informal tone in the dialect representations. Words like *booze*, which is defined as “v. to drink, to tittle freely”, *brass* which is “n. money, riches, property”, *blubber* which refers to “v. weep”, or *allers* which means “adv. Always”, are found in the *EDD* as dialectal words. The *OED*, however, refers to their colloquial usage.

5.2 Results: Phonology and Spelling

Concerning phonology, the representation contains a wide range of features that are represented by means of semi-phonetic spelling, which refers to the writer’s conscious alteration of standard spelling in order to indicate dialectal sounds. These features include the

most important characteristics of Geordie, which have likewise been noted in other studies of the dialect in the nineteenth century (e.g Beal).

1. To begin with, the spelling <oo> represents an [u:] sound, instead of the RP spelling <ou> <ow> for the sound /au/. As Joan Beal states, this is one of the most frequent linguistic features of Tyneside Middle English pronunciation, and it is a marker of regional speech and a stereotype of the local identity (From Geordie to Viz 348, 349). Some of these pronunciations were lexicalized, an often-cited example being *toon*, ‘town’, which refers to the town of Newcastle (Beal, English Dialects 124).

Phonetic spelling	Frequency	Standard Equivalent
Oot	3	Out
Coort	1	Court
Doon	1	Down
Noo	1	Now

2. The spelling <ee>, suggests a long monophthong [i:] for the words pronounced /au/ in RP and spelt <igh> (e.g *reet* ‘right’). This points to the retention of ME /i:/ and thus the lack of the Great Vowel Shift. Even though it does not have specific local relevance, it is frequently used to represent a very limited group of words (Beal, From Geordie Ridley 349). The [i:] pronunciation was originated when the Northern dialects lost their consonant, and as a consequence, the previous vowel was lengthened. This became very popular among the northern working class (Beal, English Dialects 125).

Phonetic spelling	Frequency	Standard Equivalent
Reet	2	Right
Lees	1	Lies

3. The text also provides examples of final unstressed vowels, in which a sound [ɪ] seems to replace the RP sound /ə/ (Beal, *From Geordie Ridley* 352). There is a wide variety of representations of this sound among the different northern dialects (Beal, *English Dialects* 126). In Boldrewood's representation, we can find:

Phonetic spelling	Frequency	Standard Equivalent
Agin	2	Again
Diggina	1	Diggin

4. There are cases showing the representation of RP /eɪ/ in words such as *make* and *take* with <a>: *tak*, *mak*. This reveals the lack of diphthongization of the Northern /a:/. Beal defines it as a “stigma which is worn with pride by the vast majority of Northerners” (Beal, *English Dialects* 122).

Phonetic spelling	Frequency	Standard Equivalent
Mak	2	Make
Tak	2	Take

5. Cases such as *haud* ‘hold’ point a process of L-vocalization, often marked with <u> or <w>. In the following words, there is evidence of dark L-vocalization, which was common in the area of Tyneside and Northumberland (Beal, *English Dialects* 130).

Phonetic spelling	Frequency	Standard Equivalent
Haud	1	Hold
Owd	1	Old

6. Despite being a widespread feature of the West Midland dialect, we can find that words with RP /ɑɪ / <i> are spelled <oi> which suggests a diphthongal pronunciation [ɔɪ]. This is generally referred to as /ɑɪ /-rounding, and it was a common way to represent the switch from one diphthong to another in dialect literature.

Phonetic Spelling	Frequency	Standard Equivalent
Loike	1	Like
Soize	1	Size

7. The FOOT-SRUT split is represented in the text with the words *coom* and *loomp*, which respectively stand for ‘come’ and ‘lump’, in which the spellings <oo> suggests a [u:] sound. This is described by Joan Beal as a split of quite recent origin, which results from the “unrounding of the Middle English short /ʊ/ in certain environments” (121). It is considered the most important marker which makes it possible to distinguish a dialect from the North from a dialect from the South (English Dialects 121). There are multiple realisations of this sound: in Northumberland it can also be heard with /ʌ/ (122).
8. Beal interprets that the Northern <aa>, which evokes a long monophthong [a:] is used instead of <a> for RP /ɔ:/. In the text, the word ‘all’ is spelled <aal>, which is similar to other examples highlighted by Beal, such as *waalk* for ‘walk’ or *aalways* for ‘always’ (Enregisterment, Commodification 145).
9. There is an example of Rounding before nasals in the word *mon* instead of ‘man’, in which the nonstandard spelling <on> substitutes the PdE spelling <an> /æ/. This is generally regarded as a West Midlands feature.
10. The form *ivir* ‘ever’ shows the replacement of <e> with <i>, suggesting the pronunciation of a closer vowel.

6. Conclusion

To conclude, the analysis of some linguistic features of the Geordie dialect represented by Rolf Boldrewood (1826-1915) in his novel *The Miner's Right: A Tale of the Australian Goldfields* (1890) shows an interesting recreation of the dialect as it was understood in 19th century Australia. As it is the case with other cases of dialect representations in literature, Boldrewood's novel not only offers readers the opportunity to see the most salient features of that variety concerning lexis, sounds and spelling, but also contributed to shaping contemporary perceptions of the dialect from overseas.

On the one hand, differences concerning sounds are represented through semi-phonetic spellings. They include features such as the lack of the FOOT-STRUT split, the retention of /i:/ in words that are nowadays pronounced /au/ or L-vocalisation. Even though some of these characteristics are shared with other northern dialects, these differences were used to depict the distinctiveness of the Geordie dialect in a foreign environment. Similarly, the text contains several lexical features which are original from Geordie dialect, such as *cannie*, but also other words, like *gan* or *lad*, and colloquialisms, like *blubber*, that were commonly used in other areas of the north of England, such as Yorkshire and Lancashire. The representation of such features reveals the sense of nationhood of Geordie speakers in Australia, who used their own dialect as a mark of continuity with their homeland.

In sum, the portrayal of Geordie features in Boldrewood's novel works as a source of valuable evidence that does not only show the features of Geordie speech in a different context such as Australia, but it also proves how these differences were embraced by Geordie speakers and encouraged the feeling of community among the Geordie society. The cultural context, moral values and behavior proper of a specific society shape the language of its speakers, how they are perceived by users of other varieties, and even how those speakers regard themselves.

7. Glossary:

Words (Nhb)	Frequency	Definition
Afore	1	1. Of time: before, ere. <i>EDD</i>
Aller(s)* Informal	2	1.adv. Always <i>EDD</i>
Apron	1	1. The diaphragm of an animal. Dialectal use, not specifically Geordie. <i>EDD</i>
Aready	1	1.Ready. Dialectal use, not specifically Geordie. <i>EDD</i>
Blubber Informal	1	1.Weep. <i>EDD, OED</i>
Booze Informal	1	3. v. To drink, to tipple freely. <i>EDD, OED</i>
Brass Informal	1	2. Money, riches, property. In gen. colloq. use. <i>EDD, OED</i>
Cannie (canny)	1	6. Agreeable, pleasant, nice, good; comely, dainty. <i>EDD</i> Applied as a gen. term of approbation or affection to persons and things. <i>EDD</i>
Dost (dare)	1	iii. Interrogative Simple, do. (inside the specific context). <i>EDD</i>
Fare	1	1. v. To go, travel. <i>EDD</i>
Foul	1	1.(of the weather) wet and stormy. <i>OED</i>

Informal		
Gan	4	1. v. To go. <i>EDD, OED</i>
Grinnin (grin)	1	3. v. To catch birds, hares, rabbits, &c., by means of a 'grin'; also used fig. <i>EDD</i> 1 Smile broadly. <i>OED</i>
Loomp	1	Lump. 12. A hard floor-brick; a rough block of whinstone; thin layer of stone; a thick piece of clay; a cottage built of clay.
Mayhap	1	Perhaps, possibly. <i>EDD, OED</i>
Na	1	Not; used encl. with verbs. <i>EDD, OED</i>
Nowt	1	Nothing (nought)
Ravellin	1	1. sb. A tangled thread; a loose, unravelled thread; also frayed or unwound textile fabric. Also used fig.
Summat	2	Somewhat
Warrant	1	1. v. Esp. in phr. I'll warrant, or I'll warrant it, or you, I'se warrant, 'I'll be bound,' 'I'll go bail.' See Awarrant. <i>EDD</i>
Whoy	2	Woot. 1. A call to a horse or draught-ox to go to the right or off side.
Yaller	1	Yoller 1. To bellow; to bawl; to yell discordantly;

		to speak indistinctly through passion. Cf. golder, hollo, yalder.
Yon	1	1. dem. adj. That; those; esp. used of a person or thing a little way off but within sight.

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