UNIVERSIDAD DE SALAMANCA

FACULTAD DE FILOLOGÍA

GRADO EN ESTUDIOS INGLESES

Trabajo de Fin de Grado

The Representation of the Southwestern Dialects in 19th-Century Literary Texts:

A Corpus-Driven Study.

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Abstract

Dialect representation has utterly pervaded English literature but has nevertheless been stigmatised until the period under discussion. Authors in their literary works used to portray "real-life situations" in which normally social values were the real subject matter. However, the chosen period, in general, aims for verisimilitude and tries to depict a dialect regardless of stereotypes or preconceived ideas. This is paramount when studying the southwest due to its long-lasting mocking nature. Moreover, in the works conforming the corpus, more importance is given to speech than character development or plot, hence its linguistic value. Therefore, this study's purpose is to analyse the dialect markers of Cornwall, Devon, Dorset and Somerset so as to shed light on these dialects' visibility and representation. Writers play a key role in dialect analysis for, in using conventional tools, they try to create a realistic view of nonstandardness. The strategies identified in the literary works and analysed in this dissertation can be classified into semi-phonetic spelling, lexis and morphosyntax. The data obtained is always compared to Standard English so as to appreciate the distinctiveness of dialects and to provide intelligible correlatives. These data at the same time have been the result of a previous corpus driven study prior to any possible hypothesis. Accordingly, the conclusions with regards to quantitative data are based in the objective results obtained using corpus linguistic methods. Conversely, the sociolinguistic implications are the result of an introspective process that endorses the general attitudes towards dialects in the 19th century.

Keywords: Southwest, 19th Century, dialect, literary dialect, non-standard, phonetics, lexis, morphosyntax.

Resumen

Pese a que la representación de dialectos ha impregnado completamente la literatura inglesa, éstos no han perdido su estigma hasta el siglo XIX. Previo a este siglo, los autores mostraban en sus obras situaciones de la "vida real" en las que el verdadero tema era la actitud social y no el habla dialectal. Sin embargo, este periodo normalmente tenía como propósito mostrar el dialecto de manera verosímil, eliminando así estereotipos u otras ideas preconcebidas. Esto es especialmente importante al estudiar el suroeste dada la naturaleza de burla perpetua que tenía esta zona en el pasado. Asimismo, el foco de las obras que conforman el corpus es el habla y no el desarrollo de un personaje o la trama, por ello posee un gran valor lingüístico. El propósito de este estudio es analizar las características dialectales de Cornwall, Devon, Dorset y Somerset para mostrar su visibilidad y modo de representación. Los escritores tienen un papel fundamental en el análisis de dialectos puesto que, a través del uso de herramientas convencionales, tratan de crear una visión realista de la lengua no estándar. Las estrategias utilizadas en las obras que han sido identificadas y analizadas pueden clasificarse en grafía semi-fonética, léxico y morfosintaxis. La información obtenida siempre se compara con el inglés estándar para poder apreciar el carácter distintivo de los dialectos y así proporcionar explicaciones inteligibles. Estos datos a su vez han sido el resultado de un estudio previo en el que se ha utilizado un corpus como banco de datos para evitar hipótesis previas. Por consiguiente, las conclusiones sobre los datos cuantitativos están basadas en resultados objetivos obtenidos a través de métodos de lingüística de corpus. Por el contrario, las implicaciones sociolingüísticas son el resultado de un proceso de introspección que avalan las actitudes generales hacia los dialectos en el siglo XIX.

Palabras clave: Suroeste, siglo XIX, dialecto, dialecto literario, no estándar, fonética, léxico, morfosintaxis.

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Abbreviations[1]

Primary Sources

- Cornwall.

CS   *Cornish Stories*

- Devon

VC   "Village Craft"

EH   "An Evening with Hodge"

FF   "First in the Field"

- Dorset

DD   *Dorset Dear: Idylls of Country Life*

NM   *The New Minister*

- Somerset

LQL   *Love and Quiet Life*

Secondary Sources

EDD   *English Dialect Dictionary*

OED   *Oxford English Dictionary*

TSE   *The Southwest of England*

"PSE"   "The Phonology of South-Western English 1500-1700"

Other abbreviations

ME   Middle English

PdE   Present Day English

RP   Received Pronunciation

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[1] See Bibliography for the full references of the sources.

"It is probably no exaggeration to say that
the speech of any individual is as unique (though not as
unchangeable) as his fingerprints." (Page 97)

1. Introduction

Non-standard language has played a long-lasting conflicting role in England, mainly

dependent on the social attitudes towards it. On choosing and adopting a Standard

English, language users drew a line between standard and dialectal speech. The latter was

a variation "of the vernacular which did not conform to 'pure', 'common', or 'usual'

English" (Fox 57) and, therefore, was normally stigmatised (Görlach, *Variation* 484).

However, these negative values attached to dialects started to gradually dissolve and, as

a consequence, dialect is now defined as "a distinct (social or regional) variety in which

grammar and vocabulary as well as pronunciation are different from those of other

dialects" (Beal 112). As non-standard language was a concern in society, authors used

literature as one of the main instruments to convey different opinions about linguistic

matters. The most stigmatised and criticised dialect was the south-western one for, although it is not *a* dialect as such but an area that includes various non-standard varieties, it was considered *the* source of mockery (Melchers 94). Proof of this statement are characters in plays or other literary works who, regardless of their origins, presented south-western enregistered features (Crystal 343). Besides, linguistic studies have paid little attention to these dialects when contrasted with the northern ones. As for its representation, two main types are distinguishable: dialect literature and literary dialect. The former is "written entirely in dialect", hence it presents more dialectal features, whereas in the latter, "dialect is used for specific purposes within texts that are otherwise written in Standard English" (Beal 89).

The case study of this dissertation will be focusing on the common strategies for the written representation of dialects: semi-phonetic spelling, regionalisms (Beal 89), syntax and grammar (Page 57). Though metalinguistic comments are also a common tactic, in the works conforming the corpus analysed here, only one short story is characterised by it[1] and, for this reason, there is not a section including them. The corpus contains specimens of literary dialect as this type of representation is not restrictive in terms of addressees. This is to say, once the barrier of *un*intelligibility is removed, readers might recognise the salient features of the variety being represented. Furthermore, this corpus compiles works from the nineteenth century and the early twentieth century for this former could be considered the period of 'dialect renaissance' as dialectology was born and, with the rise of the novel, interest in dialect representation grew (Melchers 93). This converged with an urgent "desire to preserve dialect" threatened by "the introduction of compulsory education in 1870" (Görlach, *Nineteenth Century England* 29).

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[1] Mary Hartier comments on the Devonshire dialect in her short story *VC*:
"[…] he had command of very good English, flavoured perhaps with the fine Devonshire accent—the broad lengthened vowels, the French *eu* and the unstinted sound of the *r's*" (435)

In literature, this phenomenon is mirrored by the use of speech as a means of identification (Page 98) and realistic depiction, which contributes to a more 'reliable' analysis of the subject matter. This dissertation will therefore gather and classify the aforementioned strategies used by authors to suggest a character's origin and it will deal with the interspeaker variation of Cornwall, Devon, Somerset and Dorset (four counties situated in the red-coloured part of the map[2]). Furthermore, there will also be a discussion about the sociolinguistic implications of this dialect representation in literature.

Figure 1 South West England

"South West England". Wikipedia, The Free Encyclopedia, https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/South_West_England. Accessed 18 May 2020.

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[2] The location of the counties is paramount for the understanding of dialectal features.

2. Case study

2.1 Methodology

This is a corpus-driven[3] study in which corpus linguistic methods were applied so as to obtain objective results. The works selected have been annotated[4] in order that the counties being analysed can be compared and studied in terms of quantitative and not only qualitative data. As for the section of 'semi-phonetic spelling', the words presenting deviant spelling have been counted and classified in contrast with its PdE pronunciation. 'Regional lexis' has also been counted and annotated since it is not very frequent in these works, hence the importance of the objective figures. Concerning 'morphosyntax', every deviation from the standard has also been classified after the process of annotation. Each of the categories has been given a label that eases the process of analysis and they will be revealed in the next section. Besides, in order that the results are normalised and relevant to this case study, the number of words chosen for each county is similar.

Table 1 Data selected for analysis

1884-1905		
County	N texts	N words
Devon	3	9,599
Cornwall	1	9,935
Somerset	1	9,536
Dorset	2	9,784
Total words: 38,858		

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[3] A corpus driven approach does not include previous hypotheses but is based on gathering information and making conclusions with that same data obtained through the examination of the corpus. This approach (unlike the corpus-based one) allows the individual to analyse everything in the works selected with no omission of important details. (See *Corpus and Text: Basic Principles. Developing Linguistic Corpora: A Guide to Good Practice* for more information about corpus linguistics).

[4] "Corpus annotation is the practice of adding interpretative linguistic information to a corpus. For example, one common type of annotation is the addition of tags, or labels, indicating the word class to which words in a text belong" (Leech 25).

The method has required a Word version of each literary work obtained from the *Salamanca Corpus* (http://salamancacorpus.usal.es/SC/index.html) so as to be manipulated by the Corpus Linguistics tool that has been used: AntConc (http://www.laurenceanthony.net/software/antconc/). To further ensure the reliability of the dialect being represented, it is noteworthy that none of the writers are outsiders of the speech community being depicted[5] and, therefore, one may expect a respectful and faithful portrayal of dialectal features.

2.2 Strategies for the written representation of the dialect

2.2.1   Semi-phonetic spelling

Although eye-dialect and colloquialisms are very common in dialect representation, they will not be dealt with in this study because they do not signal any real change in the pronunciation of a word.

As for eye-dialect, it "give[s] an impression of non-standard and/or uneducated speech" (Beal 113), as for instance <sez> instead of <says> in which the pronunciation remains the same, but the spelling suggests nonstandardness. Similarly, colloquialisms as in <fish **'n'** chips> would automatically be associated with dialect speakers although the standard pronunciation of <and> in connected speech would be the one represented (Crystal 353).

In this section, the deviant spellings that suggest differences in pronunciation have been gathered and grouped into long vowels, short vowels, diphthongs, and consonants in stressed position.

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[5] For more information see their biographies in the *Salamanca Corpus.*

The first column presents the deviant 'spelling' found in the works analysed, the second one its 'PdE spelling' which helps in the process of recovering the Standard English correlative. The third column is devoted to naming the counties in which the spelling has been attested and, in the fourth one, it is possible to see the number of times the deviant spelling has been found. The last column provides examples of the phenomenon being under study.

The theoretic explanations given throughout this section come from *TSE* and, when not included in that source, they are given another explanation using intuition[6] or other cited secondary sources.

2.2.1.1 Stressed Vowels: Short

- **RP /ɪ/.** It is sometimes lowered to /e/ <e> especially in Cornwall, Devon and Somerset (21). However, in this study, Dorset also presents one instance of this phenomenon. As for the spelling <ea> and <ëa[7]> the pronunciation normally suggested is /i:/, a diphthong /ɪə/ or even /eə/ (121).

Table 2 Front Vowels I

Spelling	PdE spelling	Dialect	Tokens	Examples
RP /ɪ/				
<e>	<i>	Cornwall	22	*weth, sence*
		Devon	2	*peg*
Tokens=45				
<ea>, <ëa>	<i>	Devon	1	*thease*
		Somerset	2	*thëase*
		Dorset	5	*thease*
Tokens=8				

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[6] Intuition here refers to the expected spelling consistency.
[7] For in-depth explanations about this spelling see the analysis of Text 36 in *TSE*.

- **RP /e/.** There is a tendency for Devon and Somerset to lowering RP /e/ to /a/ ("PSE" 615). Moreover, this vowel can also be lengthened to /e:/ and sometimes raised further to /i:/ <ee> (21). In the case of <u>, the *EDD* suggests an unstressed /ə/ but in *TSE,* <wull> is thought to have /ʌ/ (97). In this region, /e/ is sometimes pronounced /ɪ/ (21), as the map, figure 2, in the Appendix proves.

Table 3 Front Vowels II

Spelling	PdE spelling	Dialect	Tokens	Examples
		RP /e/		
<u>	<e>	Devon	13	*turrabul, wull*
		Dorset	1	*hullo*
		Tokens=14		
<i>	<e>	Devon	2	*git*
		Somerset	1	*git*
		Tokens=3		
<a>	<e>	Devon	1	*twanty*
		Somerset	3	*lags*
		Tokens=4		
<ee>	<e>	Devon	1	*treemor*

- **RP /æ/.** It is not included in the sources but, one might argue that the sound represented is /e:/ due to consistency with the explanations in Table 8.

Table 4 Front Vowels III

Spelling	PdE spelling	Dialect	Tokens	Examples
		RP /æ/		
<ay>	<a>	Dorset	2	*fayshion*

- **RP /ʊ/.** Though a fronted articulation of RP /ʊ/ can be found in Devon, W. Somerset and

  E. Cornwall (25), in the corpus, only the former presents it. Its lengthened form (Table 9)

  is the result of the same fronting process.

  In the case of the spelling <'oo>, a lengthened form must be considered (for the deletion

  of the semivowel /w/ see Table 19).

Table 5. Back Vowels I

Spelling	PdE spelling	Dialect	Tokens	Examples
RP /ʊ/				
<ü>, <ü+C+e>	<ou>, <o>, <oo>	Devon	93	*yü, dü, güde*
<oo>	<o>, <ou>	Somerset	3	*'ooman, 'ood 'would'*
		Dorset	5	*'ooman*
Tokens=8				

- **RP /ɒ/.** There is a tendency in the southwest to unround RP /ɒ/ towards /a/ (23) although

  here it is only present in Dorset and Somerset.

Table 6 Back Vowels II

Spelling	PdE spelling	Dialect	Tokens	Examples
RP /ɒ/				
<a>, <ai>	<o>	Dorset	4	*drap, praper*
		Somerset	1	*gwaine*
Tokens=5				

- **RP /ʌ/.** /ɪ/ is a dialectal development of RP /ʌ/ mainly found in Devon and E. Cornwall (23). However, the works show that is also present in Dorset and Somerset. The pronunciation /ɒ/ or /o:/ <o> is found in W. Cornwall (23) but in the corpus, Devon is also included. Some regions of the southwest also present /au/ <aw>, <au> as a development of /ʌ/ (23) but they could also indicate /ɔ:/ as in standard English <lawn> or <saw>.

Table 7 Central Vowel

Spelling	PdE spelling	Dialect	Tokens	Examples
RP /ʌ/				
<i>	<u>, <ou>, <oo>	Devon	3	*bliddy, tiched*
		Somerset	3	*sich*
		Dorset	10	*sich, jist*
Tokens=16				
<o>	<u>, <ou>	Cornwall	2	*nombers*
		Devon	4	*onaisiness, yong*
Tokens=6				
<aw>	<u>	Devon	1	*lawk*
<au>	<o>	Devon	1	*caumforable*

2.2.1.2 Stressed Vowels: Long

- **RP /i:/.** Words with RP /i:/ undergo the standard development in this area when they come from ME /e:/, though when the origin is /ɛ:/, south-western spellings indicate either /e:/ or a diphthong /eɪ/ with common spellings such as <a>, <ai> and <ay>. This is normally not found in Somerset (25), although the works selected present two isolated cases. Moreover, in this area, it is possible to find /ɪ/ <i> before a final voiceless consonant (25); but, in two cases, this vowel has also been lowered to /e/, as in <kep>.

Table 8 Front Vowels

Spelling	PdE spelling	Dialect	Tokens	Examples
RP /i:/				
<ai>, <ay>, <a>	<ea>, <ei>, <ie>	Cornwall	4	*praicher, belave, nayther*
		Devon	5	*disayse, aisy, sayse*
		Somerset	2	*kay*
Tokens=11				
<e>	<ee>, <ea>	Cornwall	1	*kep*
		Somerset	1	*lef*
Tokens=2				
<i>	<ee>	Somerset	10	*sim, wick*

- **RP /u:/.** A fronted articulation can be found in the southwestern peninsula (25) except in the western part of Cornwall. In some areas, words coming from ME /o:/ and the ME diphthongs /iu, eu/ have fallen together whilst in others they are kept apart. The spellings <ü>, <eu> and <ew> from the corpus (see Table 9) show this.

Table 9 Back Vowels I

Spelling	PdE spelling	Dialect	Tokens	Examples
RP /u:/				
<eu>, <ew>	<oo>, <wo>	Cornwall	9	*beuk, tew*
<ü>	<ue>, <oo>, <ou>	Devon	7	*trü, rütes, yü*

- **RP /ɔ:/.** When coming from ME /or/ words are pronounced with an open long vowel /a:/ or /ɑ:/ in E. Somerset, Dorset and central Cornwall (26). Nonetheless, as Table 10 shows, it is also found in Devon. Furthermore, in the southwest and other parts of England, /al+C/ present the unrounded /a:/ as in <taalk> (26). The spelling <owe> is not included in *TSE*, but it is attested in the *EDD* in the form of <fower> and <vower>.

Table 10 Back Vowels II

Spelling	PdE spelling	Dialect	Tokens	Examples
		RP /ɔ:/		
<ar>, <oar>	<or>	Cornwall	1	*harn*
		Devon	2	*marning, soart*
		Somerset	4	*marnen*
		Dorset	10	*lard, arnaments*
		Tokens=17		
<aal+C>	<al+C>	Cornwall	1	*taalk*
<ower>	<our>	Devon	1	*vower 'four'*

- **RP /ɑ:**/. The dialectal sound of **RP /ɑ:**/ is normally /e:/, /ɪə/ or /eə/ (26). Following the authors' consistency, one would clearly associate the spellings <ay>, <ai> with /e:/ but <ea>, <ëa> would most likely suggest the diphthongs /eə/ and /ɪə/.

Table 11 Back Vowels III

Spelling	PdE spelling	Dialect	Tokens	Examples
		RP /a:/		
<ea>, <ëa>	<a>	Cornwall	2	*shean't*
		Devon	3	*measter*
		Somerset	7	*mëaster*
		Tokens=12		
<ay>, <ai>	<a>	Cornwall	2	*fayther*
		Dorset	1	*cain't*
		Tokens=3		

- **RP /ɜ:/.** Words coming from ME /er/ that have developed into /ar/ remain /a:/ or sometimes /ɑ:/, instead of the standard merging into /ɜ:/. This can be found in <learn> in Devon, Somerset and Cornwall (27). Short forms such as /ʌ/ <u> are present in some locations and they usually assimilate the /r/ when followed by /s(t)/ (27) as in <vu'st>.

Table 12 Central Vowel

Spelling	PdE spelling	Dialect	Tokens	Examples
		RP /ɜ:/		
<a>	<e>, <ea>	Devon	3	*sarvice*
		Somerset	1	*larnen*
		Tokens=4		
<u>	<i>, <e>	Somerset	3	*vu'st, wur*
		Dorset	2	*zur*
		Tokens=5		

2.2.1.3 Stressed Vowels: Diphthongs

- **RP /eɪ/.** Though its most common realisation is /e:/ or even /aɪ/ (27), in observing the spelling <aa>, the expected pronunciation would be /a:/ or /ɑ:/, which is not included in this source.

Table 13 Closing Diphthongs III

Spelling	PdE spelling	Dialect	Tokens	Examples
		RP /eɪ/		
<aa>	<a>	Cornwall	1	*traade*
		Devon	7	*taake, baake*
		Tokens=8		

- **RP /ɔɪ/.** The spelling <euoy> is not included in *TSE* or the *EDD* but it might be an example of the French *eu*, described by Mary Hartier (See note 1).

Table 14 Closing Diphthongs III

Spelling	PdE spelling	Dialect	Tokens	Examples
		RP /ɔɪ/		
<euoy>	<oy>	Devon	6	*beuoy 'boy'*

- **RP /əʊ/.** The spellings provided by these authors to present other sounds is sometimes confusing. The only clear phonetic correlative in Table 15 is <aw> used to represent /ɔ:/ or /o:/ instead of RP /əʊ/ ("PSE" 623-24).

  This ambiguity is also applied to <oo>, for which Wakelin considers /u:/ ("PSE" 624). On the other hand, the spelling <ow> presented in <cowld> is not included in *TSE* but the *EDD* includes <cowd>.

Table 15 Closing Diphthongs IV

Spelling	PdE spelling	Dialect	Tokens	Examples
		RP /əʊ/		
<a>, <aw>	<o>	Cornwall	21	*knaw, blaw*
		Devon	19	*awver, drane*
		Tokens=40		
<ea>	<o>	Cornwall	1	*wean't*
<ow>	<o>	Cornwall	1	*cowld*
<oo>	<o>	Somerset	8	*goo*

- **RP /ɪə/** under the spelling <e> might indicate a "shift of stress when there is no init.[ial] C.[onsonant]" (29); i.e. /ə/. Conversely, the spelling <ee> might indicate lengthening of the first element and loss of the second (/i:/) as the spelling in Table 3. The name <Pearse> under the spelling <Payrse> might be indicating a diphthong /eə/.

Table 16 Centring Diphthongs I

Spelling	PdE spelling	Dialect	Tokens	Examples
		RP /ɪə/		
<er>	<ear>	Devon	1	*yer*
<eer>	<ear>	Cornwall	8	*heerd*

		Dorset	2	*heerd*
Tokens=10				
<ayr>	<ear>	Devon	2	*Payrse*

- **RP /eə/**. "The main deviation from predominant /e(ə)r/ […] is /ɪər/ (also /ər/ in dare and occasionally in other words)" (29), which could be the case of <ur> in Table 17. As for the spellings found in Cornwall, the *EDD* suggests the pronunciations /eː/ and /ɪə/, which at the same time coincides with text-consistency.

Table 17 Centring Diphthongs II

Spelling	PdE spelling	Dialect	Tokens	Examples
RP /eə/				
<eer>, <ear>	<e+r+e>	Cornwall	13	*theare, theere*
<ur>	<e+r+e>	Devon	5	*thur, whur*

2.2.1.4 Consonants

Regional Features

Fricatives. The most salient feature of these counties is the voicing of initial fricatives /f, s, θ, ʃ/ resulting in /v, z, ð, ʒ / respectively (29); however, in the corpus only /f/[8] and /s/ are voiced.

Another common feature is pronouncing /d/ instead of **RP /θ or ð/** especially when followed by an /r/ (29).

---

[8] See Appendix, figure 6.

Table 18 Substitution I

Spelling	PdE spelling	Dialect	Tokens	Examples
RP /θ or ð/				
<d>	<th>	Devon	5	*dree*
		Somerset	1	*dree*
		Dorset	2	*togeder*
Tokens=8				
RP /f/				
<v>	<f>	Devon	49	*vine, vor*
		Somerset	25	*volk*
		Dorset	15	*vive*
Tokens=89				
RP /s/				
<z>	<s>	Devon	12	*zunday*
		Somerset	67	*zay*
		Dorset	9	*zee*
Tokens=88				

Semivowel. The chief interest here is the loss and addition in older dialects (31). /w/ may be lost before /ʊ/ but added initially or after a preceding consonant before long back vowels (33).

Table 19 Semivowels loss and addition

Spelling	PdE spelling	Dialect	Tokens	Examples
Loss of RP /w/				
<'oo>	<wo(u)>	Somerset	3	*'ooman, 'ood 'would'*
		Dorset	5	*'ooman*
Tokens=8				
Addition of /w/				
<wo>	<o>	Dorset	2	*bwoy, bwones*
		Devon	2	*twoad*
		Somerset	1	*bwoy*
Tokens=5				
<wai>	<o>	Somerset	1	*gwaine*

Other Features

None of the four phenomena below are explained in *TSE* but the Appendix (figure 5) includes a map of /ks/-/sk/ in which the three counties are included. The spelling variant /r/ instead of /f/ in <arter> is attested in Somerset (*EDD).* As for the case of <b>, <bb>, it may be suggesting a /b/ instead of /v/ and the last one a /n/ instead of /ŋ/.

Table 20 Substitution II

Spelling	PdE spelling	Dialect	Tokens	Examples
RP /sk/				
<x>	<sk>	Devon	1	*axed*
		Somerset	2	*ax*
		Dorset	7	*ax*
Tokens=10				
RP /f/				
<r>	<f>	Dorset	6	*arter*
RP /v/				
<b>, <bb>	<v>	Devon	2	*zebban, eleben*
RP /ŋ/				
<n>	<ng>	Somerset	20	*somethen, comen*

Dropping **RP /h/** or hypercorrecting it is more a social factor than chiefly southwestern ("PSE" 638). With regards to the last two features found in the literary works, the spellings containing <'> clearly suggest a dropping of both /l/ and /v/.

Table 21 Elision and Epenthesis

Spelling	PdE spelling	Dialect	Tokens	Examples
RP /h/				
<'>	<h>	Cornwall	13	*'ere*

		Devon	95	*'er*[9]
		Dorset	8	*'eart*
Tokens=116				
RP /Ø/				
<h>	<Ø>	Cornwall	19	*heverybody*
RP /l/				
<'>	<l>	Somerset	2	*a'most*
RP /v/				
<'>, <Ø>	<v>	Somerset	2	*ha', gie*

Nonetheless, there is not always consistency throughout the texts as they are cases of literary dialect. An example of it would be this brief passage in which there is voicing of initial fricative in the first clause but not in the second:

"An' thik door hadn't a-bin oped this **vive**-an'-twenty year," reflected Abraham.

"Ha! A determined **feller**," said Mr. John Culliford." (*LQL* 49)

Regarding the *EDD,* it does not support the classification of specific and general features here presented. The word <beuk>, for instance, appears seven times in Cornwall, but the *EDD* does not include it as one of the counties in which its use can be found. Moreover, the *OED* contends that it is a Northern English variant.

Concerning Dorset, the *EDD* does not incorporate this county in words such as <drap>, <bwoy> or <arter>, amongst others.

Even though Devon's spellings appear to be more frequent in the *EDD* together with Somerset's, some entries do not include the former as, for instance, <tiched> or <aisy> or the latter in <lag>.

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[9] See Appendix, figure 4.

2.2.2   Regional lexis

In this section, the words that do not belong to the Standard English vocabulary have been classified into five tables: four devoted to the counties being studied and one that presents the lexis common to two or more of these counties[10].

The definitions provided come from the *EDD,* unless otherwise specified. Nonetheless, it is noteworthy that, in this dictionary, the sources from the Southwestern England are not abundant (Melchers 88) and, therefore, the terms or the counties in which they have been found, are sometimes not included.

2.2.2.1 Common lexis

According to the *EDD,* none of the common lexis found in the works conforming the corpus (Table 22) are specific of the analysed counties. What is interesting though is the word <ghastly> which, according to this dictionary has only been attested in Somerset and, as the works prove, they are also present in Cornwall and Dorset.

On the other hand, in *TSE,* only <nattlings>, <chiel> and <barton> are recorded as being Southwestern lexis. The latter is found in Somerset and Dorset, whereas <nattlings> in E. Cornwall, Devon, parts of Somerset and Dorset in the form of <knotlings>. Similarly, <chiel> is found in *TSE* as being common lexis of the four counties.

Table 22 Common lexis

Term/expression	Definition	Dialect	Tokens
<ghastly>	frightful	Cornwall	10
		Dorset	1
Tokens=11			
<iss>, <iss fy>	yes. in good faith, certainly.	Devon	2
		Cornwall	7
		Somerset	1

---

[10] The labels 'common' and 'specific' here refer to the terms found in the selected corpus and therefore not necessarily applicable to all the works that reflect these dialects.

Tokens=10			
<childern>[11]	children	Dorset	4
		Somerset	1
Tokens=5			
<la(h)>	*int.* probably a corruption of 'Lord.'	Cornwall	2
		Somerset	2
Tokens=4			
<granfer>, <gramfer>	grandfather	Devon	2
		Somerset	1
Tokens=3			
<agone>[12]	ago	Cornwall	2
		Somerset	1
Tokens=3			
<summat[13]>	something	Dorset	2
		Somerset	1
Tokens=3			

2.2.2.2 Devon

With regards to the lexis of Devon, <gapshly> is specific of this county (*EDD*) However,

according to the *OED* <quilty> is another term only found in this same region.

Table 23 Regional lexis (Devon)

Term/expression	Definition	Tokens
<backsivore>	contrary way	1
<cow-flop>	several plants (*OED*)	1
<ditty>	story	1
<drat>	'damn'	1
<drimbledrane>	bumble-bee (*OED*)	1
<gapshly>	simpleton	1
<nattlings>	small intestines	1
<plim>	*adv.* Mildly	1
<quilty>	to swallow	1
<turmits>	turnips	1

---

[11] Wakelin includes this term in morphosyntax for it is an irregular plural form of <child> frequent only in Somerset; Dorset is not included.
[12] See Appendix, figure 8.
[13] See Appendix, figure 9.

2.2.2.3 Cornwall

None of the items found in Cornwall are county-specific. [14]

Table 24 Regional Lexis (Cornwall)

Term/expression	Definition	Tokens
<agen>	against	9
<chield>	child	3
<nohow>	to be uncomfortable	1

2.2.2.4 Dorset

The lexis found in the texts representing the speech of Dorset is the most interesting one

for none of these entries in the *EDD* (apart from <dather>) include this county. Moreover,

the term <impident> is not found in any neighbouring region.

Table 25 Regional lexis (Dorset)

Term/expression	Definition	Tokens
<chimbley>	chimney	3
<dathered>	to shiver	1
<forrads>	forwards	1
<fray>	terror	1
<impident>	in good spirits	4
<lone>	alone	4

2.2.2.5 Somerset

Although the *EDD* does not consider any of these terms county-specific, there are three

items worth highlighting: <nother>, <tiddyvate> and <huzburd>. The latter is a variant

spelling of <hosebird> only attested in Somerset and the other two are also found in

Devon, and, in the case of <tidyvate>, it also includes Cornwall.

---

[14] The *EDD* signals that the use of <agen> instead of <against> is not specific of Cornwall but of Cornwall, Devon and Somerset.

Table 26 Regional lexis (Somerset)

Term/expression	Definition	Tokens
<barton>	farm-yard (*TSE*)	3
<catchingest>	uncertain	1
<chiff-chaff>	chaffinch	1
<clavey>	beam of wood	1
<drang>, <drang-way>	narrow passage	4
<gallis-rogue>	good-for-nothing	1
<grammer>	grandmother	2
<heigh>	exclamation	1
<huzburd>	clumsy person	1
<middlens>	tolerable	2
<nother>	another	2
<sim>	to think	1
<tiddyvate>	to ornament	2
<to-year>	this year	1
<warm>	excessively hot	3
<weales>	fresh-cut hay	1
<wordle>, <wold>	world	3

These dialectal words are normally used by the dialect speakers in their dialogues or monologues[15] or by the narrator itself between quotation marks (Devon). However, in the case of *LQL* (Somerset), the narrator also uses regional lexis in his otherwise Standard English interventions.

2.2.3 Morphosyntax

The alteration of Standard English grammar is another strategy used by authors to suggest that a character is a dialect speaker. Its widespread usage throughout the text can be defined as 'consistent' for a correct grammar is normally associated with standardness. In *EH,* for instance, the pronoun exchange "she/her" and "we/us" happens always. When using <her> or <us>, it sometimes stands for <she> or <we> respectively, but the latter are never used by a non-standard speaker.

---

[15] *FF* is mostly a monologue.

In this section, the dialect markers have been classified into three different tables that encompass the features listed by Ihalainen in *The Dialects of England since 1776* (Table 27) and other salient ones that are either dialectal in general (Table 28) or more associated with this particular region (Table 29)[16].

The reason for choosing Ihalainen's classification of dialectal features is that it assembles the enregistered dialect markers often associated with a specific area of the country. These markers match the characteristics found in the texts conforming the corpus except for the use of both *ich* and the proclitic '*ch* instead of 'I' and the second person singular verb.

Table 27 Ihalainen's Dialect Markers

Feature	Dialect	Examples
Periphrastic *do*	Devon, Cornwall, Dorset, Somerset	"I shall never forget ee so long as I **do** live" (*LQL* 4)
Universal *-th*	Devon, Cornwall	"I shouldn't wonder if 'er **com'th** in yer vor help me a bit" (*EH* 254)
Universal *-s*	Cornwall, Dorset	"So I **gets** up early next mornin', and, I **saws** the tip off an ol' ram's harn" (*CS* 137)
Plural *am*	Devon, Cornwall	"You'**m** making me quite ashamed to listen to 'ee" (*CS* 53)
Pronoun exchange[17]	Devon, Dorset, Somerset	"Never yü mind what **'er** be" (*EH* 254)
Uninflected *do, have*	Cornwall, Dorset, Somerset	"It **don't** cost them nothing" (*DD* 315) "She'**ve** a-got all her time for certain" (*LQL* 9)
Otiose *of*	Cornwall	"Why, Tom, whatever have 'ee been doin' **of**!" (*CS* 72)

---

[16] Information about the characteristics presented in Tables 28 and 29 can be found in the chapter "Synopsis of SW English" in *TSE* except for the use of <mid> instead of <might> which only appears three times when the author analyses selected texts (158,184,187). It has also other variants: <mit> (95) and <med> (208).

[17] This characteristic is not only found in these counties (*TSE* 34).

Table 28 Other dialect markers (general)

Feature	Dialect	Examples
Verbs with a-	Devon, Cornwall, Dorset, Somerset	"You've **a-had** what I did agree for" (*DD* 298)
Redundancy of negation[18]	Devon, Cornwall, Dorset, Somerset	"He **wouldn' never** a-made ho'ses wi' vour lags" (*LQL* 26)
Use of <for to>[19]	Devon, Cornwall, Dorset, Somerset	"So that's how you come **for to** set yourselves up for so much better than heverybody else" (*CS* 68)
Use of <en>, <un> as an unemphatic form for him (or better OE accusative *hine*), her, it. (*EDD*)	Cornwall, Dorset, Somerset	"And we'll show the young preacher as we be the best chapel in the Circuit and make **en** regret he baint liven among us." (*NM* 22)

Table 29 Other dialect markers (specific)

Feature	Dialect	Examples
Uninflected be	Devon, Cornwall, Dorset, Somerset	"You **be** so wet as a shag, you **be**" (*CS* 123)
<mid> instead of <might>	Dorset, Somerset	"I did give the maid a right-down good talkin'-to, you **mid** think, but it didn't seem to do her much good" (*DD* 307)
<thick> instead of <this>, <that>	Somerset	"Wrong! For God's sake I hide away **thik** bill, Josiah, you've a-got in your han'." (*C4* 32)

---

[18] This label takes its name from a quote of Walter Raymond's *LQL,* in which the narrator describes it as common in that area:

> "Thus to the occasional observer they appeared to loiter aimlessly and look at nothing, and Mrs. Culliford said to Mrs. Carew, with the rich redundancy of negation which is one of the chief charms of that neighbourhood, that she never didn't think they could'n ever be quite right." (11)

[19] Though the <to> is normally omitted in southern England (*TSE* 38), the corpus only presents this phenomenon in *EH* (Devon). For more information about its origin see sections 65 and 126 of Fulk's *An Introduction to Middle English*.

The graphic below contains the data from the tables and visually shows which are the most frequent features used to represent each of the dialects (always remembering the focus on the selected corpus).
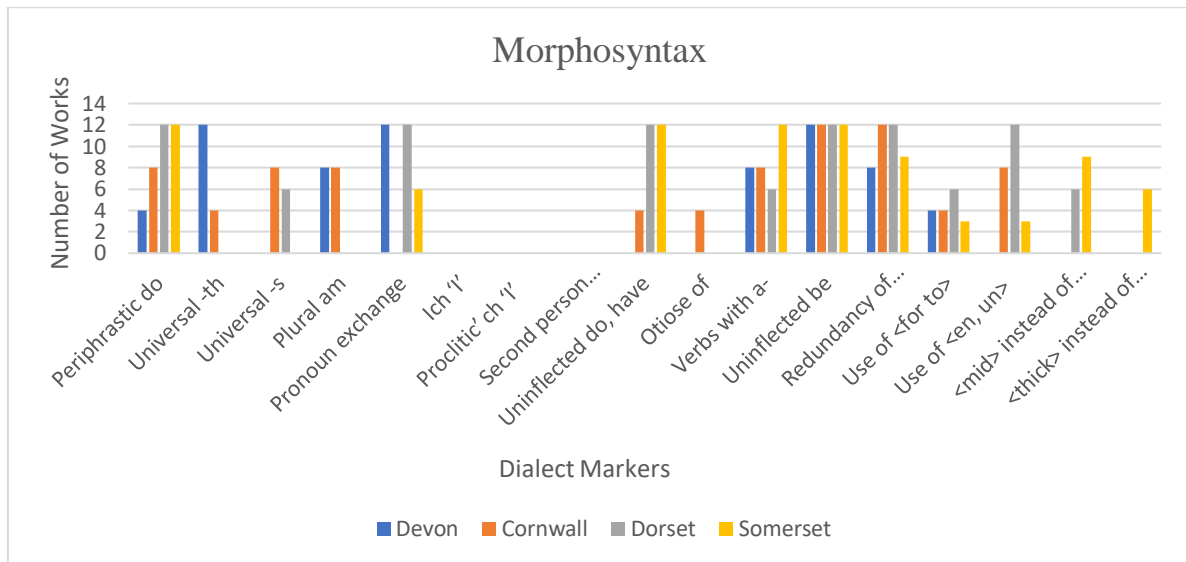
3. Conclusion

After analysing the tools used for dialect representation, one may argue that they serve to good effect to associate speech and region. Many deviant spellings suggest sounds that are chiefly southwestern, especially the voicing of initial fricatives. Likewise, the permeating non-standard morphosyntax complies with the so-called enregistered features of this area. However, the most specific ones are less frequent when compared with general dialect markers, such is the case of <mid> and <thick>. This could be because these texts aim for intelligibility, an idea reinforced by the few instances in which regional lexis is found. There are only 3 out of the 38,858 words, according to *TSE,* that can be considered regional. For this reason, if it were not for the setting previously named by the author, the reader would most likely find it hard to discern the specific county (not the whole zone) a text strives to represent. The only exception would be Cornwall as it is the

most distinct one. Regarding the semi-phonetic spelling, there are nine instances in which three out of the four counties present common features and it is Cornwall the one that does not share them in seven occasions. This is because in that county, Cornish was spoken instead of English "until the sixteenth century" when "the standard forms of pronunciation" were developing and starting to be taught in the non-English-speaking areas (Melchers 85). With regards to county exclusion, many of the features found in Dorset are not included in any of the sources.

The literary dialect is normally "*a variable dependent on the demands of fictional situation rather than on the probable behaviour of an actual speaker*" (Page 59). Despite probably not being entirely accurate representations, the works conforming the corpus do mirror a process of 'dialect renaissance' in which the *other* is never the dialect speaker but the Standard English one. This is to say, there is a subversion of the concepts of 'normal' or 'common' since dialects are not the exception that proves the rule but the rule itself. Most of the characters in the works are non-standard speakers in a rural setting who sometimes encounter "strangers" that happen to speak Standard English. In shifting the focus to non-standardness, the authors do not take a prejudicial approach always associated to dialect apparitions in previous works, and particularly concerning this area. Therefore, even if there are two instances in which non-standard speech is stigmatised[20], the implication is that a dialect is "a linguistic inheritance of which to be proud, and to be mouthed handsomely as a celebration of local origin" (Fox 77).

---

[20] In *LM* a woman mocks an Irish character because of his "queer, ignorant fayshion o' talkin'" (306) and in *CM,* the minister claims that the Dorset dialect "irritated him greatly" (31).

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5.   Appendix: Maps

All maps come from *Word Maps: A Dialect Atlas of England*[21].

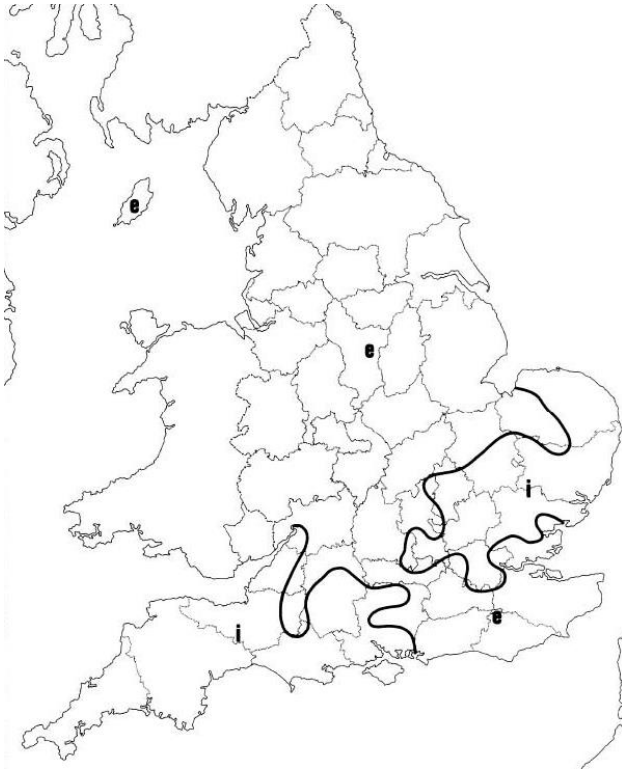i)   Phonetics

Figure 2. /i/ instead of /e/   *Figure 3. /bw/*
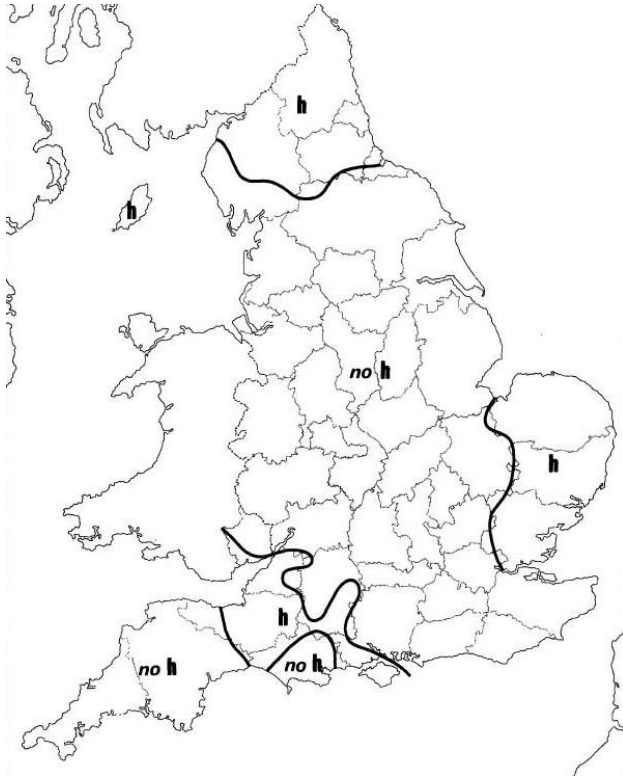

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[21] See Bibliography for full reference.

Figure 4. /h/

Figure 5. /ks/ instead of /sk/
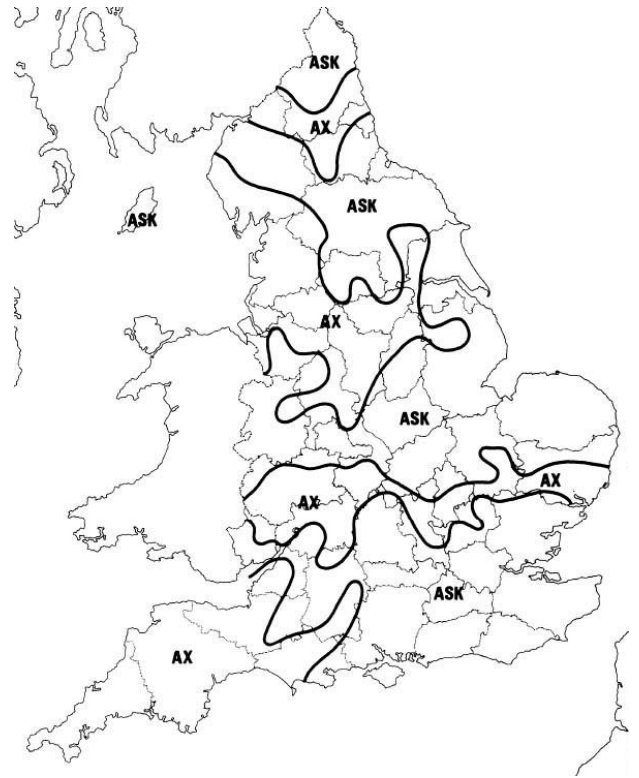
Figure 6. /v/ instead of /f/

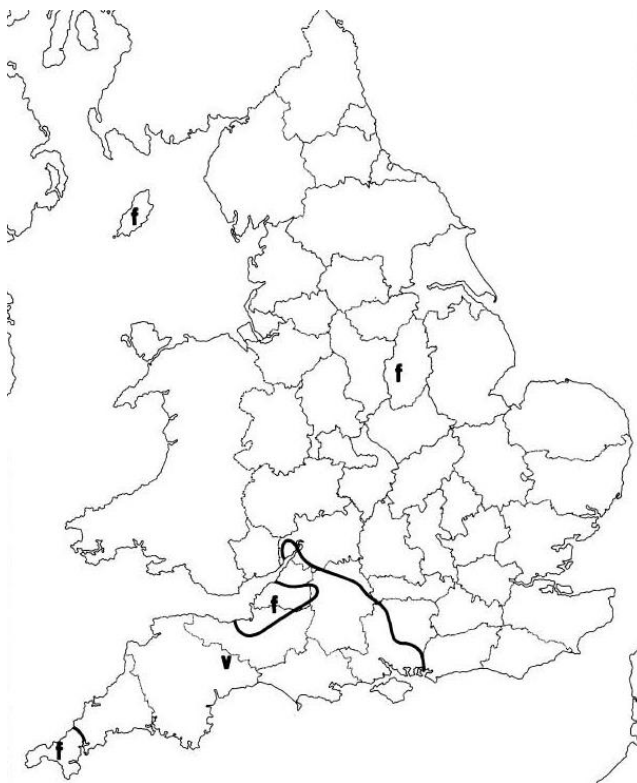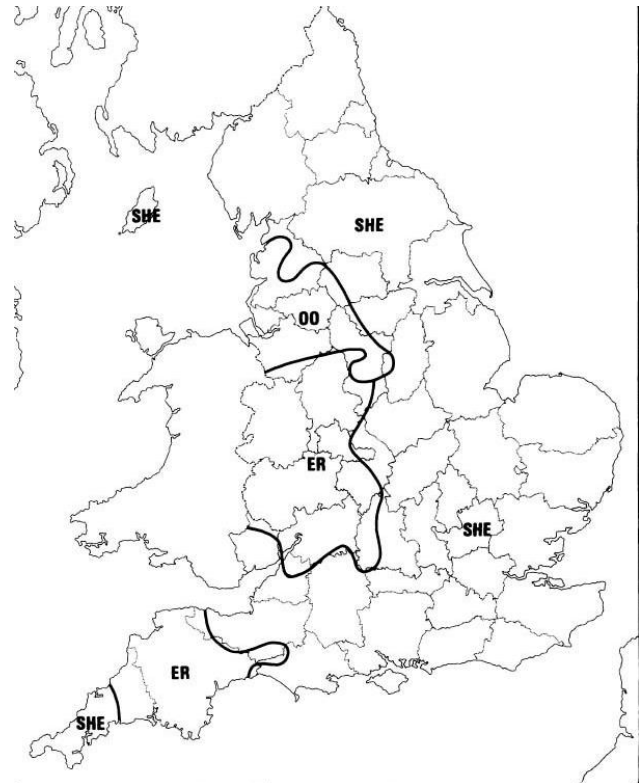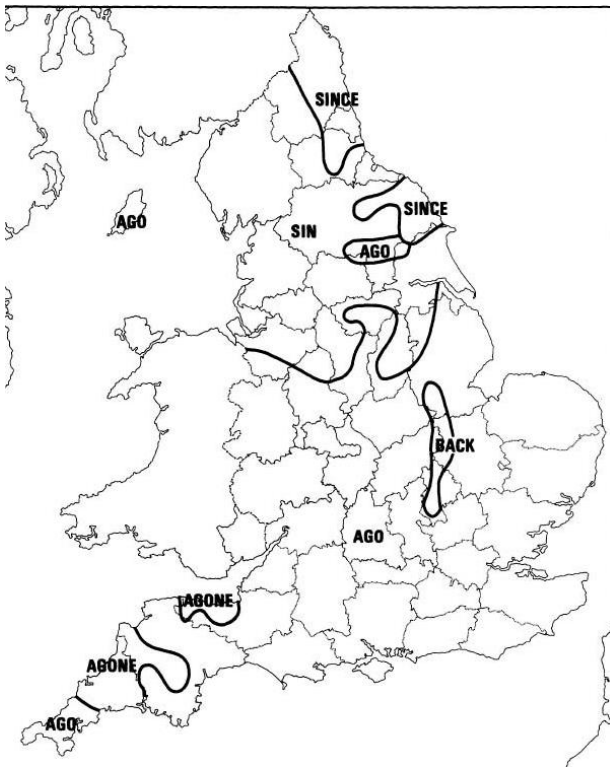*Figure 7. <'er>*

ii)   Lexis

Figure 8. <Agone>   *Figure 9. <Summat>*