19TH CENTURY LANCASHIRE DIALECT: DIALECT PRONUNCIATIONS VIA DIALECT SPELLINGS – DIALECTO DE LANCASHIRE DEL SIGLO 19: PRONUNCIACIONES DIALECTALES A TRAVÉS DE GRAFÍAS DIALECTALES

MEMORIA PARA OPTAR AL GRADO DE DOCTOR

PRESENTADA POR

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# CONTENTS

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Acknowledgements</th>
<th>List of Abbreviations</th>
<th>Abstract</th>
<th>Resumen</th>
<th>Introduction</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**FIRST PART: THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK**

1. Literature Review
   1.1. Regional literature: Dialect literature and literary dialect
   1.2. Important concepts to consider when dealing with regional dialect representation in literature
      1.2.1. Traditional dialects
      1.2.2. Deviant Spellings
      1.2.3. Old Pronunciations
      1.2.4. RP Variants
      1.2.5. General English
      1.2.6. Stereotype and Enregisterment
      1.2.7. Probable Sounds
   1.3. Origins of dialect representation in literature
   1.4. Social Perspective of Dialects
   1.5. The representation of the Lancashire dialect in literature
   1.6. Dialect Studies

2. Lancashire Overview: The County and the Dialect
   2.1. Geographical distribution of the county of Lancashire
   2.2. Dialect change and Lancashire dialect change
   2.3. The framing of the Lancashire dialect
   2.4. Lancashire phonological features as enumerated by scholars
   2.5. General phonological traits of the Lancashire dialect in the studied literary-dialect works
      1. The substitution of <a> for <o> before nasal consonants
      2. The drop of <h>
      3. H-epenthesis
      4. Y-epenthesis
5.- W-epenthesis ........................................................................................................ 34
6.- L-vocalization ....................................................................................................... 35
7.- Metathesis ............................................................................................................. 37
8.- The substitution of <o> for <u> before the consonant sequence <ng> .......... 38
9.- The orthographical deletion of the definite article “the”: the forms th’ and t’ 39

3.- LANCASHIRE WRITERS AND LITERARY-DIALECT AUTHORS SELECTED
FOR THE STUDY ........................................................................................................ 42
3.1.- Overview of Lancashire writers in the nineteenth century ......................... 42
3.2.- Contextualization of the data: writers selected for the present work .......... 43
3.2.1.- John Ackworth (JA) ..................................................................................... 44
3.2.2.- Benjamin Brierley (BB) ............................................................................... 46
3.2.3.- Isabella Banks (IB) ..................................................................................... 49
3.2.4.- James Marshall Mather (JMM) ................................................................. 51
3.2.5.- William Bury Westall (WBW) ................................................................... 52

4.- AN INSIGHT INTO THE LITERARY-DIALECT WORKS SELECTED FOR THE
CORPUS ......................................................................................................................... 55
4.1.- Contextualization of the literary-dialect works .............................................. 55
4.2.- Linguistic aspects of the literary-dialect works ............................................ 58
4.2.1.- Dialect orthographical conventions ........................................................... 60

SECOND PART: A PHONOLOGICAL-BASED STUDY ON THE LANCASHIRE
DIALECT .......................................................................................................................... 62

5.- METHODOLOGY ..................................................................................................... 62
5.1.- Data ...................................................................................................................... 62
5.2.- Methods applied in the linguistic analysis of literary-dialect texts ............. 64
5.3.- Types of analysis employed in our data ......................................................... 65
5.3.1.- Quantitative analysis ................................................................................... 66
5.3.2.- Qualitative analysis ..................................................................................... 67

6.- A CORPUS-BASED ANALYSIS OF SPELLINGS AND PRONUNCIATIONS
RELATED TO RP DIPHTHONGS ..................................................................................... 69
6.1- Quantitative analysis: frequencies of spellings and words related to RP
diphthongs ................................................................................................................... 70
6.2.- Qualitative Analysis .......................................................................................... 77
6.2.1.- RP [ao] .......................................................................................................... 77
6.2.1.1.- Literary dialect spellings of [ao] ............................................................... 77
6.2.1.2.- Literary dialect spellings <ar> / <ah> / <aa> .............................................. 78
6.2.1.3.- Literary dialect spellings <eaw> / <eau> ............................................................ 79
6.2.1.4.- Literary dialect spelling <u> .............................................................................. 81
6.2.1.5.- Historical origins .............................................................................................. 82
6.2.1.6.- Discussion .......................................................................................................... 83
6.2.2.- RP [ai] .................................................................................................................. 86
6.2.2.1.- Literary dialect spellings with Standard English <ght> ................................. 86
6.2.2.1.1.- Literary dialect spelling <ee> ................................................................. 87
6.2.2.1.2.- Literary dialect spellings <eye>/<ei> .............................................................. 88
6.2.2.1.3.- Literary dialect spelling <oi> ................................................................. 89
6.2.2.1.4.- Historical origins ........................................................................................... 90
6.2.2.1.5.- Discussion ..................................................................................................... 91
6.2.2.2.- Literary dialect spellings in words not followed by <ght> in StE spelling ..... 93
6.2.2.2.1.- Literary dialect spelling <ee> ................................................................. 93
6.2.2.2.2.- Literary dialect spelling <oi> ................................................................. 94
6.2.2.2.3.- Historical origins ........................................................................................... 95
6.2.2.2.4.- Discussion ..................................................................................................... 96
6.2.3.- RP [ai] .................................................................................................................. 98
6.2.3.1.- Literary dialect spellings of Standard English [ai] ......................................... 98
6.2.3.2.- Literary dialect spellings <oaa> and <oo> ...................................................... 98
6.2.3.3.- Literary dialect spellings <o+Consonant+Consonant> ................................. 100
6.2.3.4.- Literary Dialect Spelling <ow> ......................................................................... 101
6.2.3.5.- Literary dialect spelling <oi> ................................................................. 102
6.2.3.6.- Historical origins .............................................................................................. 102
  • [uə] / [u:] set of words (digraphs <oaa> and <oo> respectively).................. 102
  • [u] set of words (digraph <o + C + C>)............................................................... 103
  • [æu] set of words (digraph <ow>)........................................................................ 104
  • [ɔi] set of words (digraph <oi>)........................................................................... 104
6.2.3.6.- Discussion .......................................................................................................... 104
6.2.4.1.- Literary dialect spellings of Standard English [ei] ......................................... 107
6.2.4.2.- Literary dialect spelling <a+Consonant+Consonant> ................................ 107
6.2.4.3.- Literary dialect spelling <a +Consonant+Ø> or <a+Consonant+’> ............... 108
6.2.4.4.- Literary dialect spelling <aa> ........................................................................... 109
6.2.4.5.- Literary Dialect Spellings <ea> and <eü> ...................................................... 110
6.2.4.6.- Historical Origins ......................................................................................... 111
6.2.4.7.- Discussion .......................................................................................................... 112
6.2.3.- RP [æə] .............................................................................................................. 114
6.2.3.1.- Literary dialect spelling of RP [ɛә] ....................................................... 114
6.2.3.2.- Literary dialect spelling <ee> ...................................................................... 114
6.2.3.3.- Literary dialect spelling <u+r> ................................................................. 115
6.2.3.4.- Historical origins ...................................................................................... 116
6.2.3.5.- Discussion ................................................................................................. 117
6.3.- Discussion of section related to RP diphthongs ............................................. 118
7.- A CORPUS-BASED ANALYSIS OF SPELLINGS AND PRONUNCIATIONS RELATED TO RP MONOPHTHONGS ................................................................. 122
7.1.- Quantitative analysis: frequencies of spellings and words related to the RP monophthongs .................................................................................................... 123
7.2.- Qualitative analyses ....................................................................................... 130
  7.2.1.- RP [i:] .......................................................................................................... 130
    7.2.1.1.- Literary dialect spellings of RP [i:] ....................................................... 130
    7.2.1.2.- Literary dialect spelling <ay> ................................................................. 130
    7.2.1.3.- Literary dialect spellings <ey> and <ei> .................................................. 131
    7.2.1.4.- Literary dialect spellings <eea> ............................................................. 132
    7.2.1.5.- Historical Origins .................................................................................. 134
    7.2.1.6.- Discussion ............................................................................................. 135
  7.2.2.- RP [ɛ:] ......................................................................................................... 136
    7.2.2.1.- Literary Dialect spellings of [ɛ:] ............................................................. 136
    7.2.2.2.- Literary dialect spelling <eea> ............................................................... 136
    7.2.2.3.- Literary dialect spelling <y+e> ............................................................... 137
    7.2.2.4.- Historical origins .................................................................................. 137
    7.2.2.5.- Discussion ............................................................................................. 138
  7.2.3.- RP [u:] ......................................................................................................... 139
    7.2.3.1.- Literary dialect spellings of RP [u:] ....................................................... 139
    7.2.3.2.- Literary dialect spelling <oi> ................................................................. 139
    7.2.3.3.- Historical Origins .................................................................................. 140
  7.2.4.- RP [ɔ:] ......................................................................................................... 140
    7.2.4.1.- Literary Dialect Spellings of StE [ɔ:] ..................................................... 140
    7.2.4.2.- Literary Dialect Spelling <ow> ............................................................... 141
    7.2.4.3.- Historical origins .................................................................................. 142
    7.2.4.4.- Discussion ............................................................................................. 143
  7.2.5.- RP [ɛ] ......................................................................................................... 143
    7.2.5.1.- Literary dialect spelling of RP [ɛ] ........................................................... 143
    7.2.5.2.- Literary dialect spelling <eea> ............................................................... 144
    7.2.5.3.- Historical Origins .................................................................................. 145
7.2.5.4.- Discussion .......................................................... 146
7.3.- Discussion of section related to RP monophthongs ...................... 146
8.- FINAL CONCLUSIONS .......................................................... 148

BIBLIOGRAPHY ........................................................................... 154
- Primary Sources: ...................................................................... 154
- Secondary Sources: ............................................................... 155

ANNEXES .................................................................................. 163
LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

• LETTERS
C      Consonant
V      Vowel

• COUNTIES
Lan    Lancashire
Yks    Yorkshire

• GEOGRAPHICAL AREAS
eMid   East Midlands
nMid   North Midlands
wMid   West Midlands

• LANGUAGE VARIETIES
LanD   Lancashire Dialect
PV     Prestige Variety
RP     Received Pronunciation
StE    Standard English
TD     Traditional dialect

• PERIODS OF TIME
EModE  Early Modern English
LModE  Late Modern English
ME     Middle English
OE     Old English

• SOUND CHANGES
GVS    Great Vowel Shift
LHG    Lengthening for Homorganic Consonant Group
OSL    Open Syllable Lengthening

• BOOKS
EDD    English Dialect Dictionary
EDG    English Dialect Grammar
LAE    The Linguistic Atlas of England
OED    The Oxford English Dictionary
SED    Survey of English Dialects
- **NOVELISTS**¹

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Abbreviation</th>
<th>Writer</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>BB</td>
<td>Benjamin Brierley</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IB</td>
<td>Isabella Banks</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>JA</td>
<td>John Ackworth</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>JMM</td>
<td>James Marshall Mather</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>WBW</td>
<td>William Bury Westall</td>
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- **LITERARY-DIALECT WORKS**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Abbreviation</th>
<th>Title</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>AY</td>
<td><em>Ab-O’th-Yate at the Isle of Man</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>BD</td>
<td><em>BirchDene: A Novel</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>BL</td>
<td><em>Beckside Lights</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CBC</td>
<td><em>Caleb Booth’s Clerk: A Lancashire Story</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>FM</td>
<td><em>Forbidden to Marry</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>GC</td>
<td><em>Gooin’ to Cyprus</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>LI</td>
<td><em>Lancashire Idylls</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>MH</td>
<td><em>The Mangle House</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>MM</td>
<td><em>The Manchester Man</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>OF</td>
<td><em>The Old Factory: A Lancashire Story</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>RL</td>
<td><em>By Roaring Loom</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>RNT</td>
<td><em>Ralph Norbreck’s Trust</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SC</td>
<td><em>The Scowcroft Critics</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SWS</td>
<td><em>The Sign of the Wooden Shoon</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TB</td>
<td><em>The Three Buckleys: A Local Farce in One Act</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TL</td>
<td><em>The Layrock of Langley-Side: A Lancashire Story</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TM</td>
<td><em>The Minder</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TP</td>
<td><em>The Partners</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>WD</td>
<td><em>The Watchmaker’s Daughter</em></td>
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¹ The abbreviations of writers and their corresponding works are only included in the second part of this thesis, A phonological-based study on the Lancashire dialect, in order to ease the flow of the text.
ABSTRACT

This thesis is framed within the synchronic study of the Lancashire dialect (LanD) in the nineteenth century. Despite the previous studies on this dialect (Downing 1980; Hollman Willem & Siewerska 2007; Ruano-García 2007; Barras 2015), the phonological aspects of this vernacular variety still remain largely unexplored. Research on this dialect was mainly focused on the general linguistic phenomena of northern dialects or common dialect features of the LanD (Downing 1980; Barras 2015). As a result, the specific phonological traits of the LanD have not been thoroughly studied but within a broader category.

This thesis aims at contributing to the knowledge of the phonological linguistic traits and the possible pronunciations of the Lancashire dialect during the 19th century. To illustrate the possible pronunciations of this dialect, I will examine the pronunciation of the Received Pronunciation (RP) diphthongs [aʊ], [aɪ], [əʊ], [ɛɪ], and [ɛǝ] and the RP monophthongs [i:], [ɔː], [uː], [ɛː], and [ɛ] in the dialect of Lancashire (Lan) in the XIX century. For this purpose, I will study the deviant spellings of these RP sounds in the XIX century literary-dialect works. This type of literature is a useful tool for dialect study as the representation of the deviant spellings provides evidence of the dialect pronunciations at a certain period of time.

This thesis addresses two different questions. The first question is how we may discern a stereotyped pronunciation used in literature from its corresponding sound Lan speakers realized; the second question is whether the probable sounds were old or novel realizations during the nineteenth century.
The findings reveal that most of the pronunciations recorded in our corpus belong to probable sounds in the dialect and only a few are stereotyped pronunciations used in literature. Within the probable sounds, our research shows, on the one hand, that most of them are archaic sounds that were probably regressive and, on the other hand, only a few sounds are novel pronunciations in the XIX century. Although further research on the LanD is needed, this thesis expects to shed some light on the possible sounds that were realized by Lan speakers during that period.

Keywords: Lancashire dialect, literary dialect, deviant spellings, suggested pronunciations, stereotyped sounds.

RESUMEN

Esta tesis está enmarcada dentro del estudio sincrónico del dialecto de Lan en el siglo diecinueve. A pesar de los diversos estudios dialectales que se han llevado a cabo previamente (Downing 1980; Hollman Willem & Siewerska 2007; Ruano-García 2007; Barras 2015), los aspectos fonológicos de esta variante vernácula permanecen fundamentalmente inexplorados. Esto es debido a que la mayoría de las investigaciones dialectales se han enfocado en las características lingüísticas generales de los dialectos norteños o en los rasgos generales del dialecto de Lancashire (Downing 1980; Barras 2015). Como resultado, las características fonológicas del dialecto de Lancashire no se han estudiado detalladamente sino dentro de una categoría más amplia.

Esta tesis se lleva a cabo debido al interés en contribuir a un mayor conocimiento de los rasgos fonológicos y a las posibles pronunciaciones del dialecto de Lancashire en el siglo diecinueve. Para ilustrar las posibles pronunciaciones de este dialecto, se examinará la pronunciación de los diptongos de RP [aʊ], [ai], [əʊ], [ɛi], [ɛə] y los monoptongos de RP
[i:], [ɜ:], [u:] y [e] en el dialecto de Lancashire en el siglo diecinueve. Para tal fin, se estudiarán aquellas grafías no estándares de estos sonidos de RP en las novelas de dialecto literario del siglo diecinueve. Este tipo de literatura es considerada como una herramienta útil en el estudio dialectal ya que la representación gráfica de grafías no estándares arroja suficiente evidencia sobre las posibles pronunciaciones dialectales en una determinada época.

La presente tesis aborda dos cuestiones diferentes. La primera cuestión sería cómo podríamos discernir una pronunciación estereotipada usada en la literatura de su correspondiente sonido probable que los hablantes de Lancashire empleasen. La segunda sería si los sonidos probables recogidos eran pronunciaciones antiguas o más recientes durante el siglo diecinueve.

Los resultados revelan que la mayoría de las pronunciaciones recogidas en nuestro corpus serían pronunciaciones probables en el dialecto y que, simplemente, unas pocas serían realizaciones estereotipadas empleadas en literatura. Dentro de los sonidos probables, nuestra investigación muestra, por una parte, que la mayoría de ellos son sonidos arcaicos que probablemente fueran regresivos, y por otra que solo unos cuantos son pronunciaciones novedosas del siglo XIX. Aunque una mayor investigación en el dialecto de Lancashire es necesaria, esta tesis espera arrojar algo de luz sobre los posibles sonidos que fueron empleados por los hablantes de dicho condado durante el siglo diecinueve.

Palabras clave: Dialecto de Lancashire, literatura dialectal, grafías no estándares, pronunciaciones sugeridas, sonidos estereotipados
INTRODUCTION

This thesis is framed within the synchronic study of the Lancashire Dialect (LanD) in the nineteenth century through the analysis of several literary-dialect works. As it is known, one of the salient characteristics of the literary dialect representation is the use of deviant orthographical conventions. This means, spellings which depart from the standard orthography in order to convey more specific or, in this case, dialectal realizations.

Most of the northern dialect studies tackle the general linguistic phenomena of the northern counties (Ihalainen (1994); Beal (2004); Clark (2004). Others such as Wakelin’s *English Dialects An Introduction* (1977) focus on the isoglosses dividing northern and southern England and the general pronunciations that are present in the north.

Sanchez’s (2003) research deals with the study of the non-standard spellings as found in numerous nineteenth-century northern novels. However, she does not focus on the dialect variants of a specific county. Ruano’s work (2012) tackles the LanD but he mainly focuses on the late Modern English (LModE) lexicography. This means, he attempts to illustrate the Lancashire (Lan) speech in the LModE period through the study of Lan literary texts. These studies do not offer an exhaustive analysis of the distinct dialect pronunciations that were once representative of Lan.

This thesis aims at contributing to a better understanding of the LanD. Specifically, this work expects to set out the possible pronunciations that were in use during the XIX century in Lan. Due to the scarce studies that particularly center on the phonological phenomena of the LanD, this research may shed some light on the possible and usual pronunciations of this dialect at that time.
A complete research of the LanD would be beyond the scope of this thesis. However, it focuses on the different pronunciations of the RP diphthongs [aʊ], [aɪ], [ǝʊ], [ɛɪ], and [ɛǝ] and the RP monophthongs [i:], [ɛ:], [u:], [ɔ:], and [ɛ] in the dialect of Lan during the nineteenth century. As we consider the study of spellings an essential part in dialect studies (Ruano-García 2012: 60), we analyze the distinct non-standard orthographical conventions that are represented in the literary-dialect works and their corresponding sounds.

All the spellings that relate to the same RP sound are grouped together and subsequently attributed to their possible realization in the LanD. In addition, I also attempt at providing the possible reasons for those dialect sounds that relate to the same RP pronunciation. For this purpose, I include diachronic evolutions of each phonological realization.

This thesis provides a twofold analysis of different types of vocalic sounds. The first analysis tackles the different dialect phonological variants that relate to the RP diphthongs [aʊ], [aɪ], [ǝʊ], [ɛɪ], and [ɛǝ]. The second analysis deals with those phonological variants that relate to the RP monophthongs [i:], [ɛ:], [u:], [ɔ:], and [ɛ] whose deviant spellings suggest diphthongal sounds in the LanD.

This thesis attempts to go beyond the scope of previous research. All the studies mentioned thus far offer valuable information on the deviant spellings and the dialectal pronunciations, but they do not provide explanations on the various pronunciations that can exist for the same lexical set; this means, words that contain one single pronunciation in the RP. In the present study, apart from examining the various deviant spellings and their suggested dialectal sounds, we endeavor to explain the presence of different pronunciations for the same lexical set.
The analysis of the LanD forms poses some research questions. One important issue related to the study of the dialect phonological variants in literary-dialect works is the use of some phonological stereotypes for characterization purposes.

Thus, the question is how is it possible to identify and differentiate a real dialect vocalic pronunciation of the LanD in the XIX century from a stereotyped sound of those LanD vocalic elements? In addition, we want to know whether those identified vocalic sounds, as reflected in the analyzed works, were recessive or common during the nineteenth century.

These research questions lead to a series of hypotheses. Based on the assumption that literary dialect authors adopted certain stereotyped pronunciations, our first hypothesis is that if a sound is not the outcome of a diachronic sound change that affected the evolution of those vocalic sounds analyzed in the RP sounds, then this sound would be a stereotyped form. On the other hand, if an identified pronunciation underwent a regular sound change, then this sound could be a probable sound that Lan speakers tended to realize in the XIX century. This means, sounds that were likely to be realized by Lan speakers at that time.

Due to the influence of the Prestige Variety (PV), there may appear simultaneously old and novel sounds. This means, the existence of archaic realizations that were probably vanishing and recent sounds that entered the LanD due to the influence of StE during the nineteenth century. The second hypothesis is that the lower the frequency, the less usual and more regressive a sound was in the nineteenth century in Lan. On the other hand, the higher the frequency of a specific sound, the more usual the pronunciation was among Lan speakers at that time.

This thesis is structured in a way that gradually moves from the most general to the most specific aspects. This work starts with an introduction to regional literature: dialect literature and literary dialect, dialect representation in literature, the county of Lan, the
dialect and its phonological features as enumerated by scholars. This work finally focuses on the corpus-based study on the non-standard spellings and their corresponding sounds that relate to the RP diphthongs and monophthongs. This research would lead us to know the probable pronunciations that Lan speakers realized during the XIX century.

The present thesis is arranged into two distinct and principal parts: A theoretical and a practical part. The first part relates to all the theoretical aspects that have been discussed about regional dialects, the county of Lan and its dialect. The second part is a phonological-based study on the LanD. This block deals with the study of the phonology of the LanD based on our corpus. This section principally focuses on the analysis of the the non-standard spellings and their corresponding sounds that relate to the RP diphthongs and monophthongs.

After the present introduction, this work is divided into nine different chapters and ends up with the bibliography. These nine chapters are as follows:

- Chapter 1 provides an overview of previous dialect works. This chapter sets out the theoretical aspects studied thus far regarding regional dialects and the LanD.

- Chapter 2 offers an overview of the county of Lan and its dialect. This chapter also provides the phonological LanD features as enumerated by scholars and the salient phonological LanD features that are recorded in our corpus and are discussed in literature.

- Chapter 3 provides general information on some of the most relevant XIX century Lan authors. This chapter also sets out the bibliographical aspects of the writers selected for this study. This section is in turn divided into five different subsections, one for each novelist of our corpus. Each of the novelists from whose works form the basis for the data of our corpus.
- Chapter 4 offers an insight into the nineteen literary-dialect works selected for our corpus.

- Chapter 5 is related to the methodology employed to carry out this thesis. This chapter is divided into the data collected for the research and the methods adopted to study these data.

- Chapters 6 & 7 are devoted to the analysis of the non-standard spelling conventions and their suggested pronunciations. These chapters are subdivided into sections concerning the different literary spellings and their suggested pronunciations that relate to the RP pronunciations. These chapters also address the words containing the spellings, their conveyed sounds, the frequency of the spellings, and the historical reasons of each RP and dialect sounds. Particularly, chapter 6 includes the dialect sounds related to each of the RP diphthongs previously mentioned and chapter 7 tackles the diphthongal sounds the LanD seems to show and relate to the RP monophthongs.

- Chapter 8 summarizes the research focus of the thesis, the objectives, and the conclusions drawn from the analyzed data.

- Finally, the bibliography used to carry out this thesis is given. This section includes the books, articles, and websites consulted, and it is, in turn, divided into primary and secondary sources. The first subsection comprises the literary-dialect works chosen for our corpus, and the second all the bibliographical information consulted to accomplish this thesis.
FIRST PART: THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

The first part of this thesis tackles the theoretical issues of regional dialects, their representation in literature, a general geographical overview of Lan, its dialect and the general phonological characteristics of the LanD as enumerated by scholars and as found in the corpus compiled. This part also includes a general contextualization of the nineteen literary-dialect works of our corpus as well as the bibliographical aspects of the five literary-dialect writers chosen for this study. This part does not examine the linguistic phonological traits of the LanD in depth, as this research will be undertaken in the second section of this thesis.

1.-LITERATURE REVIEW

1.1.- Regional literature: Dialect literature and literary dialect

As it is well known, regional literature is a valuable source for dialect study (Sullivan 1980: 21; Sánchez (2003); Ruano-García 2007: 111); García-Bermejo Giner (2008: 31). On considering dialect representation, we come across two distinct approaches: dialect literature on the one hand and literary dialect on the other.

Dialect literature mainly refers to novels, plays, and poems that are totally composed in one dialect. This literary approach is principally addressed to a limited number of readers, those who are well connoisseurs of the non-standard dialect in question. According to Shorrocks (in Ruano-García et al 2015: 132), this type of representation is totally
composed in a non-standard dialect and it is especially addressed to a “non-standard-dialect-speaking readership”

Literary-dialect novels are wholly composed in the Prestige Variety (PV) except when the different characters intervene. Hodson and Broadhead (2013: 315) point out that these works comprise a series of techniques that gradually emerged in the country in the nineteenth century. Shorrocks (in Ruano-García et al 2015: 133) adds that literary dialect representation is mostly addressed to a general readership as it represents non-standard speech written in StE. Görlach (1991: 84) defines this literary representation as

a well-known phenomenon […] these works […] tend to proliferate after the respective standard language is firmly established, and the dialects can serve for the informal, emotional or nostalgic aspects.

In addition to Görlach’s definition, Brook (1963: 189) considers that authors of this type of literary works wished their novels to be read by as many readers as possible. Hence, they adopted deviant readable orthographical conventions suggesting other pronunciations which are ‘phonetic’ or ‘semiphonetic spellings’ of the StE (Brook 1963: 189).

Brook (1963: 190) and García-Bermejo Giner (1989: 107) point out that authors are neither linguists, philologists, phoneticians nor experts on the representation of the dialectal sounds. As a result, literary-dialect works should not be considered precise or accurate representations of a determined dialect as this is not the authors’ principal concern.

Literary dialect authors are supposed to adopt readable spellings for standard readers not to find the reading cumbersome. Although they are constrained or limited by the use of orthographical conventions, Sánchez (2003: 20) considers that these authors had a set of traditional spellings that permit them to represent the non-standard sounds. This is based
on the idea that if a set of graphical variants is largely used for a long time, this set ends up being considered a common way to represent the dialectal pronunciations (2003: 20).

Literary-dialect novels attempt at representing the pronunciations that were once typical in a determined regional variety. As Beal (2004: 204) and Ruano-García (2007: 111) point out, this type of dialect representation in literature can give us a relevant insight into the features of a regional variety. Beal (2004: 204-205) considers that as the phonological pronunciations are represented by semi-phonetic spellings, the study of these orthographical conventions “provide us with valuable insights into the features of regional and national dialect that were salient at the time” (Beal 2004: 205)

Ruano-García (2007: 111) affirms that although literary dialect representations are not completely rigorous in the depiction of dialects, he remarks that they are relevant tools for dialect study. He considers that a meticulous analysis of the non-standard spellings to obtain phonological data is of great value in dialect study.

A thorough analysis of these anomalous spellings so as to gain access to the phonetic realization of such an anomaly lends aid to the reconstruction of the main differences between northern and southern … English (Ruano-García 2007: 113)

Considering Beal’s and Ruano’s idea on the relevance of literary-dialect texts for dialect study, we base our phonological research on the XIX century LanD on several literary-dialect works. We also agree that the study of the non-standard spellings will offer us valuable information on the possible phonological realizations that were usual in the county of Lan during the nineteenth century.
1.2.- Important concepts to consider when dealing with regional dialect representation in literature

As previously noted, we selected some literary-dialect works to carry out our research on the LanD. When analyzing this type of works, we should consider some important concepts, which are: traditional dialect (TD), deviant spellings, old pronunciations, RP variants, General English, stereotype and enregisterment, and probable sounds, that are present throughout this thesis.

1.2.1.- Traditional dialects

The first important concept we should mention is the so-called TD, which is the type of dialect we are to find in our nineteenth-century literary-dialect works. TDs refer to the non-standard varieties spoken in geographically limited and restricted areas of England, such as eastern, central, and southern Scotland or northern England (Wells 1982a: 4).

Wells (1982a: 6) also adds that TDs are clearly different from one another and are based on different phonological, lexical, morphological, and syntactical traits. According to Hughes, Trudgill, and Watt (2012: 34),

> traditional dialects are those conservative dialects of English which, for the most part, are spoken relatively isolated areas by certain older speakers and which differ considerably from Standard English.

Although Wells’s research (1982) is focused on the XX century, his work is of great value and help for this thesis. This is because he includes linguistic forms, particularly phonological realizations, that belong to English TDs, which, as previously commented, are the type of dialect represented in the literary-dialect texts selected for our corpus.
1.2.2.- Deviant Spellings

As literary-dialect works are addressed to a general readership, that is, to readers who are not connoisseurs of the dialect in question, writers adopt readable orthographical conventions in order to ease or facilitate the reading. These orthographical conventions are referred to as deviant spellings (García-Bermejo Giner 1999; Ruano-García 2007; Wales 2010).

For Görlach (in Wales 2010: 67), the term “deviant” has negative connotations and thus it should be avoided. According to this scholar, this concept should be avoided: not only because it implies a ‘norm’ (the standard) but also because it suggests oddity or abnormality. The popular label ‘non-standard’ is another contentious term … which has had the unfortunate evaluative connotations of ‘sub-standard’ or culturally inferior, even uncouth (Görlach in Wales (2010: 67)

The word deviant spellings in literary-dialect works refers to the use of orthographical conventions that are adapted from the standard but diverge from the StE orthography and suggest dialectal pronunciations. According to Durkin (2010: 46),

There is a significant amount of evidence … in which divergence from standard English is again signaled by adaptations of the orthography of Standard English … the mode of representation remains the same, namely form of standard English orthography. Such data can pose considerable difficulties of interpretations.

Shorrocks (in Ruano-García et al: 2015: 133) notes that literary-dialect authors base these spellings on the standard orthography to represent non-standard speech. In this regard, we find Gimson’s study (1962) useful as he provides a thorough examination on the sounds of English and how they are orthographically represented in the standard.
1.2.3.- Old Pronunciations
As our literary-dialect works mostly deal with TD, the sounds suggested by the deviant spellings can be old pronunciations. This concept refers to those archaic phonological forms that are found in the dialect. Downing (1980: 108) considers that the LanD contains archaic forms, which are, according to this scholar, those pronunciations that were removed from the standard but are still present in the dialect. In this regard, we should mention the concept of recession or recessive forms. This means, those archaic dialectal sounds that were vanishing in the dialect due to the pressure StE exerts on the LanD and, in general, on all vernacular varieties (Wells 1982a: 5).

1.2.4.- RP Variants
As a result of the pressure of StE, archaic forms tend to disappear or vanish from the LanD and new forms that resemble RP enter the dialect; these new forms are called RP variants (Gimson 1980; Wells 1982).

1.2.5.- General English
In relation to RP variants, Wells (1982a: 5) also notes the term General English to refer to the introduction of new pronunciations in the dialect. These new forms substitute traditional-dialect forms that are, according to this linguist, recessive (1982a: 5).

1.2.6.- Stereotype and Enregisterment
When analyzing literary-dialect works, the terms stereotype and enregisterment are to be considered. This is because authors can represent, by means of deviant spellings, sounds that were socially associated with a determined area but were probably no longer in use in Lan at the time the literary-dialect texts of our corpus were written.

According to Kristiansen (2003: 91), a stereotype is a cognitive process through which we systematize our social environment and often entails exaggeration. She also points out that a linguistic stereotype refers to those forms of speech belonging to a specific social
class or group of people that are usually imprecise or unreal and involve negative connotations (Kristiansen 2003: 77). Lavob (in Beal 2004: 193) adds that

Under extreme stigmatization, a form may become the overt topic of social comment, and may eventually disappear. It is thus a stereotype, which may become increasingly divorced from the forms which are actually used in speech.

On the other hand, we should mention the linguistic term enregisterment. According to Agha (2003: 231-232), this term is defined as “the processes through which a linguistic repertoire becomes differentiable within a language as a socially recognized register of forms”. Hickey (2005: 15) adds that the term enregisterment gained much interest among linguists and that this term can be applied to several regional English forms and city dialects “which have salient features which are part of popular awareness of the locality’s vernacular” (2005: 15). Although stereotype and enregisterment refer to the linguistic processes that are connected with a group of people or a vernacular variety, the notion of stereotype carries negative connotations and often involves exaggeration of those forms of speech.2

1.2.7.- Probable Sounds

In this thesis we also deal with probable sounds. With this concept, we refer to the pronunciations that were likely to be realized or employed by Lan speakers during the XIX century. Within the category of probable sounds, we can find old or archaic realizations and RP variants. Contrary to stereotyped pronunciations, probable realizations would not involve social rejection and would be rooted in a historical basis.

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2 The concept of enregisterment is only mentioned in this thesis in section 6.2.2. We mostly use the concept of stereotype, since this work deals with sounds that were often rejected and not in use by Lan speakers during the XIX century.
1.3.- Origins of dialect representation in literature

As far as the origins of the literary dialect representation are concerned, they are not of recent creation, but have a long history and tradition within dialect representation. According to Brook 1963: 201-202; García-Bermejo Giner 2002: 209; García-Bermejo Giner 2008: 31; and Hickey 2015: 13), the first representations of a dialect were depicted in Chaucer’s Reeves Tale and in The Second Shepherds’ Play, which date back to the fourteenth and the fifteenth centuries respectively.

In Chaucer’s work, the northern dialect is the variety employed to mark the speech of the clerks. Although the entire tale is written in southern English, the dialect seems to provide life and realism to the story due to the origin of the characters using the dialect. However, the use of the northern variety is mainly employed for comic effects (Ruano-García 2007: 111)

Moreover, García-Bermejo Giner (2002: 209) explains that Reeves Tale and The Second Shepherds’ Play are highly valuable and of significant importance as they pioneered “a tradition for the representation of regional varieties in English literature that continues to the present”.

Chaucer’s Reeves Tale and The Second Shepherds’ Play were soon imitated by poets such as Skelton, Spenser and Lydgate (Ruano-García (2007: 111). Ruano-García (2007: 111) also adds that the regional dialects were object of representation during the sixteenth and seventeenth century works, as jest-books, broadside ballads, chapbooks, and in Thomas Deloney’s works.

Beal (2004: 190) points out that the eighteenth century saw the emergence of dialect literature with both comic and serious intentions of portraying the characters’ speech. John Collier’s Tummus and Meary published in 1746 had comic intentions in the
characters’ dialogues, but William Barnes’ poems had no humorous effects and are a serious attempt to represent the rural variety (2004: 190).

Beal (2004: 190-191) also affirms that the XIX century also saw the emergence of literary-dialect works by writers such as Emily Brontë, Elizabeth Gaskell, and Thomas Hardy. This scholar also points out that

Whilst some of these representations of dialect are at the level of stereotype, they can still provide insights into both the nature of regional variation at this time, and attitudes towards these varieties (Beal 2004: 191).

The eighteenth and the nineteenth centuries witnessed the appearance of the representation of urban dialects in literature (Beal 2004: 203). Beal (2004: 203) points out that during this period

The growth of the urban population in towns and cities such as Newcastle, Manchester, and indeed Halifax, led to the creation of a market for popular forms of literature in dialect. This took forms such as almanacs, columns in local newspapers, and songs and ‘recitations’ in the mechanics’ institutes and music halls that were opened for the entertainment of the urban population (2004: 203).

According to Beal (2004: 200), numerous literary-dialect works appeared during the later modern period (Beal 2004: 200). Novels by Dickens, Elizabeth Gaskell, and Thomas Hardy were highly representative of this period (2004: 200). Moreover, this scholar claims that apart from literary representation

‘popular’ genres of magazines, songs and ‘recitations’ for the music halls, provide a good source of evidence for the most salient regional and social variants in the later modern period (Beal 2004: 200).
1.4.- Social Perspective of Dialects

As London English became the PV, this means, the English spoken in London came to be considered the correct variety, the other dialects began to be considered non-standard varieties (García-Bermejo Giner 2002: 210, Ruano-García 2007: 111). According to Wales (2010: 65)

It was as early as the fifteenth century that ‘a new standard language’ began to constitute a ‘linguistic norm for written supraregional English’, and especially with the emergence of ‘printed norms’. This is particularly associated with the official Chancery writings in London.

However, García-Bermejo Giner (2002: 210) points out that this fact did not prevent regional varieties from being more frequently represented. In fact, García-Bermejo Giner (2002: 210) explains that during the sixteenth century, regional varieties came to be more habitually represented in verse, drama, and prose regardless of their social stigmatization.

Although the dialects were considered the deviant or the corrupted use of the language, the tradition started by Chaucer in *The Reeves Tale* boosted the use of dialects in literature in the following centuries. However, according to García-Bermejo Giner (2008:31), “authors … following Chaucer’s example, used archaisms and colloquial language rather than true dialect traits” (2008: 31). This is, authors were not precise in the representation of the specific dialect traits as they employed other colloquial or informal forms of the language.

Wales (2010: 61) and Hickey (2015: 13) affirm that northern dialects were the most stigmatized varieties by the society. According to Hickey (2015: 13) Northern English along with Scottish and Irish were socially unaccepted in polite English society by, for example, Thomas Sheridan (1719-1788) and James Walker (1732-1807).
In this regard, García-Bermejo Giner (2008: 32) points out that most of the language studies issued during the seventeenth century were devoted to the PV in order to avoid the use of the linguistic varieties departing from the PV. Hickey (2015: 13) affirms that George Puttenham’s *The Arte of English Poesie* (1590) and Cooper’s *Grammatica Linguae Anglica* (1685) show a clear preference for the English spoken in the south, particularly London English. Hickey (2015: 13) adds that both Cooper (1685) and Puttenham (1590) considered London English as the “best dialect” and the “most pure and correct” so their ideas became increasingly popular during the eighteenth century. Hickey (2010: 2) also considers that although both authors claim the reputable status of London English, Cooper does not condemn other English varieties as “Everyone pronounceth them (words) as himself pleases” (Cooper in Hickey 2010: 2).

In addition, Beal (2004: 191) states that during this period lexicographers, grammarians, and orthoepists criticized and discouraged words, structures and even phonological realizations that belonged to vernacular varieties. According to this scholar, dialects were considered “vicious, barbarous or as displaying some marks of disgrace” (2004: 191). He also adds that, however,

> Whilst the intention of these works was to discourage or even eradicate the use of the dialect, they do provide us with some insights into features of non-standard English which were particularly salient at that time (2004: 191).

This situation began to change during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, since the representation of dialects became more precise (Brook 1963: 205; García-Bermejo Giner 2008: 32-33). This means, works composed during this period show real linguistic dialect features that were common in the vernacular varieties represented.

However, according to Hodson and Broadhead (2013: 316), the dialect-speaking characters in eighteenth-century literary-dialect works still display highly stereotypical forms with the aim of producing comic effects as in Medieval times. This can be observed,
for instance, in Henry Fielding’s, Tobias Smollet’s and Frances Burney’s novels (2013: 316)

Hickey (2010: 2) asserts that the eighteenth century witnessed the emergence of several grammars that were “for practical purposes, i.e for use in education, often private education” (2010: 2). He also adds that this century is a period in which women also wrote several grammar books that were intended to impart “knowledge unified from of language” (2010: 2)

However, the publication of *Lyrical Ballads* (Wordsworth and Coleridge 1798) during the eighteenth century was essential in the revaluation of literary-dialect works. According to García-Bermejo Giner (2008: 32), this masterpiece triggered the revaluation of the common and simplistic ways of language. In this work, dialectal representation had no comic purpose.

Beal (2004: 201) affirms that *Lyrical Ballads* marks the beginning of Romanticism in literature and that although Wordsworth and Coleridge did not write in dialect, “their work reflects what Burke describes as ‘the discovery of the people’ across Europe from the late eighteenth century” (2004: 201). Burke (in Beal 2004: 201) points out that in this work there is an interest in the written and the spoken language in the dialect and in illiterate speakers. In fact, in Wordsworth’s prologue (1798:3), readers are warned about the type of language they were to find in the poems.

According to García-Bermejo Giner (2008: 33), the nineteenth century was decisive in the revaluation of regional dialects. Hickey (2015: 12) adds that during this period there was specifically an awareness of Northern English. He affirms that in the XIX century the north of England was recognized as an area with older forms of English than the South and this stimulated the interest of dialect investigators resulting in such nineteenth-century studies as Piper (1824) for Sheffield, Robinson (1862) for Leeds and Heslop (1892) for Northumberland (2015: 12).
The representation of dialects in literature was no longer for comic intentions or purposes (Hodson and Broadhead: 2013: 316). Moreover, Hodson and Broadhead (2013: 316) claim that that was the reason for the representation of dialect features becoming more accurately represented. In fact, works by Charles Dickens, Elizabeth Gaskell, and George Elliot are good representations of the change in the dialect representation (2013: 316), and the literary-dialect texts selected for our corpus are not an exception. This change in the dialect representation is based on two distinct factors according to Blake (in Hodson and Broadhead 2013: 316): the innovation of the individual authors and the growing acceptance of regional varieties, especially between 1800 and 1836.

According to Hickey (2015: 13), the revaluation and the subsequent investigation of regional dialects was partly due to the foundation of the English Dialect Society in 1873 and, specially, the publication of Wright’s *English Dialect Dictionary* (EDD) and *English Dialect Grammar* (EDG) (1898-1905). In these masterpieces, the writer, Joseph Wright, provides with an extensive account of dialect words as well as a phonological and grammatical view of the English dialects. In the preface, Wright explains that he attempts to increase the value of dialects by classifying and determining the principal features of the different dialects of the country.

Interesting for our work is the creation of the Manchester Literary Club. It was crucial in the awareness and concern of the LanD as it increased the importance of the LanD (Hakala 2013: 273). According to Hakala (2013: 273), this club was created by Edwin Waugh and Benjamin Brierley in 1862 in order to foster, promote, and encourage the LanD.

However, although literary dialects became more accurately represented in the nineteenth century, we should be cautious when analyzing these works. According to Ruano-García (2007: 1), literary dialect representations do not contain absolute accuracy nor linguistic
transparency, since authors are not linguists and their primary objective is not a precise depiction of the specific traits of a dialect.

Moreover, Hughes, Trudgill, and Watt (2012) point out that there is a correlation between the social class of the speaker and the dialect, “the higher a person’s position on the social scale, the less regionally marked his or her language is likely to be” (2012: 16)

Accordingly, Wells (1982a: 13) considers the importance of the socio-economic class stratification in the type of language a speaker uses, since “a person’s social position is reflected in the words and constructions he uses, as well as in the way he pronounces them” (1982: 13). This agrees with Hodson and Broadhead (2013: 322) who point out that the non-standard variety displayed by the dialect-speaking characters “signals the socioeconomic standing of the speaker through its stigmatized non-standard concordance” (2013: 322).

These ideas are clearly exemplified in the literary-dialect works selected for our corpus. This is because StE is only used by upper-class characters and when educated characters, such as journalists or doctors intervene, but the LanD is employed by those less educated and working-class characters.

1.5. - The representation of the Lancashire dialect in literature

Having introduced the consideration of the English regional dialects and their representation in literature with special mention to the literary dialect representation, it should be convenient to draw our attention to the LanD. According to García-Bermejo Giner (2008: 35), this dialect has always been widely represented in literature. Thomas Heywood’s The Late Lancashire Witches (1634) is considered as the first example of Lan literary-dialect depiction as represented in the dialogues of “two bewitched and rebellious retainers” (Wales 2010: 67).
Works such as *A view of the Lancashire dialect* (1746, 1748) or *Lancashire Hob and the Quack Doctor* (1762) by the Lan poet John Collier are present in the literature of this county. The nineteenth century witnessed a substantial increase of works representing the LanD. Among these works we find *The Lancashire Witches* (1848) by William Harrison Ainsworth, or *That Lass O’ Lowrie’s* (1877) and *The Haworth’s* (1879) by James Brown. Writers such as Benjamin Brierley (BB) and Isabella Banks (IB) largely contributed to the LanD representation in literature, since they composed several works in the dialect, using this dialect at least partially in their works.

Within the nineteenth century, we find the well-known Lan writer Edwin Waugh, who employed his own dialect to portray the Lan life in both prose and poetry. In prose, we come across works such as *Th’ barrel Organ* (1862) and *Home-Life of the Lancashire Factory Folk* (1867). In poetry, we find *Lancashire Songs* (1865) and *Poesies from a Country Garden* (1866). Samuel Laycock was also a remarkable LanD writer who represented in poetry the LanD, for instance in *Warblin’s fro’ an Owd Songster* (1893) and *The Collected Writings of Samuel Laycock* (1900). There were some authors such as John Ackworth (JA) and James Marshall Mather (JMM) who were not from Lan but found in the LanD their vehicle for their literary writing.

According to Wales (2010: 68), during the nineteenth century, Charles Dicken’s *Hard Times* (1838-1839) is also a good representation for the LanD depiction in literature. According to this scholar (2010: 68), in this novel, which evokes the industrial Lan atmosphere, the LanD is represented in the speech of the mill-worker Stephen Blackpool.

In addition, Elizabeth Gaskell’s works are claimed to be reliable in the depiction of the LanD as this writer can be considered a good connoisseur of the LanD (Wales 2010: 68).

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3 Information taken from The Salamanca Corpus: Digital Archive of English Dialect Texts
Although this writer was born in London and raised in Cumbria, she spent her married life in Lan (Wales 2010: 68).

For example, in *Mary Barton* (1848), Gaskell depicts the LanD in one of the main characters, John Barton. In this novel, the vernacular variety is employed to show the ‘rich history’ and ‘sentiment’ of the county and the dialect. In *North and South* (1854), the LanD is represented in the speech of the millworker John Higgins. ⁴

However, among the multitude 19ᵗʰ century authors that used the LanD in their works, we reduced our corpus to Benjamin Brierley (BB), Isabella Banks (IB), John Ackworth (JA), James Marshall Mather (JMM), and William Bury Westall (WBW). We tackle the details about the authors in section 3.2.

### 1.6.- Dialect Studies

Despite the negative consideration regional English dialects used to have, the emergence of some dialect studies, such as EDD or EDG, contributed to the linguistic knowledge of these varieties and, as previously noted, to their social revaluation.

Beal (2004: 205) affirms that the nineteenth and twentieth centuries witnessed the interest of dialect study. Moreover, this scholar adds that although normative texts condemning and disregarding English regional dialects during the nineteenth and twentieth centuries continued appearing, “a new scholarly approach to the study of dialect led to these varieties being viewed as linguistic systems of a validity equal to … Standard English” (2004: 205). In addition, he observes that:

> The impetus towards this view of dialect came from the European scholars of comparative philology, who advocated a historical view of language,

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⁴ Information obtained from the website *Elizabeth Gaskell’s House*
http://elizabethgaskellhouse.co.uk/lancashire-day/
according to which dialects are viewed as ‘branches’ of a parent language and worthy of study in their own right (2004: 205)

Beal (2004: 206) also comments that during this period there was a great philological interest in the etymology and historical roots of English regional dialects. In fact, this attention towards dialects “led to an emphasis on the ‘purity’ of isolated, rural dialects. This is often expressed as a sense of urgency: a fear that the dialects will be lost unless they are recorded soon” (2004: 206)

The nineteenth century saw the emergence of some relevant and remarkable dialect studies such as Ellis’s On Early English Pronunciation (1869-1889) and Wright’s EDD (1898-1905) and EDG (1905). John Ellis’s on Early English Pronunciation (1869-1889), provides a large and useful account of the phonetics and phonology of the English regional dialects. As previously noted, Wright’s EDD and EDG offers a vast account of dialect words as well as a phonological and grammatical insight into the English dialects.

In the preface of EDD, Wright (1869-1889) considers that this work includes all dialect words that were in use during the last two hundred years in England, Ireland, Wales, and Scotland. As this linguist notes, he tries to include the specific geographical area(s) to which a determined word belongs as well as the pronunciation and etymology of dialect terms.

Apart from Ellis’s and Wright’s masterpieces, Beal (2004: 191) asserts that other glossaries and dictionaries of the different English regional varieties were issued during the nineteenth century and early twentieth century. This is the case of the Oxford English Dictionary (OED) first published between 1884 and 1928 (Durkin 2010: 43). This masterpiece includes a large amount of standard and non-standard words as well as the non-standard spellings and their phonological interpretation. This dictionary also provides readers with a detailed etymological account of all the terms included.
Other glossaries and dictionaries relevant for dialect study are, for instance, Ray’s *Collection of English Words, Not Generally Used* (1674), Hunter’s *Hallamshire Glossary* (1829), Easther’s *Glossary of the Dialect of Almondbury and Huddersfield* (1883), or Heslop’s *Northumbrian Words* (1892) (Beal 2004: 191). At the beginning of this last work, Ray (in Hickey 2015: 13) employs the title “A collection of local words proper to the North and South Countreys” attesting the linguistic division between northern and southern England.

The LanD also gained scholarly interest during the nineteenth century. According to Beal (2004: 201), the English dialectologist William Gaskell emphasized the ‘antiquity’ and ‘purity’ of this regional variety. In the work *Two Lectures on the Lancashire Dialect* (1854), Gaskell affirms that:

> There are many forms of speech and peculiarities of pronunciation in Lancashire that would yet sound strange, and, to use a Lancashire expression, strangely ‘potter’ a southern; but these are often not, as some ignorantly suppose, mere vulgar corruptions of modern English, but genuine relics of the old mother tongue. They are bits of the old granite, which have perhaps been polished into smoother forms, but lost in the process a great deal of their strength (Gaskell in Beal 2004: 201)

Beal (2004) considers that although some of these dialect works may contain some shortcomings, these dialect studies “provide important evidence for dialectal diversity in nineteenth century” (2004: 207).

The prominent dialect works that emerged during the twentieth century are *The Survey of English Dialects* (SED) (1962-1971) and *Accents of English* by J.C. Wells (1982). SED, carried out by Harold Orton, can be considered a groundbreaking survey of the different English regional dialects. This survey provides scholars with extensive and valuable data on the speech of English vernacular varieties.

Last but not least, *Accents of English* (1982) is a three-volume compendium by J.C. Wells. The first volume is an introduction of English dialects and the second and third volumes
focus on the vernacular varieties of English dialects concerning the British Isles and beyond the British Isles respectively. The first two volumes are of special significance for researchers on English regional dialects in England and specifically of great relevance for this work as the writer offers clear and detailed information on the phonology of TD in England.
2.- LANCASHIRE OVERVIEW: THE COUNTY AND THE DIALECT

2.1.- Geographical distribution of the county of Lancashire

Lancashire is a county located in northwestern England whose capital is the city of Lancaster. Lan borders the administrative county of Cumbria in the north, Yorkshire (Yks) in the east, Greater Manchester and Cheshire in the south, and, finally, the county of Merseyside and the Irish sea in the west.

The following maps show the location of the county of Lan within the map of England and the different counties it bounds. Map 1 shows the position of this territory within the map of England. Map 2 shows the different counties England contains. In this map we can also observe the geographical borders of Lan.

[Map 1: Lancashire located on a map of England](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Lancashire)
[Map 2: The different counties on a map of England](http://www.gwydir.demon.co.uk/uklocalgov/whtsacty.htm)
Lan has not always remained geographically unchanged. This county was subject to a major boundary reform, The Local Government Act, in 1972 (Shorocks 1998: 3; Barras 2015: 271; Faye 2015: 317:). However, the main reforms of the geographical distribution began in 1974 (Barras 2015: 273). This act principally involved the relocation of several towns and cities of the county. According to Shorocks (1998: 3).

In 1972, the Local Government Act was passed, based upon one of the two sets of proposals contained in the Report of the “Maud” Royal Commission on Local Government in England (1969), and the county boundaries were redrawn in 1974 … Bolton and the surrounding area then became part of the newly created Greater Manchester County.

The following maps illustrate the contrast in the geographical distribution of Lan before 1974 and after 1974.

Map 3. Lan prior to the Local Government Act

Map 4. Lan after the distribution in 1974

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7 Map 3 taken from How Lancashire Took over the National Game https://flashbak.com/how-lancashire-football-took-over-the-national-game-16612/
8 Map 4 taken from British Services: Lancashire. https://www.britishservices.co.uk/lancs.htm
Map 3 shows the geographical distribution of this county before 1974 and map 4 shows the boundaries reduction after 1974. As our thesis focuses on the nineteenth century, we use map 3, Lan prior to 1974, as the reference for this work.

If we compare both maps, we may observe that this county witnessed a significant boundary reduction of its territory, losing the large cities of Manchester and Liverpool which became part of the newly-created counties Greater Manchester and Merseyside respectively (Barras 2015: 273). In addition, the Furness Peninsula: Barrow-in-Furness, Ulverston, and Coniston became part of the newly-created county Cumbria, and towns such as Bolton, Wigan or Salford were relocated in Greater Manchester.

2.2. Dialect change and Lancashire dialect change

It is undeniable that Standard English (StE) has always influenced the LanD and, in general, all dialects. According to Shorrocks (1998: 53), this pressure comes from a diverse number of sources such as the codification in the eighteenth century of the prestige language in grammar, dictionaries, and spelling manuals. In addition to these materials, the printed media, such as chapbooks, newspapers, or broadsides, which already began to come up in the nineteenth century, favored dialect change and even the vanishing of some linguistic varieties (1998: 53).

One of the principal consequences of the pressure of StE is the gradual disappearance of dialects and accents (Wakelin 1977: 84). In this regard, it is worth noting the loss of traditional dialects due to the pressure the prestige language has always exerted on them. This dialect change can also be applied to the LanD, since in our nineteenth-century works we can find both old and new or standard-like realizations. This means, we can find two or more phonological realizations for the same group of words that contains the same pronunciation in RP. This is referred by Wells (1982a: 7) as relexification. Although he
does not provide an extensive definition of relexification, he uses this term to refer to the way a language or a vernacular variety gradually changes. This means, the process by which old linguistic forms, in this case pronunciations, are replaced by modern ones.

Regarding the term relexification, Wells adds that “the bulk of traditional-dialect pronunciations are replaced, a small residue may well remain to give colouring to the basically General English that results” (1982a: 7). For example, given two different pronunciations, also present in this study, such as [i:] and [ɛɪ] for the term “right”, Wells (1982a: 7) considers that the monophthong is an old sound that would belong to TD, and the diphthong is a more modern sound connected with the StE pronunciation that would relate to General English. Therefore, the diphthong is the outcome of the pressure of StE and the demand for the use of General English (1982a: 7).

2.3.- The framing of the Lancashire dialect

Apart from the pressure of the Prestige Variety and the relexification of TD, much is commented on the specific type of dialect the LanD belongs to. Authors such as Joan Beal (2004), and Ruano-García et al (2015: 131) include the LanD as a northern variety.

On the contrary, Ellis (1889: 351); Lass (1976: 89); Downing (1980: 108); Wales (2010: 62) claim that the LanD belongs to the north Midlands (nMid) dialectal area and Ellis (1889: 352) adds that it preserves much of the Western nMid. Wales (2010: 62) considers that in terms of geography, the county of Lan belongs to the north of England, but linguistically speaking, this region is part of the nMid.

It is arguable … that linguistically speaking, for the period 1500-1900, counties like the West Riding of Yorkshire and southern Lancashire are more accurately part of a North Midland dialect area (Wales 2010: 62)

Downing (1980: 108) affirms that several isoglosses dividing northern England from the Midlands cut across Lan. In this regard, she adds that
within the northern area in general, the most important dialectal division is that between the northern dialect proper and that of the North Midlands. In many cases, the bunch of isoglosses separating the two cuts right across Lancashire (Downing 1980: 109)

Lass (1976: 89) additionally considers this area, which dates back to the fourteenth century, as “a kind of no man’s land between the North and the South”, since northern and southern traits coexist. However, according to this linguist, northern traits seem to prevail (1976: 89). He adds that although the exact reasons for this particular situation remain obscure, he suggests that the nMid was a transitional area “over which innovations have travelled freely … in both directions, from the North and the South” (1976: 89).

Lass (1976) and Downing (1980) enumerate some phonological features that belong to the area of the nMid. They both coincide in some of them, such as the diphthongization of Middle English (ME) [u:] into [aʊ] in words such as “cow” or “house”, short [a] for ME [a] before the consonants [f], [θ], [s], [ns] when StE contains [ɑ:], and the long close monophthong [eː] in words containing StE [ɛɪ]. In our corpus we just have the presence of the evolution of ME [uː]; the diphthong [ɛʊ] is suggested by the dialect spellings <eaw> and <eau> for words such as “pound” and “out” (see section 6.2.1.3).

2.4- Lancashire phonological features as enumerated by scholars

As far as the linguistic features are concerned, most studies do not specifically center on the common linguistic traits of each county. Accordingly, the main focus of dialect research was to establish the distinction between northern and southern varieties. Concerning the LanD, there are few studies that specifically focus on the phonological dialect traits of this vernacular variety (Downing 1980; Barras 2015). In this regard, Barras (2015: 271) affirms that “in the literature on English dialects, however, it is rare to find an entire chapter specifically focused on Lancashire”
Wakelin (1977: 85-86), bases the division between the north and the south on two different and remarkable phonological isoglosses. The first isogloss refers to the lack of distinction or no split between [ʊ] and [ʌ] (Wakelin 1977: 85; Downing 1980: 108; Beal 2004: 119; Wales 2010: 70; Hughes, Trudgill, and Watt 2012: 71; Barras 2015: 274). This phonological trait is also referred to as FOOT-STRUT split (Beal 2004: 196), which relates to the northern retention of the traditional velar vowel [ʊ] in words containing [ʌ] in StE and in southern dialects and accents (Downing 1980: 108).

The second isogloss is related to the distinction between [a] and [α:] (Wakelin 1977: 85; Downing 1980: 108; Barras 2015: 274). According to Downing (1980: 108), this feature involves the northern retention of the unlengthened and unretracted [a] before the voiceless fricatives [s], [f], [θ] as opposed to StE [α:] in words such as “laugh” or “craft”.

Hickey (2015: 11-12) lists other remarkable traits which deviate from the south; most of them are found in our corpus, such as velar nasal plus; the lack of initial h-, and definite article reduction. Wells (1982a: 259 and 141) and Hickey (2015: 11-12) coincide on the raised onset and an off-glide for the GOAT and FACE words.

Our corpus records all the linguistic phonological traits listed by Hickey except “velar nasal plus”. The last feature related to GOAT and FACE words is dealt with in sections 6.2.3.2 and 6.2.4.1 as it belongs to the objects focused on this work.

The lack of initial h- and definite article reduction are often seen in our corpus, especially the definite article reduction as it is largely represented in the works selected for this study. The absence of initial h- is observed in words such as “happy” and “health”, which are represented as ‘appy and ‘ealth. In these two words, the drop of the initial letter <h> in the spelling and its substitution by an apostrophe suggests the omission of this
consonant in the pronunciation. The definite article reduction is exemplified in the use of *th’* and *t’* instead of “the”.

Lass (1976: 89) enumerates the characteristics of his so-called transitional area. This is significant, since some of them are evidenced in our study on the phonological variants. These include:

1. Northern [a] in contexts in which southern English (StE and RP) would contain [α:] before the consonants [f], [θ], [s], [ns].
2. Northern [ə] for ME [ə]
3. Northern trait in the monophthongal nuclei [ɛ:] instead of the southern diphthongal [ɛɪ]
4. Northern lack of merger of ME [ɔ:] and [ɔː]
5. Southern rounding of OE [ɑː] into [ɔː]
6. Southern diphthongs for ME [uː]
7. North-Midland lack of merger of ME [ɛ:] and [ɛː]
8. North-Midland separation of ME [aɪ] and [aː] within contexts in which southern English witnesses the merger of both.

Phonological features 3, 5, and 6 are present in our corpus, especially 5 and 6. Feature 3 is simply exemplified in our corpus in just one word and it is adopted by one writer and represented only once in the entire corpus (see section 6.2.1.4.4)

Feature 5 refers to the distinction between the OE retention of [ɑː] and southern rounding [ɔː]. This feature is considered as one of the most prominent isoglosses dividing the north and the south of England not only by Lass (1976) but also by Ruano-García et al (2015: 149) and it is largely illustrated in our corpus. While these scholars consider that the OE sound remained unrounded in northern England, Lass (1976: 85) claims that in the area
of the n.Mid, OE [æ:] rounded into [ɔ:]. Finally, feature 6 relates to the diphthongs that originate from ME [u:]. The spellings and sounds related to features 5 and 6 are thoroughly examined in sections 6.3.2.4 and 6.4.

2.5.- General phonological traits of the Lancashire dialect in the studied literary-dialect works

The present section is mainly devoted to the description and explanation of the phonological traits which are represented within our corpus that may or may not coincide with the previously mentioned features. This is because most of the traits recorded in this section are not directly associated with the county of Lan but with the northern region in general. Although our texts present several grammatical and lexical traits, this section is focused on phonology, since a complete research of the dialect would be beyond the scope of this work.

The purpose of this section is to contextualize the phonological traits that were in use in Lan during the nineteenth century. Just as we determine the geographical panorama of Lan, we consider also important the phonological contextualization of our studied literary-dialect works.

However, in this section, we will not include a detailed explanation and description of each phonological feature. This is because, the main purpose of this thesis is the analysis of the deviant spellings and their corresponding sounds that relate to the RP diphthongs and monophthongs.

The analyzed literary-dialect texts present several phonological traits, but I selected the most prevalent features appearing in our texts, depicted by all or, at least, by the majority of the studied writers.
Several scholars record the phonological features that our corpus evidence. For instance, Downing (1980) in her study of the LanD enumerates several phonological dialect traits that are also present in our corpus. These features are the retention of the OE sound [a] before nasal consonants in words such as “any” or “man”, the raising of [a] into [o] before the nasal consonant [n] <ng>, the unmetathesized form brid for the standard word “bird”, and finally, the vocalization of the consonant [l] into [o] in words such as “colt”. Wakelin (1977) includes y-epenthesis before front vowels, and w-epenthesis in front of back vowels. Finally, Beal (2004) records the drop of [h] in word-initial position or the substitution of the definite article “the” for the shorter forms th’ and t’. As we will see in this section, all the features studied are not restricted to the county of Lan, but are also present in other areas of the country.

In this section, we will include terms such as mon (man), yearth (earth), caw (call), etc., which, as we observe, the standard spelling is modified and, thus, substituted by other orthographical conventions. Therefore, we consider it feasible to analyze them as they could affect the standard pronunciation.

1. **The substitution of <a> for <o> before nasal consonants**

Instances: con (can), hommer (hammer), Hond (hand), hondle (handle), lond (land), mon (man), mony (many), ony (any), understond (understand). These words are illustrated in the following samples:

1. But aw’m sure yo’re heartily welcome to anny little service aw con do (But I’m sure you’re heartily welcome to any little service I can do) (*The Watchmaker’s Daughter* (WD), 280)

2. He’s a strange lad, is eawr Harry, — sometimes as sollit as a hommer (He’s a strange man, is our Harry, sometimes as solid as a hammer) (*The Layrock of Langley-Side: A Lancashire Story* (TL), 115)
3. He wor awlus a good **hond** at spendin' brass, but aw never thought he were s**ich a fool** (He was always a good hand at spending money, but I never thought he was such a fool) (*The Sign of the Wooden Shoon* (SWS), 289)

4. As he con **hondle** deead folk (As he can handle dead folk) (*Roaring Loom* (RL), 120)

5. Aw thowt aw must never ha' seen l**ond** no moore! (I thought I must never have seen land anymore!) (*Ab-O’th-Yate at the Isle of Man* (AY), 9)

6. If thaa wur a married m**on**, naa (If you were a married man, now) (*Lancashire Idylls* (LI), 131)

7. There isn’t so very m**ony** factories i’ th’ country (There aren’t many factories in the country) (*The Old Factory: A Lancashire Story* (OF), 34)

8. Keep thi brass out o’ sight if thah has **ony** (keep your brass out of sight if you have any) (*Caleb Booth’s Clerk: A Lancashire Story* (CBC), 54)

9. **Understond**? Neaw, bur Aw con! (Understond? Now, but I can) (*The Mangle House* (MH), 92)

The spelling <o> substitutes the standard convention <a> in these words presented. According to Wakelin (1977: 96); Ihalainen (1994: 214); Clark (2004: 14); Upton and Widdowson (2006: 17) and Wales (2010: 70), this change in spelling shows the phonetic shift identified as “Rounding before nasals”. According to Clark (2004: 141), this trait is indeed one of the most salient features of the wMid. Downing (1980: 109) and Wales (2010: 70) also attest this feature in Lan and exemplifies this phonological shift in “lond”, “mon”, and “ony”.

In the specific case of **mon**, Wakelin (1977: 94) examines this word affirming that “… west Midland area has /bl/ as against /al/ in words in which ME ado occurred before a final nasal. Before nasal consonants medieval manuscripts show an alternation between a and
o from OE times onwards”. Upton and Widdowson (2006: 17) assert that the existence of 
/ɒ/ before nasals goes back to the Anglo-Saxon times when there appeared a tendency to 
change [a] by [ɒ] in words in front of the nasal consonant [n].

Rounding before nasals is relatively frequent within our corpus. The five writers make 
use of this trait and the words containing it are numerous.

2.- The drop of <h>

Instances: ‘appy (happy), ‘ealth (health), ‘ope (hope), ‘osses (horses), yarb (herb), yed 
(head), and yer (hear). As observed, the forms yarb, yed, and yer are also examples of 
yod-formation, as we will see in feature 4.

The following samples illustrate the use of the drop of <h> in our corpus:

1. As for Mr. Digit, I wish him no ill, and I ‘ope he’s ‘appy (As for Mr. Digit, I wish 
   him no ill, and I hope he’s happy) (Ralph Nobreck’s Trust (RNT), 94)
2. Mr. Rupert is well in ‘ealth (Mr. Rupert is well in health) (Ralph Nobreck’s Trust 
   (RNT), 20)
3. Th’ ‘osses has been ready welly an hour (The horses have been ready nearly an 
   hour) (The Old Factory (OF), 230)
4. Oh, well, ay; aw aulus like't th' yarbs (Oh, well, yes; I always liked the herbs)
5. The Layrock of Langely-Side: A Lancashire Story (TL), 51
6. Hasto lost thi yed? (Have you lost your head?) (Lancashire Idylls (LI), 96)
7. Moore nor a feyther con yer 'bout his blood boilin' (More than a father can hear 
   about his blood boiling) (Caleb Booth’s Clerk: A Lancashire Story (CBC), 280)

The instances provided show the omission of the consonant <h> in the spelling, which, 
in some cases, is substituted by an apostrophe. According to Wells (1982a: 252); Beal
(2004: 66); and Hughes, Trudgill, and Watt (2012: 66), the absence of <h> exemplifies the H-dropping sound change.

According to these scholars, H-dropping consists of the elision or the drop of the aspirate consonant [h] at the beginning of words. Hughes, Trudgill, and Watt (2012: 66-67), affirms that [h]-dropping is not recent in history, but it possibly began in the sixteenth century. (67). Beal (2004: 127) adds that although [h] dropping is a stigmatized form, it is widespread towards several areas of the country.

Wakelin (1977: 98) affirms that the normal and typical development of such initial [h] is that it gets lost. However, it seems to be retained in certain areas such as Northumberland and the adjoining counties, including the north part of Yks. Brook (1963: 96) points out that although h-dropping is present in several English dialects, it has disappeared in many of them.

Finally, Wells (1982a: 253) notes that h-dropping is common in working-class accents of most of the country. Indeed, he confirms that sociolinguistic research demonstrates the correlation between h-dropping and social factors.

Our data show that all the five writers make use of h-dropping. However, the number of instances we record are scant.

3.- H-epenthesis

Regarding the consonant h, our corpus evidences the opposite process to [h] dropping: the epenthesis of <h> in words which do not normally contain it in StE. The instances we attest herein are: haggrivate (aggravate), hempty (empty), hendless (endless), hexibition (exhibition)

According to Barber (1997: 126) and Clark (2004: 158), the spelling <h> present in words that do not include this grapheme in the standard show the pronunciation of this sound as
the result of hypercorrection. Thus, they both affirm that it is [h] the pronunciation implied. Clark (2004: 158) also adds that this epenthesis is typical in the area of the wMid. The following samples elicited would be a feasible indicator of this epenthesis in the pronunciation:

1. “Aw tell thi hoo'd dew it to spoite th' chapil an' haggrivate me” (I tell you that she had done it to spite the chapel and aggravate me) (*The Scowcroft Critics* (SC), 190)

2. “A hempty head's like a hempty pot an' rattles all over” (an empty head is like an empty pot and rattles all over) (*The Minder* (*The Minders*) (TM), 59)

3. “The hendless song” (The endless song) (*The Scowcroft Critics* (SC), 160)

4. “And asked him to give a hexibition of his strength” (and asked him to give an exhibition of his strength) (*Ralph Norbreck’s Trust* (RNT), 365)

5. “Hideas, tha knows” (Ideas, you know) (*The Mangle House* (MH), 32)

6. “He’s a himpudent fellow” (he is an impudent fellow) (*The Old Factory* (OF), 326)

7. “Come hup, I say” (come up, I say) (*The Old Factory* (OF), 58)

In samples 2, 4, and 6, the indefinite article *a* rather than *an* preceding the word in question, is a realistic indicator that the epenthetic [h] is pronounced.

Our corpus records several words containing epenthetic [h]. However, only John Ackworth (JA) and William Bury Westall (WBW) use this epenthesis.
4.- Y-epenthesis

Instances: yed (head), yer (hear), yarb (herb), yessy (easy), yearth (earth). The following samples illustrate the use of these forms:

1. “If Christ ud comn deawn upo’ th’ yeart an’ done it, aw shouldno’ ha’ bin mooar surprist!” (If Christ had come down upon the earth and done it, I shouldn’t have been more surprised) (*The Mangle House* (MH), 79)

2. “It were noan such yessy work” (It was not such an easy thing) (*The Mangle House* (MH), 32)

These instances show the inclusion of <y> in the spelling. This type of epenthesis is recorded by Brook (1963: 97), Wakelin (1977: 95) and Wales (2010: 71) who affirm that it contains phonological implications. According to Wales (2010: 71), this phonological trait is known as yod-formation.

Wakelin (1977: 95) relates the inclusion of <y> to the placement of [j] before some words beginning with vowels, especially front vowels. The only exception is yarb (herb) as [j] is followed by a back vowel. The reason of this exception would not rely on an author’s mistake, since two writers, John Ackworth (JA) and James Marshall Mather (JMM), use this term in several occasions.

Wakelin (1977: 95) consider that terms presenting the inclusion of [j] “may be due not to the development of a [j] glide, but to a shift of stress in an original [iə] diphthong [iə] > [iə] > [jə:]”. However, he adds that words containing this initial [h] are ancient forms of a once more common or typical feature (1977: 95). Brook (1964: 97) connects this resulting falling diphthong with several English dialects, but he does not specify which.

Some of the instances recorded: yed (head), yer (hear), and possibly yarb (herb) involve two different shifts: the inclusion of [j] and the drop of the aspirate consonant [h] as it
does not appear in the spelling. In these three terms, the aspirate consonant is dropped in order to get way to the inclusion of [j].

The inclusion of [j] is used by three different writers: John Ackworth (JA), Benjamin Brierley (BB), and Isabella Banks (IB). However, our corpus only records few examples containing y-epenthesis. This scant evidence points to the ancient character of this feature, as previously noted by Wakelin (1977: 95).

5. W-epenthesis

Instances: Whelped (helped), whooam (home), whop (hope), and wut (oat). These four words are exemplified in the following instances:

1. “If he’d ha’ bin whelped i’ Teawzer’s kennel” (If he’d been helped in Teawzer’s kennel) (Caleb Booth’s Clerk: A Lancashire Story (CBC), 46)
2. “Pike off whooam, thaa scraping scarrcrow thaa!” (Pike off home, you scraping scarecrow you) (Beckside Lights (BL), 258)
3. “Let's whop it ull be twice fowerteen afore tha brings it ageean” (Let’s hope it will be twice fourteen before you bring it again” (The Scowcroft Critics (SC), 9)
4. “Then we should ha’ no competition i’ wut-cakes” (Then we should have no competition in oat-cakes) (Gooin’ to Cyprus (GC), 14)

These words contain the inclusion of <w>. This inclusion is recorded by Brook (1963: 97); Wakelin (1977: 94); Clark (2004: 158); and Wales (2010: 71) who document a shift in the pronunciation in terms containing [w] in word initial position.

Wakelin (1977: 94) states that in the south-west part of the country, an initial /w/ is added before long back vowels, especially in word initial position or after a preceding consonant. The unique exception would be whelped as it contains a front vowel and presents the inclusion of [w]. This incorporation would probably be a writer’s error as it
appears only once in *Caleb Booth’s Clerk: A Lancashire Story* (CBC) by Isabella Banks (IB).

Clark (2004: 158), in her study of the wMid, also notes that there is written evidence for the realization of [w] in word-initial position. According to Wakelin (1977: 94) and Clark (2004: 158), this inclusion relates to the wMid and the south-west part of the country rather than to northern areas.

This epenthetic [w] is represented in merely four different words and it is used by all the novelists studied except for William Bury Westall (WBW). The scant data would relate to the unusual character or the ancient character of this trait during the nineteenth century.

6. **L-vocalization**

Instances: *aw* (all), *awready* (already), *caw* (call), *cowt* (colt), *faw* (fall), *gowd* (gold), *owd* (old), *towd* (told). The following samples illustrate the use of these forms in our corpus:

1. “Nathaniel, Aw’d give aw as Aw hev i’ th’ wold if Aw could preich loike yo’!” (Nathaniel, I’d give all that I have in the world if I could preach like you) (*The Mangle House* (MH), 24)
2. “Thaa talks as if th’ poor lad wur lost awready” (You talk as if the poor man were already lost) (*Beckside Lights* (BL), 380)
3. “Dust caw that reet?” (Do you call that right?) (*The Scowcroft Critics* (SC), 256)
4. “Taking this cowt to Preston Fair” (Taking this colt to Preston Fair) (*The Old Factory* (OF), 82)
5. “When th’ leets o’ th’ church con grin o’er a wench’s faw and a church’s shawme it’s toime to write Ichabod up” (When the lights of the church can grin over a girl’s fall and a church’s shame, it’s time to write Ichabod) (*The Scowcroft Critics* (SC), 39)
6. “It’s about th’ last place where anybody would look for a gowd piece” (It’s about the last place where anybody would look for a golden piece) *Birchdene: A Novel* (BD), 169

7. “Eh, Simon, mon, owd Jotty wur woiser nor thee” (Eh, Simon, man, old Jotty was wiser than you) (*Manchester Man* (MM), 52)

8. “But when aw towd her it wur a bank-cheque, an’ not a summons, as hoo thowt, hoo fainted” (But when I told her it was a bank-cheque, and not a summons, as she thought, she fainted) (*Ab-O’th-Yate at the Isle of Man* (AY), 1)

The substitution of *<-l>* by *<ow>* and *<aw>* in the spelling of these words involves phonological shifts, since Wells (1982b: 313); Clark (2004: 160); and Wales (2010: 71) refer to it as *<l>-vocalization*, and Ray (Ray in Ihalainen 1994: 202) includes in his glossary variants that exemplify this phonological process.

According to Wells (1982b: 313), the consonant [l] is normally vocalised in syllable-final position and whose phonetic outcomes would be either [o] or [u].

Regarding the location of this sound feature, there are distinct opinions. Whereas Ray (Ray in Ihalainen 1993: 202) and Ihalainen (1994: 213) affirm that it is a typical marker of northern English, Clark (2004: 160) included *<l>-vocalization* in the area of the wMid. Wakelin (1977: 100) adds areas of Sussex, Kent, Essex, Northumberland and Cumberland where this phenomenon can be registered.

Our corpus shows a high evidence of *<l>-vocalization*, since it is employed by all the authors and it is represented in several terms. However, Wells (1982b: 314) considers *<l>-vocalization* as an overtly stigmatized feature.

36
7.- Metathesis

Instances: *Appern* (apron), *Brid* (bird), *brunt* (burn), *desprit* (desperate), *hundert* (hundred), *perfessional* (professional), *pertends* (pretends). These terms are illustrated in the following instances:

1. “If he'd hard his *appern* on, an' his stockin' sleeves, aw should ha' known him”
   (If he’d had his apron on, and this stocking sleeves, I should have known him”
   (*The Layrock of Langley-Side: A Lancashire Story* (TL), 187)

2. “Aw wisht aw're like thee, Harry; aw do, owd *brid*!” (I wish I were like you, Harry; I do, old bird) (*The Layrock of Langley-Side: A Lancashire Story* (TL), 172)

3. “… -praiched in a black geawn or a white un, or *brunt* candles an' incense, or worshipped as thoose fishermen of owd did, wi' nowt nobbut th' love o' th'eir Great Mesther to help 'em.” (… preached in a black gown or in a white one, or burnt candles and incense, or worshipped as those old fishermen, with nothing but the love of their great Master to help them) (*Gooin’ to Cyprus* (GC), 20)

4. “He's gerrin' *desprit* thick wi' Milly, isn't he?” (He’s getting desperate thick with Milly, isn’t he?) (*The Mangle House* (MH), 91)

5. “An ther's mony a *hundert* folk waitin' on us!” (And there are hundreds of folks waiting on us” (*Ab-O’th-Yate at the Isle of Man* (AY), 20)

6. “As th’ lad mun have lessons given him by a *perfessional*, an’ naught would do but they mun send for him to th’ Hall, an’ talk it o’er wi’ him” (As the man must have lessons given by a professional, and nothing would do but they must send for him to the Hall, and talk about it with him) (*Roaring Loom* (RL), 146)

7. “Naa, then, yo' known as they *pertends* ta be weel off, dunna yo’?” (Now, then, you know that they pretend to be well off, don’t you?) (*The Mangle House* (MH), 265)
The instances listed are not referred to any specific name. In these cases, we observe an alteration of some letters within a word. This alternation projects a case of metathesis at sound level, which is attested by Brook (1963: 96). This shift in letters or metathesis is adopted by all the novelists studied, but our corpus only evidences the seven terms previously noted. Downing (1980: 110) also records this sound change but only in *brid* (bird) affirming that “Lancashire stands out as being the only area in England to retain the unmetathised form of OE “brid”

8. The substitution of *<o>* for *<u>* before the consonant sequence *<ng>*


These different forms are exemplified in the following samples:

1. “He wouldno' pluck a fleawer eawt of a garden hedge, if it wurno one o’ God's fleawers ut belung to anybody” (He wouldn’t pluck a flower out of a garden hedge, if it wasn’t one of God’s flowers that belongs to anybody) (*The Layrock of Langley-Side: A Lancashire Story* (TL), 143)

2. “As lung as ther's a fiddle-string i’ Beckside, or a felley as can start a chune, ther'll be noa harmonion i' aar chapil” (As long as there is a string of a fiddle in Beckside, or a fellow that can start a tune, there will be no harmony in our chapel) (*Beckside Lights* (BL), 337)

3. “The lunger I live the more I sees that needle's eye as t' Master talks about” (The longer I live the more I see that needle’s eye the Master’s talks about) (*The Minders* (TM), 296)

4. “An' wot's mooar, they ne'er han bin strung enuff sin owd Job gan up” (And what’s more, they have never been strong enough since old Job went up) (*Beckside Lights* (BL), 249)
5. “If we wur reet, Aw want to be wrung, an' ha' me dowter an' her little 'un back in my hert; aw'd rayther be wrung nor reet” (If we were right, I want to be wrong, and have my daughter and her little one back in my heart; I’d rather be wrong than right) (*The Scowcroft Critics* (SC), 61)

These cases present the spelling <u> in words that normally include <o> in StE. Although this change in spelling is not referred to any specific name, Brook (1969: 69), Downing (1980: 110) and Clark (2004: 144) relate it to the phonetic substitution of [ɒ] for [ʊ] when followed by the nasal consonant [ŋ].

Clark (2004: 144) considers this phonological shift as a typical characteristic of the West-Midland dialect. According to this researcher, this phonological phenomenon seems to go back to ME, when West-Midland dialect had the tendency for OE /ɒ/ to become /ʊ/ in ME before /ŋ/. Downing (1980: 110) claims that this sound change is a typical Midlands feature, which is especially common in the county of Lan. Finally, Brook (1963:69) adds that the raising of [ɒ] to [ʊ] is indeed the origin of the standard pronunciation of “among” ([əmʌŋ])

This trait is employed by John Ackworth (JA), Benjamin Brierley (BB), and Isabella Banks (IB) and it is only represented in the five different terms previously listed.

9.- The orthographical deletion of the definite article “the”: the forms th’ and t’

These forms can clearly be seen in the following samples:

1. Aw'll leeave th’ village (I’ll leave the village) (*Beckside Lights* (BL) 144)
2. Jesse, sighs an' sarmons is like t' Siamese twins (Jesse, sighs and sermons are like the Siamese twins) (*The Mangle House* (MH) 6)
3. At t’ same time” (at the same time) (*The Layrock of Langley-Side: A Lancashire Story* (TL) 98)
4. When thy faither were in the meadow (When your father was in the meadow) 

(Lancashire Idylls (LI) 66)

These instances present the omission of either the final letter <e> or <he> in the definite article “the”. Ellis (1889: 10), Ihalainen (1994: 220), Beal (2004: 120), and Shorrocks (in Beal 2004: 110) associate this graphical omission with the phonetic reduction of the definite article. According to Beal (2004: 120) and Wales (2010: 73), this ellipsis is the most stereotypical marker of Northern British English dialect, especially of those varieties belonging to Lan and Yks.

Shorrocks (Shorrocks in Beal 2004: 110) affirms that the definite article can be realized as a glottal stop before consonants and as [ɬ] before vowels. Ellis (1889: 10) adds that when th’ is followed by a word starting with a consonant, the definite article becomes a hiss, as in samples 1 and 4. On the other hand, if the definite article is represented as t’ and followed by a word whose initial letter is a consonant, that is called suspended t’, as in samples 2 and 3.

Apart from the examples provided, a wide range of instances containing article reduction are recorded in our corpus. Beal (2004: 120) considers this linguistic feature as a typical dialect marker of the LanD. This idea agrees with the great number of instances our corpus attests.

After reviewing the most prevalent features of the LanD that our corpus records, we may conclude that all the features are not associated with Lan but with the northern region in general. In comparison with the previous section, our texts show more general northern features than the specific LanD traits as recorded in literature (cfr. section 2.4). These features contribute to the contextualization of the phonological data that we study.
However, as noted, the main focus of this thesis is the analysis of the deviant spellings and their corresponding sounds that relate to the RP diphthongs and RP monophthongs. This is because, this research is less explored and we aim to provide the probable pronunciations that were employed by Lan speakers during the XIX century.
3.- LANCASHIRE WRITERS AND LITERARY-DIALECT AUTHORS SELECTED FOR THE STUDY

3.1.- Overview of Lancashire writers in the nineteenth century

Prior to the nineteenth century, various authors attempted to represent the dialect of the county of Lancashire in their novels, such as Henry Clark (1743-1818) or John Collier (1708-1786). However, this subsection centers on those Lan writers from the XIX century, as this is the period our thesis is focused on.

The nineteenth century witnessed the emergence of several Lan writers who opted for the LanD as the medium of communication of the characters depicted. According to Hakala (2010: 387), the most representative Lan writers were Edwin Waugh (1817-1890) and Benjamin Brierley (BB) (1825-1896). These two authors aimed at representing the LanD in their works and “argued for the legitimacy of their regional dialect and for their rightful place in Britain’s literary history” (2010: 387).

Hakala (2010: 387) also adds that Edwin Waugh endeavored to depict the Lan industrial life and people. According to this scholar, this author evokes a rural past and “an imagined community of honest, shrewd dialect speakers as a bulwark against the fragmented life of the industrial cities” in his novels (2010: 387).

Elizabeth Gaskell (1810-1865) and her husband William Gaskell (1805-1884) were keen supporters of the Lan history and the LanD, specially the former, as she attempts to represent realities of life in nineteenth-century Lan. 9 Beal (2004: 201) adds that Elizabeth Gaskell makes use of this vernacular variety to represent the speech of working-class Lan people in her novel *North and South* (1855).

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9 Information obtained from *Elizabeth Gaskell’s House*. [http://elizabethgaskellhouse.co.uk/lancashire-day/](http://elizabethgaskellhouse.co.uk/lancashire-day/)
According to The Salamanca Corpus, other authors were also relevant during the nineteenth century, such as James Taylor Staton (1816-1875), Isabella Banks (IB) (1821-1897), William Bury Westall (WBW) (1834-1903), John Ackworth (JA) (1845-1919), Clara Louisa Antrobus (1846-1919), Mrs. Humphry Ward (1851-1920), James Marshall Mather (JMM) (1851-1916), and M.E Francis (1855-1930). Some of these literary-dialect writers, such as John Ackworth (JA), Benjamin Brierley (BB), or Isabella Banks (IB), were selected for our corpus and are tackled in the following subsection.

3.2.- Contextualization of the data: writers selected for the present work

This section attempts at providing the bibliographical aspects, especially those concerning the literary career, of the five writers selected for our corpus: John Ackworth (JA), Benjamin Brierley (BB), Isabella Banks (IB), James Marshall Mather (JMM), and (WBW). Data such as their birthplace, knowledge and usage of the LanD, and their literary career will be included. This section is divided into five different parts, one for each novelist of our corpus.

We consider that knowing the writers’ bibliographical aspects is crucial to approach the different literary-dialect texts selected for our corpus, as they provide us with valuable information about their interest, knowledge and usage of the LanD.

All the five authors selected for this study belong to the nineteenth century and they all lived and wrote roughly within the same period, between 1821 and 1917. As far as their birthplace is concerned, except for John Ackworth (JA) and James Marshall Mather (JMM) who were born in Yks and Durham respectively, the rest of them were born in the county of Lan, more specifically central or southern Lan.

Each writer uses his or her own writing style, but, generally, all of them adopt similar grammatical or lexical forms and spellings to represent a specific sound in their works. Although these writers were not linguists or dialectologists, they were connoisseurs of the LanD.

3.2.1.- John Ackworth (JA)

The following bibliographical information about JA was obtained from the website Gerald Massey.

The reverend Frederick Robert Smith, also known as John Ackworth (JA), was a Yorkshireman who was born in Snaith, near the hamlet of Ackworth, from which he probably took his name.

John Ackworth (JA) coming from a family of preachers, he became the candidate for the ministry in 1876 when he was eighteen years old. He then studied at the Headingly Theological Institute before being appointed to his first circuit in Castletown, in the Isle of Man. Other subsequent circuits included the Worthing Circuit, the Consett circuit, and finally St. Annes-on-Sea, in which he started to produce his first stories.

In all his circuits, he was able to travel to various places which were mostly in Lan. Among them, we find: Farnworth, Manchester, Lytham St. Annes, St. Helens, Eccles, and Burnley. Burnley was said to be the place where Ackworth came across the people he later portrayed in his novels. His last destination was Eccles where he was a superintendent minister before retiring from service and returning to Burnley, where he remained as a supernumerary.

As a preacher, JA gained a prestige reputation as he was one of the most skillful and talented preachers in Methodism. Ackworth’s sermons were not only accurately prepared and organized but also engaging and enjoyable with a touch of humor.
During his journeys, he became interested in the fields of literature and journalism. St. Annes-on-Sea was the town where he started his literary career composing captivating stories about old Methodists. Ackworth then considered the LanD as the most suitable and appropriate vehicle to portray his stories. Finally, his interest in journalism allowed him to work as a reporter and news collector in the newspaper “The Isle of Man Examiner”.

This writer was famous in the Lan regional literature as he helped to maintain the literary tradition. His success and prestige came with his first work *ClogShop Chronicles* (1896), which is believed to be in line with classics written by reputed Lan writers such as Benjamin Brierley (BB), Edwin Waugh or Samuel Laycock. Given the success of *ClogShop Chronicles*, he decided to write its sequel: *Beckside Lights* (BL) (1897) which contains the same setting and the same characters. After these two novels, other works followed such as *Scowcroft Critics* (1898), *Doxie Dent: a Clogshop Chronicle* (1899), *TM: the Story of the Courtship, Call, and Conflicts of John Ledger, Minder and Minister* (1900), *The Mangle House* (MH) (1902), *Old Wenyon’s Will* (1904), and *The Partners* (TP) (1907) among others.11

From my point of view, in all the Ackworth’s novels there is an ample use of dialect markers in phonology, grammar and lexicon. The only exceptions are *The Minders* (TM) and *The Partners* (TP) as they contain scant dialect representation. The reason could be underpinned on the characters’ education. This means, as *The Minders* (TM) and *The Partners* (TP) mostly depict well-educated characters, StE is the variety that prevails. As a result, the LanD is limited to minor characters such as “the barber” in *The Partners* (TP).

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11 Information taken from the website *Gerald Massey*
Although Ackworth was from Yks, he succeeded in mastering the regional Land. This is observed when comparing his use of the dialect with the rest of the writers studied. This means, the lexicon, the grammatical forms and the spellings this novelist adopts are similar to those employed by the rest of the Lan writers selected for our corpus.

3.2.2. Benjamin Brierley (BB)

The bibliographical information of BB was found on the website Gerald Massey.

Benjamin Brierley (BB) (1825-1896) was born in Failsworth (formerly Lan) in a humble family and under poor conditions. Given this situation, he could only attend the Pole Lane school. During his time of schooling, Brierley was a good pupil who was skillful in dialect spelling. In fact, he was awarded for his facility in spelling words that were apparently difficult for a five-year old boy.

Time later, he started to be interested in the field of journalism which allowed him to become the sub-editor of the local newspaper the “Oldham Times”. However, this was only for a certain period of time before moving to London to achieve more success. During his tenure as a journalist, “Ben Brierley’s Journal” was considered his big project, for which he could achieve success. According to Axon (1888: 82), this journal, which was first issued in 1869, contributed to the popularity of this writer in Lan and in the north of England.

Later on, he became interested in literature and in the depiction of familiar people he had met during his life. Axon (1888: 82) adds that his keen interest in literature prompted Brierley to write his first work A Day out, in which he details his march from the city of Manchester to Failsworth’s country park Daisy Nook.

Benjamin Brierley (BB) was a prolific writer who was involved in poetry, prose, and in the dramatization of various of his stories. It was with prose and the dramatization of his
stories that he was recognized as a writer and achieved success. Among his works we find: *Chronicles of Waverlow* (1863), *Red Windows Hall: a Lan Story* (1868), *Ab-o th’-yate at the Isle of Man* (AY) (1869), *The Three Buckleys: A Local Farce in One Act* (TB) (1870), *The Layrok of Langley-Side: A Lancashire Story* (TL) (1884), *Cotters of Mossburn* (1886) or *Tales and Sketches of Lancashire Life* (1886).

It was evident that a new writer had arisen capable of interpreting the homely joys and sorrows, the stoical endurance, and the love of fun of the Lancashire lads and lasses. The promise of this early performance was fully maintained by “The Chronicles of Waverlow”, “Marlocks of Merriton”, “The Gotters of Mossburn” and “Irkdale”. If these do not all show the freshness of his first work, they evidence the ripening and mellowness that come from wider contact with the world (Axon 1888: 82)

It was with *Ab-O’th-Yate at the Isle of Man* (AY) and *The Layrok of Langley-Side: A Lancashire Story* (TL) that he achieved remarkable success due to their perfect delineation. When the second novel was represented in theatre in Manchester, Brierley was one of the actors of the play and performed the role of the weaver. 12

According to Hakala (2013: 273), this writer was a close friend of Edwin Waugh, one of the most eminent writers in the LanD. According to this scholar, this friendship along with the help of working-class writers Richard Rome Bealey, Charles Hardwick, and the businessmen Joseph Chatwood and John Page resulted in the creation of The Manchester Literary Club (273). As noted in subsection 1.4, this club was principally aimed at the encouragement of the LanD.

After reviewing Brierley’s works, we observe that his works are not largely set in industrial settings, except for *The Layrock of Langley-Side: A Lancashire Story* (TL). His literary-dialect texts shared the representation of humble or poor people along with their conventional lives and experiences. In his works, we also observe an ample use of the

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12 Information taken from the website Gerald Massey
LanD representation. Brierley provides his texts with a wide variety of grammatical forms, lexicon, and a wide variety of spellings to represent LanD sounds.

Apart from using the LanD, he makes use of made-up words which, in most cases, seem to be difficult to interpret. This could mean that the writer attempts to use familiar or casual speech in order to create bonds among the characters and give the impression of familiarity. This also provides a sense of close community, since someone from outside would not understand the meaning of the terms. Instances of Brierley’s made-up words are present in the play *The Three Buckleys: A Local Farce in One Act* (TB) (1870): *theigher* in: “Theigher! Good neet! Wakken me in an heaur”; “Theigher! Aw thowt to misel' as a put th' letther back”, *gullook* in “his uttering a solemn "Gullook!" by which he meant to stave off all further observation”, *hutchin*: “Heigh, heigh! sink thi, Mally, husht, or else aw'st be hutchin closer to thi e'neaw”, *hub-hub*: “Hub-hub!” - Aw'll get thi a bit o' boilt ham, if theau likes. - Hub-hub-heugh!

These terms except *hutchin*, which is recorded in EDD as *hutch* with the meaning of “to lay up in a hutch or chest; to hoard”, cannot be found in any dictionary as they are Brierley’s invention. As a result, readers should decipher the meaning Brierley pretended to convey. As far as *theigher* is concerned, it could be an interjection used to urge or call on. In *gullook* the meaning cannot be easily interpreted as only one instance is recorded in our corpus. However, the meaning could be related to some type of convincing or persuasive speech.
3.2.3.- Isabella Banks (IB)

As bibliographical information of Isabella Banks (IB) is very scant, the following data was obtained from North Country Poets. Poems and Biographies (1888:3).

Isabella Banks (IB) or Isabella Varley Banks (1821-1897) was also known as Mrs. G. Linnaeus Banks. Born in Manchester, she was principally known for being a poet and a novelist. Her masterpiece is considered Manchester Man (MM) (1876), a three-volume novel dealing, as previously mentioned, with social and political events.

Since she was a child Banks was keen on writing as she grew up within a very cultivated family. At the age of eighteen, Banks was enrolled in a prestigious school for ladies in Liverpool. Her grandfather, Mr. James Varley was one of the members of a good Yks family and a linguist. In addition, her father was also a very educated man with great culture in the fields of arts, science and literature. In this context is where this novelist grew up and gained most of her knowledge.

At the age of 25, Banks married George Linnaeus Banks, from whom she took her pen name. He was a very versatile man as he was a poet, an orator, and a journalist. With him Isabella Banks (IB) produced her first work: a volume of verses entitled Daisies in the Grass.

God’s Providence House is Banks’s first novel written on her own and published when she was 44 years old. Later on, she published other works such as Stung to the Quick (1867), Glory (1877), Caleb Booth’s Clerk: A Lancashire Story (CBC) (1878) or Forbidden to Marry (FM) (1883). Finally, she gained prestige and received success with the publication of the three-volume novel Manchester Man (MM). After that, she also composed other stories under the title of Through the Night (1882) which were followed
by a second volume *The Watchmaker’s Daughter* (WD) (1882) along with the third volume *Sybilla and Other Stories* (1885).  

After considering Banks’s familiar background, we believe that she was a very cultivated woman, especially in the literary field. However, the dominant variety in the novels selected for our corpus is StE. The use of the dialect is restricted to some words which are represented with a particular spelling to suggest a dialect sound. The dialect is also observed in some deviant words and in certain grammatical structures that are scattered throughout the novels.

On the other hand, she mainly focuses on the plot and on the depiction of social or historical issues rather than on the depiction of the dialect. As we will note in 4.1, there were authors who preferred to portray in their works social, political or historical events that once took place in Lan, such as the Blackburn riots or the Peterloo Massacre.

Hakala (2013: 271) connects the limited use of the dialect with gender discrimination. She considers that nineteenth-century women did not “rally behind their region’s dialect”, since they did not wish to “challenge the hegemony of Standard English” (272). This means, IB and, in general, nineteenth-century women did not write in the vernacular variety as they did not want to mitigate or disregard the hegemony of StE. However, as observed on the website The Salamanca Corpus, there are some exceptions, such as Frances Parthenope, Lady Verney (1819-1890), Elizabeth Lynn Linton (1822-1898), or Margaret Lahee (1831-1895) who attempted to represent the dialect of Hampshire, Cumberland, and Lan respectively.

The education Banks received when she was younger may be observed in the orthographical conventions used to represent a determined sound in the novels selected.

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13 Information taken from *North Country Poets. Poems and Biographies* (1888: 3)
for our corpus. Where some authors employ the deviant spelling <aa> to possibly suggest [a:] as in <thaa> (thou) or <aar> (our), Banks employs the digraphs <ar> and <ah>. These spellings, as we will see in section 6.2.1.2, belonged to the literary dialect tradition that contain a long-established reputation in the dialect representation. Banks also uses the deviant spelling <ea> as in <geame> (game) or <feace> (face), which are traditional digraphs in the dialect representation, to suggest [ia] when the rest of the writers would use <eea>.

3.2.4. James Marshall Mather (JMM)

Very little is known about the bibliographical aspects and the literary career of James Marshall Mather (JMM). The scant data we present was found on the website The Salamanca Corpus.

Mather (1851-1916) was born in Darlington (Durham) and was educated in Lincoln (Lincolnshire) in the east Midlands (eMid) of England. Mather was a reverend who eventually settled in Lan, probably because of his career as a minister.

Although he was not a Lan man, Mather wished to become one of the novelists of this county. With this aim in mind, he wrote three novels in the LanD: Lancashire Idylls (LI) (1895), The Sign of the Wooden Shoon (SWS) (1896), and Roaring Loom (RL) (1898). In these works, this writer attempts to portray the pure dialect and the rural industrial settings that were once representative of Lan.

Mather subsequently wrote the novel Life and Teachings of John Ruskin (1901). In this case, the writer does not represent any industrial setting nor the LanD. On the contrary, he addresses the bibliographical aspects, teaching and lessons of the nineteenth-century intellectual John Ruskin. 14

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14 Information taken from the website The Salamanca Corpus: Digital Archive of English Dialect texts
After analyzing Mather’s novels, we observe that the three works deal with the Lan Industrial Revolution. The writer accurately depicts the factories and the rural industrial settings that were characteristic of Lan. It is in this context where we find the pure use of the LanD. In the introduction of *Lancashire Idylls* (LI), Mather affirms that he aims to represent and perpetuate the Lan factory life and the puritanism of this county (1895: 1). In this introduction, James Marshall Mather (JMM) also mentions the notable Lan authors Edwin Waugh and Benjamin Brierley (BB). He affirms that although these two writers attempted to “perpetuate the rude moorland and busy factory life of Lan, little has been done to perpetuate the stern Puritanism of the hill sects” (1895:1). This introduction suggests the reader that he pretends to represent and glorify the Lan traditional factories as well as the traditional and conservative values of Lan. Mather finally notes that he endeavors to represent the pure and provincial LanD as it shows, according to the writer, simplicity in character but delightful or pleasant in spirit (1895:1).

Marshall Mather is one of the authors who make use of the LanD the most. As in the case of John Ackworth (JA), Mather also succeeds in the accurate representation of the LanD. This is because the written conventions and grammatical forms Mather uses are similar to the Lan writers we studied. In lexicon, Mather uses dialect words which are not found in other writers of our corpus. Terms such as *boggart* for “ghost”, *baggin* for “meal” or *clemmin’* used to express a want for food are common in his works.

### 3.2.5.- William Bury Westall (WBW)

The bibliographical data of William Bury Westall (WBW) was obtained from *Wikipedia* as the information available about this writer is very scant.

Westall (1834-1903) was an English businessman and novelist who was born in Accrington, near Blackburn, in Lan. Although he originally was a businessman, this writer decided to leave this career to become a journalist. After retiring from business, he
immersed into the world of journalism and moved to Switzerland where he spent most of his life.

As a journalist he wrote several novels. Among his works, we find: The Old Factory (OF) (1885), Ralph Norbreck’s Trust (RNT) (1885), Birch Dene (BD) (1889), Strange Crimes (1890), Her Ladyship’s Secret (1895), or Her Two Millions (1897) among others. The latter is considered one of his most important and virtuous works as it contains autobiographical aspects and accurate descriptions of how a Swiss newspaper is managed.\(^{15}\)

We consider that Westall’s novels are largely focused on the plot and the social situations rather than on the representation of industrial settings. His representation of the LanD is limited in comparison with Ackworth, Brierley or Mather.

Regarding Westall’s selected novels, only The Old Factory (OF) and BirchDene (BD) address the Lan industrial context, particularly the cotton-mill factory. The first work is the only novel that is entirely focused on industrial issues. The second, as previously noted, deals with the cotton-mill industry from the middle of the novel onwards. This novel also tackles the social situations of the Victorian era and the riots triggered by the harshness conditions within the cotton-mill in Oaken Cleugh.

On the other hand, Ralph Norbreck’s Trust (RNT) does not portray any industrial setting, since this novel is mostly developed in southern America, particularly Venezuela. His personal-based knowledge and experiences in southern America were possibly reflected on this novel. Ralph Norbreck’s Trust (RNT) shows a reduced use of the LanD representation because of the main setting of the novel. However, Westall uses the vernacular variety when certain Lan characters intervene.

\(^{15}\) Information taken from Wikipedia.
Furthermore, Westall was knowledgeable of the linguistic context and the level of education of the workers. This can be reflected in the explanation of the language used by “the weaver”, one of the characters of the novel *BirchDene* (BD): “The weaver, as a rule, spoke broad Lan, considering it far more expressive than ordinary English, into which, nevertheless, he occasionally lapsed, either out of compliment to his visitor, or to show that he could ‘talk grammar’ as well as anybody as indeed he could” (1889: 254).

This quote shows the preference of the Lan working-class characters for the LanD. This type of characters avoids the use of StE and adopt the use of the vernacular variety in order to create bonds of familiarity among them.
4.- AN INSIGHT INTO THE LITERARY-DIALECT WORKS SELECTED FOR THE CORPUS

As the nineteen works in our corpus are essential to carry out our phonological research on the LanD, we consider it relevant to offer an insight into the literary-dialect works selected. A general contextualization of the works would help us approach and understand them.

This section is structured around the contextualization of the different literary-dialect texts and the linguistic aspects found in the works. 4.1 is focused on the contextualization of the texts, 4.2. deals with the linguistic aspects represented in the works and the subsection 4.2.1 approaches the dialect orthographical conventions as found in the corpus.

4.1.- Contextualization of the literary-dialect works

Most of the works selected for this study take place in Lan and in industrial settings. According to Keating (in Thomas 1999: 44), most novels written around the fourth and fifth decades of the nineteenth century deal with the Industrial Revolution and the industrial tradition, and the works studied in the present work are not an exception.

Novels dealing with the Industrial Revolution are not set in large cities of Lan, such as Manchester or Liverpool but in small towns or villages. These settings are in most cases fictional, except for Ackworth’s *Beckside Lights* (BL) as it takes place in Bolton (formerly southwestern Lan). Isabella Banks (IB), on the other hand, is the only author who does not employ any made-up location in her novels chosen for this study.

The unreal locations found in the different works are, as noted, rural settings which do not have anything in common with other bigger urban areas of Lan. In this regard, Thomas (1999: 46) notes that:
The ‘true’ Lancashire topography and character is thus located outside the city, in mill settlements or smaller townships in which the textile trade had been established since the late eighteenth century. In these settlements there are a range of dwellings and buildings - farmsteads, handloom weavers cottages, water-powered mills - which represent a continuity of tradition and values (1999: 46).

The fictitious locations where the plot of these novels take place are Slagden and Bramwell in Ackworth’s *The Mangle House* (MH) and *The Minders* (TM) respectively. In Brierley’s works, only one work is set in a fictitious location: *The Layrock of Langley-Side: A Lancashire Story* (TL) whose setting is Langley-Side. This novel is also the only work by Brierley which deals with the Industrial Revolution and the failure of the weaving industry. The location of Rehoboth is found in Mather’s *Lancashire Idylls* (LI) which, according to the writer, is a valley in the North-east division of Lan.

Finally, In Westall’s *The Old Factory* (OF), the plot takes place in a town called Orrington which is, according to this writer, a Lan town located in a valley below the moors. Westall also uses an unreal setting in his novel *BirchDene* (BD). Although at the beginning of this novel the story takes place in London, further on Oaken Cleugh is the setting where the plot is set. It is in this fictitious place where the industrial scenario, specifically the cotton industry, is depicted.

Although the settings are in most cases fictional, they are realistic when it comes to the representation of the industrial Lan life. This is the result of the writers’ attempt to portray the factories and looms that were once representative of Lan. They also provide a description of the work places and the characters, once typical during that industrial historical context.

Thomas (1999: 44) points out that although industrialism is the principal object of the novels written during the fourth and fifth decades of the nineteenth century, some of them do not address the industrial Lan. This is observed, for instance, in *Probation* (1879) by
Jessie Fothergill. In this work, the writer tackles the Blackburn riots that took place in that town in Lan in 1878 (Thomas 1999: 44).

In our corpus, Isabella Banks (IB) is the only writer who does not portray the industrial context in any of her novels studied. In *Manchester Man* (MM), for instance, the plot is set in the city of Manchester and revolves around the life of a Manchester resident in his pursuit of success in that flourishing industrial city. The novel also deals with the early nineteenth-century political event, the Peterloo Massacre.

William Bury Westall (WBU) portrays Lan industrial settings in *The Old Factory* (OF) and *BirchDene* (BD). In the latter, the industrial scenario is depicted from the middle of the novel onwards. In this work, Westall attempts to address social issues concerning the Victorian period; especially the riots caused by the harsh conditions of the cotton factory in Oaken Cleugh.

Benjamin Brierley (BB) only represents the Industrial scenario in the novel *The Layrock of Langley-Side: A Lancashire Story* (TL). This work deals with the weaving industry, specifically with the misfortunes and problems of this village when the industry became no longer profitable and went bankrupt. In the rest of the Brierley’s works studied, the settings are not industrial or necessarily English toponyms. For instance, in *Gooin’ to Cyprus* (GC), the story mainly deals with the main character’s dream about travelling to the island of Cyprus.

On the other hand, Ackworth’s novels are all set in industrial contexts. His novels share the same themes: the cotton industry and Methodism. It is in this context where the writer describes his stories and the plot is developed. Contrary to Westall’s *BirchDene* (BD) and Brierley’s *The Layrock of Langley-Side: A Lancashire Story* (TL), Ackworth does not focus on problems or riots of the industry but on the social relations among the Lan characters.
Finally, Mather’s novels share the rural setting and the industrial background, specifically the factory life. Religion, concretely Calvinism, also plays a significant role in the three novels as most of the characters’ dialogues contain numerous religious aspects. For instance, in Mather’s *The Sign of the Wooden Shoon* (SWS), the story develops in a small village which is, according to the writer’s description, in the moorland parish of Heatherlow. In this setting, James Marshall Mather represents the characters who are mostly farmers or workers of a small factory and whose dialogues deal with religious issues.

### 4.2. Linguistic aspects of the literary-dialect works

The LanD in the works selected could be considered as the sign of identity and unification among the Lan characters. This can be observed in the use of this dialect among familiar environments with relatives and acquaintances and the use of StE when other characters intervene. This idea is referred by Shorrocks (1998: 54), who points out that the traditional vernacular dialect

> is more closely associated with the home, relatives, and friends, and a modified, more formal type of speech with travel, change of environment, strangers, formal situations, etc.

Downing (1980: 111) also adds that the county of Lan is “one of the most individual regions in England” and although Lan speakers tend to use a modified version of StE along with the vernacular variety, there are many who preserve and conserve the traditional vernacular. This is because, the use of the LanD involves “a special emotional status” (1980: 111).

In this regard, when the Lan characters are not in this region, they tend to modify the dialect in such a way that it resembles the standard language. This is seen, for instance, in Westall’s *Ralph Norbreck’s Trust* (RNT) when the main character is in South America.
In this case, he barely uses the LanD traits but General English which contains certain local characteristics.

Moreover, when literate characters such as lawyers, doctors or journalists intervene, they do not use the dialect but StE even if they are from Lan. This is probably due to the negative consideration regional dialects used to have; dialects were socially disregarded and employed by less-educated speakers from rural areas, as already commented in section 1.4.

As far as dialect representation in the analyzed literary-dialect texts are concerned, John Ackworth (JA), Benjamin Brierley (BB), and James Marshall Mather (JMM) are the authors who represent the LanD the most; this means that their works show numerous phonological, grammatical, and lexical dialect traits. On the other hand, in Banks’s and in Westall’s works, dialect depiction is more reduced. This is, the use of the vernacular variety is scattered in their works, as some of the Lan characters’ dialogues do not or barely contain any LanD feature.

We also commented that from the nineteenth century onwards, dialects were used to depict characters but with no comic purpose any longer. The dialectal features began to be used in the novels in such a way that as Durkin (2010: 47) affirms the use of non-standard spellings “constitutes part of a complex system of signaling of social status in literary works”. Mugglestone (in Durkin 2010: 47) adds that

The cultural idea of the ‘literate speaker’ was … regularly incorporated in literary texts as ‘gentlemen’ and ‘ladies’ … and … heroes and heroines were regularly given speech which reproduced the orthographical patterns of the standard language without deviation. Servants, members of the lower ranks, Cockneys, and rustics were instead habitually made to deploy patterns of speech in which the absence of expected graphemes, and the presence of others equally unexpected, was marked.

Thus, we are going to review the situation of the non-standard spelling which is the base of our research.
4.2.1.- Dialect orthographical conventions

As authors wished their works to be read by as many readers as possible, they adopt readable orthographical conventions in their works. These spellings are, as noted in section 1.1, the only source to obtain phonological data from a certain period of time, in this case the XIX century. The issue of readability is addressed by Jaffe (2000: 502) who considers it essential

particularly when we look at how non-standard orthographies tend to be used … A detailed phonetic transcript, for example, will be inaccessible to non-specialists, even for the specialist reader.

Our writers base their stylistic conventions on spellings that are part of the literary dialect tradition or on the standard orthography. Instances of the dialect tradition are <eaw>, <ah>, <ar> or <ea> as in theaw (thou), ar (our), thah (thou), and geame (game). Instances of the second are <ee>, <oo> as in neet (night) and thoose (those) respectively, or the duplication of the consonant followed by a vowel to indicate shortening as in papper (paper). It is Isabella Banks (IB) the writer who mostly adopts traditional spellings. This is, spellings that are long-established in the literary dialect tradition. For instance, she employs the orthographical conventions <ah> and <ar> in, for instance, thah (thou) where the rest of the writers opt for <aa> to suggest the [aː] sound in the LanD as in aat (out).

The five different writers apply their own personal style in the writing of their texts. However, all of them largely adopt similar deviant spellings to suggest the same dialect realizations. This evidences that dialect depiction is not based on the writers’ personal criteria. This is observed, for instance, in their use of the deviant spellings <ee> or <oi>, to suggest the phonological realizations [iː] and [ɔɪ] respectively in words related to PRICE.

The representation of the dialect writing conventions is roughly consistent in the literary-dialect works. The major exception is the dialect realization [aː], as it can be represented
by means of <aa>, <ah> or <ar> depending on whether the words appear in one writer or another.

In addition, when representing the dialect, the non-standard spellings are merely reflected in a limited number of words which are widely repeated throughout the corpus. As a result, it seems as if writers chose some specific words to represent a dialect sound. For instance, the digraph <ee> suggesting [i:] in neet (night) or <ooa> suggesting [ʊə] in booan (bone).
SECOND PART: A PHONOLOGICAL-BASED STUDY ON THE LANCASHIRE DIALECT

The second part of this thesis relates to the linguistic phonological analysis of the dialect of Lan during the nineteenth century based on the study of the nineteen different literary-dialect works selected for our corpus. Apart from including the methodology applied to carry out this work, this section principally tackles the study and analysis of the different non-standard spellings and their corresponding pronunciations related to the RP diphthongs and RP monophthongs.

This second section’s main focus is the analysis of dialect spellings and their suggested sounds. This is because this research would help us reach the principal objective of this thesis, which is to ascertain the probable pronunciations that were used by Lan speakers during the XIX century. We also include the results and the conclusions drawn from the phonological analysis of the sounds related to the RP diphthongs and monophthongs.

5.- METHODOLOGY

5.1.- Data

As this thesis is focused on the nineteenth-century LanD, we compiled a corpus comprising several nineteenth-century Lan works, specifically literary-dialect representation. As explained in section 1, literary-dialect works are useful tools to analyze dialects. This is because writers adopt readable orthographical conventions that suggest dialect pronunciations and these spellings are the only source to obtain phonological information.
Our corpus consists of nineteen literary-dialect works written by five different nineteenth-century writers. Our corpus records an overall sum of 310 words, of which we only analyze 160 terms, since words related to RP [æʊ] and RP [ɑɪ] are especially numerous.

The following table illustrates the selected authors and their corresponding works we analyzed for this research.

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<tr>
<td>Beckside Lights (1897)</td>
<td>Gooin’ to Cyprus (1850)</td>
<td>The Manchester Man (1876)</td>
<td>Lancashire Idylls (1895)</td>
<td>The Old Factory: A Lancashire Story (1881)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Scowcroft Critics (1898)</td>
<td>The Layrock of Langley-Side: A Lancashire Story (1864)</td>
<td>Caleb Booth’s Clerk: A Lancashire Story (1882)</td>
<td>The Sign of the Wooden Shoon (1896)</td>
<td>Ralph Norbreck’s Trust (1885)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Minder (1900)</td>
<td>Ab-Oth’-Yate at the Isle of Man (1869)</td>
<td>The Watchmaker’s Daughter (1882)</td>
<td>By Roaring Loom (1898)</td>
<td>Birch Dene (1889)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Mangle House (1902)</td>
<td>The Three Buckleys: A Local Farce in One Act (1870)</td>
<td>Forbidden to Marry (1883)</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>The Partners (1907)</td>
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Table 1.- Selected nineteenth-century writers and literary-dialect works for the corpus

Most of the literary works analyzed, except for FM, MM, RL, RNT, and WD, were obtained from the digital archive of English dialect texts: The Salamanca Corpus. The different literary texts were chosen based on different criteria. In the case of JMM and WBW, their novels were selected when they contained LanD representation as some of their works are not related to dialect depiction. In the case of JA, BB, and IB, their works
were selected based on dialect representation and their availability online, since sometimes there was no access to some of their works.

In all these literary works, as the dialect is exclusively employed to mark the discourse of the different working-class or rural characters when they intervene, we principally focused on their dialogues. However, we did not overlook the rest of the plot as it provides us with useful information about the settings, the context, and the characters. These elements were important to understand the literary works and, specifically, the context was crucial as it helped us to determine the meaning of the dialect words that differed or departed from StE.

The writers’ bibliographical details were considered when selecting their works for our corpus, as they offered helpful data about the usage and knowledge of the dialect. Facts such as their birthplace and interest in literature and in the LanD, or their reputation in the LanD representation were also crucial to determine this selection. For instance, in the case of JA and JMM, they were not born in Lan, but both mastered the LanD and opted for this variety as their vehicle for communication in their novels.

Although the five writers use their own style in writing, all of them mostly share the same patterns in the dialect depiction, as in the use of the non-standard spellings to suggest the same dialect sounds. This proves that the dialect represented in their works is not based on the authors’ personal criteria, as noted in section 4.2.1.

5.2.- Methods applied in the linguistic analysis of literary-dialect texts

As noted, literary-dialect works are a valuable source to obtain linguistic information, such as phonology, syntax, or lexis of a particular regional dialect at a specific time (García-Bermejo Giner 1999: 252; Ruano-García 2012: 60). García-Bermejo Giner (1999: 252), whose work tackles the study of literary dialects in EModE, considers that a
comparison between the standard and the non-standard orthography is of great value when approaching a phonological analysis through literary-dialect texts. According to this scholar (1999: 252):

A comparison of the “standard” and the “non-standard” spellings together with what we know about the phonology and orthography of contemporary London educated speech would allow us to deduce the possible regional traits intended. These authors take the dialect novel spellings as the starting point and then they relate the sounds attributed to those spellings according to previous literature on each spelling. However, in this thesis, I take the deviant spellings as primary sources to relate them to their corresponding RP sounds, and those RP sounds are the starting point of the whole analyses. All the spellings that relate to the same RP sound are grouped and then attributed to their possible sounds in the LanD. After that, I attempt at explaining the reasons for the different sounds that relate to the same RP pronunciation. To give these reasons, I make use of diachronic evolutions of each sound.

5.3.- Types of analysis employed in our data

In this research, we carry out a quantitative and a qualitative analysis. The quantitative analysis aims at showing the frequency index of the non-standard spellings in our corpus. The qualitative method, on the other hand, provides a description and an explanation of the spellings employed and the pronunciations suggested by them.

The present thesis is focused on the analysis of the different deviant spellings and their corresponding realizations that relate to the RP diphthongs and monophthongs: [aʊ], [aɪ], [ɛɪ], [ɔʊ], [ɛɑ] and [ɑː], [iː], [ɔː], [ɛ], and [ɛː]. This phonological research allows us to determine the pronunciations that were possibly realized among Lan speakers in the nineteenth century.
This phonological analysis poses two distinct research questions. The first question is how we could differentiate a stereotyped sound from a probable sound used by Lan speakers during the nineteenth century. The second question is whether a probable sound is a novel or an old realization at that time. These two questions are addressed with two hypotheses. The first hypothesis is that if a pronunciation is not the outcome of diachronic sound changes, then this realization would be a stereotyped form. On the other hand, if a pronunciation underwent a sound change or a series of sound changes, then it could be a probable pronunciation among Lan speakers during the XIX century. As there may appear novel and old realization simultaneously due to the influence of the PV, the second hypothesis states that the lower the frequency of a sound, the less usual and more regressive a sound was in the nineteenth century in Lan.

The entire analysis is divided into two different blocks: the first block relates to the RP diphthongs and the second to the RP monophthongs. Each block is divided into distinct sections, one for each RP sound, and into several subsections comprising the deviant spellings and their conveyed pronunciations.

**5.3.1.- Quantitative analysis**

The first step in this research is the quantitative analysis. The results of this analysis are given in five diagrams, one for each novelist studied, in each block. These diagrams show the frequency range of the different deviant spellings and their corresponding pronunciations by illustrating the number of words that are represented with the deviant spellings. This quantitative method gives us information on how frequent or usual a dialect sound was during the nineteenth century in Lan. This means, whether a sound was a regressive form or not at that time. As previously stated in our second hypothesis, we assume that the lower the frequency of a sound, the less usual and, thus, more regressive
was in the XIX century. On the other hand, the higher the frequency of a sound, the less regressive it was at that time.

The second step is the qualitative analysis. This means, an analysis and an explanation of the different deviant spellings and their corresponding dialect sounds. In this regard, Sánchez’s study (2003) is a useful resource as she includes an in-depth classification of the different northern spellings.

Gimson’s (1962) work on the pronunciation of English was a valuable source, as he lists the different standard spellings and their corresponding phonological realizations. This is used when the dialect spellings are based on the standard orthography. This is illustrated in our corpus, for instance, in the duplication of the consonant following a short vowel as in *papper* (paper) and the deletion of the final *<e>* in the orthographical sequence *<a + consonant +e>* as in *tak* (take) to indicate vowel shortening, or in the duplication of the vowel to indicate vocalic length as in *neet* (night).

The first two examples, *papper* and *tak*, are related to the RP diphthong [ɛɪ], but they are realized with [a] in the LanD. Literary-dialect authors could adopt the aforementioned orthographical shifts as the standard orthography contains a similar structure to suggest that short vowel, such as in “latter” or “cat”. The last example, *neet*, relates to the RP monophthong [i:], but in the LanD, it is pronounced with [i:]. StE also includes words spelt with *<ee>* that are realized with that long vowel, such as “bleed” or “feel”.

**5.3.2.- Qualitative analysis**

Within the qualitative analysis, we include the historical linguistic shifts of both the RP sounds and the dialect pronunciations. In this regard, Ellis’s (1889), Dobson’s (1968), Wakelin’s (1976), and Wells’s (1982) studies are significant as they provide a valuable insight into the phonological shifts of the different phonological realizations.
Wakelin’s (1977) study of the English Dialects, for instance, traces the historical origins of several realizations. In his work, he lists the possible outcomes of the divergent phonological shifts which, in some cases, concurred with the suggested pronunciations. Finally, Wright’s EDG (1898-1905) is crucial in this thesis as he provides an explanation of some of the sounds we record and he attests most of these pronunciations.

This historical analysis allows us to ascertain whether a dialect sound is a stereotyped form employed in literature or a possible realization speakers used in the nineteenth century in Lan. This study also helps us to know whether a sound is a remnant of an Old or ME sound or a standard-like variant. This is, to ascertain whether a sound is recessive or not.

Therefore, the quantitative and the qualitative analysis would permit us to ascertain how frequent a dialect sound was in the nineteenth century in Lan and whether the dialect sounds recorded were stereotyped forms or probable pronunciations at that time. Finally, we are able to determine which sounds were common or usual among Lan speakers in the nineteenth century.

The phonological research carried out in sections 6 and 7 of this thesis is divided into the quantitative and qualitative analysis. However, there is link of both analyses in the discussion section of each RP diphthong and monophthong. This means, in the discussion section, we attempt at interpreting the data and the results obtained from the quantitative analysis.
6.- A CORPUS-BASED ANALYSIS OF SPELLINGS AND PRONUNCIATIONS RELATED TO RP DIPHTHONGS

The present chapter is devoted to the analysis of the different orthographical variants and their corresponding suggested pronunciations that relate to the RP diphthongs [æʊ], [aɪ], [ɔʊ], [ɛɪ], and [ɛǝ]. The RP diphthongs [ɪǝ], [ɔɪ], [ʊǝ] are not included in our analysis as our corpus does not evidence any relevant dialect data.

The present study is divided into separate groups based on each RP diphthong and subgroups including the deviant spellings and their suggested phonological realizations in the LanD. Each subsection sets out the study of the deviant spellings and their suggested sounds as well as their evidence in other studies. Furthermore, we include the historical linguistic developments of both the standard diphthongs and the dialect pronunciations.

To undertake the present analysis, we mostly employ the studies of Wright (1898-1905)’s EDG, Wakelin (1977), Wells (1982a), Sánchez (2003), Beal (2004), and Clark (2004). These studies offer us valuable and remarkable data on the different deviant spellings and the dialectal sounds. However, they do not examine the presence of various dialectal sounds for the same lexical set. In this analysis we attempt to go beyond these previous studies and explain the presence and coexistence of different dialectal pronunciations that can appear for the same RP pronunciation. I finally include the conclusions of each subsection.
6.1- Quantitative analysis: frequencies of spellings and words related to RP diphthongs

As explained in section 5.3.1, the first type of analysis performed was a quantitative analysis. The goal of this analysis is to determine whether the sounds analysed were regressive or not in the XIX century Lan.

The results of this analysis are presented in different diagrams that illustrate the frequency of words comprising the deviant spellings and their corresponding dialect sounds in each of the works of our corpus. However, the interpretation of these results will be given in the discussion section of each RP diphthong, as noted in section 5.

Due to the large amount of data, we provide one table showing the different types, tokens, and some examples of each type that relate to the analysis of the RP diphthongs. We also provide one distinct diagram for each novelist in our corpus. The horizontal axis of each diagram represents the deviant spellings found in the different works by each writer. The vertical axis shows the total number of terms comprising these orthographical conventions. The different columns show the frequency of each non-standard spelling per novel and the frequency of these conventions overall.  

As noted in section 5.3.2, there is link of the quantitative and qualitative analyses in the discussion section of each RP diphthong. This means, in the discussion section, we attempt at interpreting the data and the results obtained from the quantitative analysis.

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16 Both the table and the different charts represented show the total number of words recorded in our corpus for each deviant spelling or type.
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<tr>
<th>TYPES</th>
<th>TOKENS</th>
<th>EXAMPLES</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>&lt;ah&gt;/&lt;ar&gt;/&lt;aa&gt;</td>
<td>39</td>
<td><em>Thah</em> (thou), <em>aarsels</em> (ourselves)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&lt;eaw&gt;/&lt;eau&gt;</td>
<td>60</td>
<td><em>Abeawt</em> (about), <em>heaur</em> (hour)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&lt;u&gt;</td>
<td>1</td>
<td><em>Fun’</em> (found)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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<tr>
<th>TYPES</th>
<th>TOKENS</th>
<th>EXAMPLES</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>&lt;ee&gt;</td>
<td>21</td>
<td><em>Leet</em> (light), <em>neet</em> (night)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&lt;ey&gt;/&lt;ei&gt;</td>
<td>4</td>
<td><em>Feyting</em> (fighting), <em>reight</em> (right)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&lt;oi&gt;</td>
<td>7</td>
<td><em>Hoigher</em> (higher), <em>moight</em> (might)</td>
</tr>
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</table>

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<th>TYPES</th>
<th>TOKENS</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>&lt;ee&gt;</td>
<td>7</td>
<td><em>Beheend</em> (behind), <em>deed</em> (died)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&lt;oi&gt;</td>
<td>34</td>
<td><em>Choilt</em> (child), <em>droive</em> (drive)</td>
</tr>
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</table>

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<th>TYPES</th>
<th>TOKENS</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>&lt;ooa&gt;/&lt;oo&gt;</td>
<td>15</td>
<td><em>Booan</em> (bone), <em>thoose</em> (those)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&lt;o+C+C&gt;</td>
<td>6</td>
<td><em>Oppen</em> (open), <em>spokken</em> (spoken)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&lt;ow&gt;</td>
<td>12</td>
<td><em>Bowd</em> (bold), <em>howd</em> (hold)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&lt;oi&gt;</td>
<td>5</td>
<td><em>Hoile</em> (hole), <em>coil</em> (coal)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Chart 1 shows the deviant spellings and the frequency of words containing these digraphs in Ackworth’s novels. The diagram shows that JA employs thirteen different spellings for words that relate to the RP diphthongs. However, the number of words containing these spelling conventions is not equally represented in his works. For instance, while the digraph <aa> suggesting the monophthong [a:] is represented in several words, the
spellings <u+r>, <y+e>, and <oi>, conveying the dialect sounds [ɜ:], [ɪ], and [ɔɪ] respectively, are only illustrated in two words at most, such as chur (chair) or coile (coal).

This chart also shows that words comprising the deviant spellings are in general depicted in mostly all the novels of this writer analysed for this study. The exception to this rule would be the word pig-hoile containing the spelling <oi> as it only appears in the novel MH.

This chart shows the different deviant spellings adopted by BB and the frequency of words comprising them. The most striking trait in this diagram would be the use of <eaw>/<eau> as it is by far the most illustrated spelling in Brierley’s works. Our corpus records more than fifty words containing <eaw>/<eau> in all the literary texts studied. However, the frequency of these words in Brierley’s works is unequal; we record around ten words in GC but more than twenty in AY.

On the contrary, the rest of the spellings adopted by Brierley are barely illustrated in words. This is particularly visible in the spellings <ee> and <ey>/<ei>, suggesting the
dialect sounds [i:] and [ɛ1] respectively. However, all the words comprising the different deviant spellings are present in almost all Brierley’s works.

Chart 3 shows the different deviant spellings and the words comprising them in Banks’s novels. The most relevant orthographical conventions are <eaw>/<eau> and <oi> without <ght> in the standard spelling, conveying the sounds [ɛʊ] and [ɔɪ] respectively in the dialect, as they are frequently represented in words related to the RP diphthong [aɪ]. The first spelling, <eaw>/<eau>, is found in more than twenty words and the second one in almost thirty terms. These terms are recorded in Banks’ works, but the number of words containing this spelling differ in each novel.

Although IB adopts numerous spellings for words related to the RP diphthongs, all of them, except those previously mentioned, are represented in less than ten words. Apart from that, the words written with these graphemes are not used in all her novels. This is particularly visible, for instance, in the spellings <ar> or <o+C+C>, suggesting the dialect sounds [aː] and [ɔ] respectively, as they are only found in less than five words and these words only appear in two of Banks’s novels.
Chart 4 reveals the deviant spellings and the frequency of words containing them in Mather’s novels. This diagram shows that JMM adopts twelve different deviant spellings, as <ee> and <oi> are repeated twice, for the different RP diphthongs.

The data show that <aa> suggesting the monophthong [a:] is the most represented spelling in his novels, since we record more than forty words containing this digraph. Those words comprising <aa> are illustrated in his three novels studied, but their representation vary in each novel.

On the contrary, the rest of the graphemes adopted by JMM are less frequently represented as we record less than fifteen terms containing them. This is particularly noticeable in <u>, <oi>, and <o+C+C>, suggesting the sounds [o], [ɔ], and [ɔ] respectively. The diagram reveals that these spellings are represented in less than five words, and these words do not appear in the three studied novels. This fact would suggest that the sounds conveyed by these graphemes were unusual or regressive in Lan during the nineteenth century. However, these data will be later discussed in the subsequent sections.
Chart 5 shows the different deviant spellings and the words containing them in Westall’s works. This diagram shows that this novelist makes use of ten different orthographical conventions for words that are related to the RP diphthongs.

The chart shows that WBW employs a higher number of words comprising the deviant spellings than the rest of the writers. <ow>, suggesting [əʊ], is the most frequently illustrated spelling as it is found in nine different terms, all of them are represented in his three novels. This fact would suggest that the diphthong [əʊ] was a usual sound for words related to RP [ɛu].

On the opposite side, are the spellings <u>, <aa>, <oo>, and <o+C+C>, conveying the sounds [ʊ], [ɛ:], [u:], and [ɔ] respectively. They are represented in only one term, and the term adopted is found in only one or two novels at most.

Regarding the spelling <aa>, Westall adopts it twice but with two different conveyed sounds, [ə:] and [ɛ:]. When <aa> is attributed to the first sound, it is represented in seven different terms and when it is attributed to the second pronunciation, it is only observed in the term taak (take), which is only represented in RNT.
The five diagrams reveal that writers use numerous spellings that relate to the studied RP diphthongs. In these charts, we can also observe that the five writers adopt similar stylistic conventions to suggest the same sounds, except <aa> and <ea>/<eä>. The first grapheme is normally attributed to the monophthong [a:] and the second spelling to [ɪə]. However, writers normally opt for <e ea> to express the same sound. The data also reveal that the deviant spellings <aa>, <eaw>/<eau>, and <oi>, suggesting the dialect sounds [a:], [ɛʊ], and [ɔɪ] respectively, are represented in a vast number of words. On the other hand, graphemes such as <u>, <ooa> or <oo>, conveying [ʊ], [ʊə], and [u:] respectively, are only limited to a few words.

6.2.- Qualitative Analysis

6.2.1.- RP [aʊ]

6.2.1.1.- Literary dialect spellings of [aʊ]

This analysis comprises the spellings <aa> / <ah> / <ar>, <eaw> / <eau>, and <u> which relate to the standard orthography <ou> and <ow> and to the RP diphthong [aʊ].

Words realized with the diphthong [aʊ] in RP that yield other pronunciations in the dialects are included according to Wells (1982b: 151) into the lexical set of MOUTH. Wakelin (1977: 86-87) and Wells (1982b: 359) claim that the different vocalic sounds of this lexical set represent one of the most important isoglosses in the TD of northern England, separating the north and the south.

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17 Due to the vast number of words recorded in our corpus with <aa> and <eaw>/ <eau>, we just selected those terms containing the same spellings.
6.2.1.2.- Literary dialect spellings <ar> / <ah> / <aa>

The spellings <ah> and <ar> are only used by IB in thah (thou), ar (our), and arsels (ourselves). Thah is found in three of her novels and ar and arsels only appear in MM (Annex 1). These three forms are exemplified in the following examples:

1. “But it’s just a way hoo has, an’ theree is na a fractious choilt i’ ar yard but’ll be quiet wi’ Bess” (But it’s just a way she has, and there is no fractious child in our yard but I’ll be quiet with Bess) (MM, 13)

2. “We mun just ate less on it arsels, an’ there’ll be moore fur the choilt” (We must just eat less of it ourselves, and there will be more for the child) (MM, 33)

3. “but thah mun give it summat better than cowd wayter” (but you must give it something better than cold water) (MM, 12)

The digraph <aa> is used by JA, JMM, and WBW in the words: abaat (about), aarsels (ourselves), Aat (out), aatside (outside), aar (our), daan (down), graand (ground), haa (how), haar (hour), haase (house), maath (mouth), naa (now), paand (pound), raand (round), thaa (thou), thaasand (thousand) (Annex 2). The following examples illustrate some of these words in the novels selected:

1. “Doos hoo walk aat wi’ thee?” (Does she walk out with you?) (MH, 8)

2. “Whoa arr yo’ talkie’ abaat, muther?” (Who are you talking about, mother?) (BL, 56)

3. “Haa oft mun Aw tell thi?” (How often must I tell you?) (MH, 51)

4. “An’ thaa mun tell her az Aw’m makkin tew paand a wik, an’ mooar” (And you must tell her that I am making two pounds a week, and more) (SC, 210)

5. “And have a gradely good raand” (and have a good round) (BD, 256)
Jones (1989: 30) considers that the duplication of the vowel graph as in <aa> is frequently used to indicate vowel length. The spellings <ar> and <ah> are recorded by Clark (2004: 152) and Sánchez (2003: 333) who connect them with the monophthong [a:]. Sánchez (2003: 333-334) adds that <ar> is a rare digraph to represent that sound, but <ah> constitutes the most adopted spelling in the representation of [a:] in the literary dialect tradition.

Beal (2004: 124) records [a:] for words related to RP [aʊ] in some areas of the middle north and in southern Yks. According to Brook (1963: 29), Wells (1982a: 152), Jones (1989:30), and Beal (2014: 125) the long sound [a:] in words related to RP [aʊ] is the result of Smoothing or reduction of the diphthong [au]. Jones (1989: 30) adds that monophthongization of this RP diphthong is common in the TD of northern England and the Midlands in the nineteenth century and past centuries.

6.2.1.3.- Literary dialect spellings <eaw> / <eau>

The non-standard spellings <eaw> and <eau> are used by BB and IB in words such as abeaut/ abeawt (about), deawn (down), eaur (our)/ eawer (our) eaursels (ourselves), eaut (out)/ eawt (out)/ eautside (outside), greaund (ground), heaur (hour)/ heawr (hour), heause (house)/ heawse (house), heaw (how), meauth (mouth), neaw (now), peawnd (pound), reawnd (round)/ reaund (round), theau (thou)/ theaw (thou), theausant (thousand). The following instances illustrate the use of some of these words in our corpus:

1. “Too mich to tell yo' abeaut i’ one letther” (Too much to tell you about in one letter) (AY, 14)

2. “But aw’m not gooin to sit deawn wi’ my bonds i’ mi’ lap” (But I am not going to sit down with my hands in my lap) (MM, 105)
3. “Eaur Sal said if it wurno' for th' rockers hoo'd tak' th' kayther (cradle), an' put some things i' that!” (Our Sal said that if it weren’t for the rockers she would have taken the cradle, and put some things in that!) (AY, 4)

4. “He pointed to a little reaund barrel of a chap” (He pointed to a little round barrel of a boy) (AY, 14)

5. “But what art theau dooin here?” (But what are you doing here?) (GC, 4)

The spellings <eaw> and <eau> are adopted by BB and IB. Banks’s novels present <ah>, <ar>, <eaw>, and <eau> for MOUTH. However, the non-standard written conventions <eaw> and <eau> prevail in Banks’s novels for words which relate to RP [aʊ] (Annex 3).

The deviant spellings <eaw> and <eau> are recorded by Shorrocks (Shorrocks in Sánchez 2003: 329) and <eaw> by Clark (2004: 152) in words related to RP [aʊ] such as ceawnted (counted), eawt (out), keawnsel (counsel), eawt (out), and neaw (now). Shorrocks (1994: 227) suggests the monophthong [ɜ:] for the spellings <eaw> and <eau> and Clark (2004: 152) the raised onset [æʊ - ɛʊ] for <eaw>.

On the other hand, the pronunciation of <eaw> and <eau> is explained by Sánchez (2003: 329) by dividing these spellings into <ea> indicating [ɛ] and <w> / <u> indicating [ʊ] or [ǝ] as the second element. Therefore, she suggests the diphthongs [ɛʊ] or [ɛǝ] for <eaw> and <eau>.

Wells (1982a: 256-257) does not attest any deviant spelling for MOUTH but records the diphthong [ɛʊ] for this lexical set. According to this scholar, this diphthong is the result of the Diphthong Shift sound change that “must have become established in England (though not in RP) by the beginning of the nineteenth century” (1982: 252). Moreover, Gimson (1980: 137) and Wells (1982a: 256-257) consider the dialectal sound [ɛʊ] as the RP variant of the StE diphthong [aʊ].
Wright’s EDG (1898-1905) does not evidence any deviant spelling but records [ɛʊ] for words related to RP [aʊ]. According to this scholar, [ɛʊ] is principally recorded in southern Lan in all the words included in this section.

The pronunciations [æː] and [æʊ] suggested by Shorrocks and Clark respectively could be discarded. This is because, the monophthong [æː] is explained by Lass (1976: 89) as a later monophthongization of a diphthong deriving from [aʊ] in areas of Lan and Clark’s suggested sound [æʊ] is not recorded in any of Lan by the EDG.

6.2.1.4.- Literary dialect spelling <u>

Within this section we merely include the word *fun*/*fun’* for “found”. This word is spelt with the sequence <ou> in contemporary StE but in the LanD it is substituted by <u>.

The spelling <u> and the word *fun*/*fun’* are employed by JMM and WBW (Annex 4). The first author alternates <u> and <aa> in “found” in RL in which two instances of *faand* and twenty-four of *fun’* are found. In his two other works, only *fun*/*fun’* appears four times in total. Westall uses *fun* in OF twice and four times in BD. The word *fun*/*fun’* is exemplified in the following instances:

1. “I tell thee I’ve *fun* mi heart” (I tell you I’ve found my heart) (*Lancashire Idylls* (LI), 97)
2. “an’ *fun* her way into th’ room where her mother used to wark” (And found her way into the room where her mother used to work) (RL, 30)
3. “And if th’ brass isn’t *fun’* we mun spor (inquire)” (and if the brass isn’t found, we must inquire) (BD, 122)
4. “Oh, they’ve *fun’* a name for it awready, if that’s what yo’ mean” (Oh, they’ve already found a name for it, if that’s what you mean) (OF, 85)
The spelling <u> and its suggested pronunciation in fun/fun’ are not recorded. The sound represented by this spelling can be the monophthong [o] and it is grounded on the linguistic historical origins this word experienced, as we explain in the next section.

**6.2.1.5.- Historical origins**

Hoad (1986)\(^\text{18}\) records all the words presented in this section, except for “ground”, “found”, “round” and “hour”, with the monophthong [u:] in OE. “Ground” and “found” contained OE [ʊ]. According to Maguire (2015: 448), [ʊ] lengthened into [u:] as followed by the homorganic consonant group [nd] in ME. RP diphthong [aʊ] is the result of the GVS sound change (Carter 1975: 370; Wakelin 1977: 88; Wells 1982: 152).

Hoad (1986) records “round” and “hour” with a French origin which entered the English language with the diphthong [ou]. According to Wright (1898-1905:55), this diphthong developed into [aʊ] in both contemporary StE and the dialects. He adds that “round” and “hour”, having a French origin and comprising [aʊ] in the literary language, experienced the same linguistic shifts in the dialects as those words coming from OE [u:] (1898-1905: 55).

Furthermore, the words “hour” and “our” contain the triphthong [aʊə] in StE. The final element of the triphthong, [ə], is the result of what Wells (1982a: 214) calls “Pre-r Breaking”. According to this scholar, this process involves the inclusion of [ə] before the consonant [r].

As previously noted, [aː] is the result of the process of Smoothing and [ɛʊ] is the variant of RP [aʊ]. In addition, Wells (1982a: 256-257) claims that [ɛʊ] is the result of what he refers to Diphthong Shift, a process by which the starting point of [aʊ] fronted. Wells

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(1982a: 256) also includes [æʊ], [æə], and [ɛʊ] as the sound changes the diphthong [aʊ] experienced through Diphthong Shift.

Beal (2004: 124) explains that the ME sound [u:] was usual in northern TDs. However, this monophthong became recessive during the 20th and speakers would use the diphthong [ɛʊ] instead.

In traditional dialects, this pronunciation ([u:]) could be found north of the Humber, but this receded in the later 20th century … it is now used mostly by speakers who are older and/or working-class and/or male, and most speakers would use a diphthongal pronunciation [ɛʊ] for the majority of words in this set (Beal 2004: 124)

Finally, the pronunciation of the spelling <u> in *fun*’*fund* represents, as noted, [ʊ]. This possible pronunciation is rooted in the absence of Lengthening for Homorganic Consonant Group (LHG) of OE [ʊ]. According to Wakelin (1972: 90), northern dialects did not experience that eighth-century process and, thus, no subsequent diphthongization by GVS. As a result, the spelling <u> adopted by JMM and WBW in *fun*’*fund* may suggest the short sound [ʊ] as evidence of the absence of vocalic lengthening.

### 6.2.1.6. Discussion

This section tackled the spellings <aa>, <ar>, <ah>, <eaw>, <eau>, and <u> and their corresponding pronunciations [aː], [ɛʊ], and [ʊ] which relate to the RP diphthong [aʊ].

As noted, <aa>, <ah>, and <ar> refer to the monophthong [aː]. Although <ah> and <ar> are mostly the spellings documented by scholars, there is a clear preference for the non-standard convention <aa> to suggest [aː]. This is because <aa> is, as noted by Jones (1989: 30) more easily interpreted as [aː], since the double vowel graph relates to a long vocalic sound. This non-standard spelling could be specially aimed at readers who are not familiar with the LanD or with the TD written conventions, such as <ah> and <ar>. 

83
The spellings <eaw> and <eau> refer to the same diphthong [ɛʊ]. The use of these non-standard conventions is not apparently based on any stylistic pattern but on the writers’ choice, as exemplified in *reawnd* and *reaund* for “round” or *theaw* and *theau* for “thou”. Finally, the pronunciation [o] suggested by <u> shows the absence of any ME lengthening and it is a TD pronunciation (Downing 1980: 111).

The monophthongal sound [a:] suggested by the spellings <aa>, <ar>, and <ah> is seen in words employed by Ackworth, Mather, and Westall. This sound is seen in a vast number of words. Words containing this sound are frequently represented in Ackworth’s and Mather’s novels. In addition, these writers use the spelling <aa> suggesting [a:] in all MOUTH words. Ackworth employs up to 12 terms in total in their novels and Mather 39 terms. Banks’s and Westall’s novels also show words comprising the [a:] sound but with lower frequency than in Ackworth’s and Mather’s. In the case of Banks, she opts for the spellings <eaw> and <eau> suggesting the diphthong [ɛʊ] in words related to RP [aʊ]. In the case of Westall, this novelist tends to use the standard orthographical convention suggesting, therefore, the standard pronunciation in the lexical set of MOUTH.

The diphthongal sound [ɛʊ] represented by the spellings <eaw> and <eau> is particulary common in Brierley’s and in Banks’s works as they are the only writers in using words comprising this sound. Brierley and Banks represent these two spellings in a vast number of words which are frequently seen in all their literary texts. Our corpus records more than 50 words in the case of BB and more than 20 in the case of Banks. Although Banks also makes use of few words containing the spellings <ar> and <ah> suggesting [a:], she has a clear preference for <eaw> and <eau>. In the case of Brierley, he employs these two spellings in all words related to RP [aʊ].
On the contrary, the spelling <u> suggesting the monophthong [ʊ] is rarely found among our authors’ works, as it is only represented in fun/fun’ (found). As noted, this word is merely found in two writers, JMM and WBW in the novels RL, BD, and RNT.

Three different sounds [a:], [ɛʊ], and [ʊ] coexist for MOUTH. The first two pronunciations are novel realizations which have as their original source the diphthong [aʊ]. The short monophthong [ʊ] is an archaic sound that was probably recessive in Lan due to the near-absence of instances, as it is only seen in fun/fun’ (found).

The pronunciation [ʊ] in “found” was probably unusual in the XIX century in Lan, since similar words containing <nd> [nd] such as “ground”, “round”, “pound”, and “thousand” are represented in our corpus with <eaw>, <eau>, and <aa> suggesting [ɛʊ] and [a:] respectively. Therefore, the coexistence is more clearly visible between [ɛʊ] and [a:] as the monophthong [ʊ] is represented in one term and [a:] and [ɛʊ] in numerous words.

The reason for the coexistence of [a:] and [ɛʊ] in MOUTH could be explained from a sociolinguistic perspective. This perspective bases [ɛʊ] on a careful pronunciation and [a:] on a careless form. Wells (1982a: 211) points out that whereas diphthongs are perceived as more anglophile and as a mark of cultivated speech, monophthongs, resulting from diphthongs, belong to the lower-prestige variation. Wells’s statement could relate to the idea that [a:] is the careless form and [ɛʊ] the more prestigious pronunciation.

The diphthong [ɛʊ] would be more associated with Lan than [a:]. As previously noted, Jones (1989: 30) relates the monophthong [a:] to the TDs of northern England and the Midlands during the nineteenth century and past centuries. On the other hand, the diphthong [ɛʊ] in words such as abeaut, meauth or reawnd is attested by Wright primarily in Lan and it is represented by the Lan authors BB and IB. Therefore, the monophthong
[a:] was extended in the northern area, but [ɛʊ] would be more restricted to the county of Lan.

6.2.2. - RP [ai]

This section focuses on the spellings <ee>, <ey>, <ei>, and <oi> that relate to the RP diphthong [ai]. These digraphs are found in the standard orthography but they are used by our novelists to represent a LanD sound.

Words comprising the RP diphthong [ai] show different realizations grouped, according to Wells (1982a: 357), into the lexical set of PRICE.

This analysis is divided into two different subsections based on the spelling. The first subsection deals with PRICE words containing the digraph <ght> in the standard spelling, and the second comprises PRICE words whose spelling does not present such consonantal sequence.

6.2.2.1. - Literary dialect spellings with Standard English <ght>

The present analysis includes the spellings <ee>, <ey>, <ei>, and <oi> that relate to the standard orthography <ght> and to the RP diphthong [ai]. However, these spellings are not equally adopted by all the writers, as noted in the following sections.

The graphemes <ee>, <ey>, <ei>, and <oi> are present in words such as neet (night), feyght (fight), reight (right), and toight (tight). The words gathered in this section can contain the absence or the presence of the graphical sequence <gh> in the spelling. However, this subset is principally focused on the sounds suggested by the aforementioned digraphs, regardless of whether the absence of the graphical sequence <gh> in the spelling involves phonological implications or not.
6.2.2.1.1.- Literary dialect spelling <ee>

This subset focuses on the spelling <ee> which is adopted by the five novelists and it is present in several words, such as freetened (frightened), leet (light), neet (night), reet (right), seet (sight), and in the related words breeteness (brightness), day-leet/dayleet (daylight), inseet (insight), leetenin’ (lightening), good-neet (goodnight), to-neet (tonight), moonleet (moonlight), sunleet (sunlight), reetly (rightly), deawnreert (downright) (Annex 5). The following examples illustrate the use of some of these words in our corpus:

1. “Aw thowt theaw'd ha bin here afore dayleet” (I thought you would have been here before daylight) (TL, 91)
2. “Just sarves em roight! Aw'm deawnreert glad on it” (Just serves them right! I’m downright glad on it) (CBC, 69)
3. “Everybody were freetened on him when he were alive; but they’re a deaal more freetened on him naa he’s deead, yo’ bet” (Everybody was frightened of him when he was alive; but they are a deal more frightened of him now he’s dead, you bet) (RL, 14)
4. “Well, that’s different, tha knows. Hoo's leet, and tha'rt dark” (Well, that’s different, you know. She’s light, and you’re dark) (MH, 209)
5. “Bud Aw fancy he didna coom back last neet” (But I fancy he didn’t come back last night) (BL, 130)
6. “Theau gan me a hint i’ thy letter that it would be o reet” (You gave me a hint in your letter that it would be all right) (TB, 12)
7. “Naa, Pe, ger aat wi' thi; Aw loike thee a foine seet bet-ter” (Now, Pe, get out with you; I like you a fine sight better) (SC, 234)
In relation to the consonantal sequence <ght>, the authors studied use just <t>. According to Sánchez (2003: 306), <eet> is one of the typical spellings of northern dialects along with <eeght>, but this is a question of style that does not affect the pronunciation.

According to Wells (1982a: 209), PRICE words contained [i (ː)] in traditional northern dialects and in Scotland whether they were followed by a voiceless velar fricative i.e [χ] <gh> or not. Sánchez (2003: 305-306) and Beal (2004: 125) already identified the spelling <ee> for this sound in dialect literature.

EDG records the monophthong [i:] in “bright”, “light”, “night”, “right”, and “sight”. In “bright”, [i:] is attested in south-eastern Lan, in “sight” and “night” in several areas such as northern, south-eastern or south-western Lan. Finally, in “light”, Wright includes this monophthong in particularly southern Lan.

6.2.2.1.2.- Literary dialect spelling(s) <ey>/<ei>

This subset is devoted to the spellings <ey> and <ei> which are again employed by all the writers studied and are represented in terms such as feight/feyt (fight), feightin’/feyting (fighting), reight/reyt (right) and reytly (rightly) (Annex 6). These dialect forms are sampled in the following instances:

1. “so we geet up an' agreed to feight it aat i' th' Far Holme meadow that neet, an' we did” (so we got up and agreed to fight it out in the Far Holme meadow that night, and we did) (LI, 317)

2. “an’ he says hoo stood her graand i’ fine feightin’ fashion” (and he says she stood her ground in fine fighting fashion) (RL, 198)

3. “I wish thou would, thou neet-hunting devil; I want some sore bones. I’ll feyt thee ony time, ony wheer, and ony end up” (I wish you would, you night-hunting devil;
I want some sore bones. I’ll fight you any time, anywhere, and any end up) (BD, 265)

4. “They called him by th’ right name” (They called him by the right name) (The Sign of the Wooden Shoon (SWS), 110)

5. “If yo’ mean aw could turn Queen’s evidence yo’re right, for there’s blood on those plates” (If you mean I could turn Queen’s evidence you’re right, because there’s blood on those plates) (RL, 13)

6. “He did not reaftly know” (He did not rightly know) (RNT, 26)

The use of the spellings <ey> and <ei>, adopted arbitrarily by the writers, is again a matter of style which does not affect pronunciation. Gimson (1980: 128) and Sánchez (2003: 308) argue that these two digraphs suggest the diphthong [ɛɪ] and Petyt (in Beal 2004: 125) records this pronunciation in words related to RP [aɪ].

Moreover, EDG attests the diphthong [ɛɪ] in “fight” and “right” in Lan. In the first word, the diphthong is recorded in south-eastern Lan and in the second word, [ɛɪ] is heard in several areas of Lan, such as the north, mid-south or the south of the county.

6.2.2.1.3.- Literary dialect spelling <oi>

The deviant spelling <oi> is only adopted by IB in seven words, but we analyze: hoigher (higher), moight (might), noight (night), soight (sight), and toight (tight) (Annex 7). The following examples illustrate the use of these forms in Banks’s novels:

1. “Only a little bit hoigher an' straighter i' the shoulders” (Only a little bit higher and straighter in the shoulders) (CBC, 101)

2. “Much abeawt ar Nellie's hoight” (Much about our Nellie’s hight) (CBC, 101)

3. “Yo' hed seen th' papper th' varry noight as Miss Booth cam here!” (You had seen the paper the very night that Miss Booth came here) (CBC, 163)

EDG records the diphthong [ɔɪ] in just “might” and “tight” in south-eastern Lan. However, Wright does not include that sound for the terms “higher”, “night”, and “sight” in any area of the county of Lan. Although these three terms are not recorded with [ɔɪ] by Wright, our corpus attests this sound in Lan as the spelling <oi> suggests so.

6.2.2.1.4. Historical origins

All words contained in this section comprised, according to Hoad (1986), the monophthong [ɪ] and the voiceless fricative [ç] in ME. Dobson (1968b: 667) points out that during the late ME period, [ɪç] became [iː], since [ç] became voiced [j] and the sequence [i:j] was assimilated to [iː]. Finally, the monophthong [iː] resulted in the diphthong [aɪ] due to the GVS sound change.

The long monophthong [iː] in the LanD is the result of the absence of [ç] vocalization. According to Beal (2004: 125), words containing the voiceless fricative [ç] remained unvocalized in northern dialects. As a result, [i] remained unshifted, and these words in northern dialects later lost the consonant, the previous vowel became [iː] as a result of compensatory lengthening (2004: 125).

According to Wells (1982a: 149-150; 208), the diphthongs [ɛɪ] and [ɔɪ] are variations of the RP pronunciation [aɪ]. Regarding [ɔɪ], Wells (1982a: 208) adds that in certain dialects, the starting point of the RP diphthong moved further due to the Diphthong Shift sound change, which took place in around the beginning of the twentieth century.
6.2.2.1.5.- Discussion

This section tackled the spellings <ee>, <ey>/<ei> and <oi> suggesting the pronunciations [i:], [ɛi], and [ɔɪ] respectively which relate to the RP diphthong [aɪ]. However, the use of these non-standard spellings is not equally employed by the five novelists. The digraphs <ee>, <ey>/<ei> are adopted by all the writers studied and <oi> only by JA and IB.

Although <ee> and <ey>/<ei> are used, as noted, by all the novelists, the first spelling is represented in a greater number of words and <ey>/<ei> in only feight/feyt and reight/reyt and words related to them. The grapheme <ee> suggesting [i:] is especially frequent in JA as he is the writer who mostly uses words containing this pronunciation. Although the use of words comprising this sound principally depends on the context, all novelists represent this type of terms in the majority of their works. The spelling <ey>/<ei> suggesting the diphthongal sound [ɛi] is more common in Ackworth’s, Mather’s and Westall’s works as we can see in charts 1, 4, and 5. In Brierley’s and, especially, in Banks’s texts, this sound is very rare, as we can only see one term comprising this sound.

Therefore, our corpus shows a higher prevalence of <ee> than <ey>/<ei> for PRICE words. <oi>, on the other hand, seems uncommon among our novelists, since, as noted, IB only makes use of this spelling.

This section revealed three different pronunciations: [i:], [ɛi], and [ɔɪ] for words which relate to RP [aɪ]. In cases such as “night” or “right”, the sounds [i:/] [ɔɪ] and [i:/] [ɛi] coincide respectively. This coexistence of pronunciations is based on the existence of the TD form [i:] and the RP variants [ɛi] and [ɔɪ], which are related to those phonological forms that slightly differ from RP but share the same linguistic origin, either in OE or in ME.
The existence of TD forms and RP variants is, as noted by Wells (1982a: 7), as relexification. As explained in chapter 1, this term consists of the replacement of archaic sounds by modern ones. In relation to this process, this scholar also records [i:] and the diphthong [ɛɪ] for the lexical set of PRICE (1982a: 7), but he does not include the pronunciation [ɔɪ].

This relexification is illustrated in our corpus in the case where we found the monophthong [i:] and the standard-based forms [ɛɪ] and [ɔɪ]. This is, during the XIX century, the old sound [i:] was replaced by the newer diphthongs. However, the diphthong [ɔɪ] is considered a vulgar pronunciation typically assigned to the speech of working-class and rural speakers that is also a strong stereotype of areas such as the wMid (Blake (in Sánchez 2003: 316); and Braber and Flynn 2015: 383)

In this regard, the diphthong [ɛɪ] would conciliate between the standard [aɪ] and the monophthong [i:] as a means of self-identity and [ɔɪ] was the linguistic tool to stereotype the characters’ dialogues. In addition, the diphthong [ɔɪ] was probably unusual for PRICE as only two novelists, specially IB, adopt the spelling <oi> suggesting this sound.

As the linguistic pressure of StE on the LanD triggered the entrance of standard-based forms substituting old realizations, the novel forms [ɛɪ] and [ɔɪ], specially the first diphthong, should prevail in our corpus. However, instances comprising the monophthong [i:] outnumber those containing [ɛɪ] and [ɔɪ], as our corpus records more than twenty words containing <ee> and four and seven different terms with the spellings <ey> and <oi> respectively.

The preference for the old sound [i:] in our corpus could be based on two reasons. The first reason builds on the usual character the monophthong still had in the nineteenth
century in Lan. The second would relate to the interest in representing old forms as a means of depicting the TD of the county of Lan.

6.2.2.2.- Literary dialect spellings in words not followed by <ght> in StE spelling

This section includes the spellings <ee> and <oi> in words such as *dee* (die) and *loike* (like). These terms relate to the RP diphthong [ai] and do not contain the graphical sequence <ght> in StE. The use of <ee> and <oi> is not equally employed. The spelling <ee> is adopted by the five novelists in only a few words and <oi> is represented by four authors in several terms.

6.2.2.2.1.- Literary dialect spelling <ee>

The spelling <ee>, adopted by the five novelists, is represented in words such as *beheend* (behind), *dee* (die), *deed* (died), *deeing* (dying), *ee* (eye), *obleeged* (obligued), and *tees* (ties). In these words, the spelling <ee> could suggest, as previously mentioned, the long monophthong [i:] (Annex 8). These terms are illustrated in the following examples:

1. “We yerd a crash o’ pots an’ glasses beheend us” (We heard a crash and glasses behind us) (GC, 18)
2. “Well, gronmother, wee’n all to dee, and I durnd know as it matters where we dee as long as we’re ready” (Well, grandmother, we all have to die, and I don’t know that if it matters where we die as long as we’re ready) (LI, 63)
3. “Her een were as breet as th’ stars” (Her eyes were as bright as the stars) (RL, 4)
4. “Oh no, Clegg, they’re a’ reet; we’re obleeged to put in moore fur fear” (Oh, no, Clegg, the’re all right; we’re obligued to put in more fear) (*The Manchester Man* (MM), 308)
5. “Gate or steele-hoile, it’s narro’; and that’s enugh for me, an’ it were noan us ut made it narro’; it wur th’ Almeety Hissel” (Gate or stile-hole, it’s narrow; and that’s
enough for me, and it was none of us that made it narrow; it was the Almighty Himself) (LI, 150)

As previously mentioned in section 6.2.2.1.1, Wells (1982a: 209) records the monophthong [i:] for all PRICE words, those comprising either the presence or the absence of the graphical sequence <ght> in the standard spelling. Accordingly, he records in his study the pronunciations [di:] for “die” and [ri:t] for “right” (209). Dobson (1968:665) and Sánchez (2003: 303) attest [i:] in obleege (oblige) and Sánchez (2003: 303) exemplifies this same monophthong in dee (die) and its related forms, and tee (tie), which are recorded in our corpus.

EDG records “die”, “eye”, “oblige”, and “tie” with the long sound [i:], but he does not include the term “behind”. The south and the south west of Lan are the most shared areas where [i:] is recorded in these five words. The terms “oblige” and “tie” are recorded in EDG in areas of northern and the middle part of the county of Lan.

6.2.2.2.- Literary dialect spelling <oi>

The non-standard spelling <oi> is used in a vast number of words such as in choilt (child), droive (drive)/droiver (driver)/droivin (driving), foire (fire), koind (kind), loike (like), moind (mind), moine (mine), soide (side)/besoide (beside), woild (wild), why (why)19 (Annex 9). The subsequent instances represent the use of these dialect terms in our corpus:

1. “An’ tell th’ droiver to droive me to th’ Isle o’ Man packet, an’ aw should ha’ no bother abeaut it” (And tell the driver to drive me to the Isle of Man packet, and I should have not bother about it) (AY, 7)

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19 As our corpus records a large number of words, more than 30, this subsection only includes some of them.
2. “It wor noan shapped for th’ loike o' me” (It was not shaped for my liking) (SWS, 286)

3. “Jabez, lad, aw'm preawd on yo' thi day. But moind—thah's an honourable nêame”  
   (Jabez, boy, I’m proud of you this day. But mind—you’ve an honourable name)  
   (MH, 249)

4. “Whoy wi thi” (Why with you) (SC, 347)

This spelling seems to be common among our novelists as all of them, except for WBW, adopt <oi>. This spelling is especially common in Banks’s novels as she represents with <oi> all words which relate to the standard diphthong [ai] and do not contain the graphical sequence <ght> in the standard.

As previously noted in section 6.2.2.2.1, the spelling <oi> suggests the diphthong [ɔi]. Wright’s EDG (1898-1905) records all the words included herein with the diphthong [ɔi] in certain areas of Lan especially in the middle and the south part of the county.

6.2.2.2.3.- Historical origins.

The former source of the standard diphthong [ai] in all the words recorded in this section is ME [i:] after experiencing the GVS sound change. In the cases of “behind”, “mind”, “child”, “kind”, and “wild”, ME [i:] can be the result of LHG. These five words, which comprised OE [i], lengthened into [i:] as they were followed by the consonant clusters [ld] and [nd].

The long monophthong [i:] present in obleeged (obligued), dee (die), ee (eye), tees (ties), and beheend (behind) is the result of different phonological processes in each word.

In the case of obleege (oblige), Dobson (1968: 665) records this term with the long monophthong [i:]. According to this scholar, the pronunciation [i:] in this word is grounded on the influence of Modern French in the eighteenth century (1968: 665).
The words *dee* (die), *ee* (eye), and *tee* (tie) contain this long monophthong [iː] as recorded in *Linguistic Atlas of English* (LAE) (in Sánchez 2003: 303). Sánchez states that LAE attests two distinct sounds [eː] and [iː] which are related to the north and the south respectively. According to this scholar (2003: 303), the pronunciation [iː] in these three words accounts for the northern form [eː] which later developed into [iː].

The last word *beheend* (behind) should contain the short monophthong [i], since northern dialects and, in this case, the LanD did not experience LHG. The long sound [iː] in this word shows that vowel length perhaps took place at any stage in *beheend*.

The dialect pronunciation [ɔɪ], as previously noted, is the result of what Wells (1982a: 208) refers to Diphthong Shift. As a result, words containing this diphthong in the LanD followed the same phonological processes of StE but with a vocalic rounding of the first element of the diphthong [aɪ].

**6.2.2.4.- Discussion**

This subsection focused on the non-standard spellings <ee> and <oi> in words which relate to the RP diphthong [aɪ] and do not contain the graphical sequence <ght> in the standard. As previously mentioned, the spellings <ee> and <oi> suggest the monophthong [iː] and the diphthong [ɔɪ] respectively.

The spelling <ee> is used by all the five writers studied. Our corpus only records *beheend* (behind), *dee* (die), *deed* (died), *deeing* (dying), *ee* (eye), *obleeged* (obligued), and *tees* (ties), and *deed* and *deeing*, but they are related to *dee*. These instances are not equally represented by the five novelists. The words *dee*, *deed*, and *deeing* are the most shared forms within our corpus as they are adopted by JA, JMM, and WBW in many of their works: BL, MH, TP, SC, LI, RL) RNT, OF, and BD. On the other hand, the rest of the terms are less common, since each form is adopted by one writer in one or two works.
maximum. *Beheend* is used by BB in GC and AY, *ee* and *tees* by JMM in RL and RL and SWS respectively.

The spelling <oi> is, as noted, adopted by all the novelists except for WBW in a much higher frequency than <ee> as it is represented in a vast number of words. The spelling <oi> is especially common in Banks’s novels as this writer employs this digraph in all PRICE words with <ght> absence in the standard spelling. This spelling and the pronunciation suggested [ɔɪ] is less frequently seen in Ackworth’s, Brierley’s, and Mather’s works.

The frequency of use of the spellings <ee> and <oi> can suggest how typical or usual the pronunciations conveyed, [iː] and [ɔɪ], were in the nineteenth-century Lan. The monophthong [iː] as it is merely recorded in five words and two related forms would suggest that it was unusual or regressive for these words at the time the literary works studied were written. In this regard, Sánchez (2003: 303) points out that the pronunciation [iː] was a TD form that was gradually losing relevance among dialect speakers.

On the other hand, the diphthong [ɔɪ] as it is present in a large number of words, over thirty, would suggest the usual character of this form in the LanD. However, as previously noted, this diphthong is considered a vulgar realization and related to working-class and rural speakers.

Therefore, the pronunciations [iː] and [ɔɪ] in PRICE words with the absence of the sequence <ght> in the standard spelling are explained on the grounds of regression and characterization purposes respectively. This means, the monophthong [iː] would be a recessive form which was probably vanishing in the nineteenth century, as exemplified in the few instances recorded. Finally, the diphthong [ɔɪ] could not be considered as the
most representative pronunciation or the most probable pronunciation among Lan
speakers, since it is a stereotyped linguistic marker of rural speech.

6.2.3.- RP [əʊ]

6.2.3.1.- Literary dialect spellings of Standard English [əʊ]

This section focuses on the non-standard spellings <ooa>, <oo>, <o+ C + C>, <ow>, and
<oi> which relate to the StE orthography <o + C + e>, <oa>, <oe>, <ou> or <ow> and
the RP diphthong [əʊ].

Words which in StE contain the diphthong [əʊ] but the dialects yield different realizations
are grouped, according to Wells (1982a: 259), into the lexical set of GOAT.

6.2.3.2.- Literary dialect spellings <ooa> and <oo>

This section analyses <ooa> and <oo>. The spelling <ooa> is used by JA, BB, IB, and
JMM in words such as alooan (alone), booan (bone), booath (both), clooas (clothes),
clooathes (clothes) looad (load), ooath (oath), rooad (road), and stoovan (stone) and <oo>
by one author in goo/gooin (go/going), and thoose (those) (Annex 10). Some of these
forms are exemplified in the following instances:

1. “Naa, then, thee let me alooan” (Now, then, let me alone) (SC, 192)
2. “Nat’s preichin’s fur owd women o’ booath sects—an’ childer; he mak’s ’em skrike,
an’ when th’ tears rowls off ther noose-ends they feel religious” (Nat’s preaching
is for old women of both sects-and children; he makes them shrike and when the
tears roll off their nose-ends they feel religious) (MH, 34)
3. “I con do no good if I goo eaut” (I can do no good if I go out) (TB, 13)
4. “Jabe, wot wur it as yo’ put upo’ my fayther’s stoovan?” (Jabe, what was it as you
put upon my father’s stoan?) (MH, 234)
5. “Sum road aat ull be fun fur Jacky after this, tha'll see” (Some road out will be fun for Jacky after this, you'll see) (SC, 130)

6. “Even choose ut hadno' behaved to her as they should ha' done” (Even those that hadn’t behaved to her as they should have done) (AY, 5)

Although our corpus presents various words containing <ooa>, writers only make use of less than five terms in their works. On the other hand, <oo> is much less recurrent as it is only adopted by BB in a few words.


Wright (1898-1905) attests the words “alone”, “clothes”, “load”, “road”, and “stone” with the diphthong [ʊә] in northern, southern, and middle areas of Lan. The rest of the terms, “bone” and “both”, are recorded with the same diphthong in only the middle and southern areas of the county.

The spelling <oo> is barely recorded in our corpus. This deviant digraph is only employed by BB and WBW in words such as gool/gooin (go/going) and choose (those).
The spelling <oo> is recorded by Sánchez (2003: 398) and Clark (2004: 150) and in words which relate to RP [ɔə]. These two scholars consider the long monophthong [u:] as the pronunciation suggested by <oo>.

6.2.3.3.- Literary dialect spellings <o+Consonant+Consonant>

The non-standard orthographical convention <o+ C + C>, which relates to the StE orthography <o+ C + V>, is present in words such as brokken (broken), appen (open), and the forms oppened / oppens / oppenin and spokken (spoken) (Annex 11). The following samples illustrate these dialect forms:

1. “Tha's brokken thi muther's hert” (you’ve broken your mother’s heart) (SC, 321)
2. “Isn't it toime thaa oppened thi maath?” (Isn’t it time you opened your mouth?) (BL, 101)
3. “Hoo's noather nice-favort nor nice-spokken” (She’s neither nice-favoured nor nice-spoken)

Sánchez (2003: 369) records <o + C + C> in words related to RP [ɔə] and exemplifies this non-standard spelling in oppen and brokken. This scholar associates <o+ C+C> with principally the short monophthong [ɒ] (2003: 369). She adds that this deviant spelling is a traditional orthographical convention which gained consistency in the English orthography in the fifteenth century (2003: 369). Jones (1989: 30) also notes that <o+C+C> was already present in the twelve-century novel Ormulum. In this novel, the author points out that shortening is represented by doubling the consonant before the vowel.

Moreover, Wright (1898-1905) records the velar vowel [ʊ] for oppen, brokken and spokken in several areas of Lan: northern, south-eastern, south-western, southern, and middle areas.
6.2.3.4.- Literary Dialect Spelling <ow>

This section tackles the spelling <ow> which is present in several terms, but we focus on bowd (bold), cowd (cold), cowt (colt), gowd (gold), howd (hold), owd (old), and towd (told). These words also share the absence of the consonant <l> in the spelling (Annex 12). The following samples illustrate the use of these words in our corpus:

1. “If I might make so bowd” (If I might make so bold) (BD, 365)
2. “Th' Bible says, Mr. Penrose, that i' heaven there's a street paved wi' gowd” (The Bible says, Mr. Penrose, that in heaven there’s a street paved with gold) (LI, 31)
3. “Howd thi tung, and talk abaat summat else nor angels” (Hold your tongue, and talk about something else than angels) (SWS, 59)
4. “A’d rayther tell th' owd chap than him” (I’d rather tell the old boy than him) (CBC, 156)
5. “He said you towd him to come at four o’clock” (He said you told him to come at four o’clock) (OF, 105)

Sánchez (2003: 380) attests the deviant spelling <ow> and the absence of <l> in words related to the StE orthography <ol+C> and the RP [əʊ]. She also considers that the appearance of <l> in the orthography is related to its phonological realization.

Sánchez (2003: 379) records [əʊ] as one of the possible realizations of <ow>. Wright (1898-1905) records [əʊ] for all the terms our corpus shows except for “cold”. In “old” and “told”, the diphthong is attested in southern, south-eastern and middle Lan. In “bold” and “colt”, it is seen in southern Lan, in “hold”, with [h] dropping, and in “gold” in south-eastern Lan. On the other hand, “cold” is recorded with both [əʊ] and [ɔʊ] in northern and southern Lan.
6.2.3.5.- Literary dialect spelling <oi>

The deviant spelling <oi> is present in the words *hoile/hoyle* (hole), *coile* (coal), and the compound words *pig-hoile, fire-hoile, and coile-pit* (Annex 13). The following samples illustrate the use of these words in our corpus:

1. “Th’ ends kept breaking that fast as I fair thought it wor snowing i’ th’ hoile” (The ends kept breaking that fast as I fair thought it was snowing in the hole) (OF, 20)
2. “if thaa talks to me like that, Harry, aw’ll pitch thee daan i’ th’ fire-hoile” (If you talk to me like that, Harry, I’ll pick you down in the fire-hole) (RL, 49)

Sánchez (2003: 411) records the spelling <oi> for words related to RP [ɔu] and exemplifies it in the term *hoil*. She attributes <oi> with the pronunciation [ɔi], but considers that this grapheme is not common within the tradition of dialect representation (2003: 411)

Wright (1898-1905) records the diphthong [ɔi] for “hole” but with [h] dropping in northern, southern, south-eastern, and Lan. Regarding “coal”, Wright reflects the same diphthong in middle, middle-southern, and southern Lan.

6.2.3.6.- Historical origins

Due to the number of pronunciations recorded, this section is divided into separate groups to study each variant individually. According to Wells (1982b: 146), all GOAT words derive from ME [ɔ:].

- [ɔə] / [u:] set of words (digraphs <ooa> and <oo> respectively)

Words such as *booan, rooad, and thoose* comprising the sounds [ɔə] and [u:] are recorded by Hoad (1986) with the monophthong [a:] in OE.
OE [a:] developed into [ɔ:] in ME in about 1100 in the prestige dialect (Lass 1976: 134). The resultant [ɔ:] was subsequently raised into [o:] due to the GVS sound change and, finally, into the diphthongs [ɔʊ] and [əʊ].

Ruano-García et al (2015: 149) state that OE [a:] remained unrounded in northern England, including Lan. As a result, the pronunciations they record for words related to RP [əʊ] are reflexes of that old monophthong, such as [iə] and [iə]. However, our corpus evidences the pronunciations [ʊə] and [u:] that derive from ME [ɔ:] as the spellings <ooa> and <oo> suggest so.

In this regard, Lass (1976: 89) affirms that in Lan, OE [a:] in words such as “bone” or “stone” rounded into [ɔ:]. Hickey (2015: 11) also points out that [ʊə] is a traditional sound for words that relate to RP [əʊ] and Wakelin (1977: 89) considers this diphthong as a reflex of ME [ɔ:].

Wakelin (1977: 89) points out that reflexes of ME [ɔ:] show that the outcome of GVS [o:] raised to a position normally held by the [o:]-type reflexes, precisely [u:], and that they may be characterized by an off-glide (89). Wakelin’s theory would explain the dialect monophthong [u:] as the direct outcome of [o:] and the diphthong [ʊə] as the result of an off-glide.

• [ʊ] set of words (digraph <o + C + C>)

Hoad (1986) records OE [ʊ] in “open” and Sánchez (2003: 369) evidences the same OE monophthong in “broken” and “spoken”. Sánchez (2003: 369) also adds that this short sound lengthened in the PV. This vowel length was triggered, according to Algeo (2010: 12), by Open Syllable Lengthening (OSL). Subsequently, ME [ɔ:] was later raised into [o:] by GVS and later into the diphthongs [ʊə] and [əʊ]. On the contrary, the
monophthong [ɒ] in the LanD is explained on the absence of OSL in words comprising the suffix -en (Wright 1898-1905: 23)

- [aʊ] set of words (digraph <ow>)
According to Hoad (1986), “bold”, “cold”, “hold”, “old”, and “told”, comprised the sequence [ald] in OE. Due to the homorganic consonant cluster, the short vowel lengthened and subsequently rounded into [ɔː]. As previously noted, ME [ɔː] developed into [oː] and finally into [ʊ] and [ɔ].


- [ɔɪ] set of words (digraph <oi>)
The words “coal” and “hole” are recorded by Hoad (1986) with the OE monophthong [ɒ]. The present-day English diphthong [ʊ] is rooted in the lengthening process OSL. The resulting long vowel [ɔː] followed the linguistic developments described thus far.

The reasons for the diphthong [ɔɪ] in words related to the RP diphthong [əʊ] are uncertain. Wells’s explanation (1982a: 208) on [ɔɪ] cannot be applied here as he considers this dialect diphthong as the outcome of the RP diphthong [aɪ].

6.2.3.6.- Discussion
This section focused on the deviant spellings <ooa>, <oo>, <o + C + C>, <ow>, and <oi> and their corresponding sounds [ʊə], [uː], [ʊ], [aʊ], and [ɔɪ] that relate to the RP diphthong [əʊ]. As noted, the spelling <ow> relates to the standard written convention <ol> and involves the absence of the liquid consonant [l] in words such as owd (old) or howd (hold).
This section yielded the coexistence of five distinct pronunciations [ʊə], [uː], [ɒ], [aʊ], and [ɔɪ] for GOAT.

However, the frequency of these sounds for GOAT is not equally represented in our corpus. The pronunciation [ʊə] is recorded in several words. All writers except WBW adopt the spelling <ooa> suggesting this diphthong. However, the rest of the writers only adopt less than five terms each comprising [ʊə]. On the other hand, the monophthong [uː] is only fewer words, which are used by BB. Although [ʊə] and [uː] share the same linguistic origin, the diphthong was probably more frequent than [uː] in the LanD.

The scant data of [ʊə] and [uː] suggest the recessive character of these pronunciations in the nineteenth-century Lan. The writers studied adopted the spellings <ooa> and <oo> to suggest that [ʊə] and [uː], especially the diphthong, were usual pronunciations in GOAT.

The monophthong [ɒ] is barely recorded and it is represented in words such as brokken, oppen, and spokken, and the forms oppens and opened in our corpus. However, the use of this spelling for the lexical term of GOAT suggesting this short sound is adopted by the five novelists. The writers do not use these words in all their texts but they only represent one or two words at most in one or two literary works in total. The only possible exception would be JA as he employs four words in total but reprented in two of his works: BL and MH.

The fact that [ɒ] is an old sound and that it is simply represented in three words would suggest the unusual and regressive character of this monophthong in the nineteenth-century Lan.

The diphthong [aʊ] and the absence of the consonant [l] in words such as owd (old) and towd (told) is represented in twelve words in total. All writers were familiar with [aʊ], as all of them adopt spellings suggesting this sound, and with the process of [l] vocalization.
In addition, all the five writers except IB adopt this type of words in all their works selected for this study. This suggests that the five writers associate this sound with the LanD. As $l$-vocalization is an enregistered northern feature which probably takes places in all non-standard northern varieties, this trait would be used for characterization purposes.

The diphthong [ɔɪ] is represented in simplycoil and hoiland three compound words. These two words are only adopted by the novelists JA and JMM. JA only represents them in one novel but JMM in all their works. Our corpus provides scant evidence of the use of this sound for the lexical set of GOAT, as only two novelists are familiar with this sound and that it is only represented in two words.

As noted in 6.2.2, this diphthong is considered a vulgar realization. The fact that this diphthong is historically unexplained for these words and that it is socially stigmatized would suggest that [ɔɪ] would be a stereotype realization to mark the low status of the characters portrayed. This means, this diphthong was not the typical or most probable pronunciation Lan speakers used to pronounce in the nineteenth century.

Therefore, the coexistence of [ʊə], [u:], [ɔ], [aʊ], and [ɔɪ] would be based on two distinct aspects. The first aspect relates to the historical outcomes [ʊə], [u:], and [ɔ]. They were probably used for marking the usual pronunciations words such as “bone”, “open”, or “those” used to have in the LanD but were in regression in the nineteenth century. The second aspect deals with characterization purposes. The diphthongs [aʊ] and [ɔɪ] in words such as “hold” and “hole” respectively are stereotypical pronunciations to mark the characters’ speech.
6.2.4.- RP [ɛɪ]

6.2.4.1.- Literary dialect spellings of Standard English [ɛɪ]

This section focuses on the spellings <a+C+C>, <a+C+'>/<a+C+Ø>, <aa>, <ea> and <eä> which relate to the contemporary StE spellings <a+C+e> and <a+C+y> and the RP diphthong [ɛɪ]. Except for <a+C+'>, <aa>, and <ea>, the rest of the graphemes are present in the StE orthography.

Words comprising the diphthong [ɛɪ] in StE, but different pronunciations in the dialects are grouped, according to Wells (1982a: 141), into the lexical set of FACE.

The frequency of <a+C+C>, <a+C+'> and <a+C+Ø> are used by all the writers. The non-standard conventions <ea> <eä> are represented in several words but by only IB. Finally, <aa> is uniquely represented in taak for “take” and it is adopted by WBW.

6.2.4.2.- Literary dialect spelling <a+Consonant+Consonant>

This subset focuses on the non-standard spelling <a+C+C> which is represented in several words, but we focus on babby (baby), favvers (favours), laddy (lady), makken (make(n)), newspapper (newspaper), papper (paper), takken (take(n)), and wakken (wake(n)) (Annex 14). These words are sampled in the following instances:

1. “Laddy, thy mother and I were girls together; she was the proudest girl in Bramwell and the prettiest” (Lady, your mother and I were girls together; she was the proudest girl in Bramwell and the prettiest) (TM, 139)

2. “They makken neyse enuff, at ony rate” (They make noise enough, at any rate) (BL, 249)

3. “An’ yo’ said'n as heaw yo' hed seen th' papper th' varry noight as Miss Booth cam here!” (And you said that how you had seen the paper the very night that Miss Booth came here!) (CBC, 163)
4. “I’ve said before that I’m a great dreeamer, an’ ut my dreeams takken very unlikely shapes” (I’ve said before that I’m a great dreeamer, and that my dreams take very unlikely shapes) (GC, 3)

5. “Wakken up, Seawndher!” (Wake up, Seawndher!) (TL, 53)


Authors presumably adopted <a+C+C> as an intelligible pattern to suggest readers that the previous vowel was short. Jones (1989: 30) and Sánchez (2003: 30) point out that the double consonant involves vowel shortening. These scholars also agree that this written pattern holds a long tradition in the English orthography.

Sánchez (2003: 341) relates <a+C+C> to the short sounds [æ] and [a]. In addition, Wright (1898-1905) records the short monophthong [a] in “make”, “take”, and “wake” in several areas of Lan. However, EDG does not show any sound for “baby” in Lancashire and the words “favour” and “paper” are not included in this study. Finally, “lady” is only recorded by Wright (1898-1905) with the long sounds [æ:] and [e:].

6.2.4.3.- Literary dialect spelling <a+Consonant+ Ø> or <a+Consonant+’>

This subset comprises <a+C+Ø>/ <a+C+’>. The first spelling is represented in maks (makes) and the second in lat’ (late), mak’ (make), mistak’ (mistake), shap’ (shape), and tak’ (take) (Annex 15). These two spellings are grouped together as both substitute the contemporary standard spelling <a+C+e>. These words are exemplified in our corpus as follows:
1. “But I mun be off to bed, childer, it's gettin' lat’’ (But I must be off to bed, children, it’s getting late) (LI, 67)

2. “Dunna mak’ anuther mistak', lad. Be sewer tha luvs Emma afoor tha weds her” (Don’t make another mistake, boy. Be sure you love Emma before you wed her) (MH, 222)

3. “An’ haa to shap his maath when he talked” (And how to shape his mouth when he talked) (SWS, 36)

4. “And you’re not like them t’others; you can tak’ care of yersen” (And you’re not like the others, you can take care of yourself) (BD, 103)

Sánchez (2003: 337) records <a+C+'> and exemplifies this written convention in some words related to RP [ɛɪ], such as wak’, mak’, or tak’. Sánchez (2003: 337) points out that the absence of the final digraph <-e> and the use of it holds the same function as the double-consonant sequence to suggest vowel reduction.

In parallel to the previous subsection, Sánchez (2003: 337) considers [a] and [æ] as the possible pronunciations suggested. Specifically, Wright (1898-1905) records [a] in “make”, “take”, “mistake”, and “late” in northern, southern, and the middle area of Lan.

6.2.4.4.- Literary dialect spelling <aa>

The non-standard spelling <aa> is only present in taak (take). Taak (take) is merely found once in the novel RNT which is exemplified in “And taak care yo’ open you mouth, now” (and take care, you open your mouth, now) (315) (Annex 16).

Sánchez (2003: 357) and Clark (2004: 148) record <aa> for words related to RP [ɛɪ]. Sánchez also exemplifies taak and the participial form taakin’, these are the only words this scholar records with this spelling (2003: 357).
Sánchez (2003: 347) refers to a long sound, specifically [a:] or [ɛ:], for the spelling <aa>. She also adds the rarity of <aa> to suggest [ɛ:], as this non-standard spelling is unusual in the literary dialect representation (2003: 358). Shorrocks (1994: 227) and Petyt (in Sánchez 2003: 357) particularly consider [ɛ:] as the sound suggested by <aa> in words related to RP [ɛɪ]. Finally, Wright (1898-1905) attests the long monophthong [ɛ:] for “take” in some areas of Lan, such as the mid and the south part of this county.

Gimson (1980: 129) and Shorrocks (1994: 227) consider [ɛ:] as a traditional sound for words related to RP [ɛɪ]. Gimson (1980: 129) adds that this monophthong would date back to the seventeenth century.

6.2.4.5.- Literary Dialect Spellings <ea> and <eä>

The non-standard spellings <ea> and <eä> are only adopted by IB in the works CBC and MM. The spelling <ea> is represented in deay (day), feace (face), geame (game), meade (made), and neame (name), and <eä> in neäme (name), seäme (same), weäste (waste), (Annex 17). Our corpus shows that the first digraph is more frequent than <eä> in Banks’s novels. However, it is the standard orthography, <a+C+e>, that prevails. These words are exemplified in Banks’s novels as follows:

1. “Roight! why, aw wanted to gi’e th' lad a neame as should mak' him thankful fur bein' saved from dreeawndin' to the last deays o' his lootfe.” (Right! Why, I wanted to give the man a name that should make him thankful for being saved from drowning to the last days of his life) (MM, 48-49)
2. “An' a feace as whoite as his yead” (And a face as white as his head) (CBC, 2)
3. “The neame fits th' lad as if had bin meade fur him” (The name fits the boy as if it had been made for him) (MM, 52)a
4. “But aw allas steered moi coorse by yon big book, and tha' mun do t' sëame” (But I always steered my course by that big book, and you must do the same) (MM, 303)

5. “T'other 'prentice knows whatn weäste means if thah dunnot” (The other prentice knows what a waste means if you do not) (MM, 307)

Sánchez (2003: 341) records <ea> and <eä> and considers them as typical northern spellings for words related to RP [ɛɪ]. She also represents these spellings in words such as feeace (face), neeam (name), neäme (name) or sheäme (shame).

Although <ea> and <eä> could represent different sounds, as diaresis could involve some type of phonological phenomenon, Sánchez (2003: 341) only assigns the diphthong [ɪɑ] to both graphemes. She also considers this diphthong as a typical pronunciation in words related to RP [ɛɪ].

EDG records some pronunciations for each of these terms. “face” is recorded with [ɪɑ] in southern Lan. “name”, “same”, and “day” are also recorded with [ɪɑ] in northwestern and southeastern Lan. In the term “waste”, the diphthong [ɪɑ] is not reported for Lan. In “game”, no diphthong is attested in any county. Finally, “made” as such is not recorded in the EDG as Wright only records the infinitive form.

**6.2.4.6.- Historical Origins**

The origin of the standard diphthong [ɛɪ] in the lexical set of FACE is ME [aː] from OE [ɑ]. According to Dobson (1968: 594), ME [aː] underwent the GVS sound change by which this sound experienced the stages [æː] > [ɛː] > [ɛː] to finally become [ɛɪ].

The word “day”, containing originally the diphthong [aɪ], followed the same analogical developments of ME [aː]. According to Wells (1982a: 192), all FACE words from various origins merged in around the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries into the same sound [ɛː]
The short sound [a] in *makken, takken,* and *wakken* is the result of the absence of OSL, as they end in the *-en* suffix (Wright 1898-1905: 23). The words *babby, favvers, laddy, lat’, mak’, mistak’, newspaper, papper, shap’,* and *tak’* experienced OSL but underwent a subsequent shortening (Wright 1898-1905: 11).

The monophthong [ɛ:] in the thirteenth-century word “take” derives from one of the developments of ME [a:] (Hoad 1986). Dobson (1968: 594) points out that [ɛ:] was a seventeenth-century realization as it was common after 1650, and it is the sound WBW believed it was still in use in Lan in the XIX century.

The original source of the diphthong [ɪə] is ME [a:] (Sánchez 2003: 344). According to this scholar, this dialect diphthong is the result of an earlier diphthongization of [e:] into [ɛə] and a subsequent closing of the starting point (2003: 344). Wales (2010: 70) adds that this diphthong is the outcome of an earlier shift that gave rise “to breaking or fronting and raising in words with ME /a:/ in words like *feace* (face)” (2010: 70).

### 6.2.4.7.- Discussion

This section tackled the non-standard spellings <a+C+C>, <a+C’>/<a+C+Ø>, <aa>, <ea> and <eä> and their corresponding sounds [a], [ɛ:], and [ɪə] which relate to the RP diphthong [ɛɪ]. As noted, <a+C+C>, <a+C’>/<a+C+Ø> refer to the monophthong [a], <aa> to [ɛ:], and <ea>/<eä> to the diphthongal sound [ɪə].

The spellings <a+C+C>, <a+C’> and <a+C+Ø> are employed by all the writers, but the use of them is unequal. While <a+C+C> and <a+C+Ø> are represented in eighteen and one word respectively, the digraph <a+C’> is depicted in five terms. This suggests that <a+C+C> and <a+C’> seem to be the preferred option among our novelists to suggest the monophthong [a].
Our corpus records twenty-four words in total comprising the monophthong [a], but the writers do not use all of them in their works. Although the use of these terms primarily relies on the context of the texts, this high usage would suggest that [a] was common for the lexical set of FACE in Lan.

Regarding the non-standard digraph <aa> suggesting the long monophthong [ɛː], it is considered rare for the lexical set of FACE, as we only evidence taak (take) in our corpus. This could suggest that this pronunciation was not usual in Lan as only WBW adopts it in just RNT.

The non-standard spellings <ea> and <eä> conveying the diphthongal sound [ɪə] are simply adopted by IB in few words, eight in total, in only the novels MM and CBC. The fact that one single novelist employs these graphemes may indicate that their corresponding sounds were of unusual character or that the rest of the writers were not knowledgeable about them.

Although our corpus yields three distinct pronunciations, [a], [ɛː], and [ɪə], the words included in this section do not share the same pronunciations. The unique exception is the word “take” which comprises [a] and [ɛː].

Our corpus shows that the most recurrent pronunciation is [a]. The frequent representation of the spellings <a+C+C>, <a+C+'> and <a+C+Ø> suggesting this monophthong could indicate the common character of this sound in FACE. On the other hand, the pronunciations [ɛː] and [ɪə] would not be usual forms in the nineteenth-century Lan; especially the monophthong [ɛː] as it is almost non-existent in our corpus.
6.2.3.- RP [ɛə]

6.2.3.1.- Literary dialect spelling of RP [ɛə]

This section focuses on the spellings <ee> and <u+r> which relate to the RP diphthong [ɛə]. Readers who are unfamiliar with the LanD may not find these spellings difficult as they exist in the contemporary StE orthography.

Words which in StE are pronounced with the diphthong [ɛə] but the dialects show other pronunciations are grouped, according to Wells (1982a: 155), into the lexical set of SQUARE.

6.2.3.2.- Literary dialect spelling <ee>

This subset includes the spelling <ee> which is represented in the words theer (there) and wheere (where) and its variants sumwheer(e), somewheer(e), wheereever, nowheer, and onywheer. This spelling is also represented in the nouns aweer (aware), steers (stairs), and cheer (chair) (Annex 18). The following instances exemplify the use of these terms in our corpus:

1. “Are yo’ aweer what hoo says?” (Are you aware of what she says?) (OF, 276)
2. “There’s th’ owd cheer waiting for thee” (There’s the old chair waiting for you) (LI, 118)
3. “Aw’ve three peawnds oop steers heartily at yo’r service” (I’ve three pounds upstairs heartily at your service) (CBC, 53)
4. “As soon as he geet theer” (As soon as he got there) (RNT, 269)
5. “Wheer is he now, then?” (Where is he now, then?) (TM, 288)

The spelling <ee> is recorded by Sánchez (2003: 360) and Clark (2004: 153) for words related to RP [ɛə]. Clark also exemplifies this orthographic convention in theere and
wheere for “there” and “where” respectively (2004: 153). Painter (in Clark (2004: 153) and Sánchez (2003: 360) connect the digraph <ee> in these words with the diphthong [ɪә]. Wright (1898-1905) records the diphthong [ɪә] in all the words recorded except “aware”. According to this scholar, this diphthong is heard in theer, wheere, steers, and cheer in principally northern, central and southern Lan.

6.2.3.3.- Literary dialect spelling <u+r>

This subgroup deals with the spelling <u+r> represented in the words chur (chair) and cur (care), which are only used by one single author, JA (Annex 19). These two words are exemplified in Ackworth’s novels as follows:

1. “Why, Emma, dunna sit up o' that stiff chur; sit here an' be comfortable, woman” (Why, Emma, don’t sit up on that stiff chair; sit here and be comfortable, woman) (MH, 117)
2. “Tha’rt a poor liar, Jesse. Tak cur o' thysel” (You’re a por liar, Jesse. Take care of yourself) (MH, 13)
3. “Nay, they winna leeav' thi; bud th' boggarts 'ull be turnt inta guardian angils, an', insteead o' scarrin' thi, they'll tak' cur on thi an' comfort thi” (No, they will not leave you; but the ghosts will be turnt into guardian angels, and, instead of scaring you, they’ll take care of you and comfort you) (BL, 385-386)

Sánchez (2003: 365) records the spelling <u+r> in words related to RP [ɛә]. However, she only exemplifies this digraph in thur (there). She adds that <u+r> is known by authors but it is scarcely documented in the literary-dialect representation (2003: 365).

Sánchez (2003: 364) attributes the spelling <u+r> to the monophthong [ɔ:]. Sánchez’s assumption contrasts with other scholars such as Wells (1982b: 361), Beal (2004: 125), and Clark (2004: 153) as they suggest the monophthong [ɜ:] for words related to RP [ɛә].
Wright (1898-1905) does not record this monophthong for “chair” but he does for “care” in central Lan. However, Wells (1982b: 359) and Beal (2004: 125) record the dialect sound [ɜː] in the county of Lan, in areas such as Bolton.

6.2.3.4.- Historical origins

In this subsection we trace back the linguistic shifts the RP diphthong [ɪə] and the dialect sounds [ɪə] and [ɜː] experienced. We will not consider sumwheer(e), somewheer(e), wheereever, nowheer, onywheer, and wherever as they are all forms related to wheere.

According to Hoad (1986), “where”, “there”, and “stairs” comprised OE [æː]. The development of this monophthong was ME [ɛː] in the literary language (Dobson (1968: 615). In “chair”, Hoad (1986) evidences OE [ɑɪ] which, according to Sánchez (2003: 362), monophthongized into [ɛː]. Finally, Hoad (1986) records the OE sounds [æ] and [a] for “aware” and “care” respectively. They subsequently experienced the OSL sound change by which both short sounds became [æː] and probably later [ɛː].

Dobson (1968: 615) points out that [ɛː] should have raised into [eː] by the GVS. However, [ɛː] remained unshifted as the following [r] prevented the vocalic sound from raising. Finally, the second element of the diphthong [ɛə] was triggered by the process Pre-R Breaking (Wells (1982a: 214).

The starting point of the LanD diphthong [ɪə] shows the raising of [ɛː] into [eː] by the GVS sound change. This means, in the LanD the post-vocalic [r] did not hinder the development of [ɛː]. The second element of the diphthong, [ə], could be explained, as previously noted, on the Pre-R Breaking. On the other hand, Dobson (1968: 611) considers [ɪə] for “where” and “there” as the analogy with the adverb “here”.

Finally, the reasons for [ɜː] suggested in cur (care) and chur (chair) seem to be uncertain. Wells (1982a: 361) claims for the existence of SQUARE-NURSE merger. This means,
the lexical sets of SQUARE and NURSE merged and both are pronounced with the central vowel [ɜː]. However, this study cannot evidence this idea as our corpus only records two words comprising this sound.

6.2.3.5.-Discussion

This section tackled the spellings <ee> and <u+r> which are related to the RP diphthong [ɛə].

The terms aweere, steers, cheer, theer, wheer and words related to this last adverb are represented with the digraph <ee> to suggest a pronunciation with [ɪə]. In the case of the adverbs recorded, this diphthong is, as noted, due to the analogy with “here”.

In aweere, steers, and cheer, the diphthong [ɪə], as previously noted, shows the usual development of [ɛː]. The post-vocalic [r] hindered the raising of [ɛː] in the prestige dialect, but it did not prove any obstacle in the development of the front vowel in the LanD.

The frequency of use between <ee> and <u+r> is dissimilar. The spelling <ee> is adopted by the five writers in five different words and four related forms, but the non-adverbial terms, aweere, steers, and cheer, are used by IB, JMM, and WBW. On the other hand, <u+r> is just used by JA in two terms in the novels BL and MH.

The pronunciation [ɪə] would be a familiar sound for the five writers as they adopt the spelling <ee> that suggests this sound. Our corpus only records ten words in total, but they are frequently represented in our literary-dialect works as all of them contain at least one word with this diphthong. Although [ɪə] would be a usual realization for the lexical set of SQUARE, this sound could be regressive as our corpus only evidences ten words in total.
The fact that the spelling <ee>, conveying [iə], is used by three writers, IB, JMM, WBW, and two of them were originally from Lan suggests that this diphthong was a familiar form in this county. However, the near-absence of terms comprising [iə] in words related to RP [ɛə] may relate to the regressive character of this sound. Authors possibly employed <ee> comprising [iə] to depict the usual realization the words recorded in our corpus used to contain.

On the other hand, the spelling <u+r>, conveying the sound [ɜːr], is only adopted by JA in merely two novels, BL and MH. He probably adopted <u> and not <ee> to suggest a sound associated with the LanD, especially with the town of Bolton, as suggested by Beal (2004: 125). This is, as Bolton is where BL takes place, JA adopted a spelling that suggested a sound typically attributed to that area.

However, the fact that the spelling <u+r> conveying [ɜːr] is only present in only chur and cur and that the historical reasons for this monophthong seem uncertain would suggest two distinct aspects. The first aspect builds on the regressive character of [ɜːr] during the nineteenth century in Lan. The second aspect deals with the possible stereotyped character of [ɜːr] as it is not grounded on any historical developments and it is commonly associated with the county of Lan.

6.3.- Discussion of section related to RP diphthongs

This chapter focused on the deviant spellings and their suggested pronunciations related to the RP diphthongs [əʊ], [aɪ], [ɔʊ], [ɛɪ], and [ɛə]. Our corpus shows that our authors mostly adopts readable orthographical conventions to convey dialectal sounds, such as <aa> and <ee> for [aː] and [iː] respectively. This is especially convenient for those unfamiliar readers with the LanD to read the literary texts effortlessly.
Our corpus records other less readable orthographical conventions such as <ah>/<ar> and <aa> to suggest the sounds [aː] and [ɛː] respectively. However, these more complicated spellings do not prevail, since they are only adopted by IB and WBW respectively.

This section showed that novelists only employ the deviant spellings in a limited number of words. This is, the spellings are not employed in all words that relate to a specific RP diphthong. The only exceptions are the deviant spellings <aa>, <eaw>/<eau>, suggesting the dialect pronunciations [aː] and [ɛʊ] respectively, as they are adopted by JA and BB in all words related RP [aʊ] and the grapheme <oi>, conveying the sound [ɔɪ], which is employed by IB in all words related to the RP diphthong [aɪ] with <ght> absence.

The monophthong [a] in words related to the RP diphthong [ɛɪ] is present in several terms and it is common in our corpus. This is because the five writers adopt three different graphemes that refer to that dialect sound.

On the other hand, dialect pronunciations such as [ʊ], [ɛɪ], [uː], or [ɛː] in SQUARE words are scarcely recorded in our corpus as they only appear in few words. The spelling <o+C+C> in words related to RP [aʊ], suggesting the monophthongal sound [ʊ], is adopted by the five writers but it is only represented in four words and two related forms in the entire corpus.

Therefore, the dialect sounds [aː], [ɛʊ], [ɔɪ] in words related to RP [aɪ] without <ght> in the spelling, and [a] were probable sounds in Lan during the nineteenth century. On the contrary, sounds such as [ʊ], [ɛɪ], [uː], or [ɛː] in SQUARE words were recessive at the time the literary works selected were written. This idea is based on the second hypotheses that states that the lower the frequency of a specific sound, the more regressive it was in the XIX century in Lan and the higher the frequency, the more usual or probable a sound was at that time.
Our corpus reveals several pronunciations in the LanD for each RP diphthong, some of them are archaic such as [ɒ] or [a] in oppen (open) and babby (baby) respectively, or new forms such as [ɛʊ] in theau (thou). In the cases of RP [aʊ] and RP [aɪ], there is a coincidence between old or archaic pronunciations and novel forms.

This section showed the presence of only three pronunciations related to characterization purposes, which are [ɔɪ], [aʊ] based on l-vocalization, and [ɜː] in SQUARE words, since they are not the outcome of diachronic sound changes.

Although the dialect sound [ɔɪ] appears in three lexical sets, MOUTH, PRICE, and GOAT, it would be a stereotyped sound in words related to RP [aɪ] and [aʊ]. This is because this dialect diphthong in MOUTH is the result of a Diphthong Shift sound change.

As noted in 6.2.2.1.5, [ɔɪ] is associated with working-class people and its historical origins are uncertain in words such as coil for “coal” in GOAT. The diphthong [aʊ], triggered by l-vocalization, is a stereotyped form as this trait is an enregistered northern feature. Finally, the sound [ɜː] in SQUARE could be a stereotyped form as it is a Lancashire-related pronunciation whose historical reasons are undetermined.

The following table classifies the findings of the different LanD pronunciations recorded into three distinct sections: old pronunciations, RP variants, and stereotyped pronunciations. The diphthong [ɪɛ] and the monophthong [aː] in taak (take) in FACE words are not included in the following table as we did not ascertain if these two sounds are old or stereotyped forms.
### Old Pronunciations | RP variants | Stereotyped pronunciations
--- | --- | ---
[ʊ] in the word *fun’* (found) | [aː] in words such as *maath* (mouth) | [ɔɪ] in words such as *coil* (coal)
[iː] in words such as *neet* (night) | [ɛʊ] in *abeaut* (about) | [æ] in words such as *owd* (old)
[ʊə] in words such as *booan* (bone) | [ɛɪ] in words such as *feyt* (fight) | [ɜː] in words such as *cur* (care)
[uː] in words such as *goo* (go) | [ɔɪ] in words such as *moind* (mind)
[ɒ] in *brokken* (broken) | [æ] in words such as *babby* (baby)
[iː] in words such as *steers* (stairs) |  |

Table 3.- Classification of old pronunciations, RP variants and stereotyped sounds
The present chapter builds on the analysis of the RP monophthongs [i:\],[\u026a:\],[u:\],[\u025b:], and [\u025c:] whose related dialect sounds suggest other pronunciations in the LanD. The present study does not include the analysis of the RP monophthong [\u026c:] as our data do not reflect any relevant or additional information.

The structure of this chapter is the same as the one applied in chapter 6 on RP diphthongs. Therefore, this section is divided into the different dialect spellings which relate to each of the RP monophthongs. A subsection on the historical origins is provided in order to know the linguistic historical reasons for each of the RP monophthongs and the LanD pronunciations.

As in the previous chapter, to undertake the present analysis, we mostly employ the studies of Wright (1898-1905), Wakelin (1977), Wells (1982a), Sánchez (2003), Beal (2004), and Clark (2004). In this analysis we again attempt to explain the presence and coexistence of the different dialectal sounds that can appear for the same RP pronunciation. As opposed to the previous chapter, there are cases, as in 7.2.3, 7.2.4, and 7.2.5, in which we only record one single pronunciation for the same lexical set. However, we attempt to ascertain if the dialectal realization was a probable or a stereotyped sound in Lan during the XIX century.
7.1.-Quantitative analysis: frequencies of spellings and words related to the RP monophthongs

As previously noted in sections 5.3.1 and 7.1, the first type of analysis conducted was a quantitative analysis. The purpose of this analysis is to ascertain whether the sounds recorded were regressive or not in Lan at the time the literary texts selected were written.

As in the previous section, we present one table showing the different types, tokens and some examples of each type that relate to the RP monophthongs. We also provide a series of diagrams, one per author, that illustrate the frequency of words comprising the deviant spellings and their corresponding dialect sounds in each of the works of our corpus. As noted in sections 5 and 6, the interpretation of these results will be given in the discussion section of each RP monophthong. \(^{20}\)

As noted, the horizontal axis of each diagram represents the deviant spellings found in the different works by each writer. The vertical axis shows the total number of terms comprising these orthographical conventions. The different columns show the frequency of each non-standard spelling per novel and the frequency of these conventions overall.

As in the previous section, there is link of the quantitative and qualitative analyses in the discussion section of each RP monophthong. This means, in the discussion section, we attempt at interpreting the data and the results obtained from the quantitative analysis.

\(^{20}\) As noted in the previous section, both the table and the different charts represented show the total number of words recorded in our corpus for each deviant spelling or type.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>RP [i:]</th>
<th>TYPES</th>
<th>TOKENS</th>
<th>EXAMPLES</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>&lt;ay&gt;</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>Craytur (creature), taycher (teacher)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&lt;ey&gt; /&lt;ei&gt;</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>Eyt (eat), speik (speak)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&lt;eea&gt;</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>Deeal (deal), steeam (steam)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>RP [ɜ:]</th>
<th>TYPES</th>
<th>TOKENS</th>
<th>EXAMPLES</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>&lt;eea&gt;</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>Heeard (heard)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&lt;y+e&gt;</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>Yerd (heard)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>RP [u:]</th>
<th>TYPE</th>
<th>TOKENS</th>
<th>EXAMPLES</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>&lt;oi&gt;</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>Loise (lose)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&lt;ow&gt; and &lt;aw&gt;</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>Bowt (bought), caw (call)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>RP [ɛ]</th>
<th>TYPE</th>
<th>TOKENS</th>
<th>EXAMPLES</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>&lt;eea&gt;</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>Breeath (breath), deead (dead)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 4.- Types, tokens, and some examples of each RP monophthong

Chart 6.- Frequency range in John Ackworth’s novels
Chart 6 shows the deviant spellings adopted by JA. This novelist employs five different spellings, as <ey> and <ei> are grouped together (see section 7.2.1.3), for words related to the different RP monophthongs. However, as we can see, the writer does not represent many words comprising the five spellings. This means, there is scarce variation in the terms employed.

The spelling <eea> is very recurrent in his novels as it is adopted in four different lexical sets suggesting the same dialectal pronunciation with [ɪə]. As the chart shows, this grapheme is especially seen in the lexical set of RP [i:], as it appears in a greater number of words compared with the lexical sets of RP [ɛ] and RP [ɜ:]. The spellings <ay> and <ey>, conveying the diphthong [ɛɪ], are adopted again by Ackworth in words related to RP [i:]. As a result, the writer employs three different spellings for the same lexical set.

The diphthong [ɪə] is also represented by <y+e>, which is present in the lexical set of RP [ɜ:]. However, this spelling is not especially frequent as it is merely illustrated in one single word. Finally, JA adopts the non-standard orthographical convention <ow> suggesting the diphthong [aʊ] in the lexical set of [ɔ:]. This spelling is frequently seen in this writer’s novels, since it appears in four different novels in several words.
Chart 7.- Frequency range in Benjamin Brierley’s works

This chart shows the different deviant spellings the writer BB adopts for the RP monophthongs in his texts.

This diagram provides scant data as this writer only makes use of two different spellings: <eea> and <ow>. The grapheme <eea> is commonly represented, since it appears in words related to RP [i:] and [ɛ]. <eea> for words related to [i:] is illustrated in fifteen words in total, which are found in three of his works. This same spelling is less usual for RP [ɛ] as chart 7 merely shows one term.

Finally, BB makes only use of the grapheme <ow>, suggesting the diphthongal sound [au], for RP [ɔː]. However, this grapheme is merely illustrated in five different words at most, which are unevenly distributed in his four works studied.
Chart 8 shows the different deviant spellings the novelist IB employs for words related to the RP monophthongs [i:], [ɛ:], [ɜː:] and [ɔː:]. For all these different lexical sets, this writer adopts two different spellings <eea> and <ow> to suggest the diphthongs [ɪə] and [aʊ] respectively.

As we can see in the present chart, <eea> is the most represented spelling in Banks’s works as it appears in three out of four different lexical sets. The lexical set of [i:] comprises a great number of words containing <eea> as it is found in seven words in total, which are distributed in three out of her four novels selected for our work. On the other hand, this same spelling is very rare in words related to RP [ɜː:] as it is only illustrated in one word in one single novel.

The spellings <ow> and <aw>, conveying the diphthong [aʊ], is frequently represented in Banks’s novels as it is found in her four works studied. Chart 8 also shows that there is not much variation in the number of words comprising <ow> / <aw> in her novels. This is because in MM and CBC our corpus records four terms and in FM and WD three.
This chart shows the high frequency of the deviant spelling <eea> suggesting the centring diphthong [ɪǝ] in Mather’s novels. As the diagram shows, this grapheme appears in words related to the RP monophthongs [i:] and [ɛ] in several terms. The chart also shows that the lexical set of the RP monophthong [i:] contains three different spellings <ay>, <ey>, and <eea>. However, <eea> is more common as it is illustrated in a higher number of words. The data also show that the terms containing these three spellings are frequently found as they appear in all Mather’s studied works.

On the other hand, the non-standard digraphs <oi> and <ow> conveying the pronunciations [ɔɪ] and [aʊ] respectively are much less common in Mather’s works, as they are only represented in one single word. In addition, the words containing these two spellings appear in one or two novels at most.
This chart reveals five different deviant spellings, <ay>, <ey>, <y+e>, <oi>, and <ow>, for words related to the RP monophthongs [i:], [ɜ:], [u:], and [ɔ:]. Two of these digraphs, <ay> and <ey>, appear for the lexical set of [i:], but both convey the same sound with the diphthong [ɛɪ]. This chart shows that these two digraphs are not highly represented as it is only found in two words at most. However, words containing <ey> are more represented as they appear in all Westall’s novels studied.

This chart also reveals that the spelling <ow> suggesting the diphthong [aʊ] is the most represented in Westall’s works, as it is recorded in five different words. These five words can be found in his three novels but with different frequency, since in RNT we record five terms and in OF and BD just two.

The spellings <y+e> and <oi> suggesting the diphthongs [ɪə] and [ɔɪ] respectively are only represented in one single word. However, whereas the word containing the first spelling is evidenced in all Westall’s novels, the term with <oi> is only represented in the novel OF.
The five charts reveal fewer spellings and fewer words related to the RP monophthongs than to the RP diphthongs. The data show that the five writers chosen for our corpus adopt the same deviant spellings suggesting the same sounds in the LanD for words related to the RP monophthongs. Finally, the charts show that there is barely coexistence of different dialect sounds for the same lexical set, with the sole exception of RP [i:].

7.2.- Qualitative analyses

7.2.1.- RP [i:]

7.2.1.1.- Literary dialect spellings of RP [i:]

This section focuses on words containing the deviant spellings <ay>, <ey>, <ei>, and <eea> which relate to the standard orthography <e>, <ea>, and <ee> and the standard sound [i:].

Terms which in StE contain the monophthong [i:] but the dialects and accents render other realizations are grouped, according to Wells (1982a: 140), into the FLEECE category.

Concerning the readability of the spellings <ay>, <ey>, <ei>, and <eea>, readers who are not familiar with the LanD may not find their reading cumbersome. The only exception would be <eea> as it does not appear in the StE orthography.

7.2.1.2.- Literary dialect spelling <ay>

In this subsection we analyze four words containing the spelling <ay>: craytur (creature), daycent (decent), fayver (fever), and taycher (teacher) (Annex 20). This digraph and these terms are found in Ackworth’s and Mather’s works. The subsequent samples exemplify the use of these terms in our corpus:

21 As our corpus records several words containing the spellings <ay>, <ey>, <ei>, and <eea>, we only analyze some of them
1. “An’ th’ craytur ’at used to rub itsel’ abaat his legs, an’ eyt his meat” (And the creature that used to rub itself about his legs, and eat his meat) (RL, 9)

2. “Lijah used to be a daycent sort; but he’s held his yed daan latly, as though he’d done summit wrang, as they say” (Lijah used to be a decent sort; but he’s held his head down lately, as though he’d done something wrong, as they say) (SWS, 17)

3. “He geet rheumatic favver six year sin’” (He got rheumatic fever six years ago) (LI, 82)

4. “Two or three of th’ young lady taychers o’ th’ Sundo’ schoo’” (Two or three of the young lady teachers of the Sundo’ School) (RL, 53)

Sánchez (2003: 215) and Clark (2004: 148) record the spelling <ay> for words which relate to RP [i:]. Sánchez (2003: 215) does not consider this spelling as an orthographical innovation as it constitutes a traditional variant within the literary dialect representation.

Shorrocks (1994: 232) and Sánchez (2003: 215) connect the deviant spelling <ay> with the diphthong [ɛɪ]. In addition, Wakelin (1977: 89) also records [ɛɪ] for the area of the nMid.

Wright (1898-1905) records the diphthong [ɛɪ] in Lan, but only in the words “teacher” and “fever”. [ɛɪ] for the first word is seen in central, mid-south, south-western and southern Lan. For the second word, this diphthong is limited to south-eastern Lan.

7.2.1.3.- Literary dialect spellings <ey> and <ei>

We group <ey> and <ei> in the same section as they suggest the same sound in the LanD. Our corpus records different words containing these two spellings, such as speyk (speak), speik (speak), and eyt (eat) (Annex 21). These words are illustrated in the following samples:
1. “There's one for thi to eyt wi' me and Lijah, and one for thi to tak' whom. We know haa to bake” (There’s one for you to eat with me and Lijah, and one for you to take home. We know how to bake) (SWS, 94)

2. “He's promised no' ta speik abaat it fur a wik, hasna he?” (He’s promised not to speak about it for a week, hasn’t he?) (BL, 194)

3. “I mun have a different tale fro’ that afore I speyk to th’ mayster. I mun see for mysel’” (I must have a different tale from that before I speak to the master, must see for myself) (OF, 193)

The deviant spellings <ey> and <ei> are only evidenced by Sánchez (2003: 229). However, she only records them for words related to RP [ɑ:] but not to RP [i:] as in feyther, reyther for “father” and “rather” respectively.

The possible pronunciation for <ey> and <ei> is, according to Sánchez (2003: 229), the diphthong [ɛɪ]. Wright (1898-1905) does not provide any deviant spelling but suggests [ɛɪ] for “eat” and “speak” in the county of Lan, specifically in central, mid-southern, and south-western Lan.

7.2.1.4.- Literary dialect spellings <eea>

This category focuses on seven words containing the non-standard spelling <eea>: cleean (clean), deel (deal), feeast (feast), keeapin’ (keeping), leeave (leave), meeat (meat), pleeas/pleeased (please/pleased), and steeam (steam) (Annex 22). These dialect words are adopted by all the novelists in our corpus. The subsequent examples represent the use of these terms in our corpus:

1. “An’ gi’e th’ matrimonial sky sich a cleean sweep” (And give the matrimonial sky such a clean sweep) (AY, 20)

2. “Theau purtends t’ know a good deel abeaut animals” (You pretend to know a good deal about animals) (GC, 16)
3. “And without as mich as with yor leeave, or by yor leeave, shouted eawt— But aw mun be off” (And without as much as your leave, or by your leave, shouted out— I must be off) (CBC, 2)

4. “An’ we can please aarsel’s whether we goa or not” (And we can please ourselves whether we go or not) (BL, 350)

Shorrocks (1994: 233) and Sánchez (2003: 221) record the non-standard spelling <eea> for words that relate to RP [i:]. Sánchez (2003: 221) adds that this digraph is not an authors’ innovation and that it is very common among northern counties, especially in Yks.

Shorrocks (1994: 233) and Sánchez (2003: 221) connect the digraph <eea> with the diphthong [iə]. Wright (1898-1905), Wakelin (1977: 89) and Wells (1982a: 195) also record the diphthong [iə] but without including any spelling. Wells (1982a: 195) adds that [iə] belongs to the TD of some counties, including that of Lan.

Wright (1898-1905) records the diphthong [iə] in Lan for all the words in this group. Specifically, [iə] in “meal” is seen in the mid-east, in “please”, it is reflected in the south-mid, and in “keep”, the diphthong is recorded in south-eastern Lan.

In the rest of the terms, the diphthong [iə] is more geographically widespread. This diphthong in “meat” is seen in the east-mid, north-western, and north-eastern Lan. In “clean”, it is reflected in areas of the south west and south; in “deal”, [iə] is recorded in the south east and the south west. Finally, in “steam”, it is recorded in the north, east-mid, mid-south, south east and south western Lan.
7.2.1.5.- Historical Origins

This section attempts to trace back the linguistic historical origins of the standard monophthong [i:] and the dialectal diphthongs [ɛɪ] and [ɪə].

Most of the terms contained herein contain the spelling <ea> in the standard orthography. According to Gimson (1980: 160) and Sánchez (2003: 122), this spelling testifies the existence of ME [ɛ:].

According to Hoad (1986), the terms “speak”, “eat”, “meat”, and “feast” contained the [ɛ] in OE. This short monophthong apparently experienced OSL in order to render the long monophthong [ɛ:] in ME.

Hoad (1986) records the terms “teacher”, “mean”, “clean”, “deal”, and “leave” with OE [æ:], which later developed into [ɛ:] in ME (Algeo 2010: 124). The term “steam” is recorded by Hoad (1986) with the long diphthong [æ:ɑ] in OE, which, according to Algeo (2010: 124), monophthongized into [ɛ:] in ME.

Hoad (1986) attests the words “please”, “creature”, and “decent” and suggest their French origin. The first two words probably entered with [ɛ:] as the standard spelling <ea> testifies that. Finally, this scholar (1986) records “fever” and “keep” with [ɛ:] in OE, which remained unchanged during the ME period.

All these terms experienced the GVS sound change by which ME [ɛ:] and [ɛ:] developed into [i:], which is the current pronunciation we have in StE. On the other hand, the two LanD diphthongs [ɛɪ] and [ɪə] possibly underwent different processes.

The diphthong [ɛɪ] in words related to RP [i:] is explained by Dobson (1968: 777) on the association of ME [ɛ:] with ME [ɑɪ] and [ɑ:]. He adds that this association was rare before 1600 and not common until roughly 1700 (Dobson 1968: 778).
On the other hand, [ɪə] is explained considering its ME origin. Sánchez (2003: 221) claims that although ME [ɛː] and ME [eː] merged into one single sound, [iː], in the prestige variety, the dialects of Yks and Lan preserved a phonological distinction. This is, the first ME pronunciation derived into the diphthong [ɪə] and the second into the monophthong [iː] in these two counties. Orton (in Sánchez 2003: 221) indicates that the development of ME [ɛː] before turning into [ɪə] was [ɛə], and adds that this process was completed in around 1500.

7.2.1.6.- Discussion

Our corpus evidences four different spellings <ay>, <ey>, <ei>, and <eea> related to the standard written conventions <e>, <ea>, and <eea> and the RP monophthong [iː]. As previously noted, the spellings <ay>, <ey>, and <ei> represent the diphthong [ɛɪ] and <eea> [ɪə]. Thus, this section showed the coexistence of two different pronunciations: [ɛɪ] and [ɪə] in the LanD.

The use of the spellings <ay>, <ey>, and <ei> to represent [ɛɪ] is not equally employed by the five writers as it would depend on the novelists’ writing techniques. This is seen in Ackworth’s use of <ay> and <ei> in craytur and speik respectively, Banks’s and Westall’s preference for <ey>, and Mather’s employment of both <ey> and <ay>. However, the fact that <ey> and <ei> are solely recorded by Sánchez (2003: 288) in words related to RP [ɑː:] and that these spellings are only represented in three words in total would suggest the unusual character of them for FLEECE.

Our data reflect the prevalence of the [ɪə] over [ɛɪ], as it is shown in a larger number of words. The diphthong [ɪə] is shown in words used by all the five writers and [ɛɪ] in words used by three novelists. The diphthong [ɪə] would be a familiar sound for FLEECE as the five writers use the spelling <eea> suggesting this sound and represent it in several words.
This suggests that [ɪə] was probably known or usual for this lexical set during the nineteenth century in Lan.

7.2.2.- RP [ɜː]

7.2.2.1- Literary Dialect spellings of [ɜː]

The present section presents two different spellings: <eea> and <y+e> which relate to the standard spelling <ea> in the word “heard” and to the RP monophthong [ɜː].

Terms that in StE contain the monophthong [ɜː], but the dialects and accents yield other realizations are classified, according to Wells (1982: 361), into the lexical set of NURSE.

7.2.2.2.- Literary dialect spelling <eea>

The non-standard spelling <eea> is found again but, in this case, it is only included in the word heeard for “heard”, used by JA and IB (Annex 23). Heeard is exemplified in our corpus in:

- “Hev you heeard about Edie Plewman, miss?” (Have you heard about Edie Plewman, miss?) (TP, 264)
- “He wur nowt but a shopman, and his feyther left him nowt, as aw ivor heeard on” (He was nothing but a shopman, and his father left him nothing, as I ever heard on) (CBC, 160)

The non-standard spelling <eea> is only recorded by Sánchez (2003: 286), who also exemplifies it in the word “heard”. However, she adds that <eea> does not constitute a traditional graphical convention in the literary dialect representation for words related to the RP monophthong [ɜː] (2003: 287).

Wright (1898-1905) and Sánchez (2003: 287) consider [ɪə] as the possible sound for the word “heard”. Sánchez (2003: 287) also associates the diphthong [iːə] with <eea>, but she opts for the short one, as there is scant reference to the diphthong with a long first
element in words such as “heard” (2003: 288). Wright (1898-1905) records [ɪə] but with [h]-dropping in “heard” in northern, north-western, central, mid-south, southern, and south-western Lan.

**7.2.2.3.- Literary dialect spelling <y+e>**

The word “heard” also appears to be spelt as *yerd*. *Yerd* is employed in Ackworth’s, and Westall’s novels (Annex 24). Examples of this form are used in our corpus in:

- “An’ aw ath wunce Aw *verd* a great shaat, an’ Aw looked up and theer, by th’ mon! Aw seed aw th’ stars rushin' towart me loike a swarm o’ bees” (And all at once I heard a great shout, and I looked up and there, by the moon! I saw all the stars towards me like a swarm of bees) (SC, 76)
- “Aw ne'er *verd* nowt loike that wench's vice i' aw mi born days” (I have never heard anything like that girl’s voice in all my born days) (MH, 253-254)

The spelling <y+e> is solely recorded by Gerson (in Sánchez 2003: 288) in the word “heard”. Sánchez (2003: 288) evidences both the diphthong [ɪə], as the pronunciation represented by <y+e>, and the drop of initial [h]. As previously noted, Wright (1898-1905) records the diphthong [ɪə] and the absence of initial [h] which, in this case, is exemplified in the deviant spelling.

**7.2.2.4.- Historical origins**

This section devotes to tracing the historical origins of RP [ɜ:] and the LanD diphthong [ɪə] in the word “heard”.

The pronunciation [ɜ:] we currently have in StE for “heard” is due to what Wells’s calls NURSE merger (1982a: 201). According to this scholar (1982a: 199-200), this process probably started in the northern and eastern English dialects in around the fifteenth century.
The diphthong [ɪǝ] in “heard” in the Lan dialect could have two distinct explanations. The first one is that ME [ɛ:] developed into [e:] and then into [i:] (Dobson 1968: 607). Sánchez (2003: 287) adds that the second element of the diphthong, [ǝ], was triggered because of the following [r] and that this diphthongal pronunciation reflects the normal development of ME [ɛ:] + [r].

The second possible explanation of [ɪǝ] in the word “heard” could be based on the analogy with its corresponding infinitive form “hear”, pronounced with the same diphthong. The fact that “heard” is the only word our corpus recorded with the possible dialect pronunciation [ɪǝ] could support the idea of analogy. In this regard, the present and the past forms would share the same pronunciation in the LanD. This is because writers adopt the standard spelling in the present form of “hear”, and this probably suggests the standard realization [ɪǝ].

7.2.2.5.- Discussion

This section focused on the analysis of the non-standard spellings <eea> and <y+e> which are related to the standard convention <ea> and to the RP monophthong [ɜ:]. These two spellings are only present in “heard”, which is found as heared and yerd in our corpus and are pronounced with [ɪǝ] in the LanD. The difference between these two forms relies on the [h]-dropping process in the second form as exemplified in the absence of <h> in yerd.

Both forms are adopted by two different writers respectively. [hɪǝ(r)d] is adopted by JA in BL and TP and IB in CBC and [ɪǝ(r)d] by JA in BL, MH, SC and WBW in his three novels analysed.

The exact reasons for the pronunciation [ɪǝ] in “heard” are undetermined. This is because it can be the result of the evolution of ME [ɛ:] into [e:] and finally into [ɪǝ] due to the following [r] or because of the analogy with its corresponding infinitive form.
The form [ɪərd] would be, as noted by Beal (2004: 127) in section 2.5, a stereotyped pronunciation that is located in several English dialects. Therefore, [hɪərd] spelt <heard> was probably the most common realization among Lan speakers and [ɪərd] spelt <yerd> the stereotyped form as the [h]-dropping linguistic trait could be used for characterization purposes.

7.2.3.- RP [u:]

7.2.3.1- Literary dialect spellings of RP [u:]

The present section only records the spelling <oi> which is present in just loise (lose) and its derivative form loiser (loser). This orthographical convention is related to the standard orthography <o> and probably the pronunciation [u:].

Terms which in StE contain the monophthong [u:], but the dialects and accents seem to render other pronunciations are contained, according to Wells (1982a: 147), into the lexical set of GOOSE.

7.2.3.2.- Literary dialect spelling <oi>

The near-absence of <oi> and its corresponding sound suggests that they were unconventional for GOOSE in Lan. Our corpus only evidences the word loise and its derivative form loiser for “lose” and “loser” respectively. Loise is represented by JMM in RL and SWS and loiser by WBW in OF (Annex 25). These two words are exemplified in the subsequent examples:

1. “It’s a terrible thing to loise a child” (It’s a terrible thing to lose a child) (SWS, 69)
2. “An’ aw were th’ loiser for want of a friend” (And I was the loser for want of a friend) (RL, 141)

Wakelin (1972: 88) records this digraph for words containing the digraph <oo> and representing the sound [u:] in StE. As mentioned in sections 6.2.2.1.3, 6.2.2.2.2, and
6.2.3.5, the pronunciation suggested by <oi> is the diphthong [ɔɪ] and Wright (1898-1905) also evidences [ɔɪ] for “lose” in southern Lan.

7.2.3.3.- Historical Origins

According to OED, the word “lose” contained the short monophthong [o] during the OE period, which later became [oː] in ME. Finally, the sound [oː] developed into [uː] in early Modern English (EModE) as part of the Great Vowel Shift (GVS) sound change (Wells 1982a: 147).

The historical origins of [ɔɪ] in GOOSE are uncertain as there is no explanation for it. Wells’s explanations on [ɔɪ] (1982a: 208) in chapter 6.2.2.3 cannot be adopted in this case as he considers this diphthong as a variant of the standard diphthong [aɪ]. In this regard, the use of this pronunciation could not rely on any linguistic shifts but on literary stylistic issues.

As we did not find any convincing explanation for [ɔɪ] in GOOSE and this diphthong is found in three different sets, [ɔɪ] would be a stereotyped sound. This diphthongal sound would not be common for this lexical set due to the very limited data our corpus provides, since only two writers were familiar with this sound. The novelists JMM and WBB apparently adopted <oi> to represent the vulgar diphthong [ɔɪ] to mark the characters’ dialogues.

7.2.4.- RP [ɔː]

7.2.4.1- Literary Dialect Spellings of StE [ɔː]

This section only deals with the spellings <aw> and <ow>, which are represented in words such as aw (all), bowt (bought), browt (brought), caw (call), dowter (daughter), fawn (fallen), fowt(en) (fought(en)), and thowt (thought). All these words contain the graphical sequence <ght> in StE and are related to RP [ɔː]. The subsequent examples illustrate the use of these terms in the literary works analyzed:
1. “Aw've browt thee news o' thoi Nelly” (I’ve brought you news about your Nelly) (CBC, 280)

2. “An’ noather thee nor mi ’s a Pharaoh's dowter” (And neither you nor me is Pharaoh’s daughter) (MM, 40)

3. “That’s it. I thowt there was summat out of th’ common” (That’s it. I thought there was something out of the common) (BD, 135)

4. “An' Hopper an me han fowten battles t'gether” (And Hopper and I have fought battles together) (TL, 138)

Words containing the monophthong [ɔː] in RP are grouped by Wells (1982a: 145) into the lexical set of THOUGHT.

7.2.4.2.- Literary Dialect Spelling <ow>

The words in this set present <ow> and the absence of <gh> in the spelling. This digraph, which is restricted to eight different words, is used by all the five novelists. However, for the present section, we only study the words: browt (brought), dowter (daughter), fowt(en) (fought(en)), and thowt (thought), as they are the most frequently represented by all writers and are recorded in the bibliography. The use of the words recorded is not equally shared by all the writers. (Annex 26).

Sánchez (2003: 258) and Wells (1982b: 359) agree that the spelling <ow> is a typical orthographical form in words related to the RP monophthong [ɔː]. Sánchez (2003: 258) adds that <ow> constitutes a basic dialect spelling in the representation of northern dialects, specifically those of Lan and Yks, and includes some of the words we record in our corpus: browt, dowter, and thowt.

According to Gimson (1980: 134) and Sánchez (2003: 379), the pronunciation of <ow> is the diphthong [ao]. Wells (1982b: 358) affirms that some TD of northern England
contain diphthongs of the type [ɔʊ - øʊ - ɐʊ] for THOUGHT. In addition, Sánchez (2003: 255) suggests [ɐʊ] for the spelling <ow> in words which relate to RP [ɔ:].

Finally, Wright (1898-1905) records the diphthong [ɐʊ] for the four terms in Lan but in distinct areas. [ɐʊ] in “thought” is attested in middle-eastern, southern, and southeastern. In “brought”, the diphthong is reflected in north-western and southern Lan, and in “daughter” it is just recorded in south-eastern Lan. Finally, this pronunciation is found in “fought” in mid and south-eastern Lan.

Therefore, the diphthong suggested by <ow> is [ɐʊ]. This is because, Sánchez (2003: 255) attributes [ɐʊ] to this grapheme and Wright evidences this sound for all the words recorded in several areas of the county of Lan.

7.2.4.3.- Historical origins

Hoad (1986) only records the words “daughter” and “thought” which contained, according to him, OE [ə] and [ɔː] respectively. These OE sounds developed into ME [ɐʊ] and [ɔʊ] respectively and, according to Wells (1982a: 145), the standard spellings <augh> and <ough> give evidence of these ME sounds.

The change from OE [ə] and [ɔ] into ME [ɐʊ] and [ɔʊ] in these words took place due to the influence of the following fricative consonant [χ], represented by the StE <gh>. Dobson (1968: 551-581) points out that the resulting diphthongs, [ɐʊ] and [ɔʊ], became [uː] but then diphthongized again into [ɐʊ] due to the GVS sound change. According to Sánchez (2003: 256), the monophthong [ɔː] was the usual development of the eModE diphthong [əʊ] in StE. This means, while in StE [əʊ] was monophthongized into [ɔː], the Lan dialect retained the diphthongal form. This scholar also points out that the dialect diphthong [ɐʊ] is specifically attributed to the areas of the north of England (Sánchez 2003: 256)
7.2.4.4.- Discussion

Our corpus only evidences the spellings <ow> / <aw> which are related to the standard written convention <ough> and <augh> and the RP monophthong [ɔː]. The grapheme <ow> conveys the diphthongal realization [aʊ] in the LanD.

Although the use of <ow> and <aw>, suggesting [aʊ], is used by all novelists, it is only represented in a very limited number of words. Therefore, this diphthongal sound would be a familiar sound among our novelists. BB and WBW are the writers who represents a larger number of words, four each of them, containing this sound. On the other hand, JA and IB make use of three words respectively and JMM one single word.

This information could suggest that [aʊ] was a frequent diphthong for THOUGHT in Lan as all the writers represent the spellings <ow> / <aw> containing this sound. However, we only evidence scant data, since our corpus only records eight words in total.

The scant evidence can be based on the regressive character of [aʊ] in words related to [ɔː] as archaic pronunciations were gradually substituted by new or standard forms (Wells 1982a: 7). This means that the diphthong [aʊ] was a typical pronunciation for THOUGHT but in the nineteenth century it was recessive.

7.2.5.- RP [ɛ]

7.2.5.1.- Literary dialect spelling of RP [ɛ]

The present section focuses on words containing <eea>, since it is the only spelling our corpus records. This orthographical convention is related to the standard spelling <ea> and <ai>, and the standard pronunciation [ɛ].

Terms containing [ɛ] in StE but other realizations in the English dialects are grouped into Wells’s (1982a: 128) lexical set of DRESS.
7.2.5.2.- Literary dialect spelling <eea>

The spelling <eea> is found in a new set of words that, in this case, relates to the standard orthography <ai> and <ea>. In our corpus there are eight distinct terms containing <eea>: aggeean (again), breeath (breath), deead (dead), deeaath (death), deeeaaf (deaf), heealth (health), insteead (instead), and sweeat (sweat). These words and thus <eea> are adopted by all writers in our corpus except for Westall. However, deead and deeaath are the most represented words as they appear in several works and the rest of the terms are hardly represented in our writers’ works (Annex 27). The subsequent examples illustrate the use of the words in our corpus:

1. “Cursin’ th’ Almeety as he used to when he had breeath” (Cursing the Almighty as he used to when he had breath) (RL, 114)

2. “He’s deeeaaf” (He’s deaf) (SWS, 146)

3. “I’ll tak’ mi share o’ the bread an’ cheese, an’ drink yo’ r heealth i’ a sup o’ ale, but aw cudna' tak’ that brass if aw wur deein’” (I’ll take my share of the bread and drink your health in a sip of ale, but I couldn’t take that money if I were dying) (MM, 16)

4. “An excuse to fotch yon white tisher-papper to be brunt insteead o’ the bank noates” (An excuse to fetch that White tisher-paper to be burnt instead of the bank notes) (CBC, 162)

5. “An’ Aw sweeats till th’ bed swims” (And I sweat till the bed swims) (BL, 384)

Sánchez (2003: 121) records <eea> in words which relate to the standard monophthong [ɛ]. She exemplifies this spelling in the words deead, deeaath, and heealth, and affirms that <eea> is more typical in the dialects of Yks than of Lan (121).
According to Wright (1898-1905) and Sánchez (2003: 121), the diphthong [ɪə] is the pronunciation conveyed by <eea>. Wright (1898-1905) also records [ɪə] for each of the words we present in this set, except for “instead” which does not appear in his work.

According to Wright (1898-1905), the diphthong [ɪə] in “dead” and “deaf” is recorded in southern, south-western and central Lan. In the word “breath”, it is attested in central and southern Lan. [ɪə] in “death” and “again” is reflected in areas of central and south-western Lan respectively. This diphthong in “health” is recorded in northern Lan but with [h]-dropping. Finally, [ɪə] in “sweat” is seen in northern, north-western, southern, and south-western Lan.

7.2.5.3. Historical Origins.

According to Hoad (1986), the words “again”, “dead”, “death”, and “deaf” contained [æa:], and “breath”, “health”, and “sweat” had [æ:] in OE. On the other hand, Hoad (1986:) states that “instead” was originally “in the stead of” meaning “in the place of” during the OE period. Thus, he derives us to the term “stead” which, according to this scholar, contained the short monophthong [e] in the same period.

The two OE sounds: [æa:], [æ:] merged into [ɛ:] in ME. In the case of “stead”, the OE short monophthong [e] probably lengthened during the ME period due to OSL sound change.

Dobson (1968: 607) points out that in StE, the usual development of ME [ɛ:] is the final monophthong [i:] after passing through the stage of [e:]. All these eight words are monosyllables ending in a simple consonantal sound and according to Dobson (1968: 502), ME [ɛ:] shortened in these contexts. However, in Lan there was no shortening, since the diphthongal realization [ɪə], represented in the words recorded, seems to reflect the usual development of ME [ɛ:] (see chapter 7.2.1.5)
7.2.5.4.- Discussion

The present section only focused on the analysis of <eea> related to the RP monophthong [ɛ]. The diphthong [ɪə] is the sound conveyed by this deviant spelling in the words recorded. In this case, the difference in pronunciation between the standard and the dialect mainly relies on the absence of shortening that took place in the LanD.

The spelling <eea> is used by all the writers except for WBW in eight different words ageean, breath, deead, deead, deeach, heeach, insteed, and sweeat. The representation of these words in the works selected are not equally employed by our writers. IB and JMM represent all the five words in their novels, but JA and BB employ three and two words respectively.

Although these use of these eight terms depend on the context of each novel, there is not much word variation applied in the different works. The diphthong [ɪə] in DRESS was probably a well-known pronunciation among our novelists, and probably in Lan for RP [ɛ], as four of them employ the spelling <eea> to suggest this sound. However, the scant number of words including the dialect sound [ɪə] could be related to the regressive character of this diphthong for DRESS during the nineteenth century in Lan.

7.3.- Discussion of section related to RP monophthongs

This chapter focused on the analysis of the RP monophthongs [i:], [ɜ:], [u:], [ɔ:], and [ɛ] whose related dialect sounds suggest different pronunciations in the LanD.

This chapter showed new deviant spellings such as <ay>/<ai> or <eea> conveying the diphthongs [ɛɪ] and [ɪə]. The spellings <ow> and <oi> also appeared in this chapter suggesting the same sounds [aʊ] and [ɔɪ] respectively. The data reflect that writers only employ the literary-dialect spellings in a limited set of words. As seen in the previous
This study reveals fewer spellings related to each of the RP sounds than in the previous chapter. The data evidence one or two deviant digraphs at most related to each RP monophthongs. The only exception is the lexical set of RP [i:] as it contained three different spellings, <ey>, <ei>, and <ay>, related to that sound.

This study recorded the repetition of the spelling <eea>. As noted, Sánchez (2003: 121) considered <eea> as a typical spelling connected with the county of Yks. However, we attest a repeated use of this grapheme in our corpus as it appears in three different lexical sets related to [ɛ], [i:], and [ɜ:], and in the lexical sets of FLEECE and DRESS all the novelists studied adopt <eea>. This suggests that this deviant spelling is a well-known or a common written convention not only in Yks but also in the LanD representation.

Contrary to the previous analysis, this chapter barely records any significant data. This is because most of the pronunciations documented such as [ɪǝ] or [aʊ] are rooted in different evolutions from StE, novel forms or RP variants are inexistent, and the only stereotyped pronunciation would be again [ɔɪ]. The pronunciation [ɪǝrd] recorded for the term “heard” could also be a stereotyped form, since the h-dropping sound change is a stigmatized form that is extended to numerous areas of the country.

The second hypothesis that claimed that the lower the frequency of a sound, the more regressive it was; and the higher the frequency of a determined sound, the more usual it was during the nineteenth century is evidenced in this section. The dialect pronunciations [ɪə], for the lexical set of DRESS, and [aʊ] are included in a limited number of words, eight at most, in our corpus. This scant data suggests that these two sounds were regressive at the time the studied literary-dialect works were written.
8. - FINAL CONCLUSIONS

This thesis was built on the phonological study of the nineteenth-century LanD through the study of nineteen different literary-dialect works written by five different novelists. Specifically, this thesis focused on the dialect sounds related to the RP diphthongs [aʊ], [aɪ], [ǝʊ], [ɛɪ], and [ɛǝ] and the RP monophthongs [i:], [ɔ:], [u:], [ɔ:], and [ɛ] whose related dialect forms suggested different diphthongal and monophthongal pronunciations in the LanD.

This thesis was undertaken due to the interest in contributing to the knowledge of the phonological variants of the LanD. Most of dialect studies are centered on the general linguistic traits of northern counties or on the isoglosses and non-standard characteristics dividing the North and the South of England. As a result, the specific dialect traits of the LanD have not been studied in detail but within a broader category.

Therefore, due to the scant studies centered on the LanD and, specially, on the phonological aspects, this thesis aimed at contributing to the knowledge of the phonological linguistic traits and the possible pronunciations that were in use in Lan during the XIX century. As the deviant spellings were the only source to obtain phonological data, I took these graphemes as primary sources to relate them to their corresponding RP sounds, and these RP sounds are the starting point of the whole study.

This thesis encompassed two different analyses: the quantitative and the qualitative analysis. The first analysis aimed at showing the frequency index of the deviant spellings represented in our corpus. The second provided a detailed description and explanation of those graphemes and the sounds attributed to them. These analyses allow us to ascertain the possible and usual pronunciations of the Lan variety during the nineteenth century.
The study of the LanD pronunciations raised two main problems. The first problem was the distinction between a real dialect sound and a stereotyped form. The second was related to the influence of the PV on the LanD. In this regard, there could appear simultaneously regressive and usual pronunciations during the nineteenth century.

To address these two problems, we posed two distinct hypotheses. The first hypothesis claimed that if a determined sound was not the outcome of diachronic sound changes, then this sound would be a stereotyped pronunciation. On the other hand, if an identified pronunciation underwent regular sound changes, then that sound was a probable pronunciation.

The second hypothesis was related to the existence of archaic sounds due to the influence of the PV. We stated that the lower the frequency, the more regressive a sound was during the nineteenth century. On the contrary, the higher the frequency of a determined sound, the more usual that pronunciation was at that time.

The phonological analysis we carried out related to the RP diphthongs and RP monophthongs unveiled several sounds. The following chart illustrates the frequency index of the different spellings along with their corresponding dialect sounds as found in the whole corpus. The numbers on the vertical axis of the chart indicate the amount of terms containing each spelling and its corresponding sound.
The data in this chart reveal that the five writers adopted twenty deviant spellings for words related to the different RP diphthongs and RP monophthongs studied. However, the number of words comprising these orthographical conventions is unequal. While there are spellings that appear in more than thirty words, there are others that are present in less than five terms, as this is the case of <u>, <oo>, <aa> (related to RP [ɛɪ]), <u+r>, and <y+e> attributed to the sounds [ʊ], [u:], [ɛ:], [ɜ:], and [iə] respectively.

On the other hand, the spellings <aa>, <eaw>/<eau>, <ee>, <oi>, and <eea> conveying the dialectal sounds [a:], [ɛʊ], [i:], [ɔɪ], and [iə] respectively are the most frequently represented, as we record more than twenty words containing them. In general, writers tend to represent these deviant spellings in a limited set of words to suggest dialect sounds. This is visible in the majority of the spellings recorded, with the exception of those previously noted, as they are evidenced in a large number of words.

Bearing the first hypothesis in mind, the diphthong [ɔɪ] spelt <oi> in words such as coil (coal), loise (lose), and moind (mind) and [ɜ:] in chur (chair) and cur (care) are the only
sounds for which no historical explanation has been found. As a result, these two pronunciations are stereotyped forms found in literature.

On the other hand, the diphthong [aʊ] in words such as gowd (gold) or owd (old) is the result of the so-called [l]-vocalization, a well-known enregistered northern feature involving characterization purposes. Writers could have adopted the grapheme <ow> in words related to RP [əʊ] to suggest a pronunciation that was typically associated with the northern area. Lastly, the pronunciation [ɪərd] in yerd (heard) could be a stereotyped form as the [h]-dropping sound change involves social stigma.

Thus, excluding these stereotyped sounds, the rest of the pronunciations recorded in our study such as [ŋ], [ə], [ɔː] in spokken (spoken), papper (paper) or dowter (daughter) respectively (see chart 11) were real dialect pronunciations or probable sounds.

The following chart illustrates the frequency range of the stereotyped sounds and the probable pronunciations in the LanD. The diagram clearly shows the high percentage of probable or real dialect sounds over the stereotyped forms within our corpus.

![Chart 12.- Frequency range of probable and stereotyped sounds.](chart12.png)

As chart 12 shows, while eighty-four percent of the sounds recorded would correspond to probable sounds, sixteen percent would be stereotyped. Out of the 160 words analyzed, 143 would convey probable pronunciations and only 17 would suggest stereotyped realizations. Although we do not include all the words our corpus records, these results can also be extended to the rest of the terms that belongs to each type of sound.
Among the numerous probable sounds our corpus records, we should distinguish between recessive and common pronunciations. With the second hypothesis in mind, after the analysis of our data, the results are that the cases of [a:], [ɛʊ] in words related to RP [au] as in *maath* (mouth) or *eawr* (our) and [ɔɪ] in words related to RP [ai] without <ght> in the spelling as in *koind* (kind) or *moind* (mind) were frequent sounds during the XIX century in Lan as they are included in a large number of words. Although the use of the spellings suggesting those sounds is not shared by the five writers, these three dialect pronunciations are recorded in all words of the same lexical set.

On the other hand, most of the sounds recorded in this study were recessive pronunciations at the time our literary-dialect texts were written. This is the case of [ʊ] in *fun’* (found), [i:] and [ɛɪ] in *neet* (night) and *feight* (fight), [ʊə], [u:], and [ŋ] in *booan* (bone), *thoose* (those), and *brokken* (broken) respectively, [a] and [ɛ:] in *laddy* (lady) and *taak* (take), [ɪə] in *breeath* (breath), *leeave* (leave), and *steers* (stairs), and [au] in *thowt* (thought). The fact that these sounds are only attested in certain words would suggest the regressive character of these pronunciations during the XIX century in Lan.

Therefore, the data reveal that most of the sounds recorded are regressive pronunciations and only [a:], [ɛʊ] and [ɔɪ] in PRICE words without <gh> in the spelling were pronunciations that were common and in use among Lan speakers during the nineteenth century.

On the other hand, there are other sounds that could not be classified within regressive or novel realizations. This is the case of the diphthong [ɪə] in words related to RP [ɛɪ] and [ɛɪ] in words related to RP [i:] as we observe in words such as in *neame* (name), *seäme* (same) and *taycher* (teacher) respectively.

This thesis expected to shed some light on the most probable pronunciations that were usual in the LanD during the nineteenth century. Since we only covered the sounds related
to some of the RP diphthongs and RP monophthongs, there are certain phonological phenomena and, especially, morphological and lexical aspects that remain unexplored. It is hoped that further research on the LanD will be carried out in order to increase the knowledge and understanding of the linguistic aspects of this non-standard variety as well as the pronunciations that were commonly in use among Lan speakers.
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ANNEXES

The present section aims at illustrating the different pages in which we found the words we worked with in this thesis. The repetition of a word on a single page is expressed by “x” and the frequency in brackets.

This section is structured around two different blocks: the RP diphthongs and the RP monophthongs. Each annex relates to every non-standard spelling we analyzed in this thesis and comprises all the words containing them.

RP [ao]

- **Annex 1.- Spellings <ah> and <ar> [a:]**

  THAH: CBC (27 (x3), 28, 29, 30, 45 (x7), 46 (x3), 49 (x2), 54, 69 (x2), 70, 80, 94, 95, 111, 160, 164, 166, 202, 205, 208, 228 (x3), 260, 280 (x4); MM (12, 26, 32, 303 (x2), 307); FM (20 (x2), 31, 50, 173, 204, 230, 231, 247)

  AR: MM (11, 12, 13 (x2), 14, 27, 32, 122, 220 (x2)

  ARSELS: MM (33)

- **Annex 2.- Spelling <aa> [a:]**


  AARSELS: SWS (230); MH (153)

  AAT: BL (31, 37, 38, 44, 57, 75, 77, 78, 82, 112, 113, 132, 134, 138, 139 (x2), 144 (x2), 153, 157, 158 (x2), 170, 173, 180, 194, 207, 228, 233, 236 (x2), 237 (x2), 239 (x2), 250, 286, 331, 342, 348, 349, 356, 366, 380, 383, 385, 386 (x2), 400 (x2); MH (8, 20, 35, 37, 38, 43, 57, 68, 83, 95, 101, 103, 107, 108, 109, 142 (x3), 143, 145, 156, 157, 183, 185,
CAANTER: RL (162); SWS (109)
CAANTY: RL (123); SWS (111, 281)
CLAADS: RL (64); SWS (308); LI (134, 143, 144, 207)
COMPAAND: RL (80)
CRAAD: RL (16, 138, 141 (x2)
CRAAN: RL (133, 168)
DAAN: MH (32, 37, 38 (x3), 63, 83, 95, 142, 145, 171, 191, 216, 248, 252, 253, 255, 253, 255, 278, 283, 295, 309); SC (15, 77, 127, 137, 144, 182, 191, 198, 199, 305); BD (122); RL (6, 7, 11, 12, 14, 18, 20, 22, 23, 29, 30, 41, 42, 44, 45, 46, 49, 55, 56, 57, 63, 65, 67, 91, 94, 95, 106, 113, 120, 121, 122, 124, 129, 135, 140, 145, 146, 148, 149, 150, 151, 158, 159, 160, 161, 173, 175, 178, 194, 197, 198, 201, 202, 205, 206, 208, 209, 210, 211, 212, 214, 219, 220, 221, 222, 231, 233 (x2), 240, 242 (x3), 243); SWS (17, 20, 47, 58, 81, 89, 94, 106, 111, 139, 140, 152, 156, 158, 190, 198, 255, 170, 313, 316, 318, 333, 335, 340, 341, 344); LI (15, 21, 29, 33, 51, 54, 65, 69, 70, 98 (x2), 118, 193, 209, 215, 221, 226, 227, 235, 286, 313, 327)
DAATIN': RL (147)
DRAAN: SWS (133)
DRAANED: RL (21)
FAAND: RL (146, 208)
FLAARS: RL (16, 64, 202); SWS (83, 84 (x2), 94); LI (20, 21, 143, 235, 319, 329, 339) HAA: MH (41, 44, 51, 90, 95, 102, 207, 266, 267 (x2), 268, 289, 297); RL (16, 64, 202); LI (46, 55, 59, 107, 136, 143 (x2), 152, 210, 213, 229, 272 (x2), 303, 304 (x2), 313, 322) HAAEVER: RL (4, 57, 74, 75, 87, 88, 119, 198, 220); SWS (238) HAAR: RL (11, 21, 23, 27, 29, 40, 46, 50, 74, 94, 105, 107, 120, 123, 153, 194, 200, 208, 242); SWS (261, 264 (x2); LI (293, 317) HAASE: MH (55 (x2), 56, 62, 84, 91, 103); SC (25, 66, 71, 138, 190, 211, 334, 359); SC (25, 66, 71, 138, 211, 248, 334, 359); RL (4, 7, 9, 17, 18, 20 (x3), 21, 23, 30, 46, 53, 56, 73, 74, 78, 80, 85, 88, 91, 93, 99, 113, 116, 118, 120, 123, 124, 133, 135, 136, 137, 141, 143, 148, 149, 150, 154, 159, 161, 164, 181, 182, 194, 200, 208, 209, 210, 211, 218, 219,
LAADER: RL (31)
MAASE: RL (145)
MAATH: MH (38, 156, 249, 255); RL (17, 20, 51, 120, 151, 162, 174, 181 (x2), 186, 207, 233, 241); SWS (14, 36, 287)
PAAND: MH (55, 79, 95, 146, 241, 242, 294, 326); SC (136, 151, 210); RNT (301); RL (6, 69, 133, 162, 163, 181, 185, 196); SWS (55)
PRAAD: RL (4, 57, 159, 164); LI (132, 315, 318, 330); SWS (89, 230, 231)
RAAND: RL (4, 7, 9, 10, 21, 29, 31, 42, 44, 45, 49, 53, 61, 74, 77, 86, 88, 102, 107, 109, 118, 119, 120, 124, 129, 135, 136, 141, 148 (x2), 149, 150, 163, 166, 169, 194, 197, 198, 199, 207, 208, 211, 213, 219, 223, 228, 231, 242); LI (19, 88, 228, 2710 (x3), 316 (x2), 317); SWS (32, 33, 114, 155, 167, 302, 333, 341, 343)
SAAND: RL (46, 105, 158, 219)
SAANDED: RL (40, 68, 208)
SAANDS: LI (211)
| SHAAT: RL (63); BD (260) |
| SHAATED: LI (52) |
| SHAATIN': RL (14, 16, 22, 208, 209, 221, 233) |
| THAA: BL (15, 44 (x3), 45 (x3), 47 (x2), 57, 62, 64, 68, 75, 85, 90, 98, 101, 104, 112 (x3), 114 (x3), 118, 120, 124, 125, 126, 133, 137, 140, 144, 145, 149, 150, 152, 153, 154, 158, 170, 172, 174, 177, 180, 190, 193, 195, 200, 201, 202, 207, 208, 213, 215, 222, 223, 225, 226, 228, 237, 238, 244, 245, 246, 247 (x2), 250, 251, 255, 257, 267 (x2), 268, 275, 276, 277, 278, 288, 331, 332, 337, 342, 365, 380, 383, 384, 385, 392, 393, 399, 400); MH (91, 95, 99 (x2), 156, 208, 245, 246, 257); RL (10 (x4), 14, 17 (x2), 18, 19 (x4), 20 (x3), 29, 31, 32, 35, 38, 39 (x3), 40 (x2), 42 (x3), 43 (x4), 44, 49, 55 (x3), 56, 57 (x3), 59 (x2), 63, 64 (x3), 65 (x3), 66 (x3), 67, 75 (x6), 77 (x4), 86 (x5), 87 (x3), 89, 90, 91, 92, 107, 112, 113 (x3), 123, 124, 130 (x3), 136 (x3), 137, 140 (x2), 141 (x6), 146, 147, 148, 150 (x6), 151, 152 (x2), 153, 154, 155, 160, 161, 162, 163, 164, 165 (x6), 170, 171, 172, 173, 175, 177, 179 (x3), 183 (x3), 184 (x4), 185, 186, 187, 188, 189, 195, 197 (x4), 202 (x4), 209, 210 (x4), 211 (x4), 217, 221, 223, 226 (x3), 227, 230 (x3), 232, 233, 237, 239, 241 (x6), 242 (x2); SC (33, 60, 65, 66, 75, 79, 98, 116, 117 (x3), 127, 128, 142, 144 (x2), 145, 165 (x2), 171, 172, 190, 208, 209 (x8), 210, 211 (x4), 212, 214, 216 (x2), 217, 220 (x3), 224, 236, 240, 241, 243 (x3), 247, 248 (x3), 260, 270 (x2), 297, 306 (x2), 317, 320, 321, 336, 345 (x3), 346, 348, 351, 363, 373, 375 (x3); SWS (86 (x3), 89, 91, 119, 120, 121, 123, 127, 128 (x2), 129 (x2), 130, 131, 132, 133, 134 (x4), 135, 139, 140, 146, 158, 159, 164, 165, 166, 167, 175, 176 (x4), 177 (x4), 180, 191, 192, 197, 198 (x2), 199, 201, 204, 205, 207, 214, 215, 217, 218, 222, 229, 230, 231 (x4), 232, 238, 239, 240, 241, 242, 246, 247 (x3), 248, 249, 254, 256, 261, 262, 263, 271, 284, 289, 290, 300); LI (45, 46 (x3), 48 (x2), 52, 63 (x3), 64 (x2), 81 (x3), 85 (x2), 86, 88, 89, 91, 96 (x2), 97, 99, 108, 118 (x2), 120 (x4), 121, 122, 124, 125 (x2), 126, 131 (x3), 146, 150, 185, 186 (x3), 187, 188, 213, 216, 223, 224 (x3), 225, 227, 228, 229, 230, 235, 246, 248, 255, 259, 260 (x3), 261, 262, 263 (x3), 264, 268 (x2), 269, 277, 280, 288 (x2), 293, 294, 299, 300, 302, 303, 311, 312 (x2), 313, 314, 318, 320, 322, 323, 324, 329, 336) |
| THAASAND: MH (243, 294); SC (50, 54, 286); RL (6, 54, 178); SWS (68); LI (121, 148) |
| WAREHAASE: RL (44) |
- **Annex 3.- Spelling <eaw> / <eau> [ɛʊ]**

ABEAUT: TB (4, 6 (x2), 7 (x3), 8 (x2), 9, 10, 12, 13 (x2), 14 (x3), 15, 16, 17, 18, 19, 20 (x2), 21, 22); AY (1, 2 (x3), 3)

ABEAWT: CBC (27, 54, 68, 69, 101, 111, 163, 205, 234); MM (34 (X2), 74, 127; WD (235, 236, 241); TL (42, 43 (x2), 51, 61, 66, 69, 70, 73, 74 (x2), 77, 83, 86, 93, 94, 103, 112, 114, 124, 126, 136, 139, 140, 142, 167, 168, 169, 178 (x3), 179, 184, 186)

ACCEAWNT: FM (212)

ACKEAWNTS: TL (114)

ALLEAWED: GC (14)

ALLEAWS: MM (306)

CASTLETEAWN: AY (14, 21, 22 (X2)

CLEAUD: GC (4); AY (20 (x2)

CLEAWD: CBC (145)

CREAWD: GC (4 (x2), 7 (x2), 9); AY (6 (x2)

DEAUTS: AY (13)

DEAWN: GC (10, 15); TB (7, 13); AY (3, 5 (x2), 6, 7 (x4), 10, 11, 12, 13, 15, 16 (x2), 17 (x2), 18 (x2), 19, 20, 21); TL (42, 43, 51, 79, 91, 94, 101, 102 (x3), 103, 110, 116, 123, 168); MM (46)

DREAWNT: AY (3, 4 (x2)

EAURS: TB (6)

EAURSELS: GC (14)

EAUT: WD (233 (x2); GC (4, 7, 8, 9 (x2), 10, 11); TB (5, 7, 13, 14 (x3); AY (1, 2, 3, 4, 5 (x3), 7, 8 (x3), 9 (x2), 10 (x3), 11, 12, 13, 15 (x2), 16, 17, 18, 19, 20, 21, 22 (x3), 23 (x2)

EAUTSIDE: AY (9 (x2), 18)

EAWER: TL (66, 74, 79)

EAWR: AY (2, 4 (x3), 5 (x4), 6, 8, 9 (x2), 11, 12 (x2), 13, 15, 16, 19, 22, 23 (x3); MM (103, 104)
EAWT: TL (85, 86 (x3); CBC (2, 54, 94, 96, 97, 101, 113, 155, 156 (x2), 162, 163, 205, 260, 280, 289); MM (74, 103, 105)

FLEAWER: AY (22); TL (143)

GEAWN: AY (20)

GREAUND: TL (91, 102)

GREAWND: GC (12)

HEAUR: TB (6); AY (5, 7 (x3), 19, 22)

HEAUSE: TB (8); AY (4, 13, 17, 18); TL (40)

HEAW: GC (3, 4 (x2), 15); TB (7, 9, 10, 11, 14); AY (3 (x2), 4, 7 (x2), 8 (x2), 9, 10, 16, 20 (x4), 22, 23); TL (39, 51, 66 (x2), 94, 95, 97, 110, 112, 115, 121, 137, 140, 157, 167, 169 (x4); CBC (67, 96, 112, 154, 155, 160, 162, 163)

HEAWEVER: AY (6, 10, 16, 17); TL (79)

HEAWR: CBC (234)

HEAWSE: TL (70, 103, 104, 112, 116, 136, 179, 186, 207)

HEREABEAWTS: CBC (54)

KEAW: TB (6 (X2), 8, 12); AY (18 (x3)

LEAUD: AY (4, 7, 22)

MEAUTH: GC (10), TB (7, 9); AY (4, 8, 14)

MEAUTHFUL: AY (8, 21)

MEAWTHFUL: TL (93)

MEAWSE: TL (91)

MEAWTH: TL (204)

NEAW: GC (3, 6, 11, 12 (x2), 13, 14 (x2), 15); TB (8, 10, 12, 13, 14, 16); AY (9 (x2), 10, 16, 17, 18, 19, 20, 22); TL (38, 40, 42 (x3), 48 (x4), 52 (x2), 65, 66, 68, 69, 70, 73, 74, 77 (x4), 79, 84, 85, 87, 94, 98, 99, 100, 102, 105, 112, 115, 121, 122, 123, 124 (x4), 135, 139, 140, 143, 154 (x2), 167, 168, 169, 175, 178, 179 (x3), 184, 187, 207); CBC (25 (x2), 53, 68, 111, 160, 163, 280); WD (232, 234, 236, 241); MM (32, 53, 54)

PEAWER: AY (1, 16, 21)
Annex 4.- Spelling <u> [ʊ] </u>

FUN’': OF (85, 98); BD (122, 131, 136, 137)
- Annex 5.- Spelling <ee> [iː]

A’REET: MM (308) – O’REET: MM (76)

ALMEETY: RL (6, 28, 46, 75, 76, 79 (x2), 89, 106, 114, 115, 117 (x2), 119, 126, 127 (x2), 128, 149, 153, 155, 165, 167, 173, 187, 190, 205, 208, 210, 221, 233); SWS (152, 154, 159, 164, 229, 238, 246, 248, 255, 256, 288, 304, 308, 310); LI (54, 127, 149, 150, 157, 187 (x2), 193, 210, 216, 223, 224, 226, 227, 228, 233, 269, 272, 298, 299)

BREET: TL (95 (x2); AY (19); MM (307); RL (4, 60, 162, 194); LI (138)

BREETENT: AY (11, 21)

BREETNESS: LI (230, 314)

DAYLEET: TL (91); CBC (25); MM (32); MH (51, 62); AY (6); BD (254)

DAY-LEET: GC (4)

DEAWNREET: CBC (69); DOWNREET: WD (59)

FREETENED: RL (8, 16, 114 (x2), 129)

GOOD-NEET: BD (103, 118, 151, 262, 267, 268, 293, 303, 335)

INSEET: GC (11)

LEET: BL (64, 240, 401); MH (209); GC (4, 9); AY (11, 139, 154, 157); RL (4, 7, 31 (x3), 32 (x2), 42, 43, 45, 57, 72, 78, 89, 116, 118, 128, 159, 187, 200, 217 (x2), 231) SWS (51, 67, 239, 290, 309, 314, 345, 348 (x2); LI (66, 122, 165, 152, 215, 216 (x4), 228, 260 (x2), 264); OF (194); BD (198, 260, 261 (x2), 263)

LEETED: LI (122, 314)

LEETENIN’: TL (51)

MOONLEET: WD (243, 248); OF (118)

NEET: RNT (67, 87, 149, 298, 300, 301); CBC (49, 101, 155, 280); BL (13(x2), 31, 45, 49, 51, 80, 82, 108, 130, 136, 138, 228, 230 (x2), 238, 244, 255, 266, 267 (x2), 277, 312, 315, 319, 375, 381, 393); WD (183, 243, 244, 245); SC (10, 11, 12, 17, 18, 36, 39, 41 (x2), 65, 66, 71, 75, 118, 129, 142, 192, 211, 226, 228, 234, 236, 245, 246, 266, 296, 307, 320, 329 (x2); MH (8, 9 (x3), 11 (x2), 20, 34, 37, 57, 66, 73 (x2), 74, 97, 110, 115, 138,
Annex 6.- Spelling <ei> / <ey> [ɛɪ]

FEIGHT: RL (32, 106 (x2), 119, 124, 228); LI (53, 317 (x2), 318 (x3); SWS (169, 200, 213), BL (49 (x3), 78, 379); MH (63, 93, 213, 269); SC (166 (x3); TL (123, 125); AY (5)

FEIGHTIN’: MM (54); RL (43, 101, 106, 118, 119, 121, 198, 233); SWS (167, 310); BL (49 (x4), 78, 379; GC (9); TL (123)
FEYT: BD (265, 266, 303)

FEYTING: BD (103)

REIGHT: SWS (18, 24, 38, 48, 60, 68, 70, 89, 90, 110, 120, 128, 130, 140, 144, 154, 186, 198, 200 (x2), 207, 216, 221, 29, 230, 234, 238, 248, 256, 261, 269, 270, 277, 281, 288, 290 (x2), 291, 304, 309, 310, 335); LI (131)


REYTLY: RNT (26)

- Annex 7.- Spelling <oi> [ɔɪ]

HOIGHER: CBC (101)

HOIGHT: CBC (101 (x2)

MOIGHT: CBC (6, 96, 113, 176, 197); MM (39, 52, 76 (x2); WD (235); FM (210)

NOIGHT: CBC (163)

ROIGHT: CBC (69)

SOIGHT: CBC (163)

TOIGHT: CBC (6)

- Annex 8.- Spelling <ee> [iː]

BEHEEND: GC (16); AY (22)

DEE: BL (69, 214, 216, 222, 230, 226, 228, 238, 380); MH (57, 63, 86, 93, 243, 262 (X2); TP (138); SC (211, 241 (X2); LI (19, 63, 69, 70, 118, 146, 229 (x2), 235 (x3), 288, 293); OF (34); BD (126, 136, 176, 199, 266, 302)

DEED: RL (182, 203, 228); SWS (37, 69, 112, 114 (x4); LI (55, 63, 66, 67, 70, 157, 228 (x2), 229, 235, 264); RNT (100, 118, 119, 227, 231, 232, 288, 294, 371, 372); MH (263); BD (148); SC (287 (x2); BL (58, 117, 138, 157, 172, 277, 380)

DEEING: MH (325); BD (197); SC (16, 336)

DEES: RL (27, 43, 229), SWS (33, 329); BD (186); SC (330, 353)

EE: RL (49, 71, 72, 74, 144, 200, 201, 239)
Annex 9.- Spelling <oi> [ɔɪ]

ANYTOIME: TL (38)

BEDTOIME: CBC (25); MH (66)

BESOIDE: MH (252, 296)

CHOILT: CBC (96); MM (9, 11, 13, 15, 27, 32, 33, 34, 46, 48, 52, 64, 65); WD (235)

DROIVE: AY (6)

DROIVER: AY (6)

DROIVIN’: TB (7)

FOIND: CBC (97, 101, 160, 162)

FOINE: CBC (67 (x2), 95, 101, 163, 264); MM (53); WD (243); RL (238).

FOINERY: CBC (96)

FOIRE: MH (294); CBC (162, 197); FM (210)

FOIVE: CBC (260 (x3)

HOIDE: CBC (33)

KOIND: CBC (2); MM (12, 305).

LOIFE: BL (158, 179, 385 (x3)); MH (53, 207, 208, 257); SC (86, 98, 184, 329); MM (39 (x2), 49)

LOIKE: BL (47 (x2), 52, 55, 69, 78, 82, 85, 113, 114 (x2), 117, 120, 124, 125, 126, 137, 138 (x3), 139, 170, 174, 186, 190, 208, 222, 236, 244, 245, 246, 247, 250, 255, 267, 268, 275, 317, 319, 329, 365, 373, 379, 384); MH (78 (x2), 79, 94, 96, 99, 101 (x2), 108, 144, 153, 157, 188, 192, 193, 196, 208, 209 (x2), 212, 215, 216, 223 (x2), 224, 247, 252, 253
LOINES: AY (17)

MOI: CBC (155, 162, 165, 206, 207); MM (15, 39, 105, 139, 141, 249, 303); WD (16, 233, 235, 236, 239)

MOIND: BL (64, 84, 114, 158, 213, 215 (x2), 221, 265, 269, 286, 338, 350); MH (35, 68, 73, 78, 80, 135, 184, 207, 249, 264, 267 (x2), 286, 295); SC (42, 58, 75, 86, 96, 127, 145, 165 (x2), 190, 195, 211, 267, 270, 310, 316, 321, 345, 352, 373), CBC (33, 54, 80, 163, 197); MM (249); WD (242, 244); FM (212)

MOINE: BL (172, 176, 186, 200, 264); SC (107, 165, 166 (x2), 376); MM (74)

NOICE: CBC (113)

NURSE-CHOILT: FM (210)

OI: MM (11, 32, 41)

PROICE: MM (32)

QUOITE: CBC (263)

SHOININ": CBC (101 (x2)

SHOINY: AY (11)

SOIDE: CBC (2, 34, 230); MM (34)

SOIGN: CBC (160)

TOIME: BL (25, 69, 94, 101, 106, 114, 157, 162, 169, 200, 208, 222 (x3), 235, 237, 277, 317, 335, 379, 380, 383); MH (19, 33, 34, 55, 57, 66, 67, 110, 115, 144, 183); SC (15 (x2), 51, 70, 73 (x2), 86, 129, 133, 142, 144 (x7), 166, 190, 211, 263, 270, 272, 279, 298, 306, 353); AY (17 (x4); CBC (70, 79, 145, 155, 207); WD (231, 236).

WHOILE: CBC (67); MM (103)

WHOITE: MH (209, 283); CBC (2, 33)
WHOY: SC (297, 347); MM (27); WD (whoi) (236, 245)

WOILD: CBC (96)

RP [əʊ]

- Annex 10. Spelling <ooa> [ʊǝ] and spelling <oo> [uː]

ALOOAN: BL (126, 145 (x2), 214 (x2); SC (92, 192, 267)

BOOAN: GC (5 (x2); TB (9); TL (49)

BOOATH: MH (34); TB (11, 12); AY (10, 11, 12, 14 (x2); TL (77, 99, 135, 139, 175); CBC (289)

CLOOAS: CBC (163); MM (32); WD (240); RL (75)

CLOOATHES: RL (94, 148, 159, 160, 209, 237, 242 (x2)

COOAT: AY (11, 12); TL (79, 143)

LOOAD: TL (40)

OOATH: CBC (162)

ROOAD: BL (126, 158, 234); MH (19, 20, 51, 103, 207, 210, 257, 267, 278); SC (130, 139, 145, 194)

STOOAN: BL (166, 173, 215, 234, 235 (x3), 237 (x2); SC (182 (x3); LI (235)

WAISTCOOAT: AY (14 (2), 15)

GOO: TB (12, 13)

SMOOK: OF (250, 251, 252)

THOOSE: GC (5, 13, 14 (x3); TB (12); AY (2, 4, 5 (x2), 9, 10, 16, 19, 20)
- **Annex 11.- Spelling <o+C+C>**

BROKKEN: BL (50, 83); MH (249); SC (61, 121, 321); GC (10, 13); RL (23, 30, 31, 36, 37, 41, 42, 91, 106, 107, 200, 212, 229)

OPPEN: BL (153 (x2)); SC (43, 128, 211, 325 (x3)); MM (65); RL (46, 123); LI (16, 66); MH (61)

OPPENED: BL (101); MH (254); SC (43); RL (15, 20, 65, 89, 210, 212, 213, 243)

OPPENIN: GC (15)

OPPENS: BD (195, 196)

OPPENT: GC (9); AY (12, 17); CBC (156)

SPOKKEN: MH (91); SC (60); CBC (145); LI (150, 211)

- **Annex 12.- Spelling <ow> [aʊ]**

BOWD: (BD (365))

COWD: OF (34 (x4), 50 (x3), 52 (x3), 250); BD (137, 311); BL (229); MH (148, 174, 298); TL (79, 127, 141); CBC (102); MM (12); RL (42, 45, 148); SWS (35, 84, 297); LI (66, 158, 209, 224 (x2), 270)

COWT: OF (82); RNT (87, 90, 91); BD (106 (x2), 107)

GOWD: LI (31 (x2), 143); BD (169); AY (4)

GOWDEN: (RL (4))

HOWD: RL (18, 20, 22, 23 (x2), 32, 43, 46, 87, 153, 155, 170, 189, 197, 199, 205, 217, 220 (x3), 222 (x3), 232 (x2), 240, 242); BL (28, 135, 139, 158, 194, 221, 227, 330); LI 55, 83, 84, 120, 132, 142, 157, 288); MH (153, 241, 264, 292); TP (237); SC (76, 145); GC (9, 10); TB (11); AY (4, 5, 8, 9, 10, 11, 13, 16, 17, 19); SWS (40, 59, 96, 129, 146, 158, 164, 230, 242, 243, 264); OF (82, 315); RNT (298); BD (107, 132, 149, 170, 195, 197, 244, 256, 259, 261, 323, 330); TL (52, 73, 83, 116, 126, 179)

OWD: OF (22, 27, 28, 29, 35, 52, 55 (x2), 56, 58, 60, 62, 63, 76, 83, 85, 105, 106, 112, 113, 119 (x2), 183, 189, 193 (x2), 250 (x2), 251, 252, 253, 316); TL (110, 112, 123, 124, 137, 140 (x4), 141, 143, 166, 167, 172, 174, 175, 179 (x2), 180, 183 (x5), 184, 186, 205, 206); RL (3, 4, 5, 42, 45, 137, 138, 140, 143, 144, 145, 146, 150, 152 (x3), 153 (x4), 154, 160, 162, 165, 167, 168, 169 (x3), 170, 172, 173, 178 (x4), 179, 181, 182, 183, 185, 187, 177
189, 195 (x2), 196 (x3), 198, 200 (x2), 202, 206, 209, 210, 211 (x2), 212 (x3), 221, 225, 226 (x4), 231, 232, 233, 238 (x3), 239 (x4), 240 (x3), 241 (x3), 242 (x6); BL (13, 37, 45, 49, 50, 75, 82, 102, 132, 138, 149, 157, 158, 171, 180, 187, 189, 191, 195 (x2), 207, 208, 219, 226, 227, 237, 238, 249, 278, 284, 285, 349, 352, 361, 362, 363, 364, 378, 379, 380, 383, 384, 386, 400 (x2), 403); MH (3, 10, 12, 19, 24, 25 (x2), 31, 33, 34 (x3), 35 (x2), 36, 43, 53, 62, 73, 74, 83, 96, 146, 149, 163, 171, 185, 190 (x2), 191, 242, 243, 248, 262, 264, 265, 266, 269, 294, 297, 306, 316, 318); TP (242); SC (4, 11, 51, 60, 68, 72, 73, 74, 75, 77, 79, 86, 89, 95, 122 (x2), 144 (x3), 164, 165, 166 (x3), 173, 196 (x2), 199, 207, 210, 211, 255, 259, 264, 267, 272, 280, 305, 312, 322, 333, 336, 337, 338, 339, 340, 343, 364, 373, 376, 378); TM (91, 94, 96, 123, 136); GC (3 (x3), 4, 5, 6, 8, 10, 11 (x4), 12, 13, 14, 15); TB (5 (x2), 6, 7, 11, 13 (x2), 14, 15); AY (2, 3 (x3), 4, 5 (x2), 6, 22 (x4); CBC (10, 33, 68, 156, 165, 229); MM (11, 33, 35, 52, 140); WD (231, 233, 235); LI (49, 51, 52, 53, 54 (x3), 55 (x2), 56 (x2), 59, 63 (x3), 64 (x2), 65, 66 (x2), 67, 69, 70, 85, 88 (x2), 97, 98, 99, 102, 103, 107 (x2), 118, 121, 125, 130, 131, 143, 146, 148, 176, 185, 186, 207, 209 (x2), 210, 211, 226, 234, 235, 237, 245 (x2), 258, 259 (x2), 264, 268, 270, 272, 278, 297, 301, 302 (x2), 304, 315, 316, 321, 323, 324, 328, 330); SWS (14, 24 (x2), 32, 33, 36, 37, 44, 46, 49, 50 (x2), 51, 54, 55, 89, 91, 103, 110, 111 (x2), 112 (x2), 115, 119 (x2), 121, 130, 134, 144, 149, 150, 151, 153, 155, 159, 164, 166, 169, 173, 176, 177, 186, 195, 196 (x3), 197, 198 (x3), 199, 201, 214, 216, 217 (x2), 219, 264, 271, 178, 287 (x3), 299, 304, 305, 334, 336, 341, 342, 344, 347, 348 (x2), 350); RNT (19, 21, 27, 41, 43, 45, 52, 68, 95, 120, 236, 300); BD (106, 122, 126)

OWDER: TL (66, 142, 178)

ROWL: RNT (50)

SOWL: OF (112 (x3); RNT (134)

TOWD: MH (110, 144, 145, 183, 251, 253, 254 (x3), 267, 283 (x3), 338 (x2); LI (20, 32, 52, 55, 66, 99 (x2), 100, 122, 235, 260, 261, 299, 315, 321, 330, 331); TM (296); GC (3, 10, 11, 16); AY (1, 2, 5, 6 (x2), 7, 8, 10, 20); TL (43, 92, 98, 114, 142, 86); SC (39, 51, 61, 87, 118, 224, 236 (x2), 258, 320, 328 (x2); BL (44, 69, 184, 101, 158, 200, 202, 209, 213, 235, 239, 240); LI (20, 32, 52, 55, 66, 99 (x2), 100, 122, 235, 260, 261, 299, 315, 321, 330, 331); SWS (154, 169, 177, 223, 263 (x3), 307, 330, 333, 334, 347); RL (18, 21, 40 (x2), 42, 43, 44, 47, 49, 50, 52, 55, 58, 64, 66, 69, 75, 78, 79, 89, 90, 94, 99, 124, 135, 140 (x2), 150, 152 (x2), 153, 161 (x2), 164, 170, 197, 200, 208, 209, 212, 217 (x3), 220, 240, 241)
TOWT: MM (39, 40); OF (105, 193, 194, 278)

  - **Annex 13.- Spelling <oi> [ɔɪ]**

FIRE-HOILE: RL (9, 19, 49, 223, 228, 241)


HOYLE: RNT (47, 300); BD (122, 138, 182, 263, 277)

PIG-HOILE: MH (296)

**RP [ɛɪ]**

  - **Annex 14.- Spelling <a+C+C> [a]**

APPERN: TL (187)

BABBY: CBC (203); MM (11, 12, 13, 14, 29, 32, 40, 45); BL (28, 30, 31, 206, 347); MH (193); TL (41, 79, 142); RL (13, 135, 145, 200, 217); SWS (89, 256); LI (139); RNT (190)

FAVVERED: RL (60)

FAVVERS: TL (49, 96)

LADDIE: GC (15)

LADDY: TM (139)

MAKKEN: BL (249); TL (98, 169); SC (15 (x2), 30, 305)

MAKKIN’: GC (12, 13, 14); TL (51, 94); RL (21, 60, 62, 132, 135, 154, 171, 188, 198, 209, 219, 221, 223, 231); LI (132)

MISTAKKIN’: GC (8)

NEWSPAPPER: GC (3)

OPPENED: AY (6); RL (15, 20, 53, 65, 89, 140, 210, 212, 213, 243)

PAPPER: CBC (113, 162, 163, 206, 208); RL (146, 154); MM (139); BL (26); MH (171, 191, 193 (x2), 255); SC (8, 15, 71, 165); AY (1, 4, 20); OF (251); BD (139, 149, 258, 295, 366, 367)

SHAPP: RNT (21)

SHAPPED: RL (4, 115, 116, 145, 151, 181 (x2), 206 (x2)
SHAPPIN’: RL (17, 115, 129)

TAKKEN: CBC (45, 145); MM (11, 40, 104); GC (3, 16); TB (8); AY (2, 9, 20); BD (123, 127)

TAKKIN’: TL (140); RL (20, 41, 45, 109, 148, 164, 187, 210, 211); LI (132)

WAKKEN: GC (3, 10, 11, 12); TL 853)

WAKKENED: RL (21, 43)

WAKKENT: GC (10)

- Annex 15.- Spellings <a+C+Ø> / < a+C+’>

Lat’ (15, 56, 67, 96, 236, 273)

MAK’: SC (77, 165, 171, 336); CBC (45, 160, 163, 197); MM (39, 47, 48); BL (62, 68 (x2), 75, 78, 81, 85, 125, 140, 179, 202, 249, 286, 288, 290, 336, 349, 365, 379, 393); MH (24, 29, 34, 53, 55, 57, 135, 174, 184, 209, 211, 222, 241, 253, 268294, 298); AY (4 (x2), 13 (x2), 14, 15, 19); TL (40, 83, 216, 127, 140, 156, 175); SWS (14 (x2), 17, 21, 23, 25 (x2), 26, 34, 35 (x2), 48 (x2), 50, 69, 70 (x2), 81, 91, 106, 111, 120, 127, 128, 131, 133 (x3), 135, 140, 144, 146, 154, 158 (x2), 166, 167, 192, 196, 200, 220, 221, 230 (x2), 231, 238, 255, 290, 297, 301, 320, 336, 341, 342 (x2), 347, 348 (x3); LI (45, 47, 49, 82, 84, 99, 123, 152, 157, 176, 188, 207, 210 (x2), 215, 216, 224, 227, 228, 248, 259, 288, 295, 299, 303, 322, 329 (x2), 330, 334 (x2), 337 (x2); OF (34, 71, 105, 119)

MAKS: GC (3); RNT (118)

MISTAK’: MH (211, 222); SC (151); RL (103, 162, 207)

SHAP’: SWS (15, 25, 36, 106, 107, 155, 287, 349)

TAK’: SC (53, 86, 165, 184, 191, 322, 353); CBC (25, 162, 166); MH (38 (x2), 39, 57 (x3), 62 (x3), 67, 72, 83, 101, 132, 138, 153, 157, 175, 183, 213 (x3), 246 (x2), 248, 269, 299 (x3), 317); TM (15, 296); GC (5, 11, 13, 14); AY (4, 5, 9, 10, 11, 21, 22); TL (41, 56 (x2), 69, 86, 92, 110, 114, 121, 124, 143); RL (40 (x3), 45, 46, 49, 50, 56, 57, 63, 65, 67, 90, 95, 101, 106, 125, 129, 130, 136, 140 (x2), 141, 146 (x2), 147, 148, 154, 159, 179, 196, 200, 201, 202, 206, 210, 229, 230, 231, 238, 239); SWS (17, 24, 33, 54, 69, 94, 106, 108, 114, 123, 128 (x2), 167, 178, 189, 199, 219, 231, 238, 247, 256, 261, 298, 299 (x2), 304 (x2), 310, 314, 319, 330, 341 (x2); LI (12, 50, 53, 55, 58, 64, 65, 80, 158 (x3), 149, 152 (x2), 153, 188, 210, 225, 226 (x2), 228, 234, 280, 296 (x2), 313, 318, 320, 328, 329
- Annex 16. - Spelling <aa> \[ɛ:\]

TAAK: RNT (315)

- Annex 17. - Spellings <ea> / <eä> \[ɪǝ\]

DEAY: CBC (163)
FEACE: CBC (2); MM (307)
GEAME: CBC (102)
MEADE: MM (52)
NEAME: CBC (207, 260); MM (39, 40, 41, 48 (x2), 52 (x2), 67, 140, 249)
SEÄME: MM (303)
WEÄSTE: MM (306 (x2), 307)

RP \[ɛə\]

- Annex 18. - Spelling <ee> \[ɪǝ\]

AWEER: OF (276)
CHEER: SWS (96); LI (80, 118, 121, 261); MM (25)
NOWHEERE: RL (23)
ONYWHEERE: AY (2(x2); TL (92)
SOMEWHEERE: TB (6); TL (102, 115, 182); AY (8); BD (260).
SUMWHEER: MH (198, 265); SC (183, 247)
STEERS: CBC (53)
THEER: OF (35, 120, 124, 194, 206, 250, 276, 277, 278, 316, 230, 322, 326): RNT (134, 198); BD (141, 153, 245, 257, 261, 263, 277, 333); RL (40); SWS (46, 140, 286); LI (50, 107, 127, 137, 138 (x2), 143, 193, 198, 210, 226 (x2), 230, 235, 246, 277, 296, 303, 319, 320, 323 (x2); CBC (54, 162, 197, 207, 208, 234, 280, 289); MM (33, 81); WD (178, 231, 248); GC (3, 11, 13); TB (6, 10); AY (2, 3, 7, 8, 12 (x2), 14 (x2), 22, 23); TL (51); BL
Annex 19.- Spelling <u+r> [ɜːr] 
CUR: BL (171, 172, 214, 216, 245, 277, 278 (x2), 283 (x3), 363, 326); MH (13, 19, 35, 153, 296)
CHUR: MH (117)

Annex 20.- Spelling <ay> [ɛɪ]

CRAYTUR: RL (9)
DAYCENT: RL (16, 28, 40, 64, 76, 86, 90, 117, 127, 128, 129, 130 (x2): SWS (17, 68, 185, 200, 207, 218, 305, 342); LI (336)
FAYVER: RL (28, 229, 233); SWS (20, 341); LI (82, 226, 228, 229 (x2)
TAY: BD (220), SWS (37 (x2), 96 (x2), 121, 297, 299, 301, 308, 342)
TAYCHERS: RL (53)
WAYKER: BD (195)

Annex 21.- Spelling <ey>/<ei> [ɛɪ]
EYT: RL (9, 42 (x2), 55, 80, 194, 210, 212); SWS (14, 37, 92, 94, 95, 133, 203); LI (210)
PREYCH: SWS (36, 121, 133, 216, 218)
PREYCHED: SWS (77, 207, 214)
PREYCHIN': LI (151); SWS (35, 77, 200)
SPEIK: BL (111, 131, 155, 194, 200 (x2), 236, 312, 354); MH (215, 252 (x2), 266)
Annex 22.- Spelling <eea> [ta]

CLEEAN: MH (265); AY (20); TL (38, 111, 126, 179); RL (211)

DEEAL: BL (315); SC (198); AY (3, 9, 14, 15 (x3), 19); GC (16 (x2); TL (127, 153); RL (27, 30, 114, 119, 121).

DHREEAM: TL (84)

DREEAMER: GC (3)

DHREEAMIN’: TL (114)

FEAAST: MM (53)

KEEAPIN’: CBC (6)

LEEAPIN’-POW: MM (52)

LEEAST: AY (7); TL (42, 92)

LEEAVE: AY (7); TL (41, 85, 178); CBC (2 (x2).

LEEAVIN’: AY (1, 7)

MEEAN: SC (13 (x2), 14, 18, 51, 65 (x2), 77, 306 (x2), 345, 352 (x2), 367; GC (16); TB (6, 7, 8, 9, 11); AY (22 (x2), 15); TL (41, 126, 179); CBC (206, 280); RL (28, 60, 75, 77, 79, 89, 99, 132 (x2), 141 (x2), 158, 161 (x2), 181, 184, 205, 210, 229.

MEEANIN’: AY (19)

MEEAT: RL (75)

PEEAL: AY (19)

PLEEAS: BL (246, 251); SC (117 (x2)

PLEEASE: LI (328)

PLEEASED: CBC (2); LI (328).

PLEEASEN: TL (101)

SEEAT: AY (12)

STEEAM: SC (298); AY (14); CBC (207); FM (53); RL (175).

STREEAM: AY (10)
RP [ɜː]

- **Annex 23.- Spelling <eea> [ɪə]**

HEEARD: TP (264); CBC (68, 160)

- **Annex 24.- Spelling <y+e> [ɪə]**

YERD: BL (26, 57 (x2), 126, 138 (x3), 172, 189, 238, 244, 265, 277, 315, 347, 348, 365, 381); MH (33, 95, 253 (x2), 254, 264, 266); SC (38, 76 (x3), 77, 113, 288, 376); OF (192, 193, 194, 250, 253, 276); RNT (22, 26, 91, 140, 149, 299); BD (136, 139, 257, 260, 292)

RP [uː]

- **Annex 25.- Spelling <oi> [ɔɪ]**

LOISE (lose): OF (21, 251); RL (28, 39, 68, 119, 141, 230); SWS (68, 69, 134, 186, 197, 216)

LOISER (loser): RL (28, 141)

RP [ɔː]

- **Annex 26.- Spelling <ow> [aʊ]**

AW: RNT (116, 119, 137, 141, 150, 299, 301)

BOWT: TL (142 (x2))

BROWT: MH (41, 171, 176, 183, 193, 207, 247, 254, 304); SC (118, 283, 287, 288, 320); GC (10, 13, 14); AY (12, 16, 18, 22); TL (85, 95, 142, 185); CBC (280); MM (40, 95, 139); WD (237, 238); FM (210 (x2); RL (119); OF (29, 51, 118 184, 249);

CAW: RNT (137), BD (135, 143)

DOWTER: MH (192); SC (52, 61, 72, 121); TM (287); TB (7, 11); CBC (95, 229); MM (40, 139)

FAWN: RNT (45)

FOWTEN: TL (138)

THOWT: BL (15, 37 (x2), 38, 78 (x3), 109, 170, 237, 238, 244); MH (171, 183, 307); SC (41, 65, 6974, 76 (x2), 77, 79, 112 (x2), 117, 192, 304, 321 (x2), 328, 373); TB (5, 7); AY (1, 3, 4, 6 (x2), 7 (x2); OF (56, 57 (x3), 63, 113, 192, 193 (x2), 230); CBC (280); MM (26,
27, 126); WD (235, 237); FM (221); BD (136, 153, 176, 199, 203, 204, 259, 263, 295, 334, 365); RNT (42, 50, 52, 109, 115, 134, 141, 149, 299); OF (56, 57 (x3), 63, 113, 192, 193 (x2), 230)

**RP [ɛ]**

- **Annex 27. - Spelling <eea> [ɪǝ]**

BREEATH: CBC (2); RL (114, 140, 153, 158, 207)

DEAAD: BL (200, 201, 221, 236, 238, 240 (x2); MH (11, 107, 208, 257, 262 (x3), 263 (x2); SC (288); GC (14); CBC (33, 203); RL (3, 26, 30, 32, 34, 35, 44, 59, 80, 88, 99, 107, 109, 114, 120, 121, 141, 160, 164, 207, 229, 231, 232, 233, 239, 242); LI (19, 66, 70 (x3), 220 (x2), 224, 225, 226, 234 (x2), 260)

DEEATH: MH (263), SC (166, 335); CBC (67, 155, 280, 281, 282); MM (39); RL (58, 61, 104, 145, 153, 227, 242); SWS (176, 180); LI (82, 229, 230, 235, 300)

DEEAF: SWS (146)

HEEALTH: MM (16)

INSTEEAD: CBC (162)

SWEEATS: BL (384)