

# Leeds Studies in English

## Article:

David J. North, 'Towards a Framework for the Analysis of English in Cornwall', *Leeds Studies in English*, n.s. 19 (1988), 203-30

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## Towards a framework for the analysis of English in Cornwall

David North

In *Studies in Anglo-Cornish Phonology (SACP)* I offered an historical interpretation of the patterns which emerged from a geographical study of some aspects of Cornish English pronunciation.<sup>1</sup> The phonological data were presented in a fairly informal fashion and a system of "diaphonemes" was employed as an *ad hoc* basis for comparison. The present article grew out of an attempt to set this phonological description on a more rigorous footing: it was hoped that a "diasystem" could be constructed for Anglo-Cornish, i.e. an underlying phonemic system from which all the local varieties recorded in the county could be derived by a series of generative rules. While this attempt has been unsuccessful, the insights gained in tackling the problem have suggested how a framework might be established which could handle not only the dynamics of Anglo-Cornish phonology but also some of the lexical distribution patterns which occur in the county.

The type of diasystem which Trudgill has formulated for Norwich English presupposes a relatively homogeneous speech community.<sup>2</sup> It is doubtful whether Cornwall can be said, as a whole, to form a coherent speech community of this kind. Rather, as the material presented in *SACP* shows, there appear to be a number of local linguistic "traditions" within the county.

The main difficulty with a purely synchronic description, however, is the presence, in one variety, of features from different chronological strata, with frequencies determined by social and geographical factors. For example, a speaker from West Cornwall may seem to have a phoneme /ɔ:/ comprising words from three historical groups: Middle English (ME) *ou* (e.g. know), ME  $\bar{q}$  (e.g. stone) and ME *au/qu/ǎl* + consonant (e.g. straw, bought, walk). Further evidence from the same speaker, on the other hand, might suggest the existence of three separate phonemes: /ɔ:/ (ME *ou*), /o:/ (ME  $\bar{q}$ ) and /v:/ (ME *au/qu/ǎl* + consonant). While it is possible to write a variable rule to account for the apparent partial merger of these three phonemes, the full significance of the situation (which can only be understood

diachronically) is submerged. What is in fact happening is that the progressive raising of /ɒ:/ towards the half-open position is bringing this phoneme into a portion of phonological space hitherto occupied by /ɔ:/ < ME *ou*. This /ɔ:/, and /o:/, are recessive features in much of Cornwall, tending to merge as /ɔʊ/.

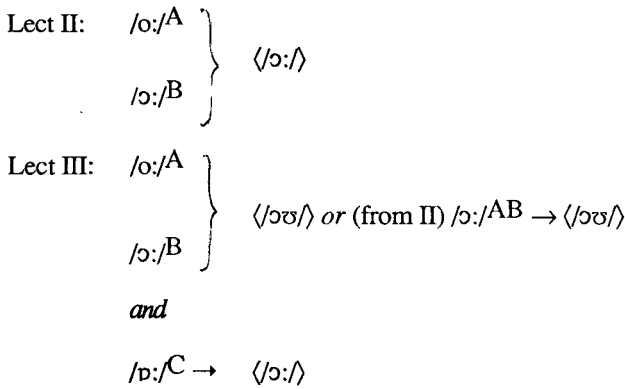
The so-called "dynamic speech model", developed by Bailey and Bickerton,<sup>3</sup> has the advantage of incorporating both synchronic and diachronic perspectives in charting the progress of sound-change in space and apparent time, but even this appears to be unable to handle complications such as variation caused by contact between different geographical traditions. This may be a relic of processes of change in the past, but it is nevertheless part of the present reality and completes the background of the example cited above: the possibility of merging ME *ou* and ME  $\bar{o}$  as /ɔ:/ is a feature affecting the English of West Cornwall, which at the same time shares with the rest of the county the option of maintaining the distinction between these two word groups by means of the /ɔ:/ and /o:/ phonemes respectively.

The speaker in this example seems to have three alternative varieties or, in Bailey's terminology, "lects" at his disposal. The diasystem underlying this situation would have to include at least three diaphonemes (/ɒ:/, /ɔ:/ and /o:/) and a fourth (/ɔʊ/) if the two ways of neutralizing the ME  $\bar{o}$  : *ou* opposition are distinguished. The lexical incidence of these diaphonemes in the three lects is:

	A: ME $\bar{o}$	B: ME <i>ou</i>	C: ME <i>au/ou/ǎlC</i>
Lect I	/o:/	/ɔ:/	/ɒ:/
II	/ɔ:/		/ɒ:/
III	/ɔʊ/		/ɔ:/

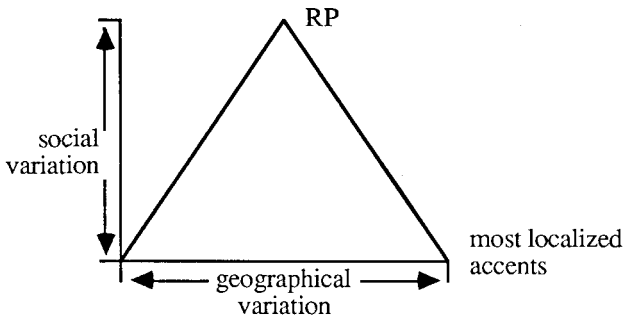
In generative terms lects II and III can be derived from the underlying diaphonemes reflected in lect I by means of the following variable rules:

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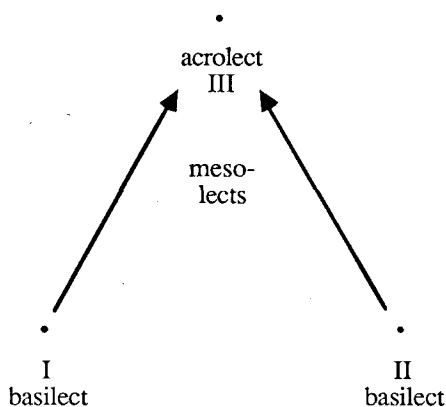
What this conventional analysis fails to accommodate, however, is the different geographical, social and historical status of the three lects. As pointed out above, lect I occurs throughout much of Cornwall, while lect II is characteristically West Cornish. The status of lect III, on the other hand, is of a different order from the predominantly geographical relationship between I and II: it appears to reflect the diffusion into Cornwall of a phonological system similar to that of Received Pronunciation (RP).<sup>4</sup> Not only does the geographical evidence suggest that this lect is progressive, but it must also reflect an awareness of a socially prestigious variety. The features associated with lect III are present, to some extent, throughout Cornwall,<sup>5</sup> and they seem to be spreading at the expense of local vernacular traditions.

Trudgill has illustrated the relationship between geographical and social variation in phonology in this fashion:<sup>6</sup>



The base of the triangle indicates that geographical variation is at a maximum at the lowest social level, while the position of RP at the apex reflects the minimal amount of variation in the prestige accent at the highest social level. All accents are located at some point within this social and geographical continuum, and for most speakers the varieties at the extremes of the scale probably only exist as ideal polar lects.

It is useful to make use of some terms evolved in the study of creoles in connection with the process by which speakers move from an extreme non-standard variety – the "basilect" – towards the prestige norm – the "acrolect". Between these extremes there are a number of "mesolects", often linked implicationally, representing the successive stages of decreolization. At any one time speakers are found who represent various chronological stages on this continuum. This terminology can be applied to our previous example as follows:



It is suggested here that Anglo-Cornish speech is undergoing a process of convergence, by which the geographical differences which can be isolated at the basilectal level are being eroded as speakers move towards a less differentiated acrolect.

Although it is generally believed that RP functions as an acrolect in England, it seems that this is not necessarily the case in Cornwall (nor, presumably, in other parts of the South-West). The concept of a regional standard has received little attention in Great Britain,<sup>7</sup> but Milroy has recently pointed out that forms intermediate between the basilect and RP, and avoiding stigmatized vernacular features, may reflect local prestige norms in Northern Ireland.<sup>8</sup>

The most conspicuous feature of what may be termed Cornish Regional

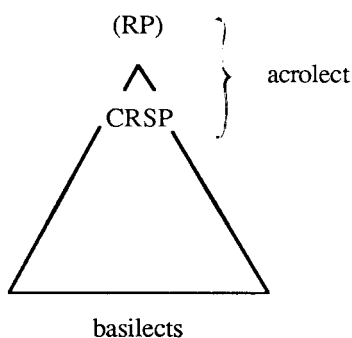
Standard Pronunciation (CRSP) is the preservation of final and preconsonantal /r/ at a much higher social level than is normal for a vernacular feature in England. Not only is this clear from casual observation in Cornwall, but it has also been demonstrated by Bremann in his sociolinguistic research in the county.<sup>9</sup>

Apart from this, the geographical evidence for convergence presented in *SACP* and summarized below suggests that CRSP has a phonemic system like that of RP:

- (i) /ɒ:/ is yielding to /ɔ:/ in words with ME *au/ou/ǎl* + consonant.
- (ii) The ME *ou* and  $\bar{o}$  groups are merging as /ɔʊ/.
- (iii) /ɪʊ/ is yielding to /ju:/ in words with early Modern English (eMnE) *iu*.
- (iv) The ME *ai* and  $\bar{a}$  groups are merging as /ɛɪ/.
- (v) ME  $\bar{e}$  words are being transferred from /ɛɪ/ to /i:/.

Differences from RP occur at the realizational level: for example, the equivalent phoneme to RP /ɑ:/ still tends to be realized as front open [a:]. In East Cornwall a feature of the process of convergence is the gradual retraction of front rounded [ɻ] in those phonemes where this occurs in the vernacular realization.

To sum up, the type of continuum proposed as a model for the "standardization" of English in Cornwall presupposes a number of differing local systems as starting-points (although most varieties will show geographically-determined variation between these basilects):



This can be envisaged as a "variety space", bounded by a number of ideal phonemic systems which co-exist in the competence of a speaker to an extent determined by a number of factors, e.g. time, place, social level, internal linguistic structure. Each

feature of an individual's speech may occupy a different position in the continuum, and every speaker's performance exists in the tension between conflicting norms, e.g. the vernacular and the standard, the traditional and the progressive, "solidarity" and "power".<sup>10</sup>

In order to indicate the lexical distribution of phonemes, word groups are classified on the basis of ME sounds as follows (long vowels and diphthongs only):

- (a) ME  $\bar{i}$  e.g. bind, night
- (b) ME  $\bar{e}$  e.g. feet, geese
- (c) ME  $\bar{e}$  e.g. eat, wheat
- (d) ME  $\bar{a}$  e.g. gate, spade
- (e) ME  $\bar{o}$  e.g. rope, stone
- (f) ME  $\bar{o}$  e.g. goose, root
- (g) ME  $\bar{u}$  e.g. cow, house
- (h) ME  $ai/ei$  e.g. chain, hay
- (i) ME  $oi/ui$  e.g. boy, point
- (j) eMnE  $iu$  e.g. dew, few
- (k) ME  $ou$  e.g. know, snow
- (l) ME  $ou$  e.g. bought, thought  
 ME  $au$  e.g. draw, straw  
 ME  $\check{a}l + \text{consonant}$  e.g. halter, stall
- (m) ME  $\check{a} + f, s, \theta$  e.g. grass, path  
 ME  $\check{a} + lf, lm$  e.g. calf, calm  
 ME (Old French)  $an + \text{consonant}$  e.g. aunt, branch

The following Anglo-Cornish (AC) system contains enough phonemic units to describe the basilectal varieties of English recorded in Cornwall and to ensure that the maximum number of oppositions are identified (again, long vowels and diphthongs only). The historical sources are indicated:<sup>11</sup>

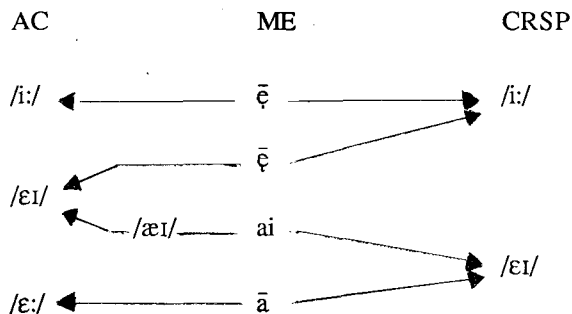
$i:b$	$u:f$		$i\omega j$
	$o:e$		
$\varepsilon:d$		$\varepsilon i^c$	$\varepsilon\omega g$
	$o:k$		$o i^i$
		$\varepsilon i^h$	
$a:m$	$\nu:l$	$a i^a$	

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The system suggested for the acrolectal CRSP is essentially the RP system with certain realizational differences:

i:bc      u:f(ɔ)  
 εI<sup>dh</sup>      ɔI<sup>i</sup>  
 ɔ:l      εɔg      ɔɔ<sup>ek</sup>  
 a:m      aɪ<sup>a</sup>

Attempts to derive this system from the basilectal system set out above by means of conventional synchronic generative rules were largely unsuccessful – mainly because we are dealing here with two discrete (if partially overlapping) systems. For example, AC /εI/ and CRSP /εI/ are different phonemes as far as their lexical distribution is concerned, although it is not possible to identify a distinct transitional point in the intervening continuum:



In the transition from AC to CRSP, CRSP /εI/ can be generated by a variable rule as follows:

AC /εI/<sup>h</sup> }  
 /ε:/<sup>d</sup> } CRSP </εI/<sup>dh</sup>>

(It will be noted that it is necessary to introduce diachronic depth into the AC analysis to accommodate the fusion of the archaic /æI/ < ME ai with /εI/.)



However, AC /ɛɪ/ also includes words from the ME  $\bar{e}$  group which merge with the ME  $\bar{e}$  words as /i:/ in CRSP. This appears to be a case in which two word-groups seem to merge and then, some time later, separate according to their historical origins.<sup>12</sup> In fact two distinct types of change are taking place here: the variable rule formulated above affects the whole corpus of ME  $\bar{a}$  and *ai* words, but the change of AC /ɛɪ/ to CRSP /i:/ in the ME  $\bar{e}$  words involves a process of lexical diffusion by which words (e.g. beam, meat, sea) are individually transferred from AC /ɛɪ/ to CRSP /i:/. The background to this process is the existence of AC and CRSP as alternative norms, with the more prestigious and partially externally-imposed CRSP providing a model for the process of diffusion; i.e. if speakers are aware of the CRSP pattern, they will notice a contrast between AC /ɛɪ/ and CRSP /i:/ in the ME  $\bar{e}$  words and, under the circumstances which favour movement towards the acrolectal end of the continuum, will have a model for their own pronunciation. This seems to take place with very little confusion or hypercorrection.

A different problem arises with regard to CRSP /ɔʊ/ which represents the merger of AC /o:/ and /ɔ:/. While the variable rule which suggests itself:

$$\left. \begin{array}{l} \text{AC } /o:/^e \\ \\ /ɔ:/^k \end{array} \right\} \text{CRSP } \langle /ɔʊ/^{ek} \rangle$$

would be satisfactory if CRSP were being generated synchronically from an underlying AC, it does not adequately reflect the dynamic process that is taking place. AC /o:/ and /ɔ:/ diphthongize at different rates (see below) and, except in lects where /ɔʊ/ is categorical in the ME  $\bar{o}$  and *ou* groups, it is difficult to identify a point in the continuum where the qualitative change takes place.

The basilectal AC system described above can generate all recorded varieties of eastern and central Cornwall. One inventory rule is required for East Cornwall:

$$\left. \begin{array}{l} /ɪʊ/ \\ \\ /u:/ \end{array} \right\} /u:/$$

This reflects an historical sound change with clear geographical limits.<sup>13</sup>

In West Cornwall there is, apparently alongside the AC model, another local basilectal system:

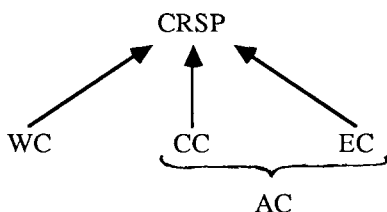
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i:b	u:f		ɪʊj
ɛ:cdh	ɔ:ek		əʊg
a:m	ɒ:l	aɪ <sup>a</sup>	ɔɪ <sup>i</sup>

A number of inventory rules would be required to derive this West Cornish (WC) system from AC. However, in the belief that phonological rules should bear some relation to historical events, it is worth looking into the possible origins of this system.

In *SACP* evidence was presented for the merger of the ME  $\bar{a}$ , *ai* and  $\bar{e}$  groups as /ɛ:/ (usually realized as [e:]) in West Cornwall.<sup>14</sup> It was suggested that this was one of the features of West Cornwall English which reflect an early type of standard pronunciation, supporting Wakelin's conclusion that these were adopted in West Cornwall as the Cornish language died out.<sup>15</sup> Further evidence for this phenomenon is provided by the parallel merger of ME  $\bar{o}$  and *ou* as /ɔ:/ in this area. In the localities examined in *SACP* this feature was most frequent in West Cornwall, particularly at Morvah (Co25).<sup>16</sup> Elsewhere in Cornwall /ɔ:/ < ME  $\bar{o}$  tends to be particularly frequent in words where ME  $\bar{o}$  represented Old English (OE)  $\delta$  lengthened in open syllables, e.g. nose, throat,<sup>17</sup> but this historical conditioning seems to be absent in West Cornwall. Moreover, research currently in progress on the phonology of West Penwith English shows that the merger of ME  $\bar{o}$  and *ou* as /ɔ:/ is a regular feature of the traditional pronunciation of this area. In early Standard English ME  $\bar{o}$  and *ou* probably merged as /ɔ:/ in the late fifteenth or early sixteenth centuries,<sup>18</sup> and in view of the other evidence pointing in the same direction it is likely that WC /ɔ:/ < ME  $\bar{o}$ /*ou* is a further feature of West Cornwall English which reflects the influence of early Standard English on the vernacular which replaced Cornish in this area.

It is therefore incorrect diachronically, and misleading and unnecessarily complicated from the synchronic point of view, to derive the WC system from the AC diasystem. It is preferable to regard WC as an alternative basilectal model in western Cornwall, and to recognize that AC (divided into EC [East Cornish] and CC [Central Cornish] on the basis of the inventory rule described above) and WC represent alternative starting-points for the transition to CRSP.



The relationship between AC and WC on the one hand, and between these and CRSP on the other, can be presented in a diasystem (in Weinreich's use of the term<sup>19</sup>). This diasystem includes all the major relationships, but there are also minor local distributional differences, e.g. at Mullion (Co22) where /a:/ may include the ME *ou* words, and at Kilkhampton (Co4) where the ME *ǣl* + consonant words may join /a:/.<sup>20</sup>

ECW // i:b =  $\frac{EC/\varepsilon:d \sim \varepsilon I^c \sim \varepsilon I^h/}{W/\varepsilon:/cdh} \approx a:m \approx p:l \approx \frac{EC/o:e \sim o:k/}{W/o:/ek} \approx \frac{E/u:/fj}{CW/u:/f \quad I^c i/} \approx aI^a \approx oI^i \approx o\bar{v}g //$

CRSP / i:bc ~  $\varepsilon I^{dh} \sim a:m \cdot o:l \sim o\bar{v}ek \sim u:fj \sim aI^a \cdot oI^i \cdot \varepsilon\bar{v}g /$

The AC system reflects a variety of English in which the ME oppositions between  $\bar{a}$  and *ai* and between  $\bar{o}$  and *ou* are maintained, and which seems to cover much of south-western England.<sup>21</sup> In addition AC retains the capability of keeping the reflexes of ME  $\bar{e}$  apart from those of  $\bar{a}$  and *ai*:

/ε:/d : /εI<sup>c</sup> : /æI<sup>h</sup>

although this seems to be recessive, /æI/ merging with /εI/ to give:

/ε:/d : /εI<sup>ch</sup>

This type of opposition, like /o:/e : /o:/k, occurs throughout Cornwall, but it is significantly less common in the west where the WC system (see above) offers an alternative model. If the distribution of the AC system is mapped using the criterion of its most distinctive and archaic element, i.e. /æI/, it appears (Map 1) that it

extends no further west than Ladock (Co18). Viewed historically, this suggests that English was spoken throughout this area at a time when the threefold opposition  $\bar{a} : ai : \bar{e}$  was regular, i.e. during the ME period. This coincides with Wakelin's areas 1 and 2 which represent, respectively, the area of original English settlement in eastern Cornwall and the area in which the south-western English of these settlers gradually filtered down the peninsula, until by about 1500 the Cornish language only survived in the area to the west of Truro.<sup>22</sup> The western boundary of the AC system suggested above, then, probably reflects broadly the limit of south-western English in Cornwall about 1500.<sup>23</sup>

In western Cornwall, where the oppositions noted above may be collapsed as /ɛ:/<sup>cdh</sup> and /ɔ:/<sup>ek</sup> (see Map 2), the WC system probably reflects the variety of early Standard English introduced after about 1500 (partly alongside elements of the AC system) at the expense of the Cornish language.<sup>24</sup>

The geographical areas associated with the basilectal AC and WC systems are also reflected in the distributions of a number of phonetic features, for example: the monophthongization of /aɪ/<sup>25</sup> and the raising of /a/ < ME  $\bar{a}$  before velar consonants and in certain other words<sup>26</sup> (AC features; Map 1); and the unconditioned and regular realization of /a/ as [æ], /a:/ as [æ:] (Map 2) and /a:r/ as [a:r] (WC features; AC tends to have [a], [a:] and [a:r] respectively).<sup>27</sup>

In addition, the nature of the phonemic system itself may be reflected at the realizational level. For example, the frequent raising of /aɪ/ to [æɪ] and even towards [ɛɪ] in western Cornwall has clearly been encouraged by the absence of /ɛɪ/ and /æɪ/ in the WC system.<sup>28</sup>

Central Cornwall emerges as something of a dialectal melting-pot: not only is it the area most affected by the competition between the AC and WC systems, but it is also the area in which the move towards CRSP has been most marked in geographical terms.<sup>29</sup>

The position adopted in this article – that the basic geographical division within Cornwall occurs between the east and centre on the one hand and the west on the other – implies that the rather abrupt transition between the east and centre represents a secondary differentiation. The various effects of "East Cornwall Fronting", which are responsible for this boundary, have been dated approximately to the 1550-1650 period,<sup>30</sup> and clearly follow the establishment of English, in an AC-type form, roughly as far as Truro during the ME period.

East Cornwall shares this fronting of close back rounded vowels in the reflexes of ME  $\bar{o}$ / eMnE *iu*, ME  $\bar{u}$  and ME  $\bar{u}$  with Devon and north-western Somerset. The process is believed to have spread westward into Cornwall as an

innovation, and the front rounded vowels which resulted became firmly established in the east of the county, almost as far west as Bodmin.<sup>31</sup> During this early modern period eastern Cornwall was linguistically progressive, leaving a more archaic stratum of south-western English in the centre.

However, the progressive features, in their westward expansion, filtered sporadically over much of the AC area. It is necessary to formulate two independent variable realizational rules for the ME  $\bar{o}$  and the eMnE *iu* words:

$$/u:/ \rightarrow \langle [u:] \rangle$$

$$/iʊ/ \rightarrow \langle [u:] \rangle$$

to describe synchronically the effects of fronting in central Cornwall (Map 3) – and these rules must underlie diachronically the developments in the core area of fronting to the east. The quantitative differences in the extent of fronting in central Cornwall contrast with the qualitative difference which marks eastern Cornwall off from this central area. In the east the categorical inventory rule already mentioned is necessary to describe the merger of /u:/ and /iʊ/ in a fronted vowel:

$$\left. \begin{array}{l} /u:/ \\ /iʊ/ \end{array} \right\} /u:/$$

The further phonetic development to [y:] takes place in this area alone.

The situation with regard to /u:/ and /iʊ/ is paralleled by that of /əʊ/ (< ME  $\bar{u}$ ) and /ʊ/ (< ME  $\bar{y}$ ): fully-fronted realizations ([əy ~ ey ~ œy] and [y] respectively) occur in the eastern "core" area only, while the intermediate and earlier partially fronted allophones ([eʊ] and [u]) spread further into central Cornwall.

The closure of AC /o:/ to [u:] is another development which is concentrated in East Cornwall but which has also spread, to a lesser extent, into more westerly parts of the AC area (Map 3). The maintenance of phonological space among the long back rounded vowels in Anglo-Cornish was discussed in some detail in *SACP*: where /o:/ is sandwiched between /u:/ and AC /o:/ some movement seems necessary to maintain phonemic distinctions in the system of long vowels.<sup>32</sup> In East Cornwall the presence of /u:/ allows /o:/ to be raised towards [u:], giving rise to the following local model:

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i:b	u:f	u:e
ɛ:d		ɔ:k
a:m		ɒ:l

(In parts of eastern and central Cornwall a separate /a:/ may also be present as a result of the monophthongization of /aɪ/.)

In central Cornwall, where /u:/ is absent, /o:/ tends to be realized more often by the diphthong [ɔʊ], and the distinction with /ɔ:/ is maintained in conservative varieties (i.e. those closest to the basilect); the long vowel system here is:

i:b	u:f
ɛ:d	ɔ:k
a:m	ɒ:l

/o:/, when realized as [ɔʊ], moves into the subsystem of closing diphthongs. As well as being an advantage structurally, the diphthongization of AC /o:/ is a move in the direction of CRSP /ɔʊ/, as is the less common and presumably later diphthongization of AC /ɔ:/ to [ɔʊ]. At some point along the continuum from AC to CRSP the reflexes of ME  $\bar{o}$  and *ou* merge, and it is necessary, in diachronic terms, to formulate an inventory rule:

AC /o:/	}	CRSP /ɔʊ/
/ɔ:/		

This merger seems to have spread geographically from the western central area of the county.<sup>33</sup>

Alternative solutions to the problem of phonological space in the back rounded vowels seem to have been in the process of evolving in certain areas, before an accelerated trend towards convergence put an end to the further development of local vernacular traditions. There is a sporadic tendency throughout Cornwall for /o:/ to be realized as the centring diphthong [oə], thus removing the phoneme into another portion of phonological space. Similarly, particularly at Mullion (Co22), /ɔ:/ sometimes moves into a more central position [ö:], giving at this locality the following additional model:

i:b		u:f
e:d	ö:e	o:k
æ:m		ɒ:l

It will be noted that a result of these developments is a reduction in the number of height distinctions in the long vowel system from four to three, thereby removing the difference between the front and back series.

Other localities, as a result of the interaction of geographical position and relative time with respect to certain phonological developments, also show evidence of localized alternative phonemic systems. At St Teath (Co10), for instance, the rule /ɪʊ/ → [u:] applies variably, while /u:/ is always realized as [u:]; the possibility of the following long vowel system therefore exists in this area:

i:b	u:j	u:f
e:d		o:k
a:m	a:a	ɒ:l

(In the systems given for Mullion and St Teath /e:/ has been used instead of AC /ɛ:/ to give a better idea of the phonetic reality in these localities; similarly /æ:/ for AC /a:/ at Mullion.)

These minor local variations supplement the available resources of the vernacular models, and complicate further the nature of the socio-geographical basilect – acrolect continuum in Cornwall.

In West Cornwall the transition from the WC system to CRSP proceeds, as far as /ɛ:/ and /ɔ:/ are concerned, by means of the following diachronic rules:

WC /ɛ:/ <sup>c</sup>	→	CRSP /i:/ <sup>c</sup> (by lexical diffusion)
/ɛ:/ <sup>dh</sup>	→	/ɛɪ/ <sup>dh</sup>
/ɔ:/ <sup>ek</sup>	→	/ɔʊ/ <sup>ek</sup>

This relatively simple transformation reflects the historical origin of WC in an earlier version of the standard pronunciation.

At the realizational level, a feature of the process of convergence is the erosion of extreme vernacular features, e.g. the [u:] allophone of /o:/ and the effects of East Cornwall Fronting, particularly in the more progressive south-eastern corner of the county where a process of retraction is under way.<sup>34</sup>

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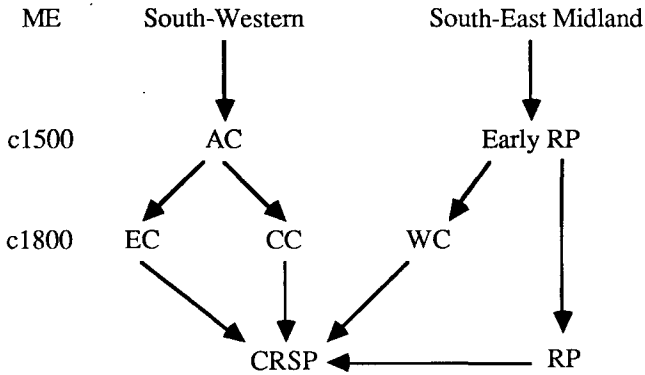
/u:/ : [y:] > [u:]  
/ʊs/ : [ɛy] > [ɛu]

Another symptom of the break-down of the traditional vernacular phonemic pattern is sporadic hypercorrection in items undergoing change. For example, the merger of ME  $\bar{a}$  and *ai* occasionally leads to confusion between the two sets of reflexes: at St Columb Major (Co17) [ɛ:] was recorded in ME *ai* words only, and at Helland (Co11) [o:] is restricted to ME *ou* words. Similarly, the frequent merger of ME  $\bar{o}$  and *ou* as [o:] at Millbrook (Co2) no doubt reflects the process of standardization, [o:] being analysed synchronically as an allophone of CRSP /ʊs/.

Wakelin has compared a number of nineteenth-century attempts to draw a boundary between the eastern and western varieties of the English spoken in Cornwall.<sup>35</sup> All of these fall within a zone bounded approximately by lines drawn between Padstow and St Austell to the east and between Newquay and Truro to the west. Although modern dialectology has recognized the impossibility of drawing exact dialect boundaries, the material on which this article has drawn suggests that it is within this same zone that the respective spheres of influence of the AC and WC systems tend to overlap (Map 4). This statement must be made with some caution: the social, temporal and geographical determinants of linguistic variation obviously affect the extent to which features from either of these models are present in any one idiolect. In addition the diffusion of CRSP features in this area has obscured the relationship between the basilectal varieties; and in any case the continued spread of some features of the AC system westwards from its medieval base in the east and centre meant that it co-existed to some extent with the WC system in the west. This reflects the contrast between the organic, dynamic and indigenous AC system and the WC system which appears to have been introduced into the west under specific sociolinguistic conditions. Both of these basilectal models contrast in the present century with CRSP, the regional approximation to the non-local and currently prestigious RP.

The historical relationships between the varieties discussed can be illustrated as follows:





Several aspects of the lexical geography of Cornwall are clarified by reference to this framework.<sup>36</sup> The pattern is at its clearest when, corresponding to the WC phonological features, we have one of the surviving words derived from the Cornish language distributed in the far west.<sup>37</sup> Despite having a different historical status from that of the WC features, these nevertheless reflect an aspect of the same sociolinguistic phenomenon, i.e. the replacement of Cornish by English in the west, and often contrast with old south-western English words which cover an eastern and central area similar to that occupied by the AC phonological pattern. These south-western words, established by the end of the ME period, and the Cornish words, presumably taken into English during the early modern period, have often been replaced in a later process, analogous to the social and spatial diffusion of CRSP, by which standard words have spread into the county, particularly in the centre but also in progressive areas elsewhere.

A good example of this phenomenon is the case of the concept "hornless" (of a cow).<sup>38</sup> The word *mooldy* (Map 5), which is of Cornish origin, survives in the far west and, in an isolated occurrence, at St Ewe (Co14); the archaic English *not* was recorded in two separate and marginal areas: the extreme north-east of the county and the Lizard peninsula. This distribution suggests that *not* probably once covered Cornwall outside the *mooldy* area and that both these words yielded to the spread of the nationally very widespread *polled* across most of the county. It also seems that, still more recently, the modern terms *hornless* and *de-horned* have begun to make inroads into the area occupied by *polled*.

The diffusion of standard words may also take place at the expense of words of purely English origin, e.g. the spread of *hub* to replace the archaic *nave* (Map 6),<sup>39</sup> and *prong* at the expense of the local *claw* in Central and West Cornwall

(Map 7).<sup>40</sup>

There are also cases where originally phonological differences between AC and WC have given rise to quasi-lexical contrasts. The best example is that of *dust*, particularly in the sense of "threshing dust" (Map 8). AC /dəʊst/ covers the whole of the familiar eastern and central area, and continues ME *dūst* with regularly diphthongized *ū*. In the far west the pronunciation is always /dʌst/, indicating the origin of WC in a non-south-western variety of English (also responsible for RP /dʌst/) in which ME *ū* was shortened in this environment. Other parallel cases in which there is a similar boundary, apparently reflecting the WC:AC contrast, are (western forms first):

<i>studdle</i> : <i>stiddle</i>	"tethering stake in cow-house" <sup>41</sup>
<i>grooter</i> : <i>greeter</i>	"mouldboard of plough" <sup>42</sup>
<i>rudger</i> : <i>ridger</i>	"half-castrated male horse" <sup>43</sup>

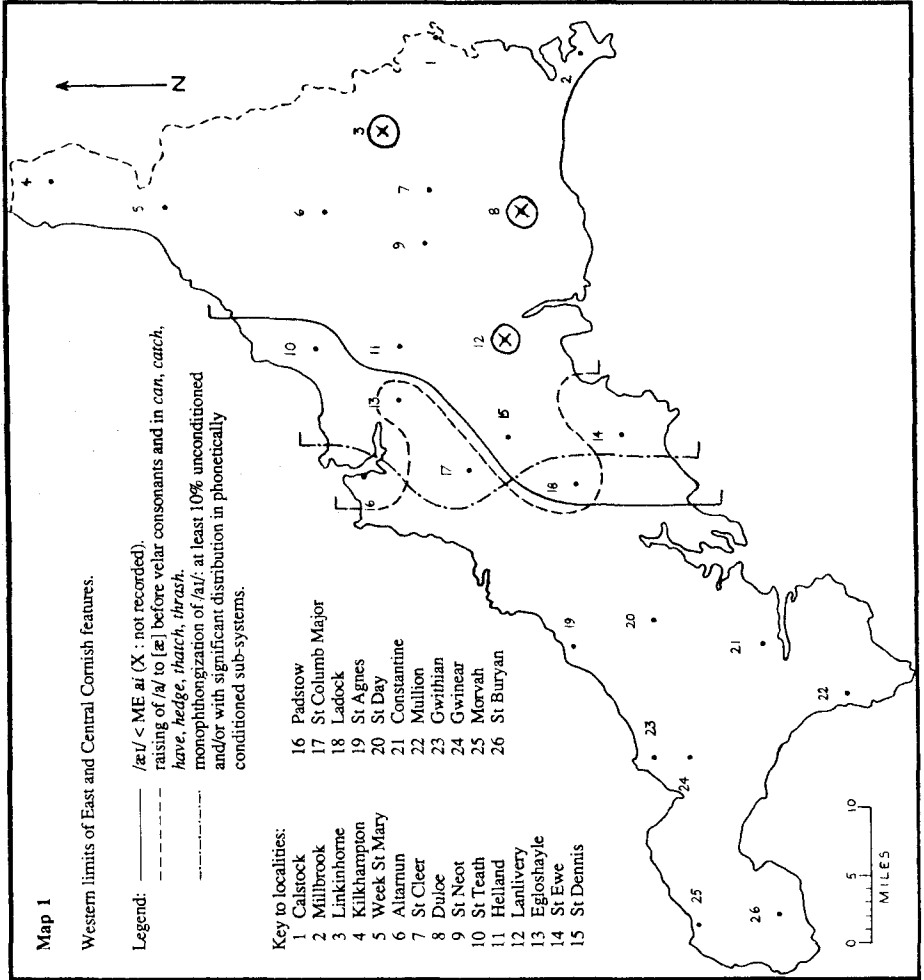
(The reason for the phonological contrast in these words is not clear at present and would repay detailed examination.)

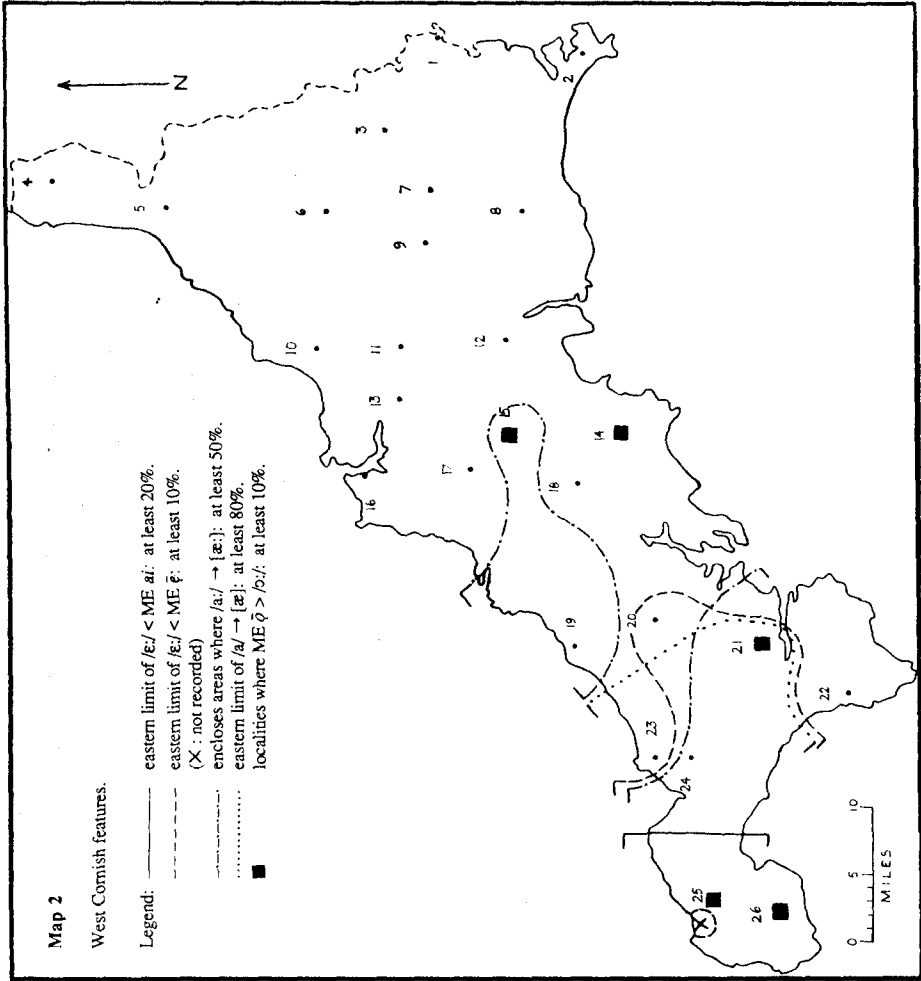
There are other distributions with clear lateral divisions in the county in which there is a suspicion that the spatial dynamics identified in the phonology may have operated, but it has not yet proved possible to establish how this has happened.<sup>44</sup> Examples are the words for "to spread dung":

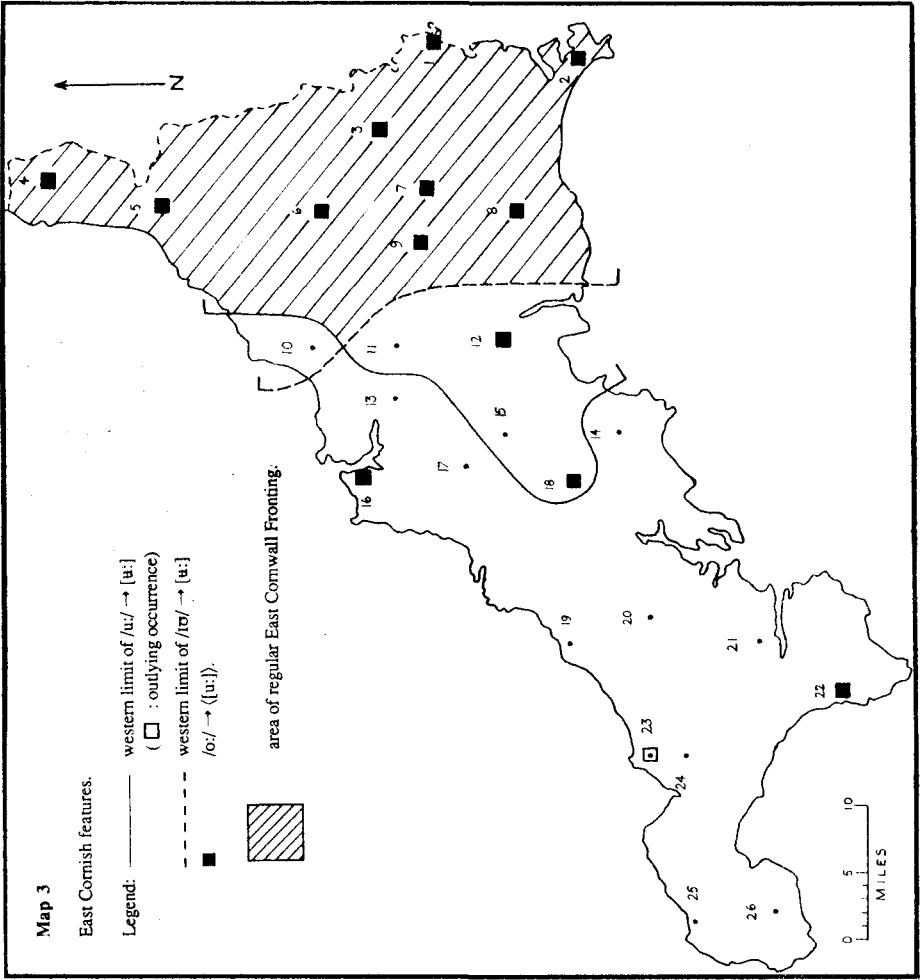
<i>scoad</i>	(eastern Cornwall)
<i>skate</i>	(central Cornwall)
<i>skit</i>	(the Lizard peninsula)
<i>scud</i>	(the far west) <sup>45</sup>

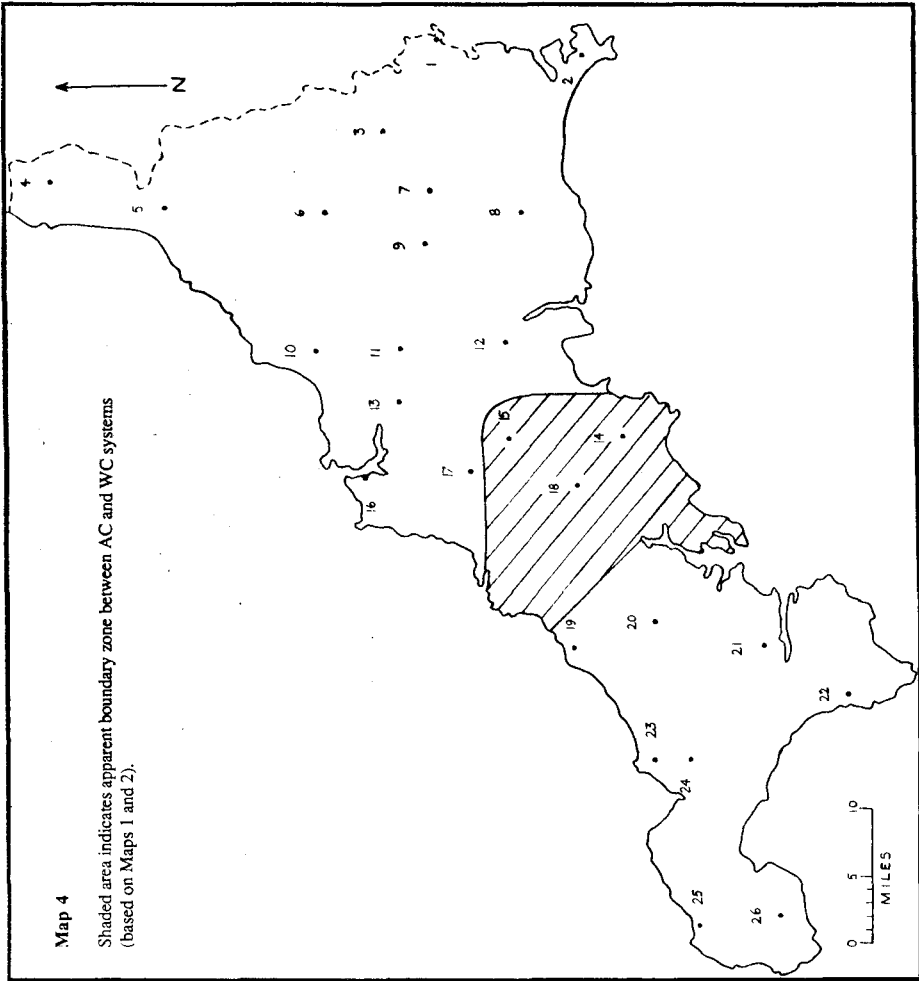
and the east-west opposition between *coop* as a call to hens and as a call to cattle.<sup>46</sup>

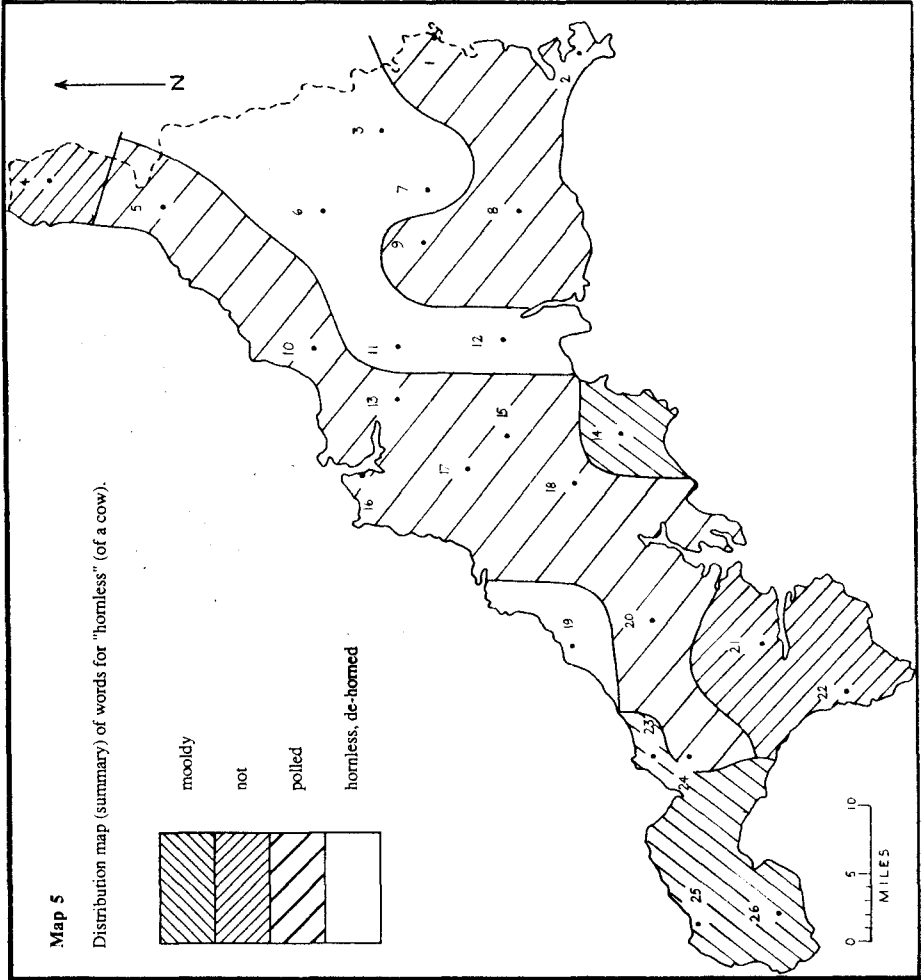
The obscurity surrounding these last items has been mentioned because the determinants of lexical distributions are much harder to establish than their counterparts in the phonology. Vocabulary tends to be less structured than the phonology and, particularly in the semantic fields tackled by traditional dialectology, to be subject to material cultural influences. Nevertheless, it is clear that the historical, geographical and social perspectives evolved as part of the phonological framework are helpful in the study of at least some of the lexical distributions to hand.

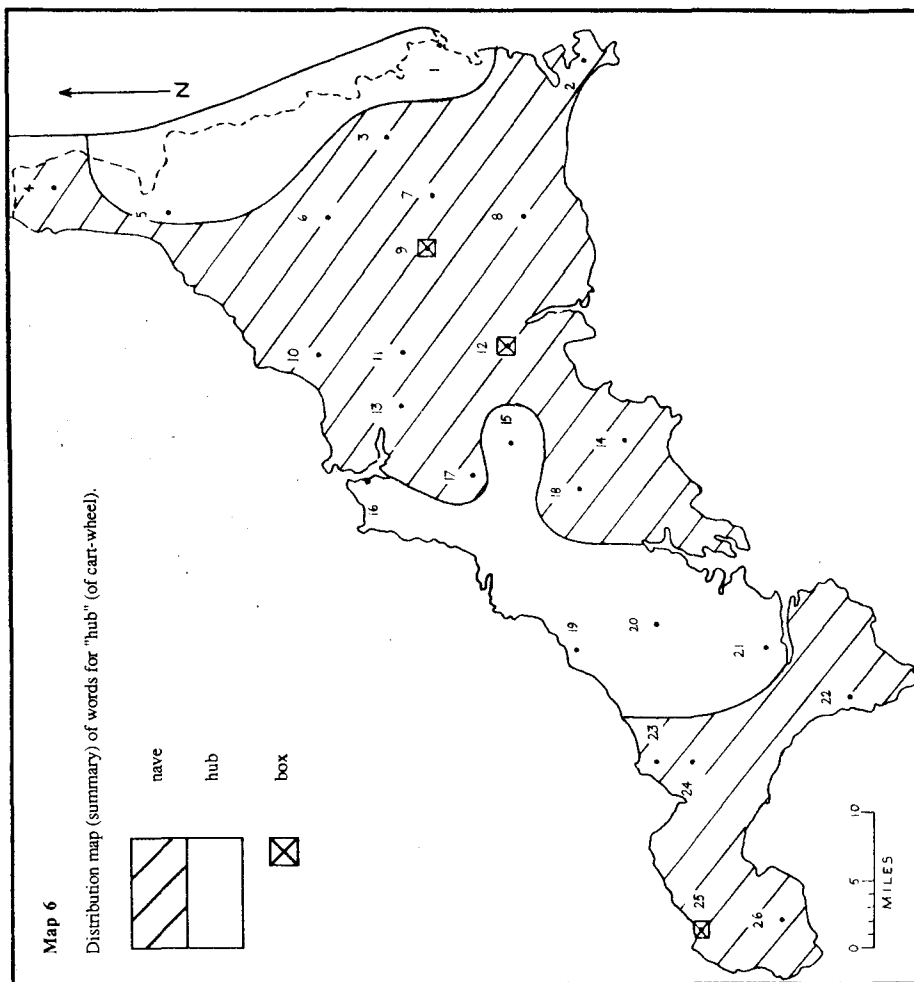




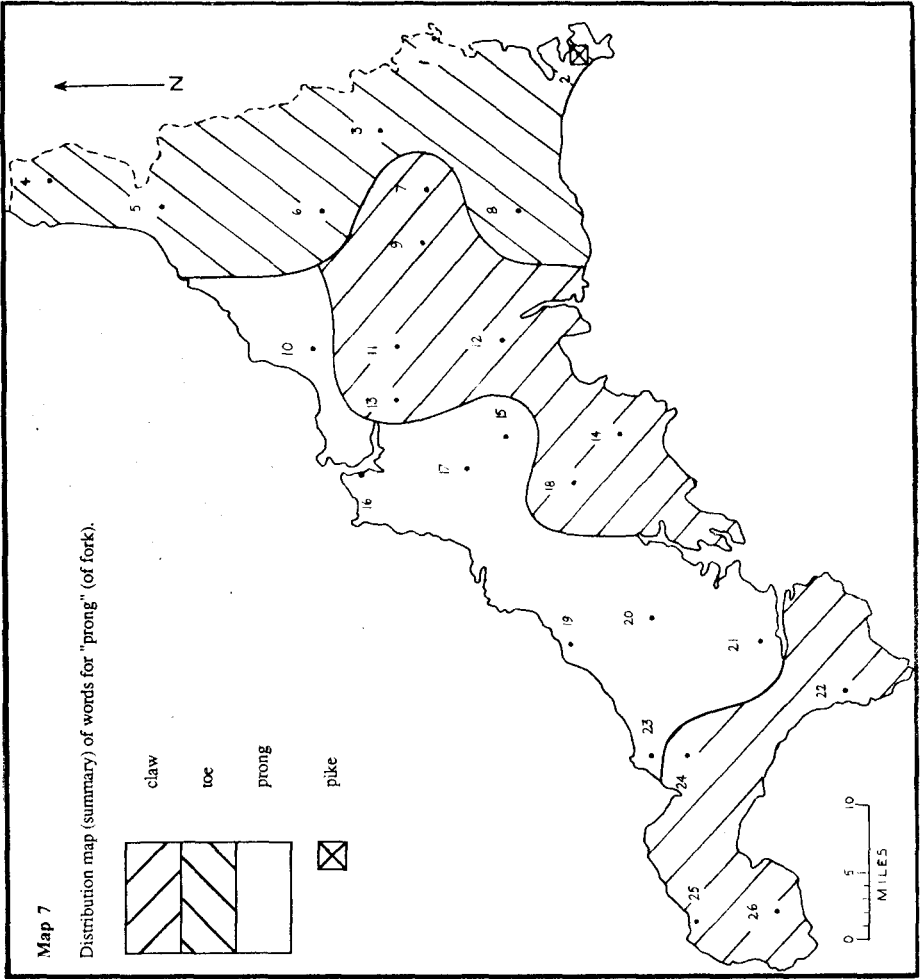


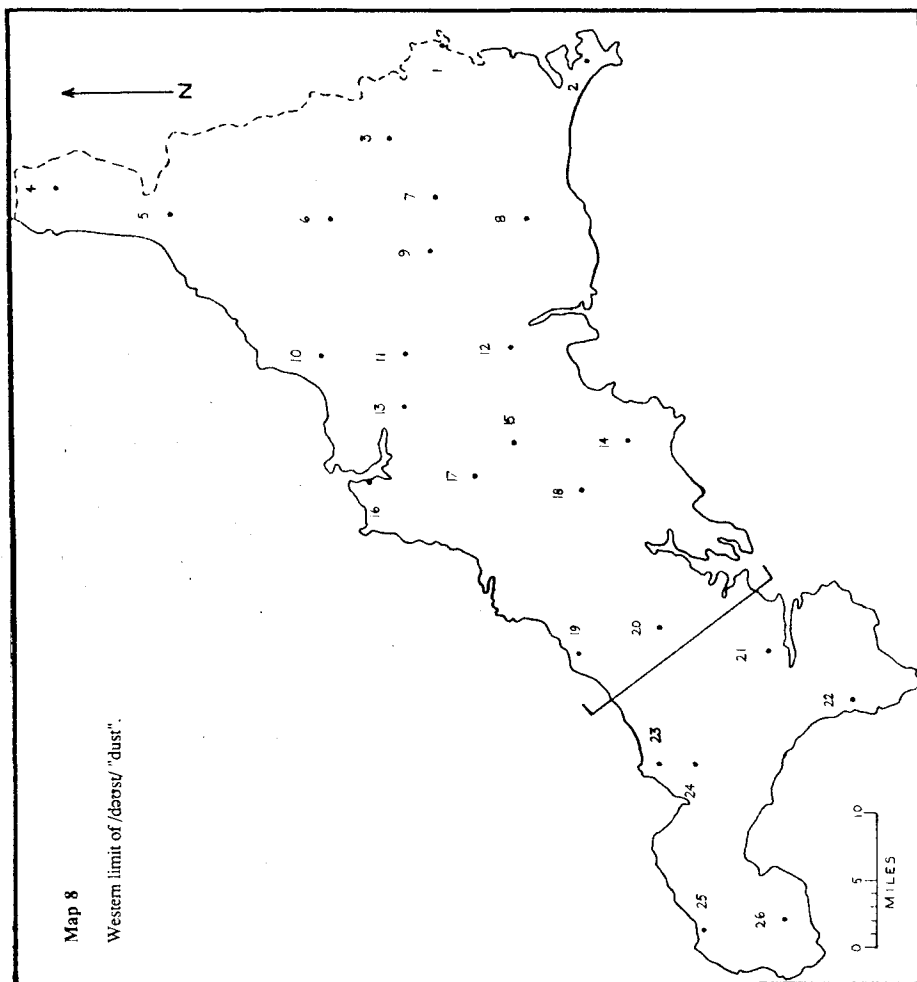












NOTES

- 1 D.J. North, *Studies in Anglo-Cornish Phonology* (Redruth, 1983). In this article I shall assume a familiarity with the contents of *Studies in Anglo-Cornish Phonology (SACP)*.
- 2 P. Trudgill, *The Social Differentiation of English in Norwich* (Cambridge, 1974) pp.133-4.
- 3 See the account in N. Dittmar, *Sociolinguistics* (London, 1976) pp.156-9. An example of this model is to be found in *SACP*, p.48.
- 4 *SACP*, pp.40-3.
- 5 *SACP*, pp.19, 26.
- 6 P. Trudgill, *Sociolinguistics* (Harmondsworth, 1974) p.42.
- 7 Cf. the German concept of "Umgangssprache": "this distinguishes itself from dialect, which is self-sufficient, by wanting to be considered standard", R.E. Keller, *German Dialects* (Manchester, 1961) p.8.
- 8 L. Milroy, *Language and Social Networks* (Oxford, 1980) pp.179-85.
- 9 R. Bremann, *Soziolinguistische Untersuchungen zum Englisch von Cornwall* (Frankfurt-am-Main, 1984) pp.99-112, 159-61.
- 10 W. Downes, *Language and Society* (London, 1984) pp.223-7.
- 11 In *SACP* (pp.50-53) [æɪ] as a reflex of ME *ai/ei* was analysed as an historically conditioned (and archaic) realization of (ɛɪ). However, since minimal pairs such as "wait" [æɪ] < ME *ai/ei* : "wheat" [ɛɪ] < ME *ĕ* theoretically exist, it is now thought necessary to posit two separate phonemes, i.e. /æɪ/ : /ɛɪ/. /æɪ/ is recessive and has tended to merge with /ɛɪ/.
- 12 Although in some lects ME *ai* and *ĕ* words are still partially kept apart by the /æɪ/ : /ɛɪ/ opposition.
- 13 Cf. *SACP*, pp.28-33.

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- 14 SACP, pp.53-4, 57-8.
- 15 M.F. Wakelin, *Language and History in Cornwall* (Leicester, 1975) p.203.
- 16 SACP, Table 2 (p.74).
- 17 This may suggest a merger of ME  $\bar{q}$  < OE  $\delta$  lengthened (" $\bar{o}_3$ ") with ME *ou* in this area.
- 18 E.J. Dobson, *English Pronunciation 1500-1700*, 2 vols. (Oxford, 1957) II, §248.
- 19 U. Weinreich, "Is a structural dialectology possible?", *Word* 10 (1954) pp.388-400.
- 20 SACP, p.18.
- 21 See the relevant items in *Survey of English Dialects: The Basic Material*. Vol. IV: *The Southern Counties*, ed. H. Orton and M.F. Wakelin, 3 parts (Leeds, 1967-8).
- 22 *Op.cit.*, pp.202-203.
- 23 Cf. Wakelin, *ibid.*, p.96; SACP, pp.59-60.
- 24 Cf. Wakelin, *op.cit.*, p.203.
- 25 SACP, Map 24 (p.49). This must be a post-medieval feature, dependent on the diphthongization of ME  $\bar{i}$  and the opening of the starting-point; it testifies to the continued coherence of East and Central Cornwall as a linguistic area.
- 26 SACP, Map 32 (p.60); in *can, catch, have, hedge, thatch, thrash* /a/ alternates with /e/.
- 27 SACP, Maps 31, 33, 35 (pp.59, 62, 64 respectively).
- 28 SACP, Table 11a (p.77); also work currently in progress on the English of West Penwith.
- 29 SACP, Maps 1, 6, 26 (pp.19, 26, 51 respectively).
- 30 SACP, p.39; Wakelin, *op.cit.*, p.142.

- 31 *SACP*, pp.28-40.
- 32 *SACP*, pp.39-43.
- 33 *SACP*, Map 6 (p.26).
- 34 *SACP*, Table 7 (p.75) and Map 10 (p.30); Table 9 (p.76) and Map 13 (p.34).
- 35 *Op.cit.*, p.204.
- 36 See also my article, "Some lexical distribution patterns in the dialects of Cornwall", *Transactions of the Yorkshire Dialect Society* 15, Part 82 (1982) pp.14-28.
- 37 Cf. Wakelin, *op.cit.*, pp.180-201.
- 38 D.J. North and A. Sharpe, *A Word-Geography of Cornwall* (Redruth, 1980) Map 30. Hereafter referred to as *WGC*.
- 39 *WGC*, Map 18.
- 40 *WGC*, Map 13.
- 41 *WGC*, Map 6.
- 42 *WGC*, Map 16.
- 43 *WGC*, Map 32.
- 44 M.F. Wakelin has dealt convincingly with the case of *shippon* ("cow-house") in "Names for the cow-house in Devon and Cornwall", *Studia Neophilologica* 42 (1970) pp.348-52.
- 45 *WGC*, Map 21.
- 46 *WGC*, Maps 41 and 42.