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'Doing Cornishness' in the English Periphery: Embodying Ideology Through Anglo-Cornish Dialect Lexis

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Introduction

Historically, the relationship between Cornwall and the rest of England has been 'bitter and sometimes violent' (Ferdinand 2013: 207). In this relationship, there exists an asymmetric distribution of power that has invariably disfavoured Cornwall. This situation has impacted upon and shaped the identity of Cornish people. More specifically, many Cornish people position themselves in opposition to England and the English. This opposition is manifested at many levels of everyday life and social structure, including eating habits, music and iconography, as well as language.

The current study focuses specifically on the social meaning of linguistic variation in Cornwall. Although there remains little sociolinguistic research on mainland Cornwall,[1] Celtic scholars have noticed that many Cornish people have used their linguistic distinctiveness as an expression of their autonomy, as a point of departure from 'Englishness' (Jenner

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N. Braber, S. Jansen (eds.), *Sociolinguistics in England*,
DOI 10.1057/978-1-137-56288-3_13

1904; Kennedy 2016). This linguistic distinctiveness comes in many forms, ranging from fluent use of the Cornish language,[2] to the use of the Anglo-Cornish dialect,[3] with the latter being the focus of the study presented here. Despite sharing many features with Standard English, Anglo-Cornish has a variety of non-standard dialect features at the levels of phonology and grammar, such as the presence of rhoticity and periphrastic *do*. Also, the Anglo-Cornish dialect is recognisable by its lexis, for example, *croust* ≈ 'lunch', *stank* ≈ 'walk' and *emmett* ≈ 'tourist'. Among the people of Cornwall, there is noticeable variation in the use of the Anglo-Cornish dialect, particularly with respect to vocabulary. Yet, it is not entirely clear which factors explain this variation. Considering the historical links between Cornish identity and local language, one may suspect that the use of traditional Anglo-Cornish lexis is related to regional identity (cf. Beal and Burbano-Elizondo 2012). In the current chapter, we explore this idea by investigating the extent to which the use of Anglo-Cornish lexis reflects a Cornish-oriented worldview. In order to do this, we investigate the lexical variation of the concept LUNCH BOX, among male speakers in the mainland Cornish town of Redruth.

Previous Research

Before we consider the relationship between lexis and social identity, we briefly look at the larger picture of lexis and society. Historical linguists (e.g. Hughes 2000) show that broad sociocultural and political contexts affect lexical variation and change. When it comes to specific social dimensions, lexical variation can correlate with the age of speakers (Boberg 2004; Beeching 2011) and gender (Johnson 1993; McColl Millar et al. 2014).

The parameter that is most frequently employed by linguists to explain lexical variation is space. Projects such as the *Survey of English Dialects* (Orton and Dieth 1962–1971) and *BBC Voices* (Wieling et al. 2014) show that individual words can be reliable diagnostics of the geographical space occupied by social groups. Recent studies of dialects consider the relationship between space-related usage and regional identity. They show that hearers and/or readers attribute regional or social characteristics to

the users of particular lexical items (see Beaton and Washington 2015; Cooper 2017). For example, Beal and Burbano-Elizondo (2012) show that, in Tyneside, the use of *lad* can index local identity and serve to reinforce in-group solidarity. Moreover, sociolinguistic studies acknowledge the role of lexis in the processes of indexicality (e.g. Bucholtz 1999; Silverstein 2003). However, studies of regional identity as expressed via lexical usage are rather infrequent. This is surprising as vocabulary is, arguably, the level of language which is most accessible to conscious modification and manipulation through which speaker's affiliation can be projected and recognised.

The aim of the current study is to identify and explain patterns of socio-demographic usage and indexical meanings associated with dialect lexis. More specifically, we explore the distribution of dialect lexis in relation to socio-demographic categories, as well as the ideological stances that they reflect and reconstruct. In order to explore these questions, we focus on the words used to express the concept LUNCH BOX among male speakers in Redruth, Cornwall. In this community, the concept LUNCH BOX can be expressed by using, primarily, four variants. These four variants are the supra-local forms *lunch box* and, *sandwich box*, as well as the Anglo-Cornish terms *crib box* and *croust tin.* We investigate lexical usage by employing a lexis-oriented methodological framework, which consists of spot-the-difference tasks, a picture-naming task, an identity questionnaire and interviews.

Cornwall and Redruth

Situated on the South-West peninsula, Cornwall contains both the most southerly (The Lizard) and westerly points (Land's End) in England, boasting over 250 miles of coastline and 12 areas of outstanding natural beauty. The conventional iconography of Cornwall can be largely attributed to authors such as Daphne du Maurier [e.g. *Jamaica Inn* (1935) and *Rebecca* (1938)] and Winston Graham (*Poldark* 1945–2002). As a result, many non-Cornish people hold perceptions of Cornwall which Kennedy (2016: 40) describes as the 3 Rs; '*romantic, rural,* and *remote*'.

However, the lived-in experiences of people from the mainland Cornish town of Redruth are very different. Until the eighteenth century, Redruth was a small market town. In the nineteenth century, the town saw huge population growth to satisfy the fast-developing mining industry (Clegg 2005: 94). As a result, during Cornwall's boom years in the nineteenth century, Redruth was known as 'the richest square mile in the … world' (Wigmore 2016) and was at the forefront of all things new and modern. However, today the town is 'characterised by pockets of intense deprivation', in parts of which up to a third of working-age residents receive out-of-work benefits (Mumford 2014). In December 2015, the food bank in Redruth, a town of 14,000 people, was used 2095 times (Wigmore 2016). Since the collapse of Cornwall's traditional industries,[4] which has been seen in Redruth and across the region, the negative financial impact has been, to some extent, offset by the tourism/hospitality sector which has become a vital economic asset for the Cornish economy as a whole. But Redruth seldom attracts tourists. Consequently, the financial benefits of the tourism industry are largely inaccessible to the town and its people. As a result, Redruth typifies the economic hardship which has, in many ways, defined much of post-industrial Cornwall.

These historical and socio-economic contexts have shaped the thinking of Redruth's people about their place in the world and, therefore, their identity. Conceptualisations of Cornish identity, which traditionally centred on extractive industries, are being replaced by new interpretations of what constitutes Cornishness (Deacon 2007). Among members of the community in Redruth, and in Cornwall more broadly, the social value of Cornish identity has become a 'fundamental tension' within the community (Deacon 2007: 2). For many, being Cornish provides a genuine and profound sense of belonging, whereby one's sense of self can largely be attributed to where one is from and the collective identity of place found at the level of the community. To other native Cornish people, Cornish identity is indicative of 'navel-gazing parochialism' (Willett 2016: 583), which reinforces the backward stereotype of Cornwall. Some believe that this parochial outlook inhibits the county's ability to progress, economically, as well as socially (see Willett 2016). The current study investigates how such outlooks on Cornwall and Cornishness are reflected on the level of lexical usage in Redruth.

LUNCH BOX in Redruth

The current study focuses on the production and perception of a single lexical variable, LUNCH BOX, in the mid-Cornwall town of Redruth. More specifically, this is a study of onomasiological[5] variation, whereby we investigate the different ways in which a concept—that is, LUNCH BOX—is lexicalised. From prior knowledge of the community and of the way that language is used therein (Sandow was born and raised in Cornwall), as well as from an exploratory use of Sense Relation Networks [(SRNs) see Llamas 1999; Braber this volume], we identified four variants which we know to be in use in Redruth—that is, *lunch box, sandwich box, crib box* and *croust tin*.[6] *Crib box* and *croust tin*[7] are Anglo-Cornish dialect forms used for the concept LUNCH BOX.[8] These terms exist in competition with supra-local variants *sandwich box* and *lunch box*. It is a common feature of dialect typology that regional varieties of language tend to reflect a distinct local flavour through the use of regional words in the semantic field of FOOD (Braber this volume).

The Framework

In order to investigate the production and perception of Anglo-Cornish lexis, we have devised a methodological framework which consists of four complementary methods of data collection. These are spot-the-difference tasks, a picture-naming task, an identity questionnaire and interviews. Even though, individually, none of these methodologies are unique, together, they form a lexis-oriented methodological framework. This framework allows for controlling lexical variation as well as modelling intra-speaker variation, inter-speaker variation and implicit and explicit attitudes to language and society.

In order to control for lexical variation and maintain semantic equivalence between variants, we adopt task-oriented methodologies (cf. Anderson et al. 1991; Nagy 2011). More specifically, building on Diapix tasks (see Van Engen et al. 2010; Baker and Hazan 2011; Stamp et al. 2016), we employed spot-the-difference games as our task-based

vernacular-oriented methodology. Diapix tasks are an innovative application of spot-the-difference games which were initially developed in order to elicit spontaneous speech while controlling for context (see Van Engen et al. 2010). With their origins in laboratory phonetics (see Van Engen et al. 2010), these tasks have consistently been shown to elicit a natural speech style in contrast to traditional reading passages. Previous applications of Diapix methodologies have focused on key words (e.g. Baker and Hazan 2011). However, the repurposed spot-the-difference tasks used in the current study require a subtle shift of attention, away from key words and towards key concepts (see also Stamp et al. 2016).[9]

Not only does this methodology target the vernacular, it enables the researcher to control and manipulate the context. For example, we identified the concept LUNCH BOX to be onomasiologically interesting. As a result, two sets of spot-the-difference scenes were designed[10] to include this concept. Having met with individual participants, Sandow presented a speaker with a printed copy of the *table* scene (see Fig. 13.1) and the *living room* scene (see Fig. 13.2)—each of which contained a drawing of a typical lunch box found in England. In both of these scenes, the lunch boxes varied in colour between the two frames. The main advantage of such an approach is that all participants are exposed to the same experimental conditions. By controlling the target concepts, the conceptual input is identical across all speakers; yet, as we show in the next section, the linguistic output varied. This ensures that the semantic dimension of meaning is held constant, allowing us to isolate, and ultimately investigate, the social meaning carried by lexical items.

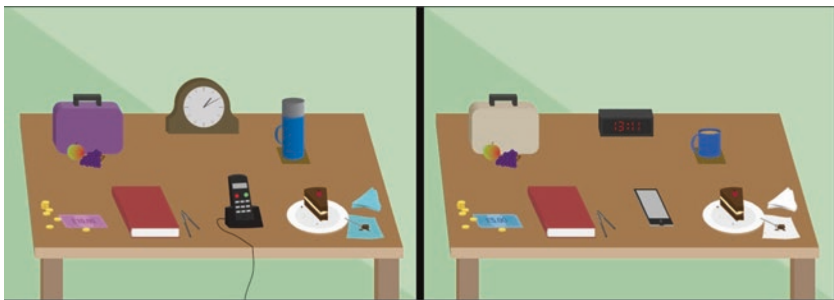

Fig. 13.1 Spot-the-difference task: The *table* scene

Fig. 13.2 Spot-the-difference task: The *living room* scene

After being presented with the spot-the-difference scenes, the researcher (Sandow) asked each participant to identify a pre-determined number of differences, having warned them that they were doing so 'against the clock'. This was done in order to achieve the elicitation of a relatively natural style of speech by increasing cognitive pressure. We did this to fully engage the speaker's attention in completing the task and, thus, limit the attention that a speaker paid to their use of language. The task was considered complete when all of the pre-determined differences were named.

While the spot-the-difference tasks are designed to elicit a casual speech style, we employed a picture-naming task in order to elicit variants of the concept LUNCH BOX in a careful speech style. The picture-naming task involved speakers being shown an image and being asked 'what do you call this?'. For example, speakers were shown an image of a typical example of the concept LUNCH BOX[11] and asked to name it.

Next, participants were asked to complete an oral identity questionnaire [(henceforth IDq) cf. Llamas 1999; Burbano-Elizondo 2008] which consisted of ten statements such as '[b]eing Cornish is a big part of who I am' (see Appendix). Participants were asked to rate the extent to which they agreed with statements on a scale from one to five, with five indicating total agreement and one representing total disagreement. The participants' scores (between one and five) for each statement were added together to form an individual aggregate score. The purpose of this procedure is to elicit data that allow for quantitative categorisation of speakers' Cornish identity.

The last part of data collection was an interview. The interviews broadly followed conversational modules (see Labov 1984), which included topics such as Cornish identity, the (past, present and future) local community and culture. Here, we sought to elicit social and metalinguistic comments. Those who self-reported being familiar with *crib*/*croust* were asked, 'if you were to hear and not see a person that you didn't know using the word *crib* or *croust*, what kind of person would you think you're talking to?'. Participants' answers were often the catalyst for further dialogue, where they explained their answers in more detail. Since Sandow,[12] who carried out each of the interviews, is from Redruth, these conversations reinforced the insider–insider relationship between interlocutors. Localised narratives, such as those about the local rugby team, local jokes and mutual friends, were important to legitimise the insider status of the interviewer.

The Speakers

Twenty-one male participants, aged 22–80, who lived and/or worked in Redruth, took part in the current study. We recruited participants through friend-of-a-friend/snowball sampling. Some of the participants knew each other. We focus on male rather than female speakers due to their well-documented higher use of traditional dialect forms (e.g. Chambers and Trudgill 1998). We made note of participants' occupation and age. Participants come from a range of social backgrounds, such as mechanics, an author, a postal worker, a care worker and students. Participants were split into *blue-collar* (n = 10) and *white-collar* (n = 11) occupational categories. Moreover, we categorised the speakers according to age into *younger* [(than 25) n = 8] and *older* [(than 35) n = 13] groups. Our age categorisation was based on bottom-up analysis of data (see Analysis). Not all of these speakers have lived the entirety of their lives in Cornwall. These loose criteria were necessary to balance the sample as, until very recently, there were no higher education institutions in Cornwall. If the sample were limited to speakers who had always lived in Cornwall, this would necessarily exclude those with a university education. Interviews were conducted in locations identified as convenient for

the informants. These included cafés, universities and places of work, such as the staff-room of a mechanical workshop. Sandow met individual participants for one-to-one interviews, each of these were conducted with Sandow and the participants sat opposite one another at a table.

Analysis

Spot-the-difference and naming tasks elicited 63 variants of the concept LUNCH BOX across the investigated sample (three variants per speaker). Only three variants of the concept LUNCH BOX turned out to be used by speakers from Redruth. These are the Anglo-Cornish dialect terms *crib box* (9/63) and *croust tin* (1/63) and the supra-local variant *lunch box* (53/63). The following analysis is based around the Anglo-Cornish terms only, that is, *crib box/croust tin*. *Lunch box* is not discussed here because our interests lie in unpacking the social meaning of traditional Anglo-Cornish dialect lexis. Also, due to the low frequency of *croust tin* in our data, we collapse the two local terms—*crib box* and *croust tin*—into the category Anglo-Cornish terms.[13] This is common practice in descriptions of the Anglo-Cornish dialect (e.g. Merton 2003).

The linguistic data is operationalised by categorising speakers in relation to whether or not they used the dialect terms *crib box/croust tin*.[14] These categories are then unpacked in order to present a more detailed analysis of the production and perception of Anglo-Cornish dialect lexis. Speakers who used the Anglo-Cornish dialect terms are coded in two ways. Either they used the dialect terms categorically, that is, in both casual and careful speech styles, or they used local terms in only one style. Those speakers who used the dialect terms non-categorically are split into two groups, that is, whether *crib box/croust tin* was present in casual speech (used only in spot-the-difference tasks) or careful speech (used only in the naming task). Speakers who did not produce any examples of Anglo-Cornish dialect lexis were categorised on the basis of their awareness of the terms *crib box/croust tin* through the use of metalinguistic questions. Those who are aware of dialect lexis but did not use it were coded separately from those who did not recognise *crib box/croust tin*.

In order to find out if language is explained by socio-demographic factors, we correlate speakers' age and type of work with use of Anglo-Cornish dialect lexis (Fig. 13.3). This Figure shows that the only group that does not use the Anglo-Cornish dialect variants at all are the younger white-collar speakers. Although all older speakers are aware of the Anglo-Cornish dialect terms, most did not use *crib box*/*croust tin*. Only two individuals—one younger and one older blue-collar—speakers used dialect lexis categorically, that is, in both careful and casual style. In the careful speech style elicited from naming tasks, six participants used Anglo-Cornish terms, as opposed to only two in the casual speech style, that is, the spot-the-difference tasks.

Figure 13.3 shows that, when only age is considered, all older speakers recognise the dialect terms, whereas, most younger speakers do not. This

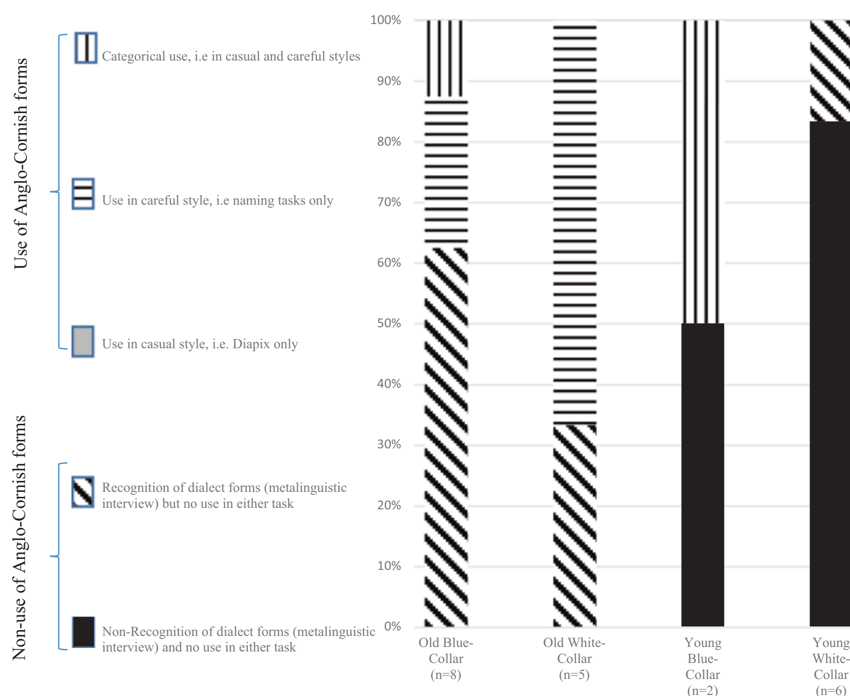

Fig. 13.3 Age and type of work in relation to use of the dialect form *crib box*/*croust tin*

could be explained by the trajectories of linguistic change in progress (e.g. Labov 1972), where traditional terms are maintained in the speech of older speakers. What is surprising is that although we would expect to find declining dialectal terms to linger in casual—rather than careful—speech (e.g. Robinson 2012a), our data suggest that traditional Anglo-Cornish dialect lexis appears more frequently in the careful style of older speakers. It is possible that *crib box/croust tin* carry an indexical load, which is in some way desirable for many older speakers and accessed by them when they pay attention to their language. One of the contexts in which this might happen is when speakers want to signal their affiliation to a region. In fact, the positive relationship between dialectal use and place identity is well evidenced in sociolinguistic literature (Watt and Milroy 1999; Watt 2002; Johnstone 2011). In light of this, we next consider whether speakers' perceived regional identity explains the observed variation in the use of LUNCH BOX terms.

A bottom-up exploration of the identity questionnaires reveals that the usage of Anglo-Cornish terms form two clusters, with an IDq score of 35/50 being the point at which rates of recognition and use of the local dialect terms change dramatically. Although the possible range of scores on the IDq was between 10 and 50, actual scores were between 17 and 49, with a mean score of 34.95. An IDq score above 35 indicates a strong sense of Cornish identity, whereas a score below 35 reflects a weak sense of Cornish identity. Those speakers who scored above 35 on the IDq were far more likely to use and recognise the dialect terms *crib box/croust tin*. Those who scored below 35 did not exhibit any use of local dialect lexis and were much less likely to recognise the terms *crib box/croust tin*.

Figure 13.4 maps the frequency of usage of *crib box/croust tin* onto participants' age and scores from the identity questionnaire.

When we combine age and identity, as presented in Fig. 13.4, a clearer picture of lexical variation emerges in comparison to the one presented in Fig. 13.3. The older speakers with a high IDq score all recognised the Anglo-Cornish terms, which were used in at least one context by five of the ten individuals in this category—that is, older speakers with a high IDq score. Likewise, the three older speakers with an IDq score below 35 were aware of the terms. However, none of these speakers with a weak sense of Cornish identity actually used the Anglo-Cornish terms. Similarly

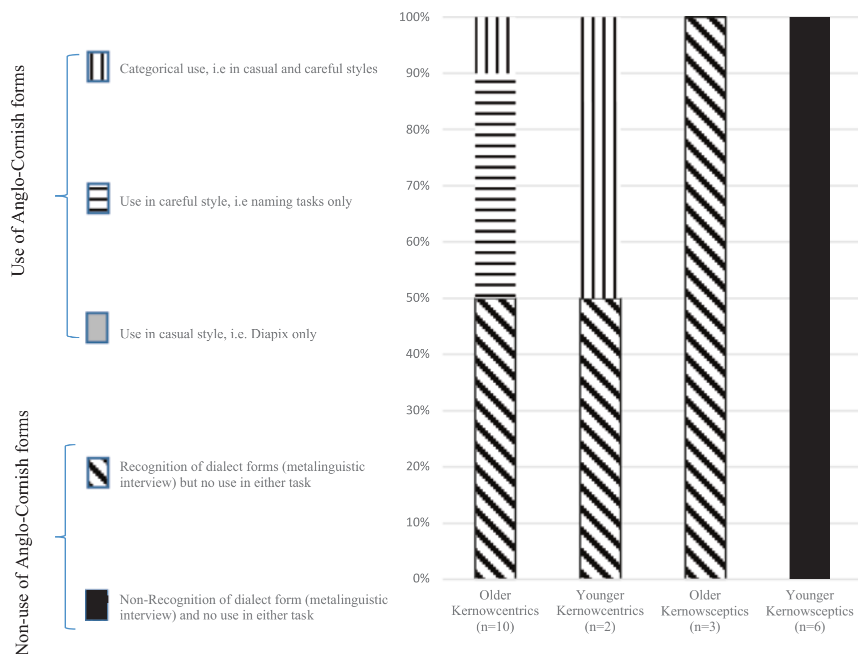

Fig. 13.4 Age and identity in relation to use of the dialect form *crib box/croust tin*

as their older low IDq scoring counterparts, none of the younger speakers with a low IDq score used local dialect terms. Unlike all older speakers, none of the six younger speakers with a low IDq score were familiar with the dialect variants. Both younger speakers with a strong sense of Cornish identity recognised the dialect terms, one of whom did not use the Anglo-Cornish terms at all and the other used *crib box* categorically. Potential disadvantages of the small sample of younger with high IDq scores are offset by presenting a detailed qualitative analysis of the speakers, which is presented in the discussion section.

The most interesting finding in our attempt to square identity, age and usage, refers to the way that older speakers with high IDq scores use their lexical repertoire of the concept LUNCH BOX in different stylistic contexts. In the discussion of Fig. 13.3, we find an unexpected pattern of stylistic variation where Anglo-Cornish terms are maintained in the careful speech style of older speakers. Reanalysing the data through the prism of regional identity (Fig. 13.4), we see that the use of Anglo-Cornish dialect lexis in

the careful style is only found among those participants with high IDq scores. Each of the speakers who style-shifted were older and scored highly (≥35) on the IDq. No speakers used the dialect form in the casual elicitation procedure, that is, spot-the-difference tasks, and not in the careful elicitation procedure, that is, naming task. This means that the direction of style-shifting, for those who did so, was unidirectional. For six out of eight younger speakers, style-shifting was not possible because they were unfamiliar with the dialect form.

When older speakers pay more attention to what they say, many use Anglo-Cornish lexis. Previous sociolinguistic studies observe the opposite pattern—that is, that standard forms are more likely to be found in formal speech styles (e.g. Trudgill 1974). Here, we argue that, for our participants, the value of indexing affiliation to local region through the use of local lexis is greater than the value that can be gained from showing a belonging to England through the use of standard language. This is explained by a desire among those speakers to retain a local identity. This complements Dann (2016), who observed that younger speakers use more Anglo-Cornish tokens of the BATH vowel in formal speech. Our study, shows that this process also happens at the level of lexis, not only phonology. In comparison to Dann (ibid.), our study additionally elicits data from across generations, which enables us to draw conclusions regarding how dialectal language change happens from the point of view of style. Language change of salient dialect lexis is mostly resisted in formal styles.

Discussion

For many participants, when they are highly aware that their language is being observed, they use local dialect words in order to project their strong sense of Cornish identity. This is evident in our usage data, as Anglo-Cornish dialect lexis is most frequently found in careful speech styles. This is additionally supported with metalinguistic comments gathered from informants in this study. Participants consistently spoke about the link between the use of the Anglo-Cornish dialect and Cornish identity. For example, one older speaker with a low IDq score stated that

'there has been a dialect renaissance' due to the function of the 'Cornish dialect as an identity marker'. He went on to say that 'it may not be as natural for [Cornish] people to use the [variety of] language that they might have and that has been diluted over time… [Cornish] people are perhaps making a choice to conspicuously use [the Anglo-Cornish dialect]'. To a large extent, these observations are reflected in our usage data, particularly in relation to style-shifting, whereby the dialect terms were more frequently found in the careful speech style. This suggests that the Anglo-Cornish dialect has a performative function. Performativity refers to the process whereby speakers elect to foreground an aspect of their identity—Cornishness—by using available semiotic resources such as their sociolinguistic repertoire (see Coupland 2007). Our observation, that speakers use the Anglo-Cornish dialect in a performative manner, is consistent with comments from our informants. For example, an older speaker with a high IDq score claimed that '[the Anglo-Cornish dialect] is a performance, a deliberate performance'. The next issue to consider is precisely what is being performed through the use of Anglo-Cornish dialect lexis.

Our data reveal that one of the persona traits that is performed through the use of local vocabulary is a defiant, conservative attitude towards change in Cornwall, particularly exogenous change. Many older speakers articulated their frustration at a perceived loss of Cornish autonomy. For example, an older white-collar speaker with a high IDq score commented that 'there are people moving down from up-country [*up-country* 'the rest of England'] trying to take charge and tell you what to do' (our insertion). A concrete example of this is that Cornwall qualified for the European Union's largest economic grant, *Objective One* funding in 1999 as its gross value added (GVA) per head was below 75% of the European average. Despite this, it was the only region in Britain that qualified for this money that did not administer the aid internally (Deacon 2007: 226). There is a growing frustration that decisions regarding Cornwall's future are not being made by those with a lived-in understanding of Cornwall. Willett (2009: 5) suggests that 'Cornwall is poor because policy is based on what some people *expect it to be* rather than what the overall experience of life in Cornwall is' (original emphasis). Similarly, centralising institutions has led many Cornish people to become more

insular and parochial by refusing to identify with or be defined by a bureaucratic elite whom they feel does not understand or represent their concerns. As Hall (1991: 33) notes, '[t]he return to the local is often a response to globalisation' as a backlash against a world which they perceive to be becoming anonymous, impersonal and homogenised.

We argue that this 'return to the local' can be reflected on the level of lexis. An example of this pattern can be found in our data. The sole younger speaker who used an Anglo-Cornish dialect term, Tim,[15] scored very highly on the IDq (45/50). This speaker consistently engaged in nostalgic narratives regarding the Cornwall that his grandparents so fondly remembered from their childhood and made clear his strong belief that modern Cornwall had changed for the worse. This speaker, among many others in our sample, talked about members of 'the silent generation', that is, those born in 1920–1940, using the dialect forms *crib box/croust tin* as part of their vernacular speech variety. Not only did Tim use the local dialect form, he did so categorically. Throughout his narratives, Tim revives traditional conceptualisations of Cornwall and Cornishness. By engaging in narratives which reveal his Cornwall-oriented worldview and by using Anglo-Cornish dialect features, Tim uses language as a part of a semiotic performance which legitimises and reinforces his strong Cornish identity.

The other younger speaker who recognised the dialect terms, Mark, is a typical example of a 'broker' (see Eckert 2000). Mark is a member of the local rugby and cricket clubs, he surfs, is involved in the local music scene, attends a top London university and usually spends his summers doing labour-intensive/manual work. He is engaged in a variety of communities of practice, which means that he is exposed to a broad spectrum of linguistic and social norms. As a result, it is unsurprising to observe that Mark varies in his use of language at multiple levels.[16] Mark's connections with the local region are also reflected in his awareness of the investigated Anglo-Cornish terms. During the interview, Mark did use Anglo-Cornish lexis, such as *emmet* for 'tourist'. However, our data, and Mark's metalinguistic commentary, suggest that, though he is aware of *crib box/croust tin*, these are not forms that he uses himself.

The two speakers described earlier, Tim and Mark, were not typical of the younger speakers in our sample. The majority of younger speakers

(6/8) were not aware of the dialect terms and received a low IDq score. Many of these younger speakers criticised the 'othering' of 'the English'. In particular, one white-collar younger speaker with a low IDq score said 'there's being proud of where you're from and then there's being blinkered and I've always felt like the attitude down here [in Cornwall] has been blinkered… maybe I've attached negative connotations to being proper Cornish'. Another younger white-collar speaker with a low IDq score noted that 'it's hard to imagine a world outside Cornwall when you're in Cornwall'. These commentaries suggest that some speakers perceive a distinct Cornish way of life to be parochial and insular.

There are tensions observed within the community, where contrasting worldviews exist among speakers sharing the same space and the same time—that is, Redruth in the twenty-first century. The coexistence of conflicting perspectives has led to an ideological division within the Redruth community, which is reflected in our sample. The evaluations of local orientations, in respect to Cornish identity, as outlined earlier were summarised by an older white-collar worker with a high IDq score, 'Alan':

Alan:	I hope that people are still proud of [being Cornish]… some people are very *very* Cornish, aren't they?
RS:	Yeah
Alan:	You know 'I'm Cornish and that's it, I'm not English, I'm Cornish'
RS:	Yeah, yeah, yeah
Alan:	And there's others who say 'yeah we're Cornish but we're also English as well'
RS:	Yeah
Alan:	You know, we're not, we're not just our own little county down here, we are a part of England even though we're Cornish. [We] should be proud of that

Based on participant observation and data analysis, we suggest that Cornish people represent one of at least two ideological stances—Kernowcentrism or Kernowscepticism (*Kernow* is the Cornish language word for Cornwall). Deacon (2007) argues that one can split Cornish historians into two historiographic camps, that is, the Kernowcentrics and the Kernowsceptics. Here, we argue that it is appropriate to expand this idea to the people of Cornwall. We suggest that the label *Kernowcentric* signifies people who believe that Cornwall should have greater autonomy

and perceive sociopolitical encroachment from outside of the county to be unwelcome. These speakers are a conduit for 'narratives of historic victimhood' (Kennedy 2016: 15) that can form the basis of ideologies which can form and be assimilated into the worldview of successive generations, or as Kennedy (2016) argues, a Cornish *habitus*. This contrasts with the Kernowsceptics, who believe that such narratives are self-perpetuating. In their view, economic and cultural assemblages in Cornwall should be more closely wedded to those systems on a national scale. For these individuals, the extent to which Cornwall is similar to England is greater than the extent to which it is different; yet, for Kernowcentrics, this situation is the reverse. Although many Kernowsceptics are proud to be Cornish, their outlook is much more global.

Kernowcentric and Kernowsceptic ideological stances were reflected in participants' answers to the identity questionnaire. It was at the 35/50 IDq score that reflected not only a division in usage of dialect terms, but of ideology, too. When interview data are compared with the identity questionnaire, there is a correlation between in speakers' attitude towards Cornwall and IDq scores. Analysis of qualitative data from interviews and speakers' IDq scores indicate that those who scored ≥35/50 can be considered Kernowcentrics and an aggregate score of <35/50 reflects a Kernowsceptic outlook. Although typically, older speakers are Kernowcentrics and younger speakers are Kernowsceptics, there are speakers who do not fit this general pattern. Of the older speakers, 69% are Kernowcentrics, whereas only 25% (2/8) of younger speakers appear to be Kernowcentrics. Similarly, there is not a consistent relationship between socio-economic class and identity. For example, considering education and (parents') occupation, out of all speakers in our sample, the two younger Kernowcentrics are positioned highest and lowest on the socio-economic class continuum. Although identity and class often correlate, identity and an individual's sense of belonging to a place often transcend traditional class divisions.

The data presented in the current study demonstrate that many individuals index their Kernowcentric worldview through the use of Anglo-Cornish lexical forms *crib box*/*croust tin*, whereas Kernowsceptic speakers exclusively employ supra-local variants. All uses of local dialect lexis in this study took the form of *crib box*—with the exception of one older

individual with a high IDq score who used the *croust tin* form in the careful speech style. During the interview, this person commented that he is a fluent speaker of Cornish. Therefore, we can interpret his use of *croust tin* in careful speech to be a process of identity marking, whereby the Anglo-Cornish form is used to showcase his bilingualism. This suggests that there is a hierarchy—from the most Cornish variant, *croust tin*, to c*rib box*, to the least Cornish form *lunch box*.

The Social Function of *crib box/croust tin*

Though we have analysed the intra- and inter-speaker distribution of the dialect lexical terms, we are yet to investigate how they are used to position oneself within the local social matrix pertaining to the Kernowcentric/sceptic ideologies. By exploring the indexical value of the dialect terms *crib box/croust tin,* we can also explain why such distributional patterns as seen in Figs. 13.3. and 13.4. exist. Speakers' metalinguistic comments reveal that the Anglo-Cornish dialect lexis carry a variety of social indices. A number of connotations were highly variable among our participants. For example, many white-collar workers associated the dialect form with older blue-collar workers; yet, by and large, blue-collar workers made no such association. These metalinguistic commentaries, coupled with interview data and the fieldworker's participant observations of the speech community, facilitate the exploration of the social function of the dialect terms *crib box/croust tin* in relation to the concept LUNCH BOX, which we discuss next.

Participants in our study consistently remarked that the Anglo-Cornish terms were used by manual workers as an in-group marker. For example, an older Kernowcentric speaker, Gerald, observed that 'when the apprentice comes in and you've got twelve other people who are calling it a *crib break*, it's going to be a *crib break*, isn't it?'. Thus, in interactions between speakers of the Anglo-Cornish dialect, the local form can function as a shibboleth of in-group membership. Yet, on the community level, in the interests of intelligibility, supra-local variants are often the more conducive option, particularly when one considers that up to two-thirds of the community are non-Cornish (Bewnans Kernow 2014: 5).[17] If one were

to use the dialectal variant with a non-Cornish interlocutor, it would be detrimental to the overall cooperative function of a conversation. Informants suggested that the dialect form was used to reinforce an insider versus outsider dichotomy, almost akin to code-switching. For example, Piran, an older Kernowcentric speaker, commented that 'people will deliberately use Cornish words to confuse [non-Cornish] people… and exclude them'. Thus, depending on one's audience, Anglo-Cornish dialect lexis can exclude the out-group while developing solidarity with the in-group.

Over a period of time spanning approximately three generations, there appears to have been a revalorisation of the Cornish dialect. Its usage has shifted from being subconscious, habitual, and vernacular to being vestigial, and strongly indexical. Lexical attrition (see McColl Millar et al. 2014) has led to such a severe reduction in usage that it is not only absent from the vocabulary that many younger speakers use, but the vocabulary that they know, too. This is because, not only do many younger speakers not use the terms c*rib box/croust tin*, they are not aware of their meaning, or even aware of their existence. The older speakers grew up in a time when some Cornish mines remained operational, albeit in terminal decline.[18] Thus, the traditional communities in which the use of this dialectal variant was commonplace was an active part of the culture in which the older speakers grew up. As the younger speakers did not grow up in a community with functioning mines, they lack this lived-in experience. To some extent, this accounts for why many younger speakers were not aware of the dialect terms; yet, all older speakers at least recognised the regional forms. As a result of this apparent diachronic change, we suggest that the Anglo-Cornish lexical items investigated here may be becoming post-vernacular, or deregistered (cf. Cooper 2017). Indeed, some speakers spoke of the form in the past tense, for example, 'it *was* associated with manual male labour' (our emphasis). This statement also reinforces our observation that the Anglo-Cornish terms are associated with traditional working-class males. However, although this perceived association is apparent in our interviews, our analysis of usage data have not supported this.

Both the Kernowcentrics and the Kernowsceptics are united in their desire to see Cornwall thrive once again. However, although there is con-

sensus on the overarching goal—that is, to increase living standards—the way in which this can best be achieved is a point of conflict and division within the community. Although all speakers cited positive and negative aspects of Cornwall and Cornishness, for some, the positives outweigh the negatives and, for others, the opposite is true. The use of *crib box/croust tin* allow one to be socially locatable with respect to this parameter of social identity—that is, Kernowcentrism/scepticism. By contrast, the supra-local variants *lunch box* does not make the speaker socially locatable, that is, from the use of a Standard English form one cannot reliably predict the speaker's ideological stance in relation to local orientation. This is because supra-local variants have a much higher relative frequency of usage and are used across the ideological spectrum. Therefore, the social function of *lunch box* is less marked. The use of Anglo-Cornish dialect terms, in opposition to supra-local ones, were used exclusively by Kernowcentric individuals. For many speakers, the use of the dialect form can function as a semiotic embodiment of their stance in relation to the value of Cornish identity. These observations, supplemented by the social and stylistic variation evidenced above, indicate that a process of attrition has relegated the dialect terms to a performative semiotic embodiment of regional identity, as opposed to comprising part of the vernacular speech variety.

Informed by both quantitative and qualitative data analysis, we introduce an 'indexical field' (see Eckert 2008) for the Anglo-Cornish dialect terms *crib box/croust tin* (Fig. 13.5). This visualisation technique allows us to present 'a constellation of ideologically linked meanings' (Eckert 2008: 94), which are possible social meanings attached by individuals to *crib box/croust tin*. Each of these social meanings are possible meanings attributed to the Anglo-Cornish terms once the variants have been filtered through an individual's 'ideological lens' (Moore and Podesva 2009: 479). Moreover, each indexical meaning is situated within the context of a multidimensional semiotic system, such as the sartorial choices of the speaker. The labels in the indexical field are characteristics, values, stances or ideologies that we have observed to be associated with the use of *crib box/croust tin*. Each of these labels is discussed in the current analysis. Primarily, we have observed an indexical link between

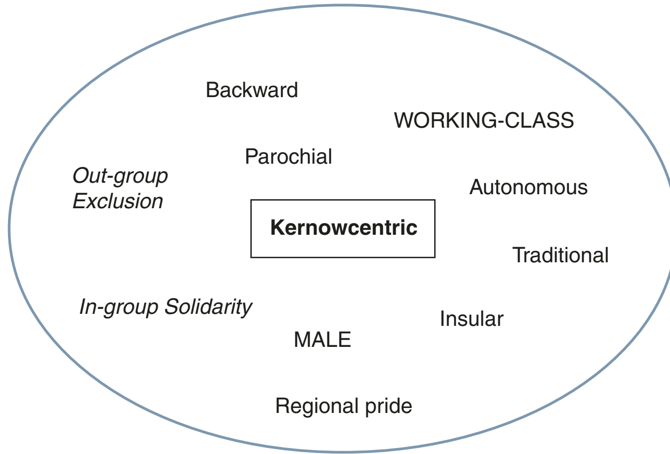

Fig. 13.5 Indexical field for the dialect forms *crib box/croust tin.* Bold and bordered = ideological orientation, capitals = first-order indexicalities, regular lowercase = second, third, and higher order indexicalities, italics = audience-based considerations (We do not claim the indexical field to be exhaustive, merely illustrative)

using Anglo-Cornish dialect lexis and a particular ideological stance, that is, Kernowcentrism (Fig. 13.5). However, other perceived attributes are also indexed by the use of *crib box/croust tin*. Consistently reinforced associations between male-oriented manual labour and the Anglo-Cornish forms *crib box/croust tin* have developed an association with the working class, more specifically, working-class males. Thus 'working-class' and 'male' are first-order indexicalities (see Silverstein 2003) for the Anglo-Cornish terms. Next, we further unpack the social meaning of *crib box/croust tin* to reveal second, third, and higher order indexical values. These indexical values exist on a broad evaluative spectrum, some of which are, arguably, negatively valenced and others are, arguably, positively valenced. These are *backward*, *parochial*, *insular*, *traditional*, *autonomous* and *regional pride*. As well as this, *crib box/croust tin* have pragmatic functions, which can serve to exclude members of the out-group, who do not understand Anglo-Cornish dialect lexis, and simultaneously develop solidarity with the other members of the in-group—that is, other Kernowcentrics.

Conclusion

By employing the proposed combination of methodological techniques, the current study demonstrates that methodological innovation can facilitate the elicitation and exploration of onomasiological data. Typically, the way in which the socially conditioned nature of the lexicon is understood is inhibited by the shallow sociological analysis afforded by the dialectological framework. The current study shows that, in order to accurately report on the usage of lexical variants, one must consider variation in the social, as well as the regional, dimension. Participant observation methods allow us to not only better explain the distribution of lexical items, but also to explain why these patterns appear to exist. If third-wave variation theory is concerned with linguistic aspects of identity construction, then the lexicon can be a highly informative level of analysis. By adding an identity vector to the analysis, the current study further showcases the value of considering emic social categories (cf. Eckert 2000; Moore and Podesva 2009).

In the current study, we demonstrate that some lexical variants are conditioned by social categories which reinforce and reconstruct social meanings.[19] More specifically we showcase the value of considering the role of identity in language variation and change in relation to onomasiological variation of the nominal concept LUNCH BOX in Redruth, Cornwall. IDq scores can work in conjunction with elicitation procedures in order to complement macro-level ideologies with micro-level linguistic variation. We show that lexical items can be strategically employed in order to index an ideological stance—that is, Kernowcentrism or Kernowscepticism. Just as one can, arguably, *do* gender (see West and Zimmerman 1987), it appears that one can also *do being Cornish* by employing lexical forms with Kernowcentric indices.

Speakers' use and evaluations of the dialect forms *crib box/croust tin* suggest that its usage is highly indexical. The current study shows the extent to which words carry socio-semantic meanings. These social meanings can be consciously or subconsciously employed to identify individuals within—or in opposition to—larger social structures. More specifically, in Redruth, we have seen that dialect lexis can function to broadcast one's

identity in relation to Kernowcentrism, in opposition to Englishness, via a semiotic performance. Thus, in contrast to the typically negative perceptions of the Cornish dialect, such as 'farmer' and 'weird' (Montgomery 2007: 248), many Kernowsceptics have reappropriated their difference as a badge of honour by employing Cornwall's unique dialect as an 'emblem of difference' (Vernon 1998: 154). Kent (2013: 55) has observed that learning the Cornish language is the 'ultimate ideological commitment' to presenting a distinct, non-English, Cornish way of being. Although dialect lexis is a less extreme manifestation of an ideological commitment to Kernowcentrism, this study demonstrates that *crib box*/*croust tin* are being employed in order to embody a Cornwall-oriented worldview.

Notes

1. Moore and Carter (2015) present an account of sociophonetic variation and change in the Isles of Scilly, Cornwall. Dann (2016) has conducted preliminary sociophonetic research on in-migrants in West Cornwall.
2. The Cornish language is a member of the Brythonic branch of the Celtic language family.
3. The Anglo-Cornish dialect is a variety of English spoken in Cornwall. It is also known by a range of alternative labels, including Cornish English and Cornu-English.
4. Other than mining, Cornwall's traditional industries include farming and fishing. However, in Redruth, mining was the most prominent industry, and the only one of these three to collapse entirely.
5. This contrasts with semasiological variation, where the object of study is a single lexical item with variable semantic meanings, such as *gay* 'happy' and *gay* 'homosexual' (see Robinson 2012b).
6. Although these were the variants that we identified as likely to appear in our data, the methodologies that we employed made it possible that a range of other variants could have occurred, such as *crib bag* or *sandwich tin*.
7. Alternative combinations, that is, *crib tin* and *croust box*, are not attested in the investigated community. This was verified by informal discussions with Anglo-Cornish speakers.
8. Etymologically, *croust* originates in Latin, *crusta*, and has been used in England since Middle English time as *crust*, 'the hard, dry outside of

bread' (see Oxford English Dictionary (OED) online). It was borrowed into the Cornish language, and remains in use in the Anglo-Cornish dialect. In Cornwall, through metonymic extension, *crous*t developed into 'the entire meal, usually taken during mid-morning or midday'. This meaning is evidenced to be characteristic of Cornish lexis (Wakelin 1984). *Crib* is a Germanic term for 'a feeding trough'. Its usage as an Anglo-Cornish term for 'food provisions' has been documented since the nineteenth century through glossaries of Cornish words and through narratives centred on Cornish life (OED online).

9. Another key difference between this study and previous applications of Diapix methodology is that they have typically been dialogic, involving interactions between two participants, yet we use a monologic format (see also Boyd et al. 2015). In order to make this possible, participants were asked to 'think out loud'.
10. The spot-the-difference scenes described here were designed to meet our specifications by Tyler Crewes—an independent graphic designer from Camborne, Cornwall.
11. Image was taken from http://brecon.fyinetwork.co.uk/my,8972-tradesman-lunch-boxes
12. It was important to establish this link through narratives as Sandow has a perceptually pan-southern English accent.
13. The analysis of the socio-semantic relationship between *crib box* and *croust tin* is an issue that remains to be explored in future research.
14. We consider the spot-the-difference scenes as a single context, which is analysed categorically—that is, use or non-use of Anglo-Cornish terms. There was no intra-speaker variation between responses to the 'table' and 'living room' spot-the-difference scenes.
15. All names used in this study are pseudonyms.
16. Mark varies between rhoticity and non-rhoticity and at times loses his TRAP/BATH split.
17. In Cornish studies, there is very little consensus on what constitutes a native Cornish person (Deacon personal communication). Therefore, if one were to use a different metric, this figure would undoubtedly change.
18. The last operational tin mine in Cornwall, which was located on the periphery of Redruth, 'South Crofty', closed in 1998.
19. We suggest that future research may be best served by additionally considering a third category which occupies the ideological middle-ground, the Kernowsympathisers.

Appendix

Identity Questionnaire

To what extent (1–5) do you agree with the following statements?

1- Completely disagree
2- Mostly disagree
3- Neither agree nor disagree
4- Mostly agree
5- Completely agree

1. Being Cornish is a big part of who I am.
2. I am proud to be Cornish.
3. A distinct Cornish identity, in contrast to the rest of England, is a good thing.
4. Cornwall council should be given more control over the county and, therefore, Westminster should have less control of Cornwall.
5. Cornish life is independent of 'English' life.
6. I would like to live in Cornwall for the rest of my life.
7. I would be more likely to vote for a performer on a talent show if they were from Cornwall.
8. Funding for the Cornish language should be increased.
9. Using the Cornish dialect is a big part of what makes me, me.
10. I think that the Cornish dialect is an important marker of Cornishness.

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