Sussex glossarists and their illustrative quotations

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As the number of sources of information about historical Sussex dialect is limited, further data are very welcome. This article discusses the purported examples of dialect speech published to illustrate the definitions of words listed in local glossaries in the period 1834–1957. An investigation of the five glossarists in question, William Durrant Cooper, William Holloway, William Parish, Bessie C. Curteis and Helena Hall, reveals the very mixed nature of this source of evidence: while some illustrative quotations are highly plausible, others are clearly fictive. But drawing on the more reliable of the glossarists, the article closes with examples of the information regarding Sussex speech that this previously-unused source of data can provide.

When we attempt to find representative records of the speech of people in Sussex in the past, we are repeatedly frustrated by the piecemeal nature of the data. Even with the inauguration of the era of sound-recording, until very recent decades we are still heavily dependent on written sources, and before that time our reliance is total.[1] The written sources in question vary considerably. We have the surviving writings of dialect speakers themselves, which are, on the face of it, key texts. However, the surviving number of such writings is somewhat limited, and there may also be questions regarding degree to which the spellings in and the tenor of such documents reflect the writer's own speech. Another of the written sources is 'dialect literature', and most especially representations of dialogue found in such works. Yet while an assortment of professed examples of Sussex speech can be found in both creative literature and memoir, these sources often present highly dubious pictures of dialect speech, as Richard Coates establishes in his forthcoming annotated bibliography of Sussex dialect literature. For while such writings may indicate which particular features could occur in Sussex speech, the non-standard features may be

1) exaggerated in the frequency of their usage;
2) treated as normal even where obsolescent; or
3) in the case of formal linguistic features such as irregular verb-forms, analogically extended beyond the words which they characterized in the authentic dialect of the time.[2]

Or, to put it in a nutshell, the writings of such authors are often hyperdialectal.

Word-definitions to be found in dialect glossaries are a third written source of information regarding dialect speech. Sussex is fortunate in possessing five significant glossarists: William Durrant Cooper, William Holloway, William Parish, Bessie C. Curteis and Helena Hall — an unusually high complement of glossarists whose definitions span a significant period of time, from the second quarter of the nineteenth century to the third quarter of the twentieth century. Yet despite the apparent authority the printed pages of the dictionaries carry, their definitions may have to be handled with care. Leaving aside a small number of cases where these definitions are plainly wrong, it is not uncommon to find definitions languishing in the wrong corner of the right semantic field. On the one hand, the definitions may be too narrow, missing some of the other senses of a word, and on the other hand, may be too broad, ignoring the fact that a word may only be found with a limited number of collocates. If we look at Helena Hall's revision of William Parish's *Dictionary*, we often find that she has felt it necessary to nuance his earlier definitions, broadening, narrowing, or sometimes (following her characteristic warning-sign 'Or rather …') substantially correcting them.[3]

Besides problems with the definitions, there can also be problematic headwords. The late Bob Copper, speaking of Parish's *Dictionary*, remarked that the word 'Lawyer', defined there as 'a long bramble full of thorns', was not one he had ever heard, but that it seemed to him to have been rather something someone had just said once for a joke.[4] Yet such one-off 'words' and sayings (*hapax*

legomena) are included alongside everyday words with no hint as to their one-offness by certain of the glossarists, especially those wishing to inject some humour into their works (malapropisms are another particular favourite of such writers).

Close at hand, however, there is in these very dialect glossaries another potentially valuable source of information about vernacular linguistic usage, that has, as yet, been overlooked. While an entry in a glossary prototypically consists of the headword and its definition, the definition may be followed by an illustration of the usage of the headword. All of the five main Sussex glossarists, Durrant Cooper, Holloway, Parish, Curteis and Hall, make use of illustrative examples in their dictionaries or contributions to dictionaries.

And, on the face of it, while the definitions merely *tell* us about a word's meaning, the illustrations could be thought of as *showing* us how a word is used. As it is conceivable that illustrations carry information that is not explicitly stated elsewhere by the glossarists, such illustrations demand investigation. There are two main kinds of illustrative examples: the *typical* and the *specific*. The first kind of illustration, the typical, usually consists of short, often two- or three-word, examples, and is often preceded by the words 'as', 'thus', 'such as', etc. The following example serves to illustrate the typical contexts in which the headword (which is often an adjective or an adverb) may be used. Consulting William Durrant Cooper's *Glossary* for the headword 'dubby', we find: 'Dubby. *Short, blunt, not pointed, as* Dubby fingers, *and* Dubby nose, *&c.*'[5]

The very brief examples we have here, 'dubby fingers', 'dubby nose', serve to refine the preceding definition, suggesting that 'dubby' is not synonymous with the words 'short' or 'blunt', both of which have a broad range of applications, but that it has a more restricted field of application — and here the examples both refer to parts of the body. No doubt, a variety of people have included the collocation 'dubby fingers' in their speech at various times, but this dictionary example is not intended to represent any single speaker or occasion, it is simply there to indicate *typical* usage.

The second type of illustrative example, the specific, is usually longer, often a sentence or more in length, and takes on a more individualised form. The glossarist may, for example, cite the usage of the headword in a specific written source: such as in dialect poetry or traditional songs and rhymes. Minor writings such as old account books, diaries, inventories, charters or other legal documents might be drawn on and these can also serve as a useful source of written illustrations. A practice, favoured by Victorian glossarists, was to present an excerpt from a well-established classic of English literature, showing the use of a local word in the work of a writer such as Chaucer, Spenser, Thomas Tusser or Shakespeare. Citations from such canonical writers served to elevate what could otherwise be seen as 'low' words.

The form of specific illustration that could offer us clues to the speech of people in Sussex in the past is the *illustrative quotation*. Such quotations are drawn (or are claimed to have been drawn, or conceivably could have been drawn) from the mouths of dialect speakers themselves, i.e. the illustrations purport to represent speech uttered on a specific occasion by a specific individual. When we look at the entry in Parish's *Dictionary* for 'dubby', we find:

> Dubby. *Short, blunt*. I be dubersome whether she'll ever make a needlewoman, her fingers be so dubby.[6]

Unlike Durrant Cooper's examples, the words that follow the headword and definition here represent (or purport to represent, or could be imagined as representing) a specific speech event. And looked at in that way, illustrative quotations could be considered as minor but invaluable records of the now otherwise unobtainable oral linguistic usage of 'the common people'.[7] As we shall see, however, there are illustrative quotations and illustrative quotations — and I shall return later to the reasons why this particular illustrative quotation is probably not to be trusted.

But, potentially at least, illustrative quotations could be of great value. This was been noticed by an anonymous reviewer writing in the *Athenaeum* in 1875, who commented:

> A quotation is often more useful than a definition. It leaves one less at another's mercy. And what is more, it may give one some insight into the feelings and opinions of the natives.[8]

Both of this reviewer's points are valid. Firstly, we can well imagine that the quotations glossarists provide could often be more linguistically relevant as examples of usage than their definitions of those words, especially when, as is not infrequently the case, they are not fully acquainted with the

dialect they are writing about, or when they are twisting the data to support an etymology or to allow a joke. And secondly, we can also imagine that the quotations may also serve as examples of social historical data, both the quotations proper and the preambles that the glossarist may provide them with, which often relate something about the speaker and the occasion for their speech.

Some modern dictionaries of regional English even make it possible to track down where, when and by whom the illustrative quotation was uttered. For example, the *Dictionary of Newfoundland English*, draws upon transcripts of tape-recorded interviews with dialect speakers made in the period 1963–1971 for fully 10% of its illustrative material.[9] The names and locations of the speakers in question are easily ascertainable from a system of references made to fieldwork tapes to be found in the dictionary.[10] For example, an illustrative quotation for the word 'janny-talk' (defined as 'distorted or ingressive speech of a mummer used as a means of disguising one's identity') is itself an extract from the speech of Nammy Payne of the settlement of Cow Head as tape-recorded in 1966. In such instances, we have a great degree of exactitude regarding illustrative quotations — they are attributed to a named speaker in a certain location at a specified date. And, just to keep the dictionary-makers honest, the words are verifiable against surviving tape copies of the recording sessions held in the local university's Folklore and Language Archive. In other words, here we can be sure that what we are getting comes straight from the horse's mouth.

Turning back to the Sussex English material — how reliable are the illustrative quotations that the main dialect glossarists provide us with? All of them worked, for good or ill, before sound-recording equipment became widespread in portable form, so there is no sound archive where we could check on their material. We will instead need to examine their own statements about their practice, where available, and become aware of their individual propensities in this genre, as well as their ear for linguistic detail and general trustworthiness. And, while we cannot reasonably expect to find the degree of exactitude from Sussex glossarists of the pre-tape-recording era that we find in modern regional dictionaries, we will be interested in discovering how much contextual information is provided about the illustrative quotations they present us with.

At this stage, a brief overview of the study of the Sussex dialect may be helpful. Local speech in the county can claim to be one of the earliest regional forms of English to be addressed by scholars, when in the late seventeenth century, Peter Courthope of Danny, near Hurstpierpoint, sent to John Ray a list of Sussex words that were included in the latter's *Collection of English Words* (1674). However, it was the nineteenth century that saw more sustained interest in our local speech.

Sussex Dialect Glossaries: Timeline

1834	William Durrant Cooper's *Glossary*
1838	William Holloway's *General Dictionary*
1853	Cooper's *Glossary*: second edition
1874	William Parish's *Dictionary* (with contributions from Curteis)
1957	Helena Hall's second edition of Parish's *Dictionary*

I shall discuss the five main dialect glossarists for Sussex in more or less chronological order beginning, however, with Holloway, as it will be the second edition of Durrant Cooper's *Glossary* that I shall consider.

William Holloway (1785–1870) was a native of Hampshire, who moved early on to Rye. Nowadays he is best remembered for his histories of Rye and of Romney Marsh.[11] Before such works of local history, however, he published, at the age of 53, his *General Dictionary of Provincialisms*.[12] It was hailed by William Barnes as 'a useful collection … evincing great industry and patience'.[13] There are several editions of this work, the first two of which were published by the local printers, Baxter and Sons of Lewes. The first edition displays an occasionally lax grasp of the principle of presenting entries by alphabetical order, a somewhat unfortunate oversight in a dictionary. And parts of Holloway's work are redolent of scissors and paste, having made free, as he did, with glossaries such as Robert Forby's *The Vocabulary of East Anglia*, William Carr's *The Dialect of Craven*, and Captain Grose's *Classical Dictionary of the Vulgar Tongue*. But for us, the interest of Holloway's work comes in the unusually high proportion of south eastern words it contains, the observations of a Hampshire man living near the Kent/Sussex border, and as befits a resident of Rye, the locality referenced particularly often in his entries is 'E[ast] Suss[ex]'.

We can gain a sense of Holloway's respect for the spoken and the heard as against the written, at least in his local area, from his comments on an entry he takes from a previous dictionary: 'BEHOUNCHED. Tricked up and made fine, Sussex, according to Grose, although I never heard the word myself'. Furthermore, his work displays an awareness of grammatical issues, such as his entry for 'be': 'I be is used for I am. *E. Suss*.' Holloway's accuracy in observing this usage is confirmed, more than a century later, by the Basic Material of the *Survey of English Dialects*.[14]

Altogether, Holloway provides somewhat over 100 illustrations to Sussex words — illustrations which are often highly convincing .[15] They are also sometimes strikingly contemporary, including examples such as 'She's a dirty faggot', 'he had no call to do it', and, 'Go to by-by' — it is something quite striking to consider parents and children saying that at bedtimes as long ago as 1838.[16] Unfortunately, for our purposes, they are also rather short, unsourced, and generally can be described as 'typical' rather than 'specific' illustrations. Another problematic feature we need to be aware of is that just as some of his headwords and definitions are lifted more or less bodily from Forby's *Vocabulary*, so are some of his illustrative quotations. For instance, in the entry for the headword 'clout', 'a cuff, a blow' (for which he gives the distribution *Norfolk, Suffolk, Hampshire, Sussex, Yorkshire*),[17] both his definition and his illustrative quotation are modified versions of those in Forby — Forby illustrates the word with 'I gave him a good clout on the scull', while Holloway has 'I gave him a good clout on the head'. But, all in all, given Holloway's linguistic bent, it is regrettable that none of his subsequent works focus on local English.

Our second glossarist, William Durrant Cooper (1812–1875) was a native of Sussex, and a young man of 22 when his work first appeared. When his revised version of the Glossary, which is the work we are considering here, appeared, he was still only 43.[18] Unlike various other writers before and since, he does not treat dialect as something humorous, and he explicitly excludes malapropisms, what he calls 'mispronunciations, or corruptions of words in general use' of the type later used as a headword by other glossarists. One reason for the success of his examples is no doubt their brevity. His contemporary-sounding illustrative examples, 'Chuck it away', 'Hike off!' or 'He hadn't ought to' would surely lose some of their ring of authenticity, if drowned out by additional verbiage.[19] The implied speakers of his examples are not amusingly rustic figures, but acting, arguing, human beings. To jump somewhat ahead of myself, I do not think there is a single case in later glossarists, such as Parish or Hall, of a dialect speaker using the imperative mood without its being presented as somehow comic.

There are just over 40 illustrative quotations in the second, enlarged edition of his glossary.[20] While, they are clearly marked in the entries by speech marks and/or indentation, none of them is introduced or sourced (though some indication of the geographical distribution the words is shown by the abbreviations E., W., and S., showing eastern, western and general Sussex words respectively). That Cooper was a sharp-eared observer is suggested by evidence from his illustrative quotations, where, generally, we find the definite article is represented by 'the' and the relative pronoun by 'that', just as it is in Standard English, such as in 'This man has <u>the</u> bly of his brother' and 'I inned <u>that</u> piece of land from the common'.[21] But in three of his illustrative quotations, we find a 'd' sound in such words: 'de geese',[22] 'rum ol' feller dat',[23] and 'de winders'.[24] This mixed picture (of sometimes 'the' and sometimes 'de') is borne out by the evidence of the *Survey of English Dialects*, where we find that using /d/ where we might expect /ð/ is a feature unknown in Warnham, 'occasionally' found in East Harting and Sutton, 'sometimes' found in Horam, 'often' found in Fletching, and is 'usual' in Firle.[25] What the twentieth-century Survey shows us is that there is increased used of this feature as we move further east, but that nowhere does it occur in 100 per cent of instances. Thus, his variable presentation paints a more convincing picture than the uniform replacement we find in some dialect writers (such as James Richards).

Overall, Holloway and Durrant Cooper have much in common in both the approach and style of their dictionaries. Given that Durrant Cooper was described as someone who 'heartily espoused the principles of the Liberal Party',[26] being the son of 'perhaps the only member of the legal profession who espoused the Liberal side of politics in Lewes',[27] and given that Holloway was described as 'a radical Whig',[28] it may not be fanciful to suggest that there might be a correlation between their world-views as expressed politically, and their respect for vernacular users and usage.

I want to move now to William Parish (1833–1904) who is commonly regarded as the most important of the five glossarists.[29] His *Dictionary*, though it was not commissioned by them, was adopted by the newly-formed English Dialect Society (EDS) as the county glossary for Sussex. This was a somewhat unfortunate decision, in that the later commissioned publications of the EDS were more linguistically sophisticated, with indications of pronunciations often provided for headwords, and locations sometimes provided for illustrative quotations .[30] Elworthy's EDS volume for West Somerset even included a descriptive grammar.[31] Another unfortunate factor was his less than complete sympathy with vernacular culture, as is evident from his characterisation of local traditional singing:

> a musical ear is very rarely found among Sussex people, a defect which is remarkably shown not only in the monotonous tunes to which their old songs are sung, but also in the songs themselves, which are almost entirely devoid of rhythm.[32]

In the light of this remark, it is satisfying to read in *Memoirs* of the Revd Edward Boys Ellman, how Parish himself mistook an organ recital for a man tuning the organ.[33]

To be sure, Parish, the Charterhouse- and Oxford-educated son of a famous diplomat, who was not himself born or brought up in the county, held an ambivalent attitude towards Sussex dialect, as the following extract from the Introduction to his *Dictionary* suggests:

> In almost every establishment in the country there is to be found some old groom, or gardener, bailiff or factotum, whose odd expressions and quaint sayings and apparently outlandish words afford a never-failing source of amusement to the older as well as the younger members of the household, who are not aware that many of the words and expressions which raise the laugh are purer specimens of the English language than the words which are used to tell the story in which they are introduced.[34]

These two attitudes toward dialect, seeing it as on the one hand, being something purer, and more original than Standard English, but on the other, as being something humorous, and the fit subject for a laugh, contend within the pages of his *Dictionary*.[35] They also found expression in the text of the publisher's advertisement, which claims 'it contains much amusing reading to illustrate the 1,800 words which it contains'.[36] Here it is specifically the illustrative examples which are being vended as 'amusing reading'. They certainly seemed to have tickled a certain class of late Victorian: a writer in the *Westminster Review* opined that 'Mr. Parish's glossary is more entertaining than *Punch*'.[37]

An example of this 'humorous' vein is found in his introductory essay, where he writes on malapropisms:

> A person hears a word which he does not quite understand; he does not take the trouble to ascertain either the meaning or pronunciation of it, but he uses a word *something like it*. This is specially the case with the names of complaints, such as will be found incidentally mentioned in some of the illustrations which I have given of Sussex words, as, for instance browncrisis for bronchitis, and rebellious for bilious.[38]

Parish is the only one of the five glossarists who explicitly claims that (the majority of) his examples are drawn from life. Terming his illustrative quotations 'examples of Sussex conversation', he comments that he has 'endeavoured to illustrate the use of the words by specimens of conversation, most of which are taken from the life verbatim'.[39]

However, he would seem to be the least able of all of the five to make such a claim. For, as far as Parish's illustrative quotations are concerned, a number can certainly be described as hyperdialectal. He overlards the dialect pudding by, it would seem, superadding words beginning with the same letter that he is currently working on, or has just completed. Thus in the illustration of 'dubby', which we saw earlier, the neighbouring word in the dictionary, 'dubersome', is, strangely, also present. Likewise, the 'quotation' illustrating the word 'dozzle' (a small amount), runs:

> He came in so down-hearted that I couldn't be off from giving him a dozzle of victuals, and I told him if he could put up with a down-bed, he might stop all night.

'Down-bed' is in fact the preceding entry.

Similarly, as an illustration of the past form of 'believe': i.e. 'beleft', he has: 'I never should have beleft that he'd have gone on belvering and swearing about it as he did'.

The very next word in the dictionary is, of course, 'belver'.

Perhaps the most glaring example of this practice is his entry for the phrasal verb to 'cocker up' (to invent), which is itself clearly 'cockered-up', including as it does four neighbouring dialect words beginning with the letter 'c': 'call'; 'cluck'; 'coke' and 'cog'.[40]

Perhaps such examples are only to be expected when we consider that Parish just a few years earlier was producing the 'humorous' 'John Hogpound' writings, in which he adopted the persona of a rustic simpleton. Instead of taking at face value his assertion that his illustrations were 'drawn verbatim' from life, we must rather concur with Edward Boys Ellman, a man who knew Parish, who states that 'his dictionary of the Sussex dialect surely contains much that must have been invented to illustrate the meaning of the words'. And yet Ellman immediately goes on to remark: 'But many of his illustrations are from life'.[41] The only way of squaring this circle would seem to be to accept there may be a core of truth to Parish's illustrations — but that it is often difficult to tell what that core is.[42] Had the English Dialect Society's *Rules and Directions for Word Collectors* been available at the time of his work on the *Dictionary*, Parish may have had his attention drawn to the sixth rule: 'add an illustration of the word, viz. either a quotation, or a scrap of talk which you have really heard, not one invented for the occasion.'[43]

Subsequent to the publication of his *Dictionary*, Parish became an occasional contributor to *Notes and Queries*. The convention for queries in *Notes and Queries* on dialect matters, was to report as accurately as possible the words heard spoken, often supplementing them with information as to where, when and by whom they had been uttered, before proceeding to make a query as to the antiquity, the exact meaning, or the wider distribution of the word or phrase concerned. To give an example, we can take this highly typical contribution from 'Clarry':

> In taking a delightful stroll through the cornfields from Faringdon to Shillingford (for a notice of the church at the latter place see Parker), I inquired of a country boy whether a house just by had not been recently built. His reply was that it had been built 'a *smart few* years'. I have heard of 'a middlingish many' in Kent, but the above expression is new to me. Is it peculiar to Berkshire? and can it be any foundation for a favourite epithet of our cousins the other side of 'the pond'.[44]

As the journal was then published weekly, the queries were often sent in on the same day that the dialect item was heard — it is remarkable how often the word 'today' appears in the queries regarding what correspondents then termed 'provincialisms'. In this context, seemingly freed of the need to be 'entertaining', and submitting queries while the exact words were still fresh in his mind, Parish supplies some of his most interesting and realistic illustrative quotations. It is a pity that he made less than two dozen such notes and queries.

In a query published in January 1880, Parish is presenting himself to the *Notes and Queries* readership not only as a published author on dialect, but also as someone who is in contact with dialect speakers:

> I live alone in a very isolated village, seven miles from anywhere, and am attended by two old-fashioned servants, who render me old-fashioned service, and speak the purest Sussex dialect ... the one of the Hill country, the other of the Weald, so I am in the way of hearing many odd words at times, and am fast adding to the store which I published in the *Dictionary of Sussex Dialect*.

He then turns to the matter in hand:

> Today we were hunting for an article missing from the tool-chest, and my housemaid exclaimed 'There, now somebody's gone and ixed that away'.[45]

He then asks for more information on the word. Here, in this *Notes and Queries*-context, he presents us with a much more plausible example of dialect speech.

In common with the practice of the time, Parish does not name his sources. But it is possible to do a little detective work using the 1881 census, where we find Parish's household consists of himself, and two domestic servants, Jane Moore, a 64-year-old widow, from Beddingham ('the Hill Country'), and Ann Adams, a 36-year-old spinster from Sidley near Bexhill ('the Weald'). Their exact roles as servants are made clearer by the census returns for other years. In the 1871 census Jane Moore is described as 'Housekeeper', and in the 1901 census, Ann Adams is described as a 'retired housemaid'. So, the latter would seem to be the unnamed housemaid Parish quotes in his query. Here we have a rare instance

where we can approach the exactitude in sourcing oral materials that we find in the *Dictionary of Newfoundland English* — Ann Adams, aged 35, remarked 'There, now somebody's gone and ixed that away' to William Parish in Selmeston Vicarage in mid-December, 1879 (if we assume a lag of about six weeks from submission to publication).

The 1871 census returns show us that Parish employed the same servants then (together with Jane Moore's husband, Michael, also of Beddingham, who worked as gardener). All three came from a similar social class — the 1851 census shows that Michael Moore had been an agricultural labourer before working for Parish, and that Ann Adams's father, Stephen, was an agricultural labourer, born in Catsfield. In the preface to his *Dictionary*, Parish speaks of his 'daily intercourse with persons speaking the purest Sussex dialect'.[46] No doubt, these three previously unacknowledged individuals were foremost among his sources for the Dictionary.[47] Given this, it is clear that Parish's *Dictionary* shows an eastern bias (eastern in the modern sense of the term East Sussex): he drew on his servants and his parishioners in Selmeston and Firle, and the works of Durrant Cooper (of Lewes), and Holloway (of Rye) and the contributions of Egerton (of Burwash) and Bessie Curteis (of Rye).[48] Nevertheless, his *Dictionary* contains 198 words marked as 'w[estern]' — not very many as against the 323 from the Rape of Hastings alone, but still a respectable figure. It is not altogether clear who Parish's source was for these words — his immediate source would seem to have been the Revd James Fraser (of Chichester).[49] Helena Hall notes that 'Fraser had a factotum, one Howard who came from the Lavants, he was used as the dog to try Parish's words on'.[50] Using the 1881 census returns, it would seem that this person, and thus possibly the source of the illustrative quotations for western words was George W. Howard, a man born in Lavant in 1820, whose work is described as that of 'gardener', and who lived in Main Street, East Lavant, the same street as Fraser.

In his '*Notes and Queries* afterlife', Parish, as well as providing more plausible illustrative quotations, also often supplied more specific data regarding when and by whom the speech he reported had been uttered. Some examples of informants and dates of recording include: 'a friend of mine and his gardener', 'a short time ago';[51] 'one of my parishioners', 'a recent conversation';[52] 'a little child', 'last winter';[53] 'a person', 'recently';[54] 'this morning (Oct.19) as I was concluding a somewhat confidential conversation with one of my parishioners'.[55] In this example, he is once again writing on the day in question, and describes the speaker and the context in which the saying was produced:

> I saw an old man today who had taken his grandson for a walk, but the child became cross and declined to go any further. His grandfather declared that he was 'like Wood's dog'. 'What did Wood's dog do?' said I. 'Why' said the old man, 'it has been a say as long ago as I was a child, Contrairy as Wood's dog, that wouldn't go out nor yet stop at home'.[56]

And, while there is a hint of archness in the query he makes immediately following this little narrative, it seems that he is no longer presenting the dialect speakers themselves with arch humour. Given the positive development in Parish's attitude to and manner of recording dialect speech, it is much to be regretted that he never produced his promised revision of the *Dictionary*.[57] Twelve years later, Parish co-authored a dialect dictionary for Kent, and the higher standard of that work demonstrates how far he had come in respect toward and appreciation of dialect speech.[58]

I shall now move on to the great unacknowledged figure of nineteenth-century dialectology in Sussex: Bessie C. Curteis of Rye (1846–1891). She demonstrated an active interest in Sussex dialect during the 1870s — being a member of the English Dialect Society, the author of a useful article 'On Dialect',[59] and also of the novel, *In the Marsh*[60] which features a substantial amount of dialect speech. In addition, she was one of the local correspondents for A.J. Ellis's attempt to document 'existing dialectal' phonology.[61] Indeed, her expertise is such that she was the only contributor from the whole of Sussex who presented Ellis with responses to his word list in a 'systematic orthography'.[62]

In the preface to his *Dictionary*, Parish acknowledges the contributions of various co-workers. The most important of these is none other than 'Miss Bessie C. Curteis of Leasam, near Rye',who, as he notes 'has contributed at least 200 words, conversational illustrations and legends from the East Sussex district'.[63] Parish's 'East Sussex district' is by no means identical with the area the East Sussex County Council covers

today, for, as he makes plain, 'by East is meant the extreme East of the county'. Parish defines the area as that 'part of the county lying east of a line drawn northward from Hastings', so, roughly speaking, the Rape of Hastings. There are 323 words marked as being found in this area in Parish's *Dictionary*, more than one in ten of the total number of headwords. We should assume that Curteis provided all of the entries marked as eastern in Parish's *Dictionary* that are not found in Holloway's *General Dictionary*.[64] Some of the illustrations are identical with illustrative quotations in her article 'On Dialect',[65] others with the representations of local speech in her novel *In the Marsh*.[66] Indeed, on occasion, even when a word is found in Holloway, it is Curteis who should be considered as the supplier of the illustrative quotation. For instance, both dictionaries contain an entry for 'stupe' — but upon closer inspection we find that 'stupe' is a noun in Holloway ('a foolish and dull person') and lacks illustration, whereas in Parish 'stupe' is found as an adjective ('*e*. stupid, dull') and has an illustrative quotation from 'an old schooldame about a pupil'.

Although she came from a rather privileged background (her father, and both her grandfathers had been Members of Parliament), her obituarist remarked that she 'had endeared herself to a large number of the poorer classes by her great benevolence and liberality',[67] and she would seem to have been able to overcome the social distance between herself and traditional dialect speakers.

A lower proportion of the entries for eastern words are accompanied by a 'conversational illustration' than are the Dictionary's other entries — roughly one in four, as against one in three. On the other hand, a greater proportion of them are accompanied by what Parish called 'legends' (or what we might call folkloric detail).[68] They are often concerned with school and Sunday school (where I suspect she helped out in some form or other),[69] or with fishing (unlike Parish, Curteis lived by the coast). In general, her examples are much more authentic-seeming than those found in the remainder of Parish's *Dictionary*. She doesn't fall into his trick of long hyperdialectal examples, as a typical quotation shows: 'My little girl seemed rather adle this morning, so I kep' her at home'.[70]

From a linguistic point of view, one drawback to using her illustrative quotations as a source is that she sometimes exemplifies her headwords with indirect speech. But overall they are very convincing, and it is a great pity that there does not seem to be any other dialect research or writing by her other than this burst of works in the mid-1870s, when she was in her late twenties and early thirties. It may well be that there are further anonymous or unprinted contributions on Sussex dialect by her which have yet to be identified.

Richard Dorson, the great historian of 'the British Folklorists' has written that 'a monograph could be written on the relationship between Victorian gentry and servants in terms of culture contact'.[71] And this is surely as true for Victorian dialectologists as for folklorists. We can get a hint of the culture contact involved if we examine the names found in illustrative quotations. So, for instance, there are 22 occasions on which Parish's illustrative quotations include references to personal names. A typical example is the illustration in the entry for 'rough': 'Mus Moppet he'll be middlin' rough if sees you a throwing at he's rooster.' On only one of these occasions do we find reference to first names, which perhaps reveals something about the social distance between the dialect speakers and Parish .[72] When we check the surnames featured in his illustrative quotations against the 1881 census returns, we can see that he sometimes used some invented surnames such as Cluckleford and Tweazer — names borne by no-one in the country according to the census, and as fictional as his other creation 'Hogpound'. But we also find that he uses some quite common Sussex surnames, such as Martin, Moppet, Norman, Pilbeam and Piper. However, using the returns for Selmeston parish itself we can determine that, apart from the surname Piper, there was no-one with these surnames in the parish at that time,[73] which suggests he is either disguising the identity of his parishioners, or making up the examples.[74]

If we look at Bessie Curteis's illustrative quotations, we can see that she uses names only six times.[75] More than half of these instances are of Christian names, which suggests that her sources did not feel that they had to be so much on their best behaviour when conversing with her. The two surnames she uses, Barham and Noakes, were very common in Rye, there being 20 of the former and 25 of the latter by the time of the 1881 census, suggesting that it is not impossible that the names in question are those of her informants (although of course we have also to consider the possibility

that she used common surnames precisely in order to conceal specific individuals).

Our final glossarist is Helena Hall (1873–1967), a local historian from Lindfield, who was the person who finally provided a revised and expanded edition of Parish's *Dictionary*, in 1957, more than 80 years after the original, when she was in great old age:

> So long ago as 1890 my late elder brother … and I began noting any Sussex dialect words we heard … it is to be hoped that this reprint including the supplementary part of 67 year's collection, will be welcomed.[76]

She makes no explicit statement as to her policy with illustrative quotations, although a number of them are preceded by explicit claims that they are drawn from life, for example, 'I have heard our nurse say', 'my old nurse used to say…' etc. While she has some, usually short, convincing examples, such as 'Better not use that cup, it lets', brevity is also the hallmark of her worst illustrations. [77] Many of her least convincing and most facetious examples are also similarly short, given satirical point by a long introduction.

While in the main her additional headwords are plausible and confirmed from other sources, and while her definitions are useful (at times correcting or refining those of Parish), her illustrative quotations are often condescending — in fact they show a worse condescension than the late-nineteenth-century Parish. Where, on occasion, Parish would tell an anecdote against himself, there are no cases in Hall's little narratives of working-class/middle-class interaction where the humbler figure gets the better of the middle-class figure.[78] Whereas Parish mainly places one-off malapropisms or those confined to a single individual's way of speaking ('idiolect') in illustrations to his entries, Hall sometimes gives them the status of headwords.[79] Added to this, her fondness for eye-dialect (i.e. for spelling words pronounced in a standard way non-standardly to make them appear non-standard in pronunciation), means that many of her illustrations must sadly be seen as dubious examples of Sussex speech. This kind of facetious attitude to dialect is still of course prevalent today.[80]

Looking over our five glossarists, it is in many ways the writers of the oldest works, namely Holloway and Durrant Cooper, who provide many of the most convincing examples. Whereas Parish and Hall provide a great number of sometimes quite long illustrative quotations, Holloway and Durrant Cooper provide relatively speaking, the fewest and the briefest, with Curteis somewhere in between.[81] Oddly, there seems to be an inverse correlation between the number and the plausibility of a glossarist's illustrative quotations.[82] If this exercise is repeated for other counties, it would be interesting to see whether this is the case elsewhere in the country. If we did not have the plausible and well-sourced illustrative quotations that Parish late in life contributed to *Notes and Queries*, we might also be tempted to argue that there was also a correlation between the youth of the glossarist and the plausibility of their illustrative quotations. One field in which the latter writers are of more use than their predecessors is in the introductions they provide to their illustrative quotations. These often supply important data, such as who the speaker was and what was the occasion for their speech. In some cases, dates and locations may also be provided.

Illustrative quotations, if used carefully, i.e. with an awareness of the typical practice and trustworthiness of the individual glossarists, may be of help in two areas. Firstly, they can have a social historical value. Take, for example, the small collection of Surrey, Kent and Sussex words made by the nineteenth-century antiquarian Albert Way (and to be found today among the Additional Manuscripts of the British Library).[83] Each word is defined, and is then sometimes followed by an illustrative quotation. While the 50 or so words that Way lists do not add materially to our knowledge of the lexicon of southeastern English, the illustrative quotations are more interesting. As Way was a magistrate, these were often drawn from witnesses up before the Reigate Bench. Here data recorded for linguistic reasons may prove of more interest to social historians, in that they provide a fascinating and otherwise hard-to-access source of social-historical data.

But it is not only the content of illustrative quotations that is valuable. Consider the preambles to the quotations — one of the things these introductions can reveal is who were used as sources — or in other words, who were thought of as being 'dialect speakers'. So if we take just a dozen or so of these people mentioned in the introductions to Parish's and Curteis's illustrative quotations describing their sources: 'an old man',

'a rough-looking carter boy', 'a farmer', 'an old fisherman', 'a parishioner of mine', 'a man who came my house by himself one Christmas eve to sing carols', 'a shepherd', 'a Sussex man', 'a gypsy boy', 'a rat-catcher', 'an old woman', 'an old man', 'an old schooldame', 'a Sussex maid to another servant', we find a list redolent of nineteenth-century dialectology, strangely moving in its anonymity.

Secondly, some illustrative quotations can give some idea of how the people of Sussex spoke. Obviously, one cannot expect to encounter the same degree of location and accuracy as we find in the *Dictionary of Newfoundland English*. But one can find something that rings truer than that strand of dialect literature Coates has called 'Mummersex', and as true as, for example, the representations of dialect speech in Bob Copper's published writings. Despite their apparently lexical focus, they may provide, by means of their illustrations of connected speech, a source of data on grammatical and phonological matters that the glossarists may not have explicitly commented on (or indeed noticed). The linguist Sumner Ives, in his discussion of 'A Theory of Literary Dialect' writes:[84]

> Just how valuable literary dialects are to the student of language is still, I think, an open question, and the value will have to be decided for individual authors rather than for the device as a whole… If it can be decided that a particular author is, in general, reliable, it is possible that his literary dialect will supply details, especially in vocabulary and structure, that are missing from the phonetician's record.

If we replace 'literary dialects' with 'illustrative quotations' and 'author' by 'glossarist' in the above quotation, then we have a fair summation of the possible value of this genre.

On the basis of our survey, the corpus of Sussex illustrative quotations with the best balance between size and plausibility is that of Bessie Curteis.[85] Trawling them for examples of non-standard grammatical usage, we can find many traditional Sussex features, as the following table shows.

Non-standard grammatical features found in Bessie C. Curteis's illustrative quotations in Parish's *Dictionary*:

pleonastic *do*:	*'These thunderbugs did kiddle.'*
non-standard agreement	*'You was talking …'*, *'you was dupping along …'*
use of –s forms for first person with habitual (or other) sense	*'I feels …'*, *'I likes to have …'*, *'You says …'*
multiple negation	*'haven't got no'*, *'She doan't want no … , nor … either'*
clitic forms	*'twas, 'tis*
loss of the second syllable in initially-stressed trisyllables (especially adjectives)	*reg'lar , terr'ble*
non-standard verbal forms	*present tense:* 'lays' *pro* lies, 'doant' *pro* doesn't: *'she doant', 'he actually doant know'* 'dursn't' *pro* daren't *past tense:* 'come' *pro* came: *'when you come in', 'a … draught come in'* 'comed' *pro* came: *'no-one comed'* 'knowed' *pro* knew: *'I never knowed'* 'eat' (perhaps pronounced 'et') *pro* ate,
non-standard use of plural forms	*'no hows'* (compare *'nice ways'*, *'long ways'*)
topicalized noun phrases with resumptive pronouns	*'father he took'*
reduced pronouns	*'em*
as as relative pronoun	*'she's not one as … '*
'that' *pro* intensive 'so'	*'he's that radical'*, *'he's that stupe'*, *'that timmersome'*
'on' ['an'] *pro* 'of'	*'become an him'*, *'gets a holt an ye'*

Good examples of Sussex grammar can also be found in William Durrant Cooper's smaller collection of illustrative quotations,[86] but I want to comment here on some interesting clues he provides to the sounds of local speech. In his examples of connected speech, we find many examples of local pronunciation. For instance, in the one sentence 'I ha'e got a touch o' ol' Lawrence to-dee; I be troubled to git ane wud me work', we have eight examples of local pronunciations for 'have', 'of', 'old', 'to-day', 'get', 'on', 'with', and 'my' in colloquial speech.[87] His illustrations shed light on one important phonological issue: that of diphthongs. Though we may associate the recognition of diphthongs in local speech and their representation by the use of vowel pairs, umlauts and apostrophes with the novels of Sheila Kaye-Smith, it is Cooper who seems to have been the first to observe some of the typical Sussex diphthongs. He only mentions one of them explicitly, the one found in pronunciations of 'stone', which he represents as 'staën'.[88] However, there are several representations of diphthongs to be found in his illustration quotations, namely, <e'a> in 'be'ant', [89] <o'a> in 'do'ant',[90] and <au> in 'caunt'.[91] If we use the corroboratory evidence of the *Survey of English Dialects* and of A. J. Ellis's survey,[92] then the sounds he appears to be attempting to represent seem to be [ɪə], [ɒʊ], and, finally, [æː] or [ɑː].

Questionnaires and interviews are long-established sources of information on local grammar, phonology and lexis (though not of course sources without their own difficulties). Their findings can be corroborated and extended by reliable illustrative quotations, such as those that Curteis and Cooper provide. In the course of this piece, I have often expressed regret for how much of Sussex speech went unrecorded — that Holloway, Curteis and Parish (in his later period) did not publish more of their observations. It is only right to close on a more positive note, with two cheers for the overlooked data the Sussex glossarists do provide in the form of their illustrative quotations. And beyond the county, the illustrative quotation is a genre that would no doubt repay investigation in other regions and languages, as a source of social historical, folkloric, and linguistic information.

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NOTES

1 For Sussex dialect, the era of sound-recording begins in 1936 with the recording of R. W. White of Battle by the British Drama League.

2 Coates, *A Guide to the Dialect of Sussex* (forthcoming).

3 Subsequently, the results of the Survey of English Dialect have provided further corrections and modifications to Parish's definitions. *See* Coates (forthcoming) for details.

4 Bob Copper, pers. comm., February 2003.

5 W. D. Cooper, *A Glossary of the Provincialisms in use in the County of Sussex* (London: John Russell Smith, 1853), *s.v.* 'dubby'. Hereafter this work is referred to as *Glossary*.

6 W. Parish, *A Dictionary of the Sussex Dialect and Collection of Provincialisms in use in the County of Sussex* (Lewes: Baxter, 1875), *s.v.* 'dubby'. Hereafter this work is referred to as *Dictionary*.

7 Sometimes, unhelpfully for our linguistic purposes, these illustrative quotations appear in reported or indirect speech.

8 Anonymous review of 'A dictionary of the Sussex dialect', *The Athenæum*, no. 2471 (6 March 1875), 321.

9 G. M. Story, W. J. Kirwin & J. D. A. Widdowson (eds), *Dictionary of Newfoundland English* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1982), hereafter *DNE*.

10 In doing so, it is developing the practice used in F. G. Cassidy and R. B. La Page's *A Dictionary of Jamaican English* (1967, 2nd edn 1980), where, in addition to numerous questionnaire responses, some of the illustrative quotations derive from (a somewhat limited number) of tape recordings and field records. And of course, as the editors of the *DNE* remind us: 'the numerous regional glossaries compiled for and printed by the English Dialect Society expressly for the use of the Society's dictionary which Wright undertook to edit, together with the other glossaries issued by sister organizations in the counties of England and elsewhere in the British Isles, were in many cases essentially a record of oral use.' *DNE*, pp. xxv–xxvi.

11 W. Holloway, *The History and Antiquities of the Town and Port of Rye, with Incidental Notices of the Cinque Ports* (London, 1847); *The History of Romney Marsh, from its Earliest Formation to 1837. With a Glance at its Adjacencies and some Remarks on the Situation of the Ancient Anderida*. (London, 1849); *Antiquarian Rambles Through Rye. Second Series*. Reprinted from the *Rye Telegram*. (Rye: Stuchberry, 1866). *See* G. S. Bagley, 'The life and times of William Holloway, Historian of Rye', *Sussex Archaeological Collections* (hereafter *SAC*) **100** (1962), 24–45.

12 W. Holloway, *A General Dictionary of Provincialisms: Written with a View to Rescue from Oblivion the Fast Fading Relics of By-Gone Days* (Lewes: Sussex Press, 1838).

13 W. Barnes, 'English philology', *Gentleman's Magazine*, new series **15** (1841), 510–13: 512. Barnes did go on to say he was sorry that Holloway 'did not train himself for his task by a wider range of philological study', regretting, somewhat oddly, Holloway's ignorance of the Cornish language.

14 *See* the responses to question IX.7.9 of the Survey in

Harold Orton & Martyn Wakelin (eds), *Survey of English Dialects (B) The Basic Material*, vol. IV: *The Southern Counties,* part III, p. 1135.

[15] This is as against the approximately 9000 headwords in his glossary.

[16] Holloway *General Dictionary*, *s.vv*. 'Bed-fagot', 'Call', 'By-by'.

[17] Such a list of localities (which if taken as representing a comprehensive picture of the word's distribution through the country, would give us an oddly broken distribution) can be taken as meaning that Holloway found the word in Forby's and Carr's dictionaries, and that he was also familiar with it in both the Hampshire of his youth and the Sussex of his manhood.

[18] As he notes in his subsequent preface 'several fresh illustrations' were added to the Second Edition.

[19] *Glossary, s.vv.* 'chuck', 'hike', 'ought'.

[20] This is as against 632 entries, meaning that fewer than 7% of entries come with illustrative quotations.

[21] *Glossary*, *s.vv.* 'bly', 'in'. The underlinings represent my emphases.

[22] *Glossary*, *s.v.* 'gratten'.

[23] *Glossary*, *s.v.* 'hem'.

[24] *Glossary*, *s.v.* 'sclat, or slat'. None of these illustrations are western, the first is e[astern] and the other two are general Sussex.

[25] Orton & Wakelin (eds), *Survey of English Dialects* (B) vol. **4** part I, pp. 68–71.

[26] Henry Campkin, 'The late William Durrant Cooper, F.S.A., and the late Mark Antony Lower, F.S.A.', *SAC* **27**, 117–51: 122.

[27] 'The late William Durrant Cooper', 118.

[28] G. S. Bagley, 'The life and times of William Holloway, historian of Rye', *SAC* **100,** 24–45: 33.

[29] I say 'commonly regarded' as his own contribution in terms of words is not as large as it is popularly held to be. He himself only mentions 1000 words from his own collection: 'My daily intercourse with persons speaking the purest Sussex dialect has enabled me to add from time to time many fresh words to the excellent list published by Mr. Durrant Cooper in his "Glossary" (which must always be the guide book for all who take an interest in the subject); and when I found that I had added as many as a thousand words to those which he had already published, I thought I might venture to take the next step forward … by the publication of this book.', *Dictionary*, p. 2. Of the remainder, 'at least 200' were contributed by Bessie Curteis and 'upwards of 100' by the Revd J. C. Egerton, and Parish also drew on previous glossarists — he mentions selecting 'certain words for my dictionary' from 'the glossaries of Ray, Cooper, Halliwell and Holloway'.

[30] The English Dialect Society's volume for Kent, with which Parish was involved, does have such indications of pronunciation: W. D. Parish & W. F. Shaw, *A Dictionary of the Kentish Dialect and Provincialisms in Use in the County of Kent* (London: Trübner for the English Dialect Society, 1887).

[31] Frederick Thomas Elworthy, *The Dialect of West Somerset (The Dialect of West Somerset. - An Outline of the Grammar of the Dialect of West Somerset. - West Somerset Word-book.)* (London: Trübner for the English Dialect Society, 1886).

[32] He continues, 'The Sussex pronunciation is, generally speaking, broad and rather drawling.' Elsewhere, he wrote in his edition of the Domesday book for Sussex, while discussing the Sussex place-names it features, he suggests the spellings represent: 'the sounds pronounced by the natives of villages, who using their own local dialects, and evidently speaking as the Sussex rustics still speak, with closed lips'. While we can applaud the attempt to describe features of speech production, the language he does so is suggestive of a certain lack of sympathy. W. D. Parish (ed.), *Domesday Book in Relation to the County of Sussex* (Lewes: Sussex Archaeological Society, 1886), p.xi.

[33] Ellman concludes 'Needless to remark Parish is not musical.' Edward Boys Ellman, *Recollections of a Sussex Parson* (London: Skeffington, 1912), p. 241.

[34] *Dictionary*, p.1.

[35] And this twofold attitude is to be met again with later in the introduction: 'But besides those words in the Sussex dialect which are really valuable as having been derived from authentic sources, there are a great many which are very puzzling to the etymologist, from the fact of their having been either actually invented without any reference to the laws of language, or adapted and corrupted from other words. … There are also many words which are used to convey meanings totally different to their original intention.' *Dictionary*, pp. 5–6.

[36] The advertisement is to be found in another 'humorous' dialect book from the same publishers: Richard Lower, *Jan Cladpole's Trip to 'Merricur*, new edition (Lewes: Farncombe, 1878). Similarly, writing in 1904, his anonymous obituarist in *SAC* **47** remarked that his *Dictionary* is 'a humorous record of the way a Sussex man put his thoughts into words 40 years ago', 163–4: 163.

[37] *Loc. cit.*

[38] *Dictionary*, p. 6.

[39] He continues '… and will serve to indicate some phases of character and thought which find frequent expression among our people.' *Dictionary*, p. 9.

[40] 'You see this here chap of her's he's cockered up some story about having to goo away somewheres up in the sheeres; and I tell her she's no call to be so cluck over it; and for my part I dunno but what I be very glad an't, for he was a chap as was always a cokeing about the cupboards, and cogging her out of a Sunday.' *Dictionary*, *s.v.* 'cocker up'.

[41] Edward Boys Ellman, *Recollections of a Sussex Parson* (London: Skeffington, 1912), p. 209.

[42] This policy seems to be the one adopted by that wise old bird, Joseph Wright, in his use of Parish's illustrations in the *English Dialect Dictionary.* As might be suspected from its role as the EDS county glossary, Parish's *Dictionary* is the main source for Sussex headwords and illustrations in the *English Dialect Dictionary*. However, Wright handles Parish's excessive examples with a sure touch, usually excerpting the most plausible clauses as illustrations. So, faced with the whole fantastical quotation for 'cocker-up' he does not chose to use it entire, but does excerpt plausible clauses from it to illustrate the words 'cluck', 'coke' and 'cog'. Joseph Wright (ed.), *The English Dialect Dictionary* (London: Henry Frowde, 1898–1905), *s.vv.* 'cluck': 'I tell her she's no call to be so cluck over it'; 'coke': 'He was a chap as was always a cokeing about the cupboards'; 'cog': 'He

was always ... cogging her out of a Sunday'.

[43] Anon., *Rules and Directions for Word-Collectors* (n.p: English Dialect Society, n.d. [probably 1874]), p. 3. It is also a pity that the *Dictionary* is undeveloped in terms of phonetic transcription of dialect words (the use of A. J. Ellis's 'glossic' was recommended in the Society's second rule), and lacks any description of the grammar of Sussex dialect.

[44] Clarry, 'Provincialisms', *Notes and Queries* (5th series) **10** (20 July 1878), 52.

[45] W. D. Parish, 'To "Ixe"', *Notes and Queries* (6th series) **1** (24 Jan.1880), 76.

[46] *Dictionary*, p. 2.

[47] Although Ann Adams and Jane Moore were working for Parish as of 1881, by 1895 his will shows that there had been a complete change in his household staff who were then Fanny Kensitt (of Hurstpierpoint), Amelia Lemmon (of Brighton) and Peter Verrell (of the nearby village of Alciston). A codicil added in 1900 shows that they were all still with him then, while the 1901 census shows that they were then 38-, 57- and 47-years-old, respectively. Peter Verrell (also spelt Verrall) is the namesake and probable relative of the younger Peter Verrall who lived up Horsham way and who, together with his wife Harriet, was one of Ralph Vaughan Williams' chief sources of traditional songs, including the tune to 'Our Captain Cried All Hands', that Vaughan Williams famously used as a setting for Bunyan's words 'To be a Pilgrim'. After their then place of residence, Vaughan Williams called the tune 'Monks Gate'.

[48] This eastern bias was to be cemented by the contributions to the second edition of the *Dictionary* by Helena Hall of Lindfield.

[49] Some of Parish's western words, older terms such as 'marchet', 'gurgise' and 'stump', derive from the Bosham Manor Customs and the old books of the Manor of Arundel lent to him by R.G. Raper.

[50] W. D. Parish, *A Dictionary of the Sussex Dialect and Collection of Provincialisms in use in the County of Sussex Expanded, Augmented and Illustrated by Helena Hall, together with some Sussex Sayings and Crafts* (Bexhill: Gardner, 1957), p. xiii. Hereafter this work is referred to as *Dictionary 2*.

[51] W. D. Parish, 'A Surrey expression', *Notes and Queries* (6th series) **6** (11 Nov. 1882), 393.

[52] W. D. Parish, '"Carriage" for baggage', *Notes and Queries* (6th series) **4** (5 Nov. 1881), 372.

[53] W. D. Parish, 'Folk-lore of the cuckoo', *Notes and Queries* (6th series) **4** (17 Sept. 1881), 234.

[54] W. D. Parish, 'Not swimy, but nuddly', *Notes and Queries* (6th series) **3** (25 June 1881), 513.

[55] W. D. Parish, 'Ballet', *Notes and Queries* (6th series) **8** (15 Dec. 1883), 468.

[56] W. D. Parish, 'Contrairy as wood's dog', *Notes and Queries* (6th series) **2** (28 Aug. 1880), 166.

[57] He signalled his intention to produce a second edition in the preface to his work: 'I am convinced that there are many more words yet to be recorded, and I hope that some of my readers will send me materials for a larger dictionary of the Sussex dialect, which I hope some day to be able to complete.' He also, interestingly, asked potential contributors to forward him their words, if possible with details of where they are used, how they are pronounced ('if it seems necessary'), and illustrative examples: 'any proverb or anecdote which may add to their interest'. The wording here is significant, at this stage (1875) he was requesting anecdotes rather than verbatim illustrative quotations. He still had the project in mind five years later, when he spoke of hearing from his servants 'many odd words at times', which meant he was 'fast adding to the store which I published in the *Dictionary of Sussex Dialect*': 'To "Ixe"', *Notes and Queries* (6th series) **1**, (24 Jan. 1880), 76. Similarly, it is much to be regretted that he never wrote his article on 'East Sussex Superstitions', despite its being advertised as forthcoming, each year from 1878 to 1883 in the pages of the journal *Folklore*. Parish's membership of the Society appears to have lapsed around 1886.

[58] *A Dictionary of the Kentish Dialect and Provincialisms in use in the county of Kent* (London: Trübner for the English Dialect Society, 1887). To give just one example, take the descriptions of the diphthong found in words like 'pony', 'bone' or 'don't' in both Sussex and Kent. In the Sussex dictionary it is described thus: 'o before n is expanded into oa' (p. 7), whereas in the Kent work, the sound is described as follows: 'o before n is broadened into two syllables by the addition of an obscure vowel' (p. vi). The character of the diphthong is much better conveyed in the words used in the latter work. Whether the improvement is mainly due to a sharpening of Parish's ethnographic and philological skills or to the influence of his co-author William Frances Shaw is unclear.

[59] B. C. Curteis, 'On dialect', *The Monthly Packet* (new series) **17**, no. 98 (February 1874), 171–83.

[60] B. C. Curteis, *In the Marsh* (London: S.P.C.K., 1876).

[61] The word list in question was sent to correspondents in 1877, but the results were not published for another dozen years in A. J. Ellis, *On Early English Pronunciation,* part 5: *Existing Dialectal as Compared with West Saxon Pronunciation* (London: Trübner for the Early English Texts Society, 1889).

[62] Other aspects of her output can be found in *The Monthly Packet*, the journal in which she published her piece 'On dialect'. She supplied often very learned replies to queries in the 'Notices to Correspondents' section of the journal in the period 1874–6 on topics such as saints, etymology and eastward burial. Her novel was serialized (prior to its publication by the S.P.C.K.) in the pages of the journal in the second half of 1874, and she contributed a series of articles entitled 'Odds and Ends of Weather Wisdom and Fragments of Folklore' throughout 1875. She was also a member of the English Dialect Society in the 1870s, as shown by the membership lists included in their publications.

[63] A family interest in local dialect is shown by the fact that among the subscribers listed in Holloway's dictionary in 1838, we find the list includes 'Curteis, H. Barret, Peasmarsh 3 copies' and 'Curteis, B. Mascall, Peasmarsh 3 copies'.

[64] The most obvious alternative assumption to this is that the 'Eastern' words are those contributed by both Bessie Curteis and John Coker Egerton. Arguing against this alternative is the fact that Egerton's village of Burwash is certainly to the west of a line 'a line drawn northward from Hastings'. On the other hand, the alternative

assumption is supported by a) the possibility that the total of 323 words could well be made up of Curteis's contribution 'of at least 200 words' and Egerton's contributions of 'upwards of 100', and b) the fact that representations of dialect speech written some years later by Egerton in his *Sussex Folk and Sussex Ways* (Lewes: Sussex Advertiser Office, 1884) are generally plausible ones.

[65] For example, compare the references in the article to 'simple' (p. 173), 'gentleman' (p. 174 — anomalously listed as an mid-Sussex word in the *Dictionary*, despite featuring in this article and in her novel), 'Frenchy' (p. 175), 'maid' (p. 176), 'geen' (p. 177), 'sushy' (p. 178), 'platty' (p. 180), and 'fighting', 'that', 'Ague, ague, I defy you' (p. 182) with the illustrative quotations given for the corresponding dictionary entries.

[66] For example, on page 22 of *In the Marsh*, we read the following dialogue: 'Hullo, George Southerden! you here still? Ain't you fairly stalled of waiting?' In Parish's *Dictionary*, the entry for 'stalled' ('tired, satiated'), which significantly is marked as an eastern word, is illustrated by the words: 'Ain't you fairly stalled of waiting?' Another diagnostic feature for Bessie Curteis' entries is that she frequently treats the verbal and nominal form of the same word as separate headwords, e.g. 'helve' and 'helve', 'jub' and 'jub', 'lurry' and 'lurry', etc. Her illustrations are generally shorter than Parish's too.

[67] Anon., 'Funeral of Mrs. D'Arley', *Sussex Express*, 22 Sept. 1891.

[68] For example, the three entries referring to charms and charming are all located in 'the extreme East of the county': *Dictionary*, *s.vv.* 'Axey', 'Bishop-barnaby' and 'Charm-stuff'.

[69] One passage in her 1874 article *On Dialect* reads 'To all who have to do with village and Sunday-school teaching, a knowledge of the local words and phrases is invaluable.'

[70] *Dictionary*, *s.v.* 'adle'.

[71] Richard Dorson, *The British Folklorists* (London: Routledge Kegan Paul, 1968), p. 323.

[72] *Dictionary*, *s.v.* 'jack up'.

[73] The 1881 census returns reveal that surnames then found in Selmeston parish included Brook, Potter, Holter, Burgess, Page, Crowhurst, Worsford, Moor, Hudson, Taylor, Billiter, Westgate, Fowler, Levett, Stard, Parfitty, Hockham, Turner, Barns, Elphick, Wenham, Rumsley, Funnell, Mochelly, Pattendere, Guy, Lovely, Cheal, Eskerell, Avis, Richardson and Shoosmith.

[74] Strangely enough, we find a current local surname in one of the less straighforward of Parish's dialect contributions to *Notes and Queries*: 'Two labouring men pass one another on the road; their names are (we will say) Hockham and Crockham. One says, "Master Crockham"; the other replies, "Master Hockham"; a nod is added, and the extreme of Sussex politeness is supposed to have been reached.' W. D. Parish, 'I only pass the time of day', *Notes and Queries* (6th series) **2** (9 Oct. 1880), 293. There were in fact four male Hockhams living in the parish at that time (three of them agricultural labourers, the other a gardener), but the name 'Crockham' is a mere flight of fancy on Parish's behalf derived from Hockham.

[75] *Dictionary*, *s.vv.* 'abouten' (Master Noakes), 'ache' (Nancy), 'cry' (Miss Jane), 'fresh' (Jane), 'fagot above a load' (Mr. Barham), and 'grig' (Master Harry).

[76] *Dictionary 2*, p. xiii.

[77] *Dictionary 2*, p. 184. 'let'. This was, she notes, '*Heard at Lindfield,* 1957'.

[78] *Dictionary, svv*. 'Reynolds', 'Sermon'.

[79] E.g. the entry for 'ather daved' (i.e. affidavit) or 'bronticle' for 'bronchitis'.

[80] Not so long ago, I was looking in a large Brighton bookshop for a popular work on Sussex dialect by a local writer, Tony Wales. The work shows little awareness of formal linguistics, but is serious-minded and succeeds in recording words that I know from my own experience, and which have escaped all the previous authors on the local dialect, such as the verb 'ackle'. Not finding it in the bays of the large 'Local Interest' section, I enquired at the counter, where they looked it up on the computer, and then directed me to the Humour shelves.

[81] Very roughly, Curteis provides an illustrative quotation for one in every four headwords, Parish and Hall supply one in every three, and Holloway and Durrant Cooper supply as few as one in every ten headwords with illustrative quotations.

[82] The emphasis of The English Dialect Society's *Second Report for the Year 1874*, §3, which states 'Members are earnestly requested to contribute examples of the use of dialectal words; and if they cannot send many, to send a few' (p. 4), is on the reliability of the examples, rather than their number.

[83] British Library, Add ms 39, 325 (F), ff. 46–100.

[84] Sumner Ives, 'A theory of literary dialects', in J. V. Williamson & V. M. Burke (eds), *A Various Language — Perspectives on American Dialects* (New York: Holt, Rinehart & Winston, 1971), pp. 147–77.

[85] I have excluded 14 of the illustrative quotations marked as 'e[astern]', as they have either borrowed from the works of Ray, Holloway or Durrant Cooper, or are attributable to Parish, in that they carry his hallmark of including two dialect words beginning with the same letter in a sentence (and in each of these cases, the second word is not eastern).

[86] For example, one grammatical feature he does not comment on explicitly, but which is evident in his illustrations is the retention of older usages such as 'is come', rather than the contemporary standard 'has come'. So we find: 'She is gone up stairs' *pro* 'She has gone', and 'De geese be gone a grattening' *pro* 'have gone', *Glossary*, *svv.* 'dight', 'gratten'. Incidentally, this last sentence gives us another example of older usage, the *a*-prefixed present participle, in the form of 'a-grattening'.

[87] *Glossary, s.v.* 'Lawrence'.

[88] *Glossary*, *s.v.* 'staën'.

[89] *Glossary*, *s.v.* 'yet-near, or yet-ner'.

[90] *Glossary*, *s.v.* 'shuck'.

[91] *Glossary*, *s.v.* 'lawrence'.

[92] A. J. Ellis, *On Early English Pronunciation*, part 5: *Existing Dialectal as Compared with West Saxon Pronunciation* (London: Trübner for the Early English Texts Society, 1889).