

ASPECTS OF THE PHONOLOGY
AND AGRICULTURAL TERMINOLOGY
OF THE RURAL DIALECTS
OF SURREY, KENT AND SUSSEX

VOLUME I

by

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Submitted in fulfilment of the requirements
for the degree of
Doctor of Philosophy

The University of Leeds
School of English
Institute of Dialect and Folk Life Studies

September 1982

Abstract

This thesis is a survey of the speech of elderly natives from thirty-one rural communities in Surrey, Kent and Sussex. A comparative approach is adopted and this is reflected in the extensive use of maps to illustrate the spatial dimension of linguistic variation in the region.

Volume I contains the text. In Chapter One Introduction the aims and scope of the investigation are defined, the sources of the material and the procedure for its collection are discussed and the methods to be used for the analysis and presentation of the material are explained.

Chapter Two Phonology examines the system of stressed vowels on both the phonemic and phonetic levels: a system of 'diaphonemes' is established as a framework for a survey of the distributional and realizational differences between the local varieties. This chapter also includes a brief survey of the consonant system, two important aspects being examined in greater detail.

Chapter Three Word Geography deals with the agricultural and rural terminology of the region. The relationship between words and the objects and processes to which they refer is an important theme in this chapter.

The approach adopted in Chapters Two and Three is to present a synchronic description of the material and then to suggest an interpretation, often incorporating a diachronic perspective, of the spatial patterns revealed.

The recurrent geographical patterns which emerge from Chapters Two and Three are brought together in Chapter Four Conclusions. Dialect areas are identified, with particular reference to the influence of Standard and London English and to the persistence of older patterns

within the region. Finally, some general and theoretical conclusions are drawn from the way in which the relationship between linguistic change and stability is illustrated by the spatial analysis of the rural speech of the region.

Volume II contains the maps which illustrate Chapters Two, Three and Four and material presented in tabular form.

Acknowledgements

This thesis would have been impossible without the interest and assistance of the following, my informants: Messrs B. Bassett, S. Buck, J. Burgess, J. Burtenshaw, P. Clarke, F. Cooper, Jack Cooper, James Cooper, R. Judge, A. Mason, G. Mills, Miss E. Mitchell, Messrs F. Pantry, A. Piddock, E. Pratt, S. Purdew, H. Rolfe, G. Tuff, Mr and Mrs A. Tullett, Mrs F. Watts, Messrs R. Wearn and J. Wells. Their hospitality, good humour and patience made fieldwork a very rewarding experience. Thanks are also due to those who helped me to find informants in the various villages.

I owe a great deal to Dr Peter Wright and Mr Michael Barry, whose field-recordings from the region for the Survey of English Dialects I have made use of, and I would like to thank Mr Stewart Sanderson, Director of the Institute of Dialect and Folk Life Studies in the University of Leeds, for allowing me access to the Survey of English Dialects material deposited in the Institute.

I am grateful to the University of Leeds for awarding me the Joseph Wright Studentship and to the School of English for providing me with pleasant working conditions.

Finally, I would like to acknowledge the very great debt I owe to Stanley Ellis, my supervisor, for the enthusiastic and helpful interest he has taken in all aspects of the preparation of this thesis, and to my parents for their support and encouragement at all times, particularly during my period of fieldwork.

Leeds

D.J.N.

August, 1982

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Maps PP1-PP15: phonemic types and oppositions (vowels)

Maps PC1-PC6: phonological maps (consonants)

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vowel diaphonemes

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Tables TA1-TA7: dialect areas

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Abbreviations, Symbols and ConventionsAbbreviations

adj.	adjective
AF	Anglo-French
AN	Anglo-Norman
BM	Basic Material
Cent.	Century
cf.	<u>confer</u> 'compare'
Cons.	Consonant
CV	Cardinal Vowel
Du.	Dutch
EDD	<u>English Dialect Dictionary</u>
e.g.	<u>exempli gratia</u> 'for example'
eMnE	early Modern English
Eng.	English
etym.	etymology
exx.	examples
Fr.	French
Ger.	German
Gmc	Germanic
i(i).	informant(s)
i.e.	<u>id est</u> 'that is'
IM	Incidental Material
I.P.A.	International Phonetic Alphabet
irr.r.	irrelevant response
Kt.	Kentish
Lat.	Latin
LG	Low German
loc(s).	locality, localities
M.B.	Michael Barry
MDu.	Middle Dutch
ME	Middle English
misc.	miscellaneous
MLG	Middle Low German
MR	Mechanical Recording
MxL	Middlesex and London
n.a.	not asked
n.f.	not found

n.k.	not known
nn	noun
n.r.	not recorded
OE	Old English
OED	<u>Oxford English Dictionary</u>
OF	Old French
OHG	Old High German
ON	Old Norse
ONF	Old Norman French
pl.	plural
pl.n.	place name
p.p.	past participle
pt.	past tense
P.W.	Peter Wright
RB	Recording Book
rec.	recorded
ref.	refers to
resp.	response
R P	Received Pronunciation
SED	Survey of English Dialects
SKSE	Surrey-Kent-Sussex English
St.Eng.	Standard English
Tot.	Total
vb	verb
vs	versus

The county abbreviations are those used by the Survey of English Dialects.

Phonetic Symbols

The symbols used in phonetic transcription are in most respects those approved by the International Phonetic Association in the form revised in 1951, as used by the Survey of English Dialects.

ConsonantsPlosives

Bilabial	:	<u>Voiceless</u>	p	<u>Voiced</u>	b
Alveolar	:		t		d
Retroflex	:		ʈ		ɖ
Velar	:		k		g
Glottal	:		ʔ		

Affricates

Palato-Alveolar	:		tʃ		dʒ
-----------------	---	--	----	--	----

Fricatives

Labio-Dental	:		f		v
Dental	:		θ		ð
Alveolar	:		s		z
Retroflex	:		ʃ		ʒ
Palato-Alveolar	:		ʃ		ʒ
Glottal	:		h		

Nasals

Bilabial	:				m
Alveolar	:				n
Retroflex	:				ɳ
Velar	:				ŋ

Lateral

Alveolar	:				l
----------	---	--	--	--	---

Velarized Laterals

Alveolar	:				ɫ
Retroflex	:				ɭ

Approximants

Post-Alveolar	:				ɹ
Retroflex	:				ɻ

Semi-Vowels

Bilabial	:				w
Palatal	:				j

For the use of [ɹ] = [ɹ ~ ɻ] see 2.1.3

-) lips more rounded
- (lips more spread
- ˘ consonantal vowel

Superscript vowel symbols denote glide vowels

Superscript [˘, ˙] denote r-colouring of the preceding vowel

Syllable boundaries are indicated where necessary by -

Length: : full length
 • half length

Stress Where stress is indicated, the symbol ' precedes the syllable bearing the main stress in polysyllabic words

Other Symbols

- + : (preceding a sound) before
- * : (preceding a form) hypothetical form
- () : diaphonemic transcription
- / / : phonemic transcription
- [] : phonetic transcription
- > : continues as, continuing as
- < : continues, continuing
- : is realized as, being realized as
- ← : realizes, realizing
- : : in opposition to
- ~ : in phonetic transcription - 'in free variation with'
 in (dia)phonemic transcription - 'alternates with'

Conventions

1. References in brackets following a form refer to the Dieth-Orton and my own questionnaire; where both are referred to, the numbers are given in that order and separated by /.
2. OE and ME vowels are marked as short ˘ or long ˙ when the sound itself is being discussed; when a complete word is cited, length is indicated in the case of long vowels only.
3. In distribution tables, + indicates the presence of the relevant item at the locality indicated.

Chapter One : Introduction

1.1 Aims of the Investigation

The principal aim of this investigation is to examine the spatial dimension of language as revealed by a study of the rural speech of a relatively small area of south-eastern England. The method is based on the diatopic comparison of local varieties recorded by myself and by the Survey of English Dialects.

To achieve this aim it is necessary to apply new analytical and cartographical methods to the material, the collection of which has been undertaken along the well-established lines of traditional linguistic geography. Synchronic description is regarded as primary, and is taken as the starting-point for accounts of historical development. It is hoped, therefore, to re-affirm the value of linguistic geography by developing and refining its methodology.

An attempt is made to examine the nature of the relationship between linguistic distributions and those of non-linguistic items and, finally, to evaluate the influence of historical, social, cultural and environmental factors on the geography of language.

1.2 Scope of the Investigation

1.2.1 The region covered by this survey consists of the three counties of Surrey, Kent and Sussex; the large area in the north of the region now occupied by Greater London has been excluded from the investigation, as I have been concerned with the speech of rural communities only. The region under consideration is surrounded to the north, east and south by the Thames and its estuary, the Strait of Dover and the English Channel respectively; the decision to draw the western limit of the region along the eastern boundaries of Berkshire and Hampshire was somewhat arbitrary. From a purely subjective point of view, **lifelong** familiarity with the three counties has led me to regard Surrey, Kent and Sussex as forming a kind of unity, but more practically they constitute an area of a suitable size for an investigation of this kind.

1.2.2 The selection both of points of inquiry and of informants has been governed by the nature of the investigation. Linguistic geography -- the study of the spatial aspects of language -- is based on the comparison of items of information, the geographical provenance of which can be accurately located. This information, therefore, must be collected from people who, except for relatively short periods, have spent their whole lives in, or within a short distance of, selected localities. The nature of these localities will be determined by the aims and interests of the particular investigation. The present survey, like the SED whose tradition it continues and whose material it uses, deals with rural speech, including the traditional terminology of agriculture and the countryside.¹ A further qualification is therefore required from the

informants: they must be familiar with the implements and practices of the pre-mechanized era in farming.

Apart from the requirement to define the field of study precisely, it has been felt necessary to discuss the criteria outlined above in some detail since the current pre-occupation with urban and sociological dialectology has tended to overshadow the geographical approach to the study of linguistic variation and to criticize the way in which it is practised.

1.2.3 In the field of phonology, this survey attempts a detailed examination of the stressed vowel system from both the phonetic and phonemic points of view. The consonant system is dealt with in much less detail and only a small number of local developments are discussed.

As mentioned in 1.2.2 above, the terminology of pre-mechanized farming is the principal topic examined in the lexical field. Dieth and Orton felt that agriculture and rural life in general would be the best subjects on which to base their Questionnaire, as these would be universally understood in the localities selected and would yield the greatest amount of comparable material. ² I have continued this policy, mainly for the same reasons, but partly also out of personal interest.

1.2.4 Where appropriate I have included in the discussion of lexical items a consideration of the objects to which they refer, in several cases showing on a map the distributions of the various types, e.g. the method of tethering the cows in the cow-house (3.2.2), the hay-knife (3.9.12) and the plough (3.10.1). I believe that this is an innovation in English linguistic geography, and it has been included because such information

is often of crucial importance in understanding the nomenclature of an implement and in interpreting the geographical distributions of lexical items.

There are two principal strands in the European tradition of integrating the study of dialect with that of material folk culture, reflecting the two ways in which language is related to culture as a whole: on the one hand as one of the media by which cultural items are transmitted, and on the other as an aspect of culture in its own right. The Wörter und Sachen ('words and things') approach stresses the close association between an object or process and its terminology, as Wakelin has pointed out:

The study of 'folk speech' must...always be closely associated with that of 'folk life': the dialectologist may well elicit from his informants such traditional expressions as pace-egging or Old Christmas Day, terms for parts of the old wooden plough or the cow-house, but he will need additional information to work out their meaning and implications. ³

This approach has been popular amongst Romance philologists and is exemplified in linguistic atlases, such as the Sprach- und Sachatlas Italiens und der Südschweiz by K. Jaberg and J. Jud, and in numerous monographs. ⁴

The second, more geographical, approach has been to compare linguistic distributions with those of other aspects of folk culture, such as vernacular architecture, agricultural implements and popular traditions. The results of correlating linguistic and non-linguistic evidence in this way have led German dialectologists to suggest that 'language areas are in fact culture areas ("Sprachlandschaften sind Kulturlandschaften") and are the result of radiation from cultural centres.'⁵

The use of this approach is to be seen in the light of the results of the earliest dialect surveys in which it became apparent that distinct and consistent dialect boundaries were

rare, and that the linguistic situation in a particular region usually took the form of a dialect continuum in which one variety merged, sometimes smoothly, sometimes abruptly, into another. Depending on the arbitrary criteria adopted by the analyst, the dialect continuum could be divided in a number of different ways, and it was this difficulty which led earlier dialectologists to conclude that 'in reality there are no dialects'.⁶

Weinreich also recognized that 'no unambiguous concept of dialect could emerge' from the traditional approach,⁷ and observed that:

Dialectologists have generally switched to extra-structural criteria for dividing the folk-language continuum. The concept of language area (Sprachlandschaft) has practically replaced that of 'dialect' (Mundart) as the central interest in most geographic work, and ever more impressive results are being obtained in correlating the borders, centers and overall dynamics of language areas with 'culture areas' in a broader sense.⁸

Wakelin has asked:

Without being too wildly speculative, may it not well prove that contrasting 'culture areas' in Britain will ultimately emerge from future researches — regions co-extensive with ancient dialect areas...?⁹

A subsidiary aim of the present investigation is to discover to what extent, if at all, the distributions of items of material folk culture can be correlated with linguistic patterns of distribution in the region under consideration. Great care must be exercised in comparing linguistic and non-linguistic evidence in this way, since the artefacts of material folk culture are subject to economic, environmental and other influences which do not necessarily apply to vernacular speech. Furthermore, the linguistic geographer should be concerned primarily with linguistic evidence, and non-linguistic data should play no more than a minor role in

his analysis; he should not rely on the cultural geographer to accomplish one of his major tasks.

1.3 Sources of Material

1.3.1 The sources of the material used in this investigation are:

- (i) My own fieldwork at thirteen localities undertaken in the period 1978-80
- (ii) The SED Basic Material (BM)¹⁰, the relevant fieldwork for which was undertaken by P. Wright (two localities) in 1952 and by M. Barry (sixteen localities) in 1958 and 1959. M. Barry incorporated the material from the SED localities into an M.A. thesis¹¹: this is predominantly a descriptive exercise with little analysis.
- (iii) For some aspects of material culture, notes contained in the SED field recording books.¹² Where relevant, supplementary lexical information has also been taken from this source.
- (iv) The SED Mechanical Recordings (MRs)¹³ obtained from each of the SED localities.

In several cases major discrepancies were noticed between the phonetic notation of the SED fieldworkers as published in the BM and the corresponding sounds heard on the MRs.

Orton and Wakelin were also aware of this:

The more closely we studied the field-recordings, the more convinced we became of the need for collating them with the tapes.¹⁴

Where necessary -- and this is indicated at the appropriate place in the text -- the phonetic details for particular phonemes have been obtained from my own analysis of the MRs from the SED localities and not from the BM. This means, unfortunately, that in these cases the information from the

SED localities is based on the speech of a single informant and sometimes on a fairly limited amount of data; but this restriction is unavoidable if a true picture of geographical distributions is to be obtained and if comparisons with my own material are to be meaningful. The nature of the discrepancies is noted in Appendix 2. In the case of my own field-recordings, the notation has been checked against the mechanical recordings which were made in most of the localities to ensure that major discrepancies have been avoided .¹⁵

1.3.2 The criteria adopted for the choice of points of inquiry and informants are outlined in 1.2.2 above. In the complete network, made up of my own and the SED points of inquiry, the localities are generally ten to fifteen miles apart. In my selection of localities to add to the SED network I was more concerned to fill gaps and to achieve a fairly regular spacing between localities than to prejudge the possible influence of landscape features on linguistic patterns. The choice of localities open to a fieldworker at the present time is often considerably more limited than it was when the SED fieldwork was being undertaken,¹⁶ bearing in mind the type of informant who is being sought (see 1.2.2 above). The influx of retired persons and commuters and their families into villages in several parts of the region has often reduced the 'native' population, recent housing developments have altered the character, both architecturally and socially, of many villages, and, owing to mechanization, agriculture is in many areas now only a minor employer of local labour. Thus, provided informants meet the requirements of residence and background, little attention has been paid to the present character of their villages.

It is customary, in a survey of this kind, to include an introductory description of the geology, history and geography of the region under examination. This has been deliberately omitted here and, along with a consideration of other external factors, will be discussed after the linguistic evidence has been presented. The linguistic data is primary and conclusions must be reached as far as possible on linguistic grounds alone before being interpreted in the light of non-linguistic evidence. For the purposes of linguistic analysis the network of localities should be abstracted as far as possible from the reality of hills, marshes, rivers, roads, railways and administrative boundaries. The proper time for a consideration of these factors is when interpretation proceeds from the internal to the external.

1.3.3 Localities and Informants

Details of all the localities included in the survey are presented in Table 1.1 below. The SED county numbers have been retained, i.e. Surrey 34, Kent 35, Sussex 40, and the SED locality numbers remain unaltered apart from the addition of a 0 prefix; this is to distinguish them from my own localities which are numbered, from north to south and east to west within each county, in a new series beginning at 11. The number and name of each locality is followed by the full kilometre National Grid reference, the population figures as recorded at the 1951 Census (^c = civil parish, ^e = ecclesiastical parish), the year of investigation and the initials of the fieldworker (f.w.; DN = D. North, MB = M. Barry, PW = P. Wright).

Table 1.1

Details of Localities

Loc.No.	Name of Locality	Nat.Grid.	Pop. 1951	Date	f.w.
34.01	Walton-on-the-Hill	TQ/2255	2158 ^c , 2163 ^e	1952	PW
34.02	East Clandon	TQ/0652	345 ^{o,e}	1959	MB
34.03	Coldharbour	TQ/1544	476 ^e	1959	MB
34.04	Outwood	TQ/3246	864 ^e	1959	MB
34.05	Thursley	SU/9040	898 ^o , 524 ^e	1959	MB
34.11	Dunsfold	TQ/0036	967 ^o , 994 ^e	1979	DN
35.01	Stoke	TQ/8275	576 ^{o,e}	1958	MB
35.02	Farningham	TQ/5567	1888 ^o , 1866 ^e	1952	PW
35.03	Staple	TR/2757	413 ^o , 415 ^e	1958	MB
35.04	Warren Street	TQ/9353	*2209 ^o , 1948 ^e	1959	MB
35.05	Denton	TR/2247	165 ^o , 137 ^e	1959	MB
35.06	Goudhurst	TQ/7238	2675 ^o , 2004 ^e	1958	MB
35.07	Appledore	TQ/9630	590 ^{o,e}	1959	MB
35.11	Shottenden	TR/0454	*1225 ^{o,e}	1980	DN
35.12	Yalding	TQ/6950	2479 ^o , 1710 ^e	1980	DN
35.13	Chiddingstone	TQ/5045	970 ^o , 750 ^e	1978	DN
35.14	Smarden	TQ/8842	963 ^{o,e}	1979	DN
35.15	Burmarsh	TR/1032	231 ^o , 164 ^e	1980	DN
40.01	Warnham	TQ/1533	1386 ^o , 1428 ^e	1959	MB
40.02	East Harting	SU/7920	1344 ^{o,e}	1959	MB
40.03	Sutton	SU/9815	236 ^o	1959	MB
40.04	Fletching	TQ/4324	1008 ^{o,e}	1959	MB
40.05	Horam	TQ/5816	1646 ^o	1959	MB
40.06	Firle	TQ/4707	410 ^o , 735 ^e	1959	MB
40.11	Turners Hill	TQ/3435	657 ^e	1979	DN
40.12	Rotherfield	TQ/5529	2795 ^e , 1441 ^e	1980	DN
40.13	Robertsbridge	TQ/7323	*2302 ^c , 1959 ^e	1980	DN
40.14	Bolney	TQ/2622	1094 ^c , 1091 ^e	1980	DN
40.15	Poynings	TQ/2612	333 ^{c,e}	1980	DN
40.16	Washington	TQ/1112	1435 ^c , 1058 ^e	1979	DN
40.17	Funtington	SU/8008	1232 ^o , 1091 ^e	1980	DN

*Separate figures for these localities are not available; the populations given are those of the parish in which the locality is situated: 35.04 - Lenham; 35.11 - Chilham; 40.13 - Salehurst.

The population figures recorded at the 1971 Census are given below for the localities investigated in 1978-80:

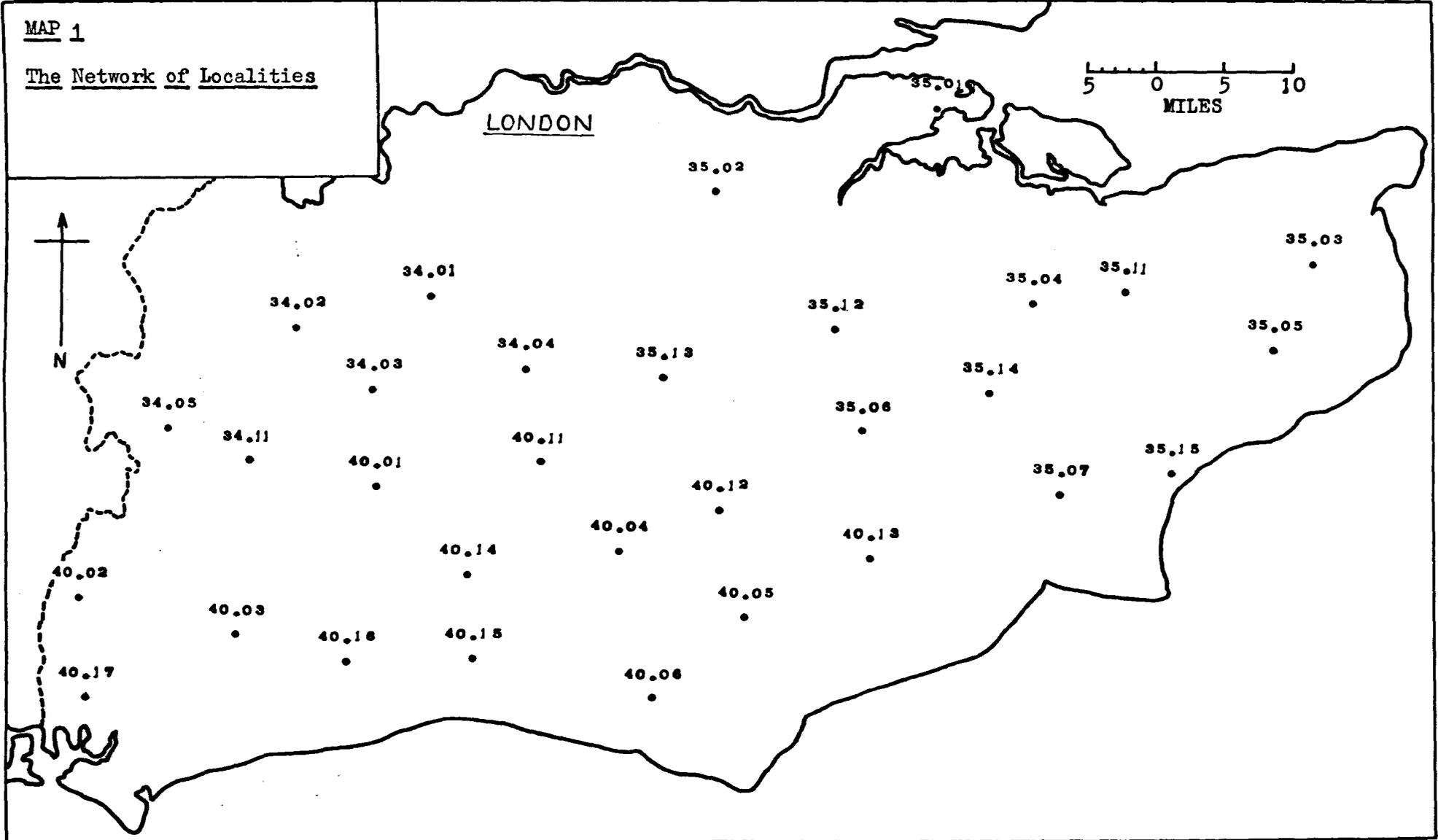
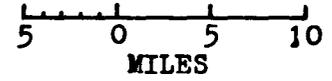
34.11	Dunstable	: 899 ⁰
35.11	Shottenden	: included under Chilham - 1436 ⁰
35.12	Yalding	: 2749 ⁰
35.13	Chiddingstone	: 804 ⁰
35.14	Smarden	: 994 ⁰
35.15	Burmarsh	: 279 ⁰
40.11	Turners Hill	: included under Worth - 7796 ⁰
40.12	Rotherfield	: 2863 ⁰
40.13	Robertsbridge	: included under Salehurst - 1857 ⁰
40.14	Bolney	: 1120 ⁰
40.15	Poynings	: 356 ⁰
40.16	Washington	: 1228 ⁰
40.17	Funtington	: 1457 ⁰

The position of the localities is shown on Map 1 (overleaf).

MAP 1

The Network of Localities

LONDON



Biographical details are given below of all the informants who have contributed to this survey. The information for the SED localities is based on that given in Orton and Wakelin (1967), pp. 35-46 and 67-71, and that for the localities investigated by myself is presented in the same way. At each locality, the informants are identified by a number; this is followed by their initials and the approximate year of their birth, calculated, if not known, by subtracting their age when interviewed from the appropriate year.

Abbreviations

b. = born; bach. = bachelor; c. = circa; distr. = district; exc. = except; F = father; FM = father and mother; fr. = from; Gf. = grandfather; GFM = grandfather and grandmother; H = husband; i. = informant; ii. = informants; loc. = local, locality; M = mother; nat. = native; res. = resided, resident; t.r. = tape-recorded; W = wife; wid. = widow(-er); WW = World War; yr(s). = year(s).

Informants are male unless the initials are followed by a superior ^f. A superior ^r following the initials indicates that the informant was tape-recorded. Distances are given in miles. Points of the compass are abbreviated: N(orth), S(outh), E(ast), W(est).

34.01 Walton-on-the-Hill

1. G.S. 1882; b. Chertsey (13NW), but res. distr. since 34; F fr. Stafford, farmer, M fr. London; school till 13; farmer; W fr. Ulster.
2. T.^f. 1884; b. Surbiton (8NNW); F fr. Herts., blacksmith, M fr. Surbiton; moved to Teddington (10NNW) when 5; Teddington school till 12; in domestic service, later served in a shop, spent 3 yrs. at Fulham (12NNE); res. loc. since 26; H fr. Kent.

3. E.W.^r 1866; nat.; FM nat.; loc. school till 12; gamekeeper; lifelong res.; W fr. Kent.
4. W.B. 1872; nat.; FM nat.; coal-merchant's assistant; lifelong res.; W fr. Herts.

34.02 East Clandon

1. A.N.^r 1887; nat.; FM nat., farm-workers; loc. school; farm-labourer and woodman; exc. WWI, lifelong res.; W fr distr.
2. I.^f 1899; nat.; FM nat., F hurdle-maker; loc. school till 11; housewife and school-caretaker; lifelong res.

34.03 Coldharbour

1. E.^r 1884; nat.; F b. Charlwood ($5\frac{3}{4}$ ESE), M nat.; loc. school; gardener; lifelong res.; wid.
2. L. 1889; nat.; FM nat., F farmer; loc. school; farmer; exc. WWI, lifelong res.
3. B.^f 1889; nat.; FM nat., F blacksmith; loc. school; housewife; wid.
4. R.S. 1889; nat.; FM nat., farm-workers; loc. school; sheep-farmer, then forester; lifelong res.; bach.

34.04 Outwood

1. A.P. 1887; nat.; FM nat., farm-workers; loc. school; farm-labourer; lifelong res.; W b. Dunsfold ($20\frac{1}{2}$ WSW), but res. loc. since early yrs.
2. H.L.^r 1884; nat.; FM nat., farm-workers; loc. school; farm-labourer, then gardener; exc. WWI, lifelong res.; wid.
3. S. 1894; nat.; FM nat., F farmer; loc. school; farmer; W nat., sister of i.⁴
4. J. 1888; nat.; FM nat., F miller; loc. school; miller; lifelong res.; W fr. London.

34.05 Thursley

1. B.^r 1894; nat.; FM nat., F farmer; loc. school; farmer; exc. WWI service with Royal Sussex Regt., lifelong res.; W and W's FM fr. London.
2. F. 1889; nat.; (G)FM nat., builders; loc. school; builder's labourer; exc. 7 yrs. in Australia as young man, lifelong res.; W and W's FM b. Chiddingfold ($4\frac{1}{2}$ SE).

3. H.^f 1889; nat.; FM nat., F farmer; loc. school; housewife; lifelong res., but res. Hindhead (3SSW) when interviewed; wid.

34.11 Dunsfold

1. J.W. 1896; nat.; F nat., wheelwright and blacksmith; loc. school; wheelwright and blacksmith; exc. WWI, lifelong res.; W fr. Cranleigh (4NE).
2. E.M.^f 1897; nat.; F nat., gardener; loc. school; exc. 9 yrs. in domestic service in Rudgwick (6ESE), Godalming (6NNW) and St. John's Wood (London), lifelong res.; spinster.
3. J.C. 1910; nat.; F forester; loc. school; brick-maker, farm-worker, fireman; lifelong res.

35.01 Stoke

1. M.M. 1903; nat.; FM nat., F shepherd; loc. school till 9; farmer; lifelong res.; W fr. London.
2. W.O.^r 1868; nat.; F b. Yeovil, Somerset, but res. loc. fr. youth, farmer, M nat.; loc. school for 2 yrs.; farmer; lifelong res; W nat., fr. farming family.
3. H.^f 1869; nat.; FM nat., F farmer; school at High Halstow (3W) till 14; housewife; lifelong res.; H nat., farm-labourer, H's FM nat.
4. A.J. 1891; nat.; FM nat., F farmer; loc. school till 14; railway crossing keeper at Grain (3 $\frac{1}{2}$ ENE); lifelong res.; W fr. Maidstone (13SSW).

35.02 Farningham

1. A.S.B. 1880; nat.; FM nat.; loc. school till 13; farmer; lifelong res.; W fr. Wilts.
2. G.B. 1872; b. Shoreham (3 $\frac{3}{4}$ SSW); F fr. Bromley (9WNW), M fr. Shoreham; loc. school till 12; gamekeeper 40 yrs., then servant at squire's house; exc. 3 yrs. in Canada, lifelong res.
3. F.^f 1880; nat.; FM nat.; loc. school till 12; in domestic service till marriage; lifelong res.; H nat., b. 1877, engineer's labourer, lifelong res., helped at interviews, H's FM nat.

4. S.A.F.^r 1880; nat.; FM fr. Guildford (35½ WSW) ; loc. school till 14; blacksmith; lifelong res.; 1st. W (dead 2 yrs.) nat., 2nd. W fr. East Kent.

35.03 Staple

1. A.W.S. 1882; nat.; FM nat., F blacksmith, carpenter and wheelwright; school at Staple and Ash (1½NE) till 14; blacksmith, carpenter and wheelwright; lifelong res.; W nat.
2. C.J.^r 1882; nat.; FM nat., F farmer; school at Margate (10NNE) and Staple till 14; farmer; lifelong res.; W and W's FM fr. London.
3. A.R.^f c. 1898; nat.; FM nat., F farmer; loc. school till 14; in domestic service; lifelong res.; spinster.

35.04 Warren Street

1. E.C.^r c. 1894; nat.; FM nat., loc. family, farmers; loc. school till 12; farmer; lifelong res.; W is i.²
2. E.C.^f 1899; nat.; FM nat., F farmer; loc. school till 13; lifelong res.; H is i.¹
3. W. 1881; nat.; FM fr. Huntingfield (3ENE), F farm-bailiff; loc. school till 12; farmer and small-holder; lifelong res.; W fr. Egerton (3½SSW), of farming family.

35.05 Denton

1. W.B.^r 1888; b. Barham (1¼NNW), but brought almost immediately to loc.; (G)FM fr. Barham, farm-workers; Barham school till 12; travelling thresher, but coal-miner for 7 yrs.; exc. 2 yrs. as a boy at Nonnington (4NNE) and 7 yrs. mining at Snowdon (3NE), and WWI, lifelong res.; W and W's FM fr. London.
2. G.H. 1883; b. Barham (1¼NNW); FM fr. Barham, farm-workers; school at Barham and Denton till 11; farm-labourer in youth, then gardener; lifelong res.; W fr. Berks., but res. loc. 50 yrs.
3. J.A. 1883; nat.; FM fr. Swingfield (2½SSE), F farmer; loc. school till 11; farm-labourer; lifelong res.; W fr. Barham (1¼NNW), of farming family.
4. N.M.^f 1894; nat.; FM nat.; Swingfield (2½SSE) school till 11; cook; lifelong res.; H nat.

5. F.W. 1877; nat.; FM nat., F bricklayer; school at Denton and Barham ($1\frac{3}{4}$ NNW) till 11 ; builder; exc. WWI, lifelong res.; W b. Wootton($\frac{3}{4}$ SE)

35.06 Goudhurst

1. B.W. 1894; nat.; FM nat., loc. farming family; loc. school till 14; farmer; lifelong res.; W and W's FM nat.
2. G.H. 1875; nat.; FM nat., farm-workers; loc. school; farm-labourer; lifelong res.; W nat.
3. F.O.^r 1891; nat.; FM nat., farm-workers; farm-worker, labourer and gardener; exc. WWI, lifelong res.; W and W's FM nat.
4. C.H.^f 1893; nat.; FM nat., F gardener; loc. school; in domestic service; lifelong res. ; spinster.
5. L.P. 1890; nat.; FM nat., F watchmaker; loc. school till 12; keeps general, bicycle and electrical shop; lifelong res.; bach.

35.07 Appledore

1. F.D.^r 1880; nat.; FM nat., farmworkers, F also sawyer; loc. school till 12; farm-labourer and travelling thresher; lifelong res.; W fr. Brookland ($2\frac{3}{4}$ SE), but long dead.
2. W.D. 1886; nat., brother of 1.¹; loc. school till 12; farm-labourer; exc. WWI, lifelong res.; W fr. Sussex, of farming family.
3. S.B. c.1887; nat.; FM nat., farm-workers; loc. school till 12; farm-labourer; lifelong res.; W fr. a Sussex town (c.5 fr. loc.), fr. farming family.
4. H.^f 1889; nat.; FM nat., F farmer; loc. school till 12; housewife; lifelong res.; H fr. Sussex, farm-labourer, fr. farming family.

35.11 Shottenden

1. P.C.^r 1910; b. Badlesmere ($2\frac{1}{2}$ W); shepherd; lived in Molash (2SW) c. 20 yrs., res. loc. 31 yrs.
2. G.T. 1905; b. Chilham ($1\frac{1}{2}$ ESE); F fr. distr., miller; loc. school till 12; farm-worker; res. loc. 53 yrs.

35.12 Yalding

1. G.M.^r 1892; nat.; FM nat., farm-workers; loc. school till 13; farm-worker; exc. WWI, lifelong res.; wid.

35.13 Chiddingstone¹⁷

1. A.T.^r 1908; b. Cowden Station (2 $\frac{1}{2}$ SSW); F fr. Shirley (15NW), plumber; farm-worker; exc. WWII service in Royal West Kent Regt., lifelong res.; W is i.²
2. T.^{f,r} 1912; nat.; FM fr. distr., F woodcutter; lifelong res.; H is i.¹
3. B.B.^r 1922; b. Penshurst (2ESE), but res. loc. since age of 1 yr.; F fr. Ashurst (4S), M fr. Cowden (4SSW), farm-workers; farm-worker, market-gardener, butcher, now school caretaker and odd-job man; lifelong res.; W fr. distr.

35.14 Smarden

1. F.C.^r 1904; nat.; F nat., farmer; loc. school till 12; farm-worker; lifelong res.; W fr. Sutton Valence (6NE)
2. R.J. 1913; nat.; F fr. distr., shop-keeper; loc. school; butcher, then builder; exc. WWII, lifelong res.; wid.

35.15 Burmarsh

1. A.P.^r 1893; nat.; FM nat., F shepherd; Dymchurch (1 $\frac{1}{2}$ S) school till 14; shepherd; exc. 7 yrs. (including WWI) in East Kent Regt., lifelong res.; wid.
2. F.W.^f 1911; nat., sister of i.¹; Dymchurch (1 $\frac{1}{2}$ S) school; exc. short period in Dymchurch in WWI, lifelong res.; wid.

40.01 Warnham

1. F.C.^r 1881; nat.; FM nat., farm-workers; loc. school; farm-labourer; exc. 3 yrs. in WWI, lifelong res.; W (i.'s 2nd. W) b. London, but spent early yrs. in Portsmouth, res. loc. 20 yrs.
2. C.^f 1879; nat.; FM nat., farm-workers; loc. school; housewife; exc. 7 yrs. in domestic service in Sydenham, Surrey, in her twenties, lifelong res.; H nat.

4.0.02 East Harting

1. N. 1881; b. Alresford, Hants. ($15\frac{1}{4}$ NW), but res. loc. since childhood; FM b. Alresford, farm-workers; loc. school till 10; farm-labourer; exc. WWI, lifelong res.; W and W's FM nat.
2. H.P.^F 1881; nat.; F b. Gosport, Hants. ($16\frac{1}{2}$ SW), but res. loc. since before i.'s birth; loc. school till 10; shepherd, then gardener; lifelong res.; W fr. distr.

4.0.03 Sutton

1. F.^F 1887; b. Brighton ($21\frac{1}{2}$ ESE), but res. loc. since infancy; FM nat., of local family; loc. school till 11; roadman; exc. WWI, lifelong res.; W nat.
2. G. 1881; b. Fittleworth ($3\frac{1}{4}$ ENE); FM fr. Fittleworth; Fittleworth school; builder; exc. WWI, lifelong res.; wid.
3. F.^F 1889; nat., sister of i.¹; loc. school; lifelong res.; spinster.

4.0.04 Fletching

1. B.^F 1899; nat.; FM nat., F farmer; loc. school till 11; farmer; lifelong res.; W fr. distr.
2. L. 1879; nat.; FM nat., farm-workers; loc. school till 11; farm-labourer; exc. WWI, lifelong res.; W and W's FM fr. Lewes (8SSW).
3. F.M.M 1900; nat.; FM nat., farm-workers; loc. school till 10; timber hauler, then road sweeper; lifelong res.; W and W's FM fr. Lewes (8SSW).

4.0.05 Horam

1. A.T. 1878; b. Whitesmith ($3\frac{1}{2}$ SW); FM fr. Whitesmith, farm-workers; Whitesmith school till 11; farm-labourer, then gardener; exc. 7 yrs. in Eastbourne (11 SSE) during and after WWI, lifelong res.; wid.
2. H. 1880; b. Newick (10 WNW), but res. distr. fr. early yrs.; FM fr. Newick, farm-workers; Heathfield ($2\frac{1}{4}$ NNE) school; builder, carpenter and joiner; exc. service with a Scottish regiment in WWI, lifelong res.
3. H.^f 1872; nat.; FM nat., F farmer; loc. school; housewife; lifelong res.; H b. in Devon, but res. loc. since youth.

4. J.O.^r t.r. 1964; 1897; nat.; F nat., farmer; loc. school till 14; farmer; lifelong res.; bach.

40.06 Firle

1. H.B.^r 1878; nat.; FM nat., farm-workers; loc. school till 11; farm-labourer and gardener; lifelong res.; W fr. Birmingham, but res. loc. since youth.
2. S. 1880; nat.; FM nat, F farm-labourer; loc. school till 11; farm-labourer; exc. 5 yrs. in Scotland fr. 1946, lifelong res.; wid.
3. S.^f 1860; nat.; FM nat., farm-workers; loc. school; housewife; lifelong res.; H nat.

40.11 Turners Hill

1. H.R.^r 1903; nat.; FM fr. distr.; loc. school till 13; farm-worker then gardener; exc. c.2 yrs. in Pevensey (28SE) and 4 yrs. in R.A.F. in WWII, lifelong res.; bach.
2. A.M. 1908; nat.; F farmer; loc. school; farm-worker; lifelong res.; W fr. distr.

40.12 Rotherfield

1. S.B. 1898; nat.; farmer; lifelong res.; W fr. Frant (4NNE)

40.13 Robertsbridge

1. F.P.^r 1900; b. Battle (5S), but brought up at Staple Cross (3ESE); Staple Cross and Bodiam (3ENE) schools till 11; farm-worker, now fence-maker; short period in East Surrey Regt. in WWI, res. loc. 40 yrs.; W fr. Staple Cross.

40.14 Bolney

1. E.F.P.^r 1895; nat.; Gf. owned threshing machines, F farmer, of local family; loc. school till 14; farmer; exc. 4 yrs. at Mannings Heath (5NW), 6 yrs. at Chipstead (21N) and 10 yrs. at Balcombe (5NNE), lifelong res.; W fr. Balcombe, of farming family.
2. J.B. 1915; nat.; loc. school; builder, gardener; exc. 1 yr. near Lewes (12SE) and WWII service, lifelong res.; W fr. Eastbourne (25SE), W's F farm-worker.

*40.15 Poynings

1. R.C.W. 1911; b. Fulking (1W), lived in Brighton (4SE) fr. 2-18 yrs., Fulking 10 yrs., 6 yrs. in Royal Sussex Regt. in WWII, short period at Seaford (16SE), then Henfield (4NW), then loc.; groundsman, then farm-worker.
2. S.P. c.1917; nat.; (G)F fr. distr., farm-workers; farm-worker; lifelong res.

*40.16 Washington

1. J.C. 1897; nat.; F small-holder; builder; exc. WWI service in Royal Sussex Regt., lifelong res.; wid.

40.17 Funtington

1. J.B.^r 1908; nat.; F nat., farm-worker; West Ashling (1ESE) school till 14; gardener; lifelong res.; W b. Bosham (2SE), brought up at West Stoke (2E) fr. age of 2 yrs., W's F farm-worker.

* The questionnaire was not completed at localities 40.15 and 40.16: at the former because neither of the informants, despite being suitably qualified, proved to be entirely satisfactory, and at the latter because the informant, the only suitable person available, felt unable to continue after the first session. Nevertheless, sufficient comparable material was obtained from both these localities to allow them to be included in the survey.

1.3.4 The objection might be raised that the range of the informants' ages -- with dates of birth ranging from 1860 to 1922 -- is too wide for comparison between the SED and my own material to be valid. Such a variation in ages is by no means unprecedented in European dialect surveys: in France, for example, the Atlas Linguistique et Ethnographique du Massif Central¹⁸ interviewed informants of ages ranging from twenty (Loc. 29) to eighty-four years (Loc. 11), and at one locality (37)

the ages of the informants are spread over forty-six years. At one of the SED localities included in this survey (35.01) the ages of the informants at the time of the interview ranged from fifty-five (i.¹, b.1903) to ninety (i.², b. 1868).

Detailed evidence from the present survey suggests that difference in age between informants does not prevent comparison in this case. For example:

- (i) A comparison of the percentage frequency with which the most advanced pronunciations ([æ:~æ:a:]) occur to realize the (au) diaphoneme (see 2.1.3.16 below) in groups of neighbouring localities (the evidence from the SED localities is taken from the MRs):

(α)	34.01 (i. ³ , b. 1866)	:	[æ:]	:	32%
	04 (i. ² , b. 1884)	:	[æ:~æ:]	:	17%
	35.02 (i. ⁴ , b. 1880)	:	[æ:]	:	43%
	13 (i. ³ , b. 1922)	:	[æ:]	:	29%
(β)	40.01 (i. ¹ , b. 1881)	:	[æ:~æ:]	:	13%
	11 (i. ¹ , b. 1903)	:	[æ:~a:]	:	8%
(γ)	40.02 (i. ² , b. 1881)	:	[æ:~æ:]	:	9%
	17 (i. ¹ , b. 1908)	:	[æ:]	:	2%

This evidence suggests that geographical position and not relative age has been the main influence, since neighbouring localities show broadly similar frequencies despite the considerable differences in the informants' year of birth.

- (ii) A comparison of the use of archaic en (<OE hine) as the accusative/dative of the third person singular neuter pronoun in neighbouring localities in Surrey:

34.02:	ii. b. 1887, 1899	:	not used
03:	ii. b. 1884, 1889	:	not used
05:	ii. b. 1889, 1894	:	not used
11:	i. ³ , b. 1910	:	['dʌmp ŋ] 'dump it'
			['hʊd ŋ] 'hold it'
			also ['tʊd ŋ] 'told him'

This example shows that archaic features are not necessarily to be found exclusively in the speech of the oldest informants.

Age is only one of a number of factors which can influence an individual's speech and, on the evidence of the informants interviewed by the SED fieldworkers and by myself, it seems to be of minimal importance here. Lexical evidence reinforces this conclusion: the youngest informant interviewed (i.³ at 35.13, b. 1922) had a full and detailed knowledge of the local terminology of traditional agricultural implements and methods.

The majority of the informants both from the SED and my own localities were born in the thirty years between 1880 and 1910 and this would seem to be a reasonable period on which to centre the survey.

1.3.5 My own approach to fieldwork was based on that of SED as outlined by Orton in his Introduction to the Survey¹⁹ and by Dieth and Orton in the introduction to their Questionnaire.²⁰ Some modifications, though, were necessary in the light of present-day conditions. The need for these and the direction they should take became apparent to me during a period in the summer of 1979 spent undertaking fieldwork for a Survey of Cornish Dialects under the auspices of the University of Exeter's Institute of Cornish Studies.²¹

During my fieldwork in Surrey, Kent and Sussex I based myself at my home which is conveniently situated near the centre of the region. The increased difficulty of finding suitable informants at the present time has been discussed above (1.3.2), and it quickly became apparent that the method of arriving in a locality and inquiring about possible informants at the village shop was having limited success, resulting

in wasted time and frustration. To overcome this, I selected a number of possible localities and wrote to the incumbent of the parish asking (a) if there were any suitable informants in the village, and (b) if so, if he would forward their names and addresses to me. I would then visit the locality and, after ensuring that the individuals suggested had the required qualifications and were suitable in other respects, proceed with the interviews. This approach was very successful and enabled me to make the best use of my time and to plan my fieldwork well in advance.

The shortage of informants also suggested several modifications to the Dieth-Orton Questionnaire which had been used by SED. My experience in Cornwall had prepared me for the probability that I would often obtain only one suitable informant in a locality. It would clearly have been improper to subject an aged informant to the exhausting task of answering all nine books of the Dieth-Orton Questionnaire, and so it was necessary to reduce substantially the number of questions. While some informants have no difficulty with the more abstract questions, others find them impossible to understand and continued questioning becomes counter-productive. It was decided, therefore, to limit such questions to those yielding specific phonological information (the asterisked questions in the Dieth-Orton Questionnaire). Many informants enjoyed the questions dealing with agriculture and the countryside and answered them enthusiastically; this interest was exploited by interspersing the phonological questions amongst the more factual lexical sections in order to maintain the informant's interest to the end of the interview. The agricultural sections were expanded slightly, and in framing new

questions and recasting, in a few cases, those of Dieth and Orton, the results obtained by the SED fieldworkers in the region were taken into account. In planning a small-scale dialect survey like the present one, it is possible to construct a questionnaire more suited to a particular region than one designed for use on a national scale. The questionnaire used in my fieldwork is presented in Appendix 1.

Another problem which, from time to time, affected the fieldwork method was that of the otherwise excellent informant who happened to be deaf. This meant that those questions which did not make use of illustrations often caused considerable difficulty, both for the informant and the fieldworker. In such cases, where the informant was the only one available, a much more flexible approach to interviewing had to be adopted using directed conversation and obtaining much of the phonological information from Incidental Material (IM). At all localities large amounts of Incidental Material were recorded; the importance of this is stressed in the section describing the methods of analysis used (1.4 below).

The responses were transcribed as narrowly as possible using the symbols of the I.P.A., and the interviews at each locality usually took two or three days to complete. When the questionnaire had been finished some free conversation was recorded on cassette tape from the best informant.

- 1.3.6 As mentioned in 1.2.4 above, this survey has included some consideration of the material folk culture connected with agriculture. Since the purpose of this is partly comparative and geographical, an attempt was made to collect data about artefacts and methods in the same way as the linguistic information, and suitable questions were incorporated into

the questionnaire. Unfortunately the relevant objects were almost invariably not available, since agriculture in the region is highly mechanized and the older implements have usually been discarded long ago. The most that could be expected was a few hand tools in an informant's garden shed.

It was possible, however, by careful questioning and the use of illustrations and sketches, sometimes drawn by the informant himself, to reconstruct the important features of the various implements and practices at most localities. Combined with the less detailed notes and diagrams made in their recording books by the SED fieldworkers, the information obtained in this way has, in several cases, enabled types to be classified and distribution maps to be drawn which must be substantially correct.

This method of obtaining information is not entirely satisfactory. Unfortunately the collection of this type of material in England has been so neglected and left so late that the alternative now is not to bother at all. In view of this, I consider the risks to be worth taking.

1.3.7 Throughout my period of fieldwork in Surrey, Kent and Sussex I was very conscious of the advantages of having been born and brought up in the region, of having family connections with several parts of it and of being familiar with local agriculture and rural life in general. The establishment of a rapport and a friendly relationship with informants is made much easier if the fieldworker can show a knowledge even of fairly insignificant things, such as where places are in the surrounding countryside and what the local soil is like; if the informant knows some of the fieldworker's

relations, as I discovered on more than one occasion, so much the better. On the other hand, the fieldworker should be careful not to display too much knowledge, as this may undermine the informant's position as 'teacher' and the fieldworker's as 'pupil': towards the end of my fieldwork I was told on one occasion, 'You know more about this than I do!'.

Many informants lacked confidence and needed to be convinced that they possessed valuable information in which people were interested. The fact that I do not speak with an RP accent also helped, I believe, in my gaining acceptance and in building up confidence in the informants: however strange my questions, I was at least identifiably 'local' and less of an outsider. I was aware on some occasions that even my arrival by bicycle or on foot, rather than by car, had stood me in good stead with informants.

From a more practical point of view, I believe that my long familiarity with vernacular speech in the region has on the whole been advantageous, and I hope that I have avoided some of the problems which the SED fieldworkers experienced and which Orton and Wakelin mention:

Further, to northern ears — and all three fieldworkers are natives of the North of England or of its southern fringe* — many of the vernacular sounds of the south seem strange and phonetically complicated.²²

* Including J. T. Wright who investigated the south-western counties.

1.4 Methods of Analysis and Presentation

1.4.1 One of the traditional methods of presenting phonetic information in its geographical context is the point map.²³ Usually the map presents the reflexes of a particular historical sound as exemplified by the local pronunciations of a single word, each variety being indicated by a distinct symbol.

An example of this method is Map 2 (overleaf) which shows the distribution of the reflexes of Middle English ā occurring in Surrey, Kent and Sussex in the word gate (IV.3.1/50:1)²⁴.

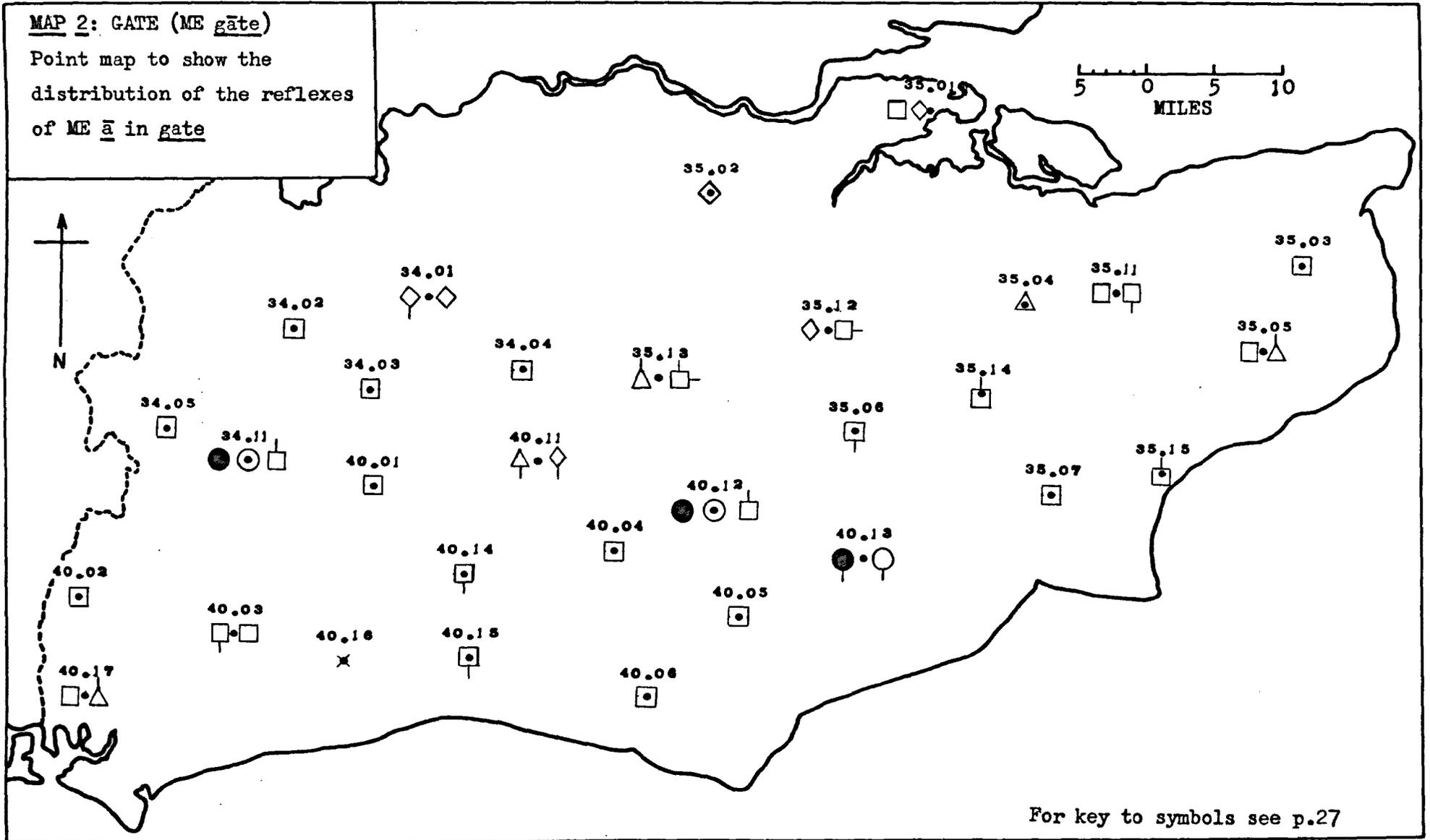
Key to Map 2:

○	:	[eɪ]
◊	:	[ɛɪ]
●	:	[e:]
◐	:	[ɛ:]
□	:	[æ]
◻	:	[ɛ̃]
△	:	[æ]
△	:	[ɛ̃]
△	:	[ɛ̃]
◇	:	[ɛ̃]
◇	:	[ɛ̃]

A locality point cancelled by a cross indicates that the required item was not recorded at that locality.

MAP 2: GATE (ME gāte)

Point map to show the
distribution of the reflexes
of ME ā in gate



For key to symbols see p.27

This is a mere presentation of the facts (or rather the facts as interpreted by the fieldworker). The drawing of isoglosses on a map to distinguish the principal areas is a step towards interpretation, as this involves making generalizations, on the basis of the known facts, about the intervening areas for which no information is available.²⁵ An example of this method is Map 3 (overleaf) which uses the same material as Map 2. A simplification of the data is necessary here, and the various sounds are grouped into representative 'types':

[ɛɪ] : [eɪ, ɛɪ, ɛɪ, eɪ, ɛɪ, ɛɪ, ɛɪ]

[æɪ] : [æɪ, æɪ, æɪ]

[ɛɪ] : [ɛɪ, ɛɪ]

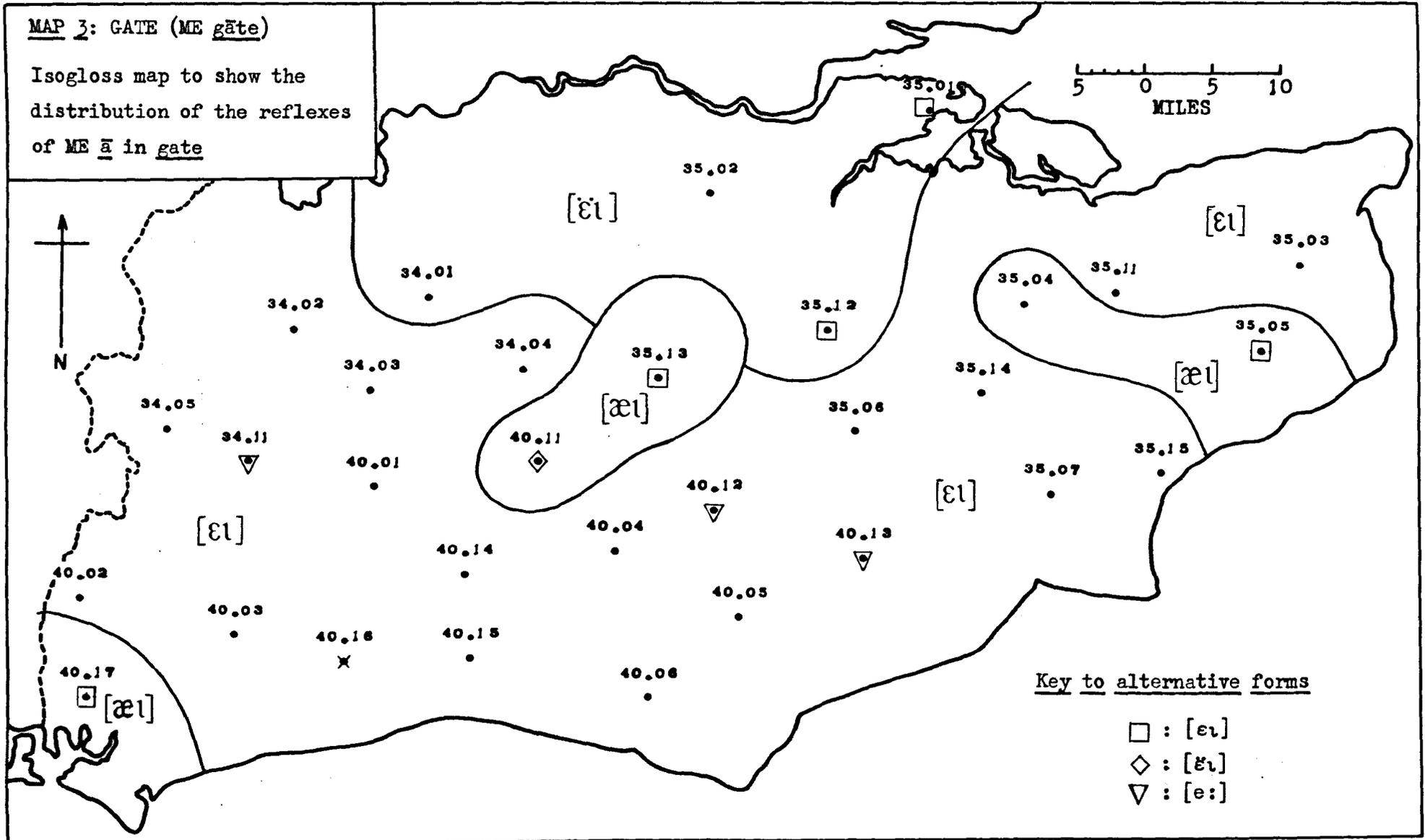
[e:] : [e:, e:]

In the labelled areas, the locality points indicate the occurrence of the labelled form; alternative forms are indicated by symbols.

The emphasis in such maps is on the relative positions of generalized 'areas' rather than on the individual localities, and the position of the boundaries drawn is not absolute.

MAP 3: GATE (ME gāte)

Isogloss map to show the
distribution of the reflexes
of ME ā in gate



Key to alternative forms

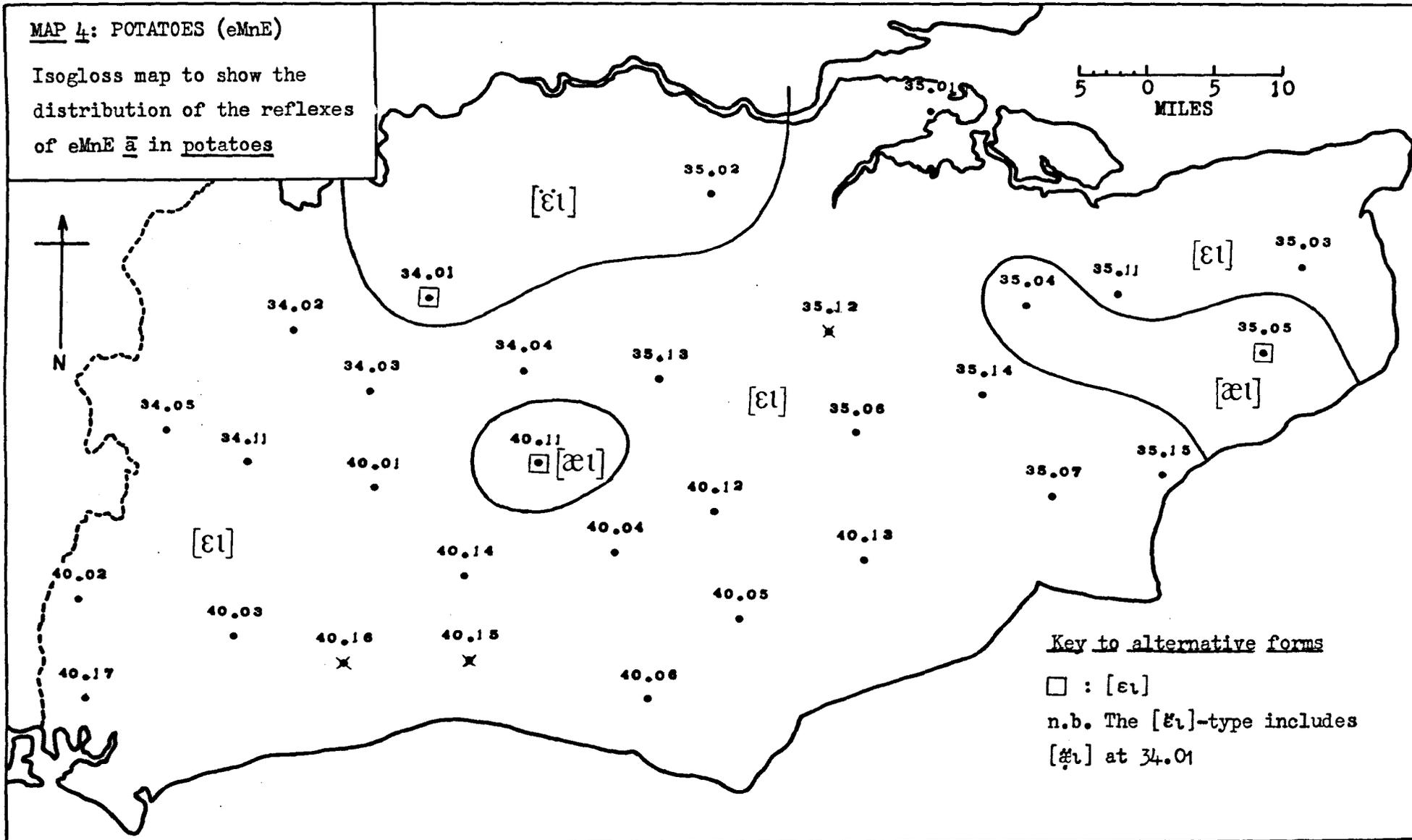
- : [ɛɪ]
- ◇ : [æɪ]
- ▽ : [eɪ]

It is customary, in dialect surveys, to obtain the local pronunciations of a number of words containing the same historical sound, e.g. the asterisked words in the Dieth-Orton Questionnaire,²⁶ in order to compare the boundaries which emerge. Map 4 (overleaf), of potatoes (II.4.1/20:1), shows early Modern English ā in a similar environment to ME ā in gate (Map 3). The isoglosses on this map, while similar, are by no means identical with those on the map of gate.

Over a large area, and when distinct sound changes are under consideration, the isoglosses are often found to 'bundle', with the result that a fairly uniform boundary or border zone emerges. (e.g. the Northern-North Midland boundary²⁷). In a smaller area, however, like that covered by the present survey, where several variant sound types may be found and where analysis must often be based on subtle distinctions between sounds (e.g. between [ɛɪ] and [æɪ]), an alternative method is clearly called for.

MAP 4: POTATOES (eMnE)

Isogloss map to show the distribution of the reflexes of eMnE ā in potatoes



1.4.2 Orton was aware that 'variants often appear in a particular fieldworker's transcriptions of an informant's renderings of one and the same word' and continues:

The fundamental reason for this is really the present state of rural English. Anyone with direct knowledge of current English vernacular will know that dialect speakers are quite inconsistent in their pronunciation. So strong is the pressure of the standard language upon them, so willing are they to accept variant forms, and so ready are they to modify their own pronunciation in conversation not only with strangers but also with people outside their own intimate circle that their spoken words often occur in three or four different forms.²⁸

Examples of this tendency towards multiple variation are: the pronunciation of right at 40.11 where four variants, [ɹaɪ?], [ɹɔɪt], [ɹaɪt], [ɹaɪt], were recorded from one informant and a fifth, [ɹaɪt], from another; and the pronunciation of down at 40.17 where three quite distinct variants, [dʌʊn], [dæ:n] and [daɪn], were recorded from a single informant. Some of these are, admittedly, minor variations, but each is important for the study of sound development and each has a role to play in the overall pattern. None of the variants cited above, incidentally, are to be associated with RP.

Of course, the 'choice' of pronunciation may be determined by the person addressed and the circumstances of the conversation, but in the context of an interview in the informant's own home conducted by a stranger (in my case non-RP-speaking) it is not too dangerous to assume that the influence of these factors is fairly constant.

Orton's comments are important as they seem to imply that a multiplicity of allophones is wholly a result of the relatively recent influence of RP, and that in traditional and 'genuine' dialects²⁹ one would expect a single pronunciation for each word and 'regular' development of ME sounds into the modern vernacular.

While the influence of RP and Standard English in modern times is in no way to be underestimated, it is unwise to assume that external influence on rural speech is exclusively a recent phenomenon. Likewise, it cannot be taken for granted that rural vernacular speech has remained static, or that present-day distributions necessarily reflect the situation at a particular time in the past. It seems far more realistic to expect regional speech to have always been susceptible to variation due to fashions and linguistic developments moving in different directions and of varying intensity.

Linguistic geography is uniquely placed to study the spatial aspects of phonetic variation. In the context of the particular social group with which a survey is dealing, the traditional bias towards the archaic should be avoided, and on no account should the fieldworker exclude forms which seem to him to be 'modern' or 'non-traditional'.

- 1.4.3 A method for presenting the phonetic reality is required which can cope with this synchronic variation. It is clearly no longer satisfactory merely to base an analysis on the 'asterisked forms' in a questionnaire, since important allophones may be omitted. As far as mapping is concerned, an isogloss marking the limit of a particular development (based on an examination of all the examples of a particular phoneme in the sources) is an improvement on the types represented by Maps 2-4, but no distinction is made between an area where the development is attested only sporadically and an area where it occurs in the majority of relevant cases. The solution is to examine the frequency with which each type of allophone occurs at each locality.

The quantitative method used here is based on cases of free allophonic variation within the phoneme, in the belief that, as Labov concluded, 'the regular process of sound change ... affects word classes as a whole, rather than individual words'.³⁰ Thus every example of a particular phoneme to be found in the sources is taken into account. To enable diatopic comparison to be made, a phonemic system must be elaborated which can be applied to the whole region under consideration. The term diaphoneme is used to describe the members of this generalized system in the same way as Jones used the term 'diaphone':

... a sound used by one group of speakers together with other sounds which replace it consistently in the pronunciation of other speakers. Thus the various kinds of ou ... and the Scottish and Northern English o: may be said to be members of the same diaphone.³¹

The term 'diaphoneme' implies the existence of regular lexical correspondences between dialects; it is indicated in this survey by the use of rounded brackets (), as opposed to the phonemes of individual accents which are enclosed in the customary slanting lines //. If, on the basis of lexical correspondences, the following equivalences are established between phonemes in four separate varieties, A, B, C and D:

$$A /əɪ/ = B /aɪ/ = C /ɛɪ/ = D /ɑɪ/$$

then for comparative purposes these are all regarded as examples of a single diaphoneme, here labelled (ai).

The method used in the present survey in establishing the frequency value for each allophone of a phoneme in a particular locality is described below. The example used is the /ɛɪ/ phoneme (corresponding to the (ei) diaphoneme) at locality 34.04 (see 2.1.3.11).

(i) The sample taken is every example of /eɪ/ in which the allophones are believed to be in free variation to be found in the SED Basic Material; (for my own localities the sample is drawn likewise from every example to be found in the questionnaire responses and incidental material). This sample is obviously not identical for each locality and the method is in other respects less than perfect, but it is believed that, with due caution, it is satisfactory for the present purpose.

(ii) The total occurrence of each allophone is found for each informant:

Informant	<u>1</u>	<u>2</u>	<u>3</u>	<u>4</u>
[eɪ]	38	26	9	27
[ɛɪ]	23			
[ɛ̃ɪ]	5		1	3
[ɛ]	1			
Total	67	26	10	30

(iii) For each informant, the scores for each allophone are expressed as a percentage of the total number of times that examples of the phoneme were recorded from him or her:

	<u>1</u>	<u>2</u>	<u>3</u>	<u>4</u>
[eɪ]	58%	100%	90%	90%
[ɛɪ]	34%			
[ɛ̃ɪ]	7%		10%	10%
[ɛ]	1%			
	100%	100%	100%	100%

Each informant is taken separately at this stage to ensure that any imbalance between the informants in the amount of material contributed is neutralized, and that the influence of idiosyncracies in one informant (e.g. [ɛ̃ɪ] in i.¹ above) is not exaggerated. The overall frequency for the locality is now calculated by finding the average value for each allo-

phone expressed as a percentage of the total:

[ɛɪ] : 84%

[ξɪ] : 8%

[ɛɪ] : 7%

[ɛ] : 1%

100%

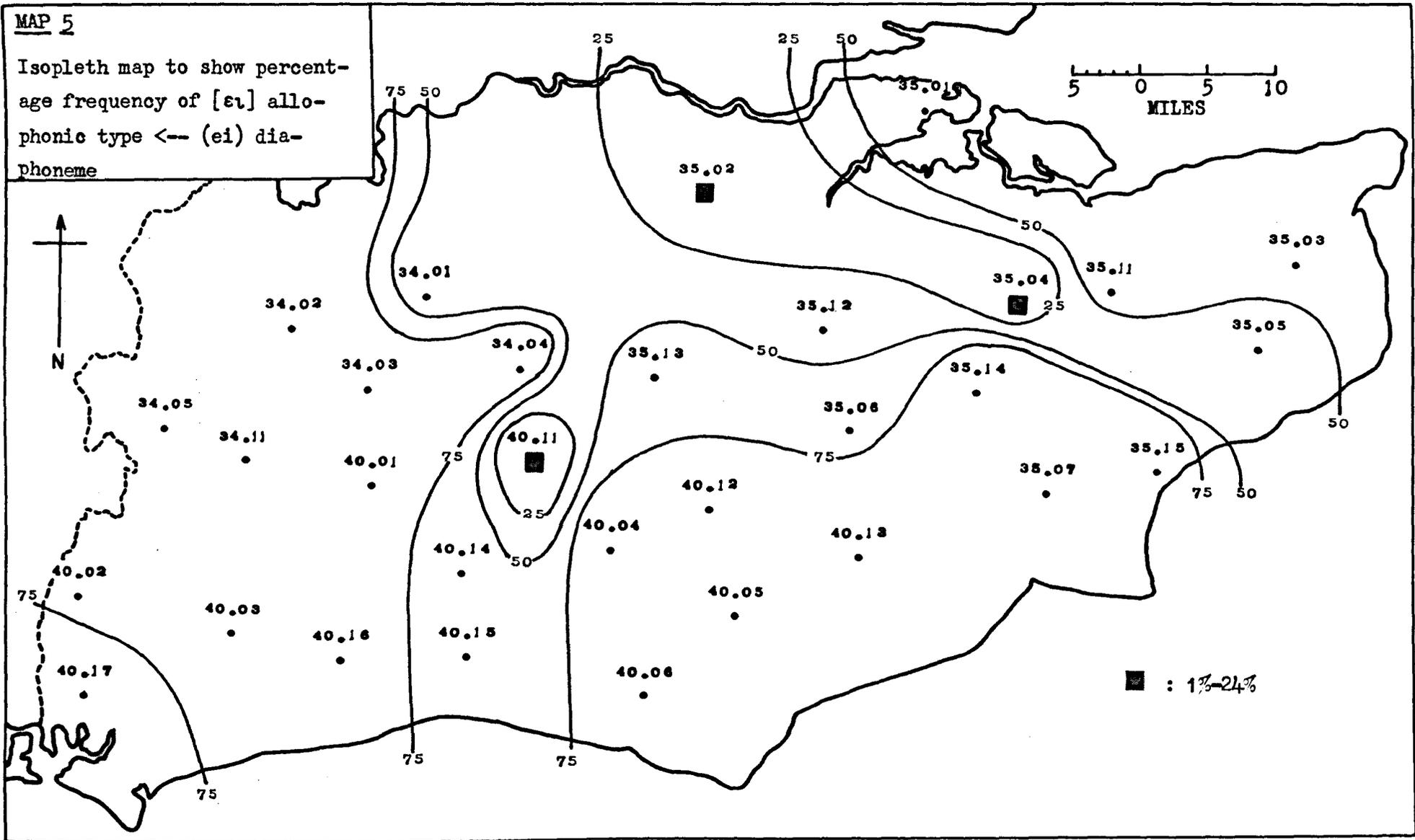
In the calculation of percentages, decimal values of .6 to .9 have been corrected up, .1 to .5 down to the nearest whole number. All values between 0 and 1% have been corrected up to 1%.

1.4.4 These percentage frequencies, when calculated for each locality,³² can be represented cartographically by means of isopleths, similar to the contour lines on Ordnance Survey maps. Localities in which a particular feature occurs with similar frequencies are enclosed by isopleths representing certain constant values and graded at regular intervals. In this way it is possible to distinguish areas where the feature occurs sporadically from areas where its frequency is high, and to identify the various intermediate stages.

A map of this type is Map 5 (overleaf). It is necessary to reduce the large number of allophonic variations recorded to manageable proportions for comparative purposes. Allophones are therefore classified by allophonic types consisting of groups of similar allophones.³³ Map 5 shows the percentage frequency with which the [ɛɪ] allophonic type occurs throughout the region in words containing the (ei) diaphoneme (see 2.1.3.11).

MAP 5

Isopleth map to show percentage frequency of [ɛɪ] allophonic type ← (ei) diphoneme



A number of isopleths between two adjacent localities indicates a sharp phonetic boundary, while a more widely spaced pattern across an area -- a 'gentler slope' -- suggests a more gradual transition. The nuclear area of a distribution, in which the frequency is greatest, need not be a centre for innovation from which a development has radiated outwards: it may equally well be a conservative area and the successive frequency zones around it may indicate the stages by which an archaic feature has receded. By their nature, such maps can only deal with one feature at a time.

At localities where a feature occurs with a frequency less than the lowest isopleth value, its presence is indicated by the symbol ■. This has been preferred to the drawing of a 'zero'-isopleth between these localities and those where the feature is not attested at all. While a 'presence vs absence' line is, of course, the basis of interpretative isogloss maps, it is inappropriate on those maps -- like isopleth maps -- the purpose of which is the presentation of positive facts.³⁴

1.4.5 Point and isogloss maps are necessary in cases where the quantitative method is unsuitable or impossible, e.g. all lexical and certain phonological items.

The following conventions apply to the isogloss maps used in this survey:

- (i) Within labelled areas, the occurrence of the labelled form is indicated by the locality point alone.
- (ii) A locality point cancelled by a St. Andrew's cross indicates that the labelled form was not recorded at that locality.
- (iii) The occurrence of a form outside its labelled area, or

of a form which has no coherent distribution, is indicated by a symbol.

- (iv) Where, at a locality within a labelled area, alternative forms occur, these are indicated by symbols superimposed upon, or placed either side of, the locality point which, unless cancelled by a cross (see (ii) above), continues to indicate the presence of the labelled form.

1.4.6 Another method of rendering phonetic variation quantifiable is used on several occasions in this survey. This method, developed by Labov and applied by Trudgill in his Norwich study,³⁵ has the advantage of enabling the complete allophonic range of a diaphoneme to be handled in a single analysis. Values are allotted to each allophonic type identified within a particular diaphoneme, e.g. for (aa) (see 2.1. 3.8):

(aa)-1 : [a:]

(aa)-2 : [ä:~ ä:]

(aa)-3 : [a:]

Trudgill discusses this process in the following terms:

The range of pronunciation of any given vocalic variable is likely ... to take the form of a certain undifferentiated area within the vowel trapezium. This means that each variable has a series of infinitely graded realizations that can fall at any point along the appropriate phonetic continuum, which can only be divided up for the purposes of the index value scale in a manner that is rather arbitrary. ... The solution to this problem is to divide up the continuum using cardinal vowels and other points of reference as a guide, and to base the number of values for each scale on the amount of phonetic differentiation involved and the number of different types that the transcriber can perceive without difficulty. Each instance of a variable then has to be allotted a particular value, according to which idealised pronunciation it approaches most closely.³⁶

Having established the scale of values, an average score for each locality is calculated by multiplying the percentage frequency of each allophonic type by the appropriate value on the scale and then dividing the total by the number of occurrences; e.g. for (aa) at 35.11:

(aa)-1 [a:]	:	18%	--	18 x 1	=	18
(aa)-2 [ä:~ÿ:]	:	36%	--	36 x 2	=	72
(aa)-3 [a:]	:	46%	--	46 x 3	=	138
		100%				228

$$\text{Average score: } \frac{228}{100} = 2.28$$

An index is obtained from this average score by subtracting 1 and multiplying by 100. Thus 35.11 has an index score of 128; a locality consistently using (aa)-1 would have an index score of 0, and consistent use of (aa)-3 would yield a score of 200.

These indices can be used for diatopic comparison by being plotted on an isopleth map in the usual way.

- 1.4.7 The discussion so far has concentrated on variation at the surface phonetic level. Weinreich, however, has drawn attention to the need to examine phonetic items in relation to the systems in which they function and to discover how they are marshalled into the system of oppositions prevailing in each dialect.³⁷ Similar allophones may occur over a large area, but this superficial identity might conceal the fact that the same sound fits into its system in a different position and functions differently in each of the localities where it is part of the phonetic inventory. The need, then, is for a phonemic approach in which the system at each locality is analysed on its own terms.

The allophones of a particular phoneme are often found to cluster around a 'norm'; the quantitative methods described above enable this clustering to be analysed and the 'peak', where the frequency is highest, to be identified, e.g. (ai) at 34.02 (see 2.1.3.12) where [äi] has the highest frequency:

		äi (6%)		
ai	äi	[äi]	† ai	ai
(6%)	(24%)	(34%)	(27%)	(3%)

Although the phoneme may be found in one 'type' only, there may be more than one area of concentrated distribution of free variant allophones,³⁸ in which case there is more than one phonemic type, e.g. (ei) at 35.04 (see 2.1.3.11):

{	ɛi (1%)	
	[ɛi] (15%)	ɛi (1%)
	ξi (8%)	ξi (1%)
	æi (6%)	
	[æi] (67%)	
	æi (1%)	

This sort of analysis, especially the drawing of limits between phonemic types, is necessarily rather subjective, but the frequency values for each allophone make the process as objective as possible.

On the basis of the diagram above the conclusion can be reached that at 35.04 (ei) occurs as two phonemic types in free variation with each other: /æi/ and /ɛi/ with frequencies of 74% and 26% respectively. For comparative purposes it is necessary to classify phonemic types by levelling them under representative labels, in the same way that it was found convenient to group allophones into allophonic types (cf. 1.4.4 above). Thus while at 35.11 the peaks for (ei) occur at

/ɛɪ/ and /æɪ/ and for (ai) at /ɪɪ/, these are classified, for the purposes of diatopic comparison, as /ɛɪ/, /æɪ/ and /ɪɪ/ respectively.

1.4.8 It is now possible to examine and compare the ways in which the opposition between diaphonemes occupying the same 'phonological space' is maintained in different localities.³⁹ An example is the opposition between (ei) and (ai): both of these diaphonemes are generally realized by closing diphthongs moving towards [ɪ] and beginning with unrounded vowels in the half-open - open range. At 35.12 the diaphonemes (ei) and (ai) each occur as a single phonemic type: /ɛɪ/ and /aɪ/ respectively; thus the opposition here can be summarized as /ɛɪ : aɪ/ and is valid in every case.

At 40.12, however, while (ei) occurs as a single type /ɛɪ/, (ai) occurs as /äɪ/ (74%) and /aɪ/ (26%); in this case, then, out of a total of one hundred theoretical minimal pairs distinguished by the (ei : ai) opposition, there is a probability that seventy-four will be of the /ɛɪ : äɪ/ type and twenty-six of the /ɛɪ : aɪ/ type.

If each diaphoneme occurs as more than one phonemic type at a locality, then the probability with which each type of opposition is to be expected is established by multiplying together the probabilities of the individual phonemic types in all the possible combinations in which the opposition can occur. Thus at 35.04 (with probabilities expressed as a proportion of 1 and corrected to one decimal place):

$$(ei) \text{ --- } /æ\text{v}/ (0.7) + /ε\text{v}/ (0.3)$$

$$(ai) \text{ --- } /ä\text{v}/ (0.6) + /ə\text{v}/ (0.4)$$

The probabilities are:

$$(ei : ai)$$

$$/æ\text{v} : ä\text{v}/ = 0.7 \times 0.6 = 0.42$$

$$/æ\text{v} : ə\text{v}/ = 0.7 \times 0.4 = 0.28$$

$$/ε\text{v} : ä\text{v}/ = 0.3 \times 0.6 = 0.18$$

$$/ε\text{v} : ə\text{v}/ = 0.3 \times 0.4 = 0.12$$

$$\underline{\quad\quad\quad}$$

$$1.00$$

or out of the theoretical hundred minimal pairs: 42%, 28%, 18% and 12% respectively.⁴⁰ Similar calculations having been made for all localities, the results can be presented cartographically (see 2.1.3.11,12; 2.1.5.2).

Chapter Two : Phonology

2.1 Stressed Vowels

2.1.1 The System of Diaphonemes

A system of diaphonemes (see 1.4.3) has been elaborated which enables comparison to be made between all the varieties of rural Surrey-Kent-Sussex English (SKSE) examined in this survey. Since this is primarily a theoretical system, the symbols used do not give an accurate indication of the phonetic realization of the diaphonemes in any particular locality; while they are intended to give some idea of the pronunciation of the diaphonemes, these symbols are used as labels, and do not necessarily have the same value as I.P.A. symbols.

Although it is necessary to place this description of the system of diaphonemes at the beginning of this chapter, it should be stressed that it was only constructed after the completion of the phonetic and phonemic analysis of each local system.

The oppositions prevailing within and between groups of diaphonemes are illustrated by minimal pairs from a single locality. Where minimal pairs are not available, pairs of words are presented in which the contrast is indicated in similar environments. The principal historical sources of the diaphonemes are also given.¹

The diaphonemes occurring in SKSE are as follows. In most cases the minimal and contrasting pairs of words are taken from the dialects investigated by myself. For the consonant system, see 2.2.1.

2.1.1.1 SKSE has six short vowels:

i	u
e	ʌ
a	o

Minimal pairs:

i					
40.13 (pit : pet) <u>pit</u> : <u>pet</u>	e				
40.14 (stik : stak) <u>stick</u> : <u>stack</u>	35.11 (ketl : katl) <u>kettle</u> : <u>cattle</u>	a			
40.11 (riŋ : roŋ) <u>ring</u> : <u>wrong</u>	35.13 (kres : kros) <u>cross</u> : <u>cross</u>	34.11 (stak : stok) <u>stack</u> : <u>stock</u>	o		
34.11 (kit : kat) <u>kit</u> : <u>cut</u>	35.11 (pedl : padl) <u>peddle</u> : <u>puddle</u>	35.12 (stak : stak) <u>stack</u> : <u>stuck</u>	40.17 (dok : dak) <u>dock</u> : <u>duck</u>	ʌ	
40.11 (brik : bruk) <u>brick</u> : <u>brook</u>	35.13 (set : sut) <u>set</u> : <u>soot</u>	40.11 (stak : stuk) <u>stack</u> : <u>stook</u>	40.12 (hok : huk) <u>hock</u> : <u>hook</u>	35.15 (ʌp : up) <u>up</u> : <u>hoop</u>	u

Sources:

- (i) : ME ī e.g. (riŋ) 'ring' < ME ring (nn)
 ME ī (ditʃ) 'ditch' ME dīch
 ME ē (hip) 'hip' ME hēpe (berry)
- (e) : ME ĕ (hedʒ) 'hedge' ME hegge
 ME ĕ (brest) 'breast' ME brĕst
 ME ĕ (swet) 'sweat' ME swĕt (nn)
- (a) : ME ǣ (stak) 'stack' ME stac (nn)
- (o) : ME o (dog) 'dog' ME dogge
 ME ǣ after w-
 e.g. (wosp) 'wasp' ME waspe

- (A) : ME ǔ e.g. (kat) 'cut' < ME kutten (vb)
 ME ū (dast) 'dust' ME doust, dūst
 ME ō (gam) 'gum' ME gōme
- (u) : ME ū (put) 'put' ME putten
 ME ō (fut) 'foot' ME fōt

2.1.1.2 SKSE has four long vowels:

ii uu
 aa oo

Minimal pairs:

ii

40.15 (fiivz : saavz) <u>sheaves</u> : <u>shafts</u>	aa		
35.11 (iit : oot) <u>eat</u> : <u>ought</u>	34.11 (braantʃ:poontʃ) <u>branch</u> : <u>paunch</u>	oo	
35.13 (kii : kuu) <u>key</u> : <u>coo</u>	40.13 (aaf : uuf) <u>half</u> : <u>hoof</u>	40.17 (boot : buut) <u>bought</u> : <u>boot</u>	uu

Oppositions with short vowels:

	i	e	a	o	ʌ	u
ii	40.11 (pit:piit) <u>pit:peat</u>	40.13 (pet:piit) <u>pet:peat</u>	35.15 (fat:fiit) <u>fat:feet</u>	35.14 (hot:hiit) <u>hot:heat</u>	40.17 (bak:biik) <u>buck:beak</u>	35.12 (fut:fiit) <u>foot:feet</u>
aa	40.11 (lift:laaf) <u>lift:laugh</u>	40.11 (left:laaf) <u>left:laugh</u>	40.11 (kant:kaant) <u>cant:can't</u>	35.11 (of:aaf) <u>off:half</u>	35.11 (trast: laast) <u>trust:last</u>	35.14 (huf:aaf) <u>hoof:half</u>
oo	40.11 (skid:skood) <u>skid:scald</u>	35.11 (bred:brood) <u>bread:broad</u>	34.11 (kat:koot) <u>cat:caught</u>	35.11 (hot:oot) <u>hot:ought</u>	40.17 (bat:boot) <u>butt:bought</u>	34.11 (wul:ool) <u>wool:all</u>
uu	34.11 (nit:nuut) <u>nit:newt</u>	40.11 (men:muun) <u>men:moon</u>	40.14 (rat:runt) <u>rat:root</u>	40.11 (rot:runt) <u>rot:root</u>	40.17 (bat:buut) <u>butt:boot</u>	40.12 (bul:skuu1) <u>bull:school</u>

Sources:

(ii) : ME ē e.g. (fiit) 'feet' < ME fēt
 ME ē (hiit) 'heat' ME hēte (nn)

(aa) : ME ǣ before f, s, θ

e.g. (graas) 'grass' ME gras

ME ǣ before lf, lv, lm

e.g. (aaf) 'half' ME half

OF an + Cons.

e.g. (braantf) 'branch' ME branche, braunch

(oo) : ME au (koot) 'caught' ME cauh̄te, caʒte

ME du² (boot) 'bought' ME boughte

ME ǣ before -l, ld, lk, lt

e.g. (ool) 'all' ME all

(uu) : ME ū e.g. (buut) 'boot' < ME bōte
 ME ū before m and p
 e.g. (ruum) 'room' ME rūm
 eMnE iu (bluu) 'blue' ME blew

The contrast in the series of oppositions (i:ii), (a:aa), (o:oo) and (u:uu) has been defined as one of quantity rather than quality, since pairs of words occur at some localities which demonstrate, at the phonetic level, the existence of phonemic length, e.g. 40.13 ['mantl̩] 'mantle' vs [æ:nt] 'aunt', i.e. (mantl) vs (aant). Furthermore, other examples are found in which allophones occur for each member of the opposition which are distinguished from those of the other member by length alone, e.g. 35.06 [i] ←(i) vs [i:] ←(ii); 40.13 [ɪ] ←(i) vs [ɪ:] ←(ii); 34.11 [o] ←(o) vs [o:] ←(oo); 35.13 [ʊ] ←(u) vs [ʊ:] ←(uu).

2.1.1.3 SKSE has four diphthongs moving towards a close front position:

ui*
 ei
 ai oi

* The existence of (ui) is doubtful; it is suggested by the fact that allophones of the type [ui~y̥i~ɔ̥i~ɔ̥i~ɔ̥i], in those localities where they are found, occur, usually exclusively, in the single word boy which is otherwise assigned to (oi). In view of this, it is meaningless to propose minimal pairs for words containing (ui) and it has therefore been omitted from the tables below (see 2.1.2.8).

Minimal pairs:

ei		
40.17 (weit : wait) <u>weight</u> : <u>white</u>	ai	
40.11 (bei : boi) <u>bay</u> : <u>boy</u>	35.13 (mais : vois) <u>mice</u> : <u>voice</u>	oi

Oppositions with short vowels:

	i	e	a	o	ʌ	u
ei	40.11 (brik:breik) <u>brick</u> : <u>break</u>	40.16 (wet:weit) <u>wet</u> : <u>weight</u>	35.15 (stak:steik) <u>stack</u> : <u>stake</u>	35.13 (ot:eit) <u>hot</u> : <u>eight</u>	35.12 (bat:beit) <u>butt</u> : <u>bait</u>	40.11 (bruk:breik) <u>brook</u> : <u>break</u>
ai	34.11 (nit:nait) <u>nit</u> : <u>night</u>	40.17 (wet:wait) <u>wet</u> : <u>white</u>	40.12 (rat:rait) <u>rat</u> : <u>right</u>	35.14 (hot:haitθ) <u>hot</u> : <u>height</u>	35.14 (bat:bait) <u>butt</u> : <u>bite</u>	40.14 (fut:fait) <u>foot</u> : <u>fight</u>
oi	35.01 (il : oil) <u>ill</u> : <u>oil</u>	35.14 (west:oist) <u>west</u> : <u>hoist</u>	35.15 (hant:point) <u>ant</u> : <u>point</u>	40.11 (mos:hoist) <u>moss</u> : <u>hoist</u>	40.15 (rant:point) <u>runt</u> : <u>point</u>	35.15 (bul:boil) <u>bull</u> : <u>boil</u>

Oppositions with long vowels:

	ii	aa	oo	uu
ei	40.17 (wiit:weit) <u>wheat</u> : <u>weight</u>	40.11 (glaas:keis) <u>glass</u> : <u>case</u>	35.12 (loon : lein) <u>lawn</u> : <u>lane</u>	35.11 (muun : mein) <u>moon</u> : <u>mane</u>
ai	40.14 (fiit : fait) <u>feet</u> : <u>fight</u>	35.11 (laast:lais) <u>last</u> : <u>lice</u>	40.11 (floo : flai) <u>flaw</u> : <u>fly</u>	40.12 (ruut : rait) <u>root</u> : <u>right</u>
oi	40.12 (bii : boi) <u>bee</u> : <u>boy</u>	40.11 (laast:hoist) <u>last</u> : <u>hoist</u>	40.11 (pooz:poizn) <u>paws</u> : <u>poison</u>	40.11 (ruust:hoist) <u>roost</u> : <u>hoist</u>

Sources:

(ei) : ME ā (< ǣ lengthened in open syllables)

e.g. (geit) 'gate' < ME gāte

ME ai,ei (dei) 'day' ME dai, dei

ME ē (breik) 'break' ME brēken

(ai) : ME ī (wait) 'white' ME whīt

ME ē + ȝ (ai) 'eye' ME ēye, īȝe, yē

ME ī + ht (nait) 'night' ME niht

(oi) : ME oi,ui (poizn) 'poison' ME poyson, puison

ME ī (boil) 'boil' ME bīle (nn)

(ui) : only in — (bui) 'boy' ME boie, boy(e)

(buil) 'boil' ME boile (vb)

(vuis) 'voice' ME vois

2.1.1.4 SKSE has four diphthongs moving towards a close back position:

iu

au

au

ou

Minimal pairs:

iu

40.11 (kiu : kau) <u>queue</u> : <u>cow</u>	au		
35.11 (iu : ou) <u>ewe</u> : <u>hole</u>	35.11 (kau : mou) <u>cow</u> : <u>mole</u>	ou	
35.11 (iu : au) <u>ewe</u> : <u>hoe</u>	35.14 (sau : saU) <u>sow</u> nn : <u>sow</u> vb	35.11 (ou : au) <u>hole</u> : <u>hoe</u>	au

Oppositions with short vowels:

	i	e	a	o	ʌ	u
iu	40.11 (nit:niut) <u>nit:newt</u>	40.06 (set:siut) <u>set:suit</u>	40.11 (kat:niut) <u>cat:newt</u>	40.11 (hot:niut) <u>hot:newt</u>	35.14 (sʌn:tiun) <u>sun:tune</u>	34.05 (sut:siut) <u>soot:suit</u>
au	40.14 (bit:ɔbaut) <u>bit:about</u> ³	35.14 (den:daun) <u>then:down</u>	34.11 (bat:baut) <u>bat:about</u>	40.11 (mos:maus) <u>moss:mouse</u>	40.17 (bat:baut) <u>butt:about</u>	34.11 (bul:aul) <u>bull:owl</u>
ou	35.11 (skid:koud) <u>skid:cold</u>	40.15 (ʃed:foud) <u>shed:fold</u>	35.11 (pad:poud) <u>pad:polled</u>	35.11 (rod:koud) <u>rod:cold</u>	35.11 (kʌd:koud) <u>cut:cold</u>	35.11 (wud:koud) <u>wood:cold</u>
ʌu	40.12 (bin:bʌun) <u>bin:bone</u>	40.11 (red:rʌud) <u>red:road</u>	40.14 (ʌm:ʌum) <u>ham:home</u>	40.16 (rod:rʌud) <u>rod:road</u>	35.14 (ʌk : ʌuk) <u>huck: oak</u>	40.11 (uk : ʌuk) <u>hook: oak</u>

Oppositions with long vowels:

	ii	aa	oo	uu
iu	35.07 (tʃii : tʃiu) <u>chee : chew</u>	35.14 (aant : tiun) <u>aunt : tune</u>	35.14 (θoo : diu) <u>thaw : dew</u>	40.06 (suut : siut) <u>soot : suit</u>
au	40.12 (bii : bau) <u>bee : bough</u>	35.15 (paaθ : sauθ) <u>path : south</u>	40.17 (boot : baut) <u>bought:about</u>	35.14 (buut : ɔbaut) <u>boot : about</u>
ou	40.15 (siid : foud) <u>seed : fold</u>	35.11 (paam : koud) <u>palm : cold</u>	40.15 (brood : foud) <u>broad : fold</u>	35.11 (bruud : oud) <u>brood : old</u>
ʌu	35.15 (riid : rʌud) <u>reed : road</u>	35.13 (baaθ : bʌuθ) <u>bath : both</u>	35.11 (oot : ʌut) <u>ought : oat</u>	40.13 (duu : dʌu) <u>do : dough</u>

Oppositions with the i-diphthongs:

	ei	ai	oi
iu	35.14 (dei : diu) <u>day</u> : <u>dew</u>	40.11 (nait : niut) <u>night</u> : <u>newt</u>	40.11 (boi : kiu) <u>boy</u> : <u>queue</u>
au	40.11 (sei : sau) <u>say</u> : <u>sow</u> nn	35.14 (bait : əbaut) <u>bite</u> : <u>about</u>	35.11 (boi : bau) <u>boy</u> : <u>bough</u>
ou	35.11 (mei : mou) <u>May</u> : <u>mole</u>	35.11 (haid : oud) <u>hide</u> : <u>hold</u>	35.11 (boi : pou) <u>boy</u> : <u>pole</u>
au	34.11 (dei : dau) <u>day</u> : <u>dough</u>	35.13 (tai : tau) <u>tie</u> : <u>toe</u>	40.14 (boi : bau) <u>boy</u> : <u>bow</u> nn

Sources:

(iu) : eMnE iu e.g. (diu) 'dew' < ME dew, deu, deau

(au) : ME ū (haus) 'house' ME hūs, hous
ME ō +X (plau) 'plough' ME plou(h)

(ou) : ME ō before vocalized final
and preconsonantal (l)
e.g. (oud) 'old' ME ōld

ME ǒ before vocalized final
and preconsonantal (l)
e.g. (kout) 'colt' ME colt

ME ũ before vocalized (l) in
the groups uld, ult
e.g. (koutər) 'coulter' ME culter

(au) : ME <u>ō</u>	e.g. (raud) 'road'	< ME <u>rood</u>
ME <u>qu</u> ⁴	e.g. (snau) 'snow'	ME <u>snow</u>
ME <u>ǫ</u> before final and precon-		
sonantal <u>l</u>		
e.g. (kault) 'colt'		ME <u>colt</u>
ME <u>ū</u> in the groups <u>uld</u> , <u>ult</u>		
e.g. (ʃauldər) 'shoulder'		ME <u>shulder</u>

2.1.1.5 The occurrence of final and preconsonantal r is of great importance for the structure of vowel systems in English. Since, however, no variety of SKSE is completely non-rhotic and fully rhotic varieties are rare, rhotic and non-rhotic systems are both present, in varying degrees, in most localities. The system of diaphonemes must be able to accommodate this situation, and a set of six combinations of the structure 'short vowel + r' is posited for SKSE to resolve this problem:

ir	ur
er	Ar
ar	or

In rhotic systems, of course, these combinations are not phonemic and are realized, on the phonetic level, by allophones of the respective short vowels conditioned by the final or preconsonantal (r). Only in non-rhotic systems, in which they are realized by centring diphthongs or long monophthongs, do the combinations achieve phoneme status. Although (ar) and (or) merge with (aa) and (oo) respectively in some non-rhotic systems, they are kept apart in others; and (ir), (er) and (ur) are realized in most cases by centring diphthongs. Since it is therefore necessary to label the six non-rhotic phonemes, and in view of the fact

that they tend to have been subject to parallel developments, it was decided to do this consistently in the manner proposed above, despite the fact that the (r) is absent in these cases. Although these combinations are non-phonemic in rhotic systems, it is believed that comparison is facilitated by considering them to be diaphonemes and as such valid for all systems, rhotic and non-rhotic, within SKSE.

The minimal pairs presented below are all taken from non-rhotic systems and, in view of this, the words are also transcribed phonetically. The symbol * indicates that, although no suitable contrasting pair was available in the sources, the opposition is theoretically possible.

ir

40.13 (dir : der) [dɪə] [dɛə] <u>dear</u> : <u>there</u>	er				
35.13 (ir : bar) [ɪə] [ba:] <u>ear</u> : <u>bar</u>	35.13 (ber : bar) [bɛ:] [ba:] <u>bare</u> : <u>bar</u>	ar			
35.13 (fir : dor) [fɪə] [dɔ:] <u>shear</u> : <u>door</u>	40.13 (mer : mor) [mɛə] [mɔ:] <u>mare</u> : <u>more</u>	35.13 (kart : kort) [ka:t] [kɔ:t] <u>cart</u> : <u>court</u>	or		
35.01 (bird : bard) [biəd] [bɛ:d] <u>beard</u> : <u>bird</u>	40.13 (ber : var) [bɛə] [vɛ:] <u>bear</u> : <u>furrow</u>	40.13 (farm : warm) [fɑ:m] [wɛ:m] <u>farm</u> : <u>worm</u>	40.13 (worm : warm) [wɔ:m] [wɛ:m] <u>warm</u> : <u>worm</u>	ar	
40.13 (dir : dur) [dɪə] [dɔə] <u>dear</u> : <u>door</u>	40.13 (der : dur) [dɛə] [dɔə] <u>there</u> : <u>door</u>	40.13 (bar : dur) [bɑ:] [dɔə] <u>bar</u> : <u>door</u>	35.02 (mor : pur) [mɔə] [pɔə] <u>more</u> : <u>poor</u>	40.13 (var : dur) [vɛ:] [dɔə] <u>furrow</u> : <u>door</u>	ur

Oppositions with short vowels:

	i	e	a	o	ʌ	u
ir	35.05 (fist:firs) [fɪst][fɪəz] <u>fist:fierce</u>	35.02 (bed : bird) [bɛd] [bɪəd] <u>bed : beard</u>	35.01 (bad : bird) [bæd] [biəd] <u>bad : beard</u>	35.01 (pod : bird) [pɒd][biəd] <u>pod : beard</u>	35.01 (kad : bird) [kʌd][biəd] <u>cut : beard</u>	35.02 (put : bird) [pʊt] [biəd] <u>put : beard</u>
er	*	*	*	*	*	*
ar	35.12 (bin : barn) [bɪn][bɑːn] <u>bin : barn</u>	35.11 (ed : ard) [ɛd] [ɑːd] <u>head:hard</u>	40.13 (kat : kart) [kæt][kɑːt] <u>cat : cart</u>	40.14 (hot : kart) [hɒt][kɑːt] <u>hot : cart</u>	40.15 (kat : kart) [kʌt][kɑːt] <u>cut : cart</u>	40.11 (put : part) [pʊt] [pɑːt] <u>put : part</u>
or	34.11 (kit:kwort) [kɪt][kwɔːt] <u>kit:quart</u>	40.11 (men:morn) [mɛn][mɔːn-] <u>men:morn-</u>	40.13 (man:morn) [mæn][mɔːn-] <u>man :morn-</u>	40.13 (skwot: kwort) [skwɒt] [kwɔːt] <u>squat:quart</u>	35.13 (kat:kort) [kæt][kɔːt] <u>cut:court</u>	35.13 (sut:zort) [sɒt][zɔːt] <u>soot:sort</u>
ar	35.13 (bitf: bartf) [bɪtʃ] [bɛ:tʃ] <u>bitch:birch</u>	40.13 (bed : bard) [bɛd] [bɛ:d] <u>bed : bird</u>	40.14 (kat : gart) [kæt][gɛ:t] <u>cat:girt(h)</u>	35.15 (hot : gart) [hɒt][gɛ:t] <u>hot:girt(h)</u>	40.14 (kat : gart) [kʌt][gɛ:t] <u>cut:girt(h)</u>	35.13 (luk : wark) [lʌk][wɛ:k] <u>look : work</u>
ur	*	*	*	*	*	*

Oppositions with long vowels:

	ii	aa	oo	uu
ir	35.01 (kii : bir) [kʷi:] [biʷ] <u>key</u> : <u>bier</u>	35.05 (glaas : firs) [glɑːs] [fiəs] <u>glass</u> : <u>fierce</u>	40.13 (ʃoo : ʃir) [ʃo:] [ʃiə] <u>shaw</u> : <u>shear</u>	35.02 (bruud : bird) [brʌ:d] [biəd] <u>brood</u> : <u>beard</u>
er	40.13 (pii : per) [pi:] [peə] <u>pea</u> : <u>pear</u>	*	40.13 (ʃoo : tʃer) [ʃo:] [tʃə] <u>shaw</u> : <u>chair</u>	40.12 (tʃuu : tʃer) [tʃy:] [tʃə] <u>chew</u> : <u>chair</u>
ar	35.13 (biin : barn) [bi:n] [ba:n] <u>bean</u> : <u>barn</u>	40.13 (fraans : darn) [fɹæ:ns] [dɑ:n] <u>France</u> : <u>darn</u>	35.11 (oot : kart) [o:t] [ka:t] <u>ought</u> : <u>cart</u>	40.12 (kuut : kart) [kʷy:t] [kɑ:t] <u>coot</u> : <u>cart</u>
or	35.13 (fiid : ford) [fi:d] [fɔ:d] <u>feed</u> : <u>ford</u>	40.13 (aask : ors) [a:sk] [o:s] <u>ask</u> : <u>horse</u>	40.17 (stroo : flor) [strʌo:] [flə] <u>straw</u> : <u>floor</u>	35.13 (fuud : ford) [fʌu:d] [fɔ:d] <u>food</u> : <u>ford</u>
ar	40.13 (fliid : bard) [fli:d] [bɛ:d] <u>flead</u> : <u>bird</u>	40.13 (faaðə : fɑrðə) [ˈfɑːðə] [ˈfɔːðə] <u>father</u> : <u>further</u>	35.12 (broot : gart) [brʌo:t] [gɛ:ʔ] <u>brought</u> : <u>girt</u> (h)	40.13 (bruud : bard) [brʌːd] [bɛ:d] <u>brood</u> : <u>bird</u>
ur	40.13 (diiz : durz) [di:z] [dɔəz] <u>these</u> : <u>doors</u>	*	40.13 (θoo : dur) [θo:] [dɔə] <u>thaw</u> : <u>door</u>	40.13 (duu : dur) [dy:] [dɔə] <u>do</u> : <u>door</u>

Oppositions with i-diphthongs:

	ei	ai	oi
ir	35.01 (klei : klir) [klɛi] [klɪə] <u>clay</u> : <u>clear</u>	34.11 (ai : ir) [aɪ] [iə] <u>eye</u> : <u>ear</u>	35.01 (boi : bir) [boɪ] [biə] <u>boy</u> : <u>bier</u>
er	35.13 (hei : her) [hɛɪ] [hɛə] <u>hay</u> : <u>hair</u>	35.13 (ai : her) [aɪ] [hɛə] <u>eye</u> : <u>hair</u>	35.02 (boi : ber) [boɪ] [bɛə] <u>boy</u> : <u>bare</u>
ar	40.14 (geit : kart) [gɛɪt] [kɑːt] <u>gate</u> : <u>cart</u>	40.12 (bain : barn) [bɑɪn] [bɑːn] <u>bine</u> : <u>barn</u>	35.15 (boi : star) [boɪ] [stɑː] <u>boy</u> : <u>star</u>
or	35.11 (mein : morn) [mɛɪn] [mɔːn-] <u>main</u> : <u>morn-</u>	35.13 (kain : korn) [kaɪn] [kɔːn] <u>kine</u> : <u>corn</u>	35.11 (boi : bor) [boɪ] [boə] <u>boy</u> : <u>boar</u>
ar	35.15 (geit : gart) [gɛɪt] [gəːt] <u>gate</u> : <u>girt(h)</u>	35.13 (said : bard) [saɪd] [bɛːd] <u>side</u> : <u>bird</u>	35.13 (vois : fars) [voɪs] [fɛːs] <u>voice</u> : <u>first</u>
ur	40.13 (dei : dur) [dɛɪ] [dɔə] <u>day</u> : <u>door</u>	40.13 (ai : dur) [aɪ] [dɔə] <u>eye</u> : <u>door</u>	35.02 (boi : pur) [boɪ] [pɔə] <u>boy</u> : <u>poor</u>

Oppositions with u-diphthongs:

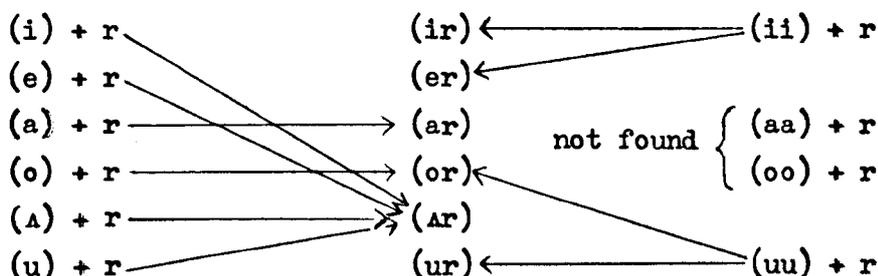
	iu	au	ou	au
ir	40.13 (iu : ir) [^h ɔu:] [ɪə] <u>ewe</u> : <u>hear</u>	35.13 (hau : hir) [hæɔ] [hɪə] <u>how</u> : <u>here</u>	40.13 (ou : ir) [vɔ] [ɪə] <u>old</u> : <u>hear</u>	40.17 (dɔu : dir) [dɔɔ] [dɪə] <u>dough</u> : <u>dear</u>
er	40.13 (iu : her) [^h ɔu:] [hɛə] <u>ewe</u> : <u>hare</u>	40.13 (bau : ber) [bæɔ] [bɛə] <u>bough</u> : <u>bear-</u>	40.13 (ou : her) [vɔ] [hɛə] <u>old</u> : <u>hair</u>	40.13 (dɔu : der) [dɔɔ] [dɛə] <u>dough</u> : <u>there</u>
ar	40.11 (niut : part) [n ^h ɪ:t] [pɑ:t] <u>newt</u> : <u>part</u>	40.13 (bau : bar) [bæɔ] [bɑː] <u>bough</u> : <u>bar</u>	35.11 (oud : ard) [vɔd] [ɑ:d] <u>hold</u> : <u>hard</u>	40.12 (bɔun : barn) [bɔɔn] [bɑːn] <u>bone</u> : <u>barn</u>
or	35.14 (tium : korn) [t ^h ɪ:n] [kɔ:n] <u>tune</u> : <u>corn</u>	35.13 (sauθ : norθ) [sæθ] [nɔːθ] <u>south</u> : <u>north</u>	40.13 (ou : mor) [vɔ] [mɔː] <u>old</u> : <u>more</u>	40.14 (bauθ : norθ) [bɔθ] [nɔːθ] <u>both</u> : <u>north</u>
ar	40.13 (iu : var) [^h ɔu:] [vəː] <u>ewe</u> : <u>furrow</u>	35.15 (əbaut : gart) [ə' bæɔt] [gɑːt] <u>about</u> : <u>girt(h)</u>	40.13 (oud : ard) [vɔd] [ɑːd] <u>old</u> : <u>heard</u>	35.13 (ɔuk : wark) [ɔɔk] [wɔːk] <u>oak</u> : <u>work</u>
ur	40.13 (iu : dur) [^h ɔu:] [dɔə] <u>ewe</u> : <u>door</u>	40.13 (kau : dur) [kæɔ] [dɔə] <u>cow</u> : <u>door</u>	40.13 (ou : dur) [vɔ] [dɔə] <u>old</u> : <u>door</u>	40.13 (dɔu : dur) [dɔɔ] [dɔə] <u>dough</u> : <u>door</u>

Sources:

(ir) :	ME <u>ē</u> + <u>r</u>	e.g. (dir) 'dear'	< ME <u>dēre</u>
	ME <u>ĕ</u> + <u>r</u>	(ir) 'ear'	ME <u>ĕre</u>
(er) :	ME <u>ē</u> + <u>r</u>	(per) 'pear'	ME <u>pēre</u>
	ME <u>ā</u> + <u>r</u>	(her) 'hare'	ME <u>hāre</u>
	ME <u>ai</u> + <u>r</u>	(tʃer) 'chair'	ME <u>chaiere, chaere</u>
(ar) :	ME <u>ǣ</u> + <u>r</u>	(kart) 'cart'	ME <u>carte</u>
	ME <u>ĕ</u> + <u>r</u>	(farm) 'farm'	ME <u>ferme</u>
(or) :	ME <u>ō</u> + <u>r</u>	(fork) 'fork'	ME <u>forke</u>
	ME <u>ǣ</u> + <u>r</u> after <u>w-</u>	e.g. (wort) 'wart'	ME <u>wart</u>
	ME <u>ō</u> + <u>r</u>	(bor) 'boar'	ME <u>boor</u>
	ME <u>ō</u> + <u>r</u>	(flor) 'floor'	ME <u>flōr</u>
	ME <u>ū</u> + <u>r</u>	(morn) 'mourn'	ME <u>mournen</u>
	ME <u>ou</u> + <u>r</u>	(for) 'four'	ME <u>fower, fowre</u>
	eMnE <u>iu</u> + <u>r</u>	(ʃor) 'sure'	ME <u>sur</u>
(Ar) :	ME <u>ī</u> + <u>r</u>	(farst) 'first'	ME <u>first</u>
	ME <u>ĕ</u> + <u>r</u>	(garθ) 'girth'	ME <u>gerð</u>
	ME <u>ū</u> + <u>r</u>	(kard) 'curd'	ME <u>curd</u>
(ur) :	ME <u>ō</u> + <u>r</u>	(dur) 'door'	ME <u>dōre</u>
	eMnE <u>iu</u> + <u>r</u>	(ʃur) 'sure'	ME <u>sur</u>

That this series of r-combinations is not solely a theoretical construction is demonstrated by the fact that, at the phonetic level, allophones of the type [ɪr], [er] and [ar]⁵ occur for (ir), (er) and (ar) respectively, e.g. [jɪɹ] 'year' (35.12), [wɛɹz] 'wears' (40.12), [fa^rɹm] 'farm' (40.17).

It will have been noticed that the individual r-combinations do not always represent, diachronically, the respective short vowel diaphonemes plus (r), thus, in terms of the monophthongal diaphonemes:



The combination of the i- and u-diphthong diaphonemes with final and preconsonantal (r) has not been incorporated into a separate series within the system of diaphonemes. In fact it seems that only (ai) and (au) regularly occur in this position within the same morpheme, e.g. (airn) 'iron' and (aur) 'hour', and the result, phonetically, is usually a 'triphthong', e.g. ['fäɪəʃ] 'fire' (35.14), ['flæəʃ] 'flour' (40.14). Since it is debatable whether such words consist of one or two syllables, these combinations will be treated as (ai) + (r) and (au) + (r) rather than as (air) and (aur).

- 2.1.1.6 Before intervocalic (r) a separate system must be established to accommodate the opposition between the short and long vowel diaphonemes which is maintained in this position in the individual dialects. Thus pairs such as the following exist:
- 40.11 ['skwɪrəl] squirrel vs ['ʃɪəʃɪŋ] shearing
- 40.12 ['hɛɪnz] herrings vs ['swɛəɪn] swearing

The morphemic structure of the words is clearly important in such cases: while squirrel and herring are single morphemes, shearing and swearing can be analysed as shear-ing and swear-ing respectively, or, in terms of diaphonemes:

skw(i)rəl vs ʃ(ir)-in

h(e)rin vs sw(er)-in

If this were always the case it would be possible to establish a rule that, within a single morpheme, the sequence

i + r + vowel

is to be analysed as

(i) + r + vowel

while, when the (r) and the following vowel belong to different morphemes, the same sequence would be analysed as

(ir) + vowel.

Contrasting pairs of words are found, however, in which the opposition is maintained within single morphemes, e.g.:

35.12 ['bɛɹɪz] berries vs ['deɹɪz] dairies. Here the nature of the opposition is determined historically in that the vowels continue ME ĕ (berie) and ME ai/ei (deierie) respectively.

Hence the rule would also have to state that, within a single morpheme, the sequence

e + r + vowel

is to be analysed as

(e) + r + vowel

when the bracketed diaphoneme continues an ME short vowel, and as

(er) + vowel

when it continues a ME long vowel or diphthong. This is a demonstration of the need to incorporate a diachronic perspective into a synchronic description.

A less abstract way of dealing with these oppositions, and one which takes the phonetic reality into account, is to posit a new series of diaphonemes for this environment in SKSE:

(iir)	(uur)
(eer)	(AAr)
(aar)	(oor)

The rule would consequently be formulated as follows:

In the environment :

stressed vowel +(r)+ vowel

(α) when (r) is in morpheme final position, or

(β) when, within a single morpheme, the stressed vowel

continues a ME long vowel or diphthong, then the following changes occur:

(ir)	----->	(iir)
(er)	----->	(eer)
(ar)	----->	(aar)
(or)	----->	(oor)
(Ar)	----->	(AAr)
(ur)	----->	(uur).

(γ) when, within a single morpheme, the stressed vowel continues a ME short vowel, the r-combinations do not occur as diaphonemes and sequences of 'short vowel plus (r)' are analysed as follows:

i + r	=	(i)r
e + r	=	(e)r
a + r	=	(a)r
o + r	=	(o)r
A + r	=	(A)r
u + r	=	(u)r

Thus, applying the rules to the examples cited above: shear and swear are transcribed (ʃir) and (swer) when (r) is final; with the addition of (-iŋ), (r) becomes intervocalic but remains in morpheme final position, so (α) above applies and shearing and swearing will be transcribed as (ʃiiriŋ) and (sweeriŋ) respectively. The word dairy, however, consists of a single morpheme, but the vowel before (r) continues a ME diphthong, ai/ei; if (r) were final this would

yield (er), but here (β) above applies and the word is transcribed (deeri). In the words squirrel, herring and berry, the vowel before (r) continues, in each case, a ME short vowel, so (γ) above applies and the words are transcribed (skwir ϵ l), (herin) and (beri), and the stressed vowels will be realized in the same way as isolative (i), (e) and (e) respectively, (cf. 2.1.4.1).

2.1.1.7 Although the system of diaphonemes establishes a framework for comparison, it is not in itself a diasystem.⁶ It merely represents the maximum number (twenty-four) of isolative stressed vocalic phonemes that can occur in any dialect of SKSE. Some diaphonemes are absent from some varieties; for example, in some non-rhotic systems (ar) merges with (aa), and a diasystem could be set up to illustrate this in comparison with rhotic systems:

Non-rhotic	<u>(aa)</u>
Rhotic	(ar : aa)

Topics such as this will be discussed fully in the appropriate place. Differences between localities in the lexical distribution of diaphonemes will be examined in 2.1.2 below.

2.1.2 Variation in the Lexical Distribution of Vowel Diaphonemes

The principal differences between localities in the lexical distribution of the diaphonemes discussed in 2.1.1 above are described in this section.

The numbers following each word refer to the Dieth-Orton Questionnaire (e.g. II.1.7) and/or my own questionnaire (e.g. 17:7). Both references are given only when the feature under discussion occurs at both SED and my own localities. Reference numbers consisting of two groups of two figures separated by a full stop refer to localities (see 1.3.3). The maps are to be found in Volume II.

2.1.2.1 (i) ~ (e)

The variation between (i) and (e) is restricted to a group of words whose stressed vowel derives from OE \check{y} :

Bristle < OE *brystel (36:16)

Fill OE fyllan (II.1.5)

Hip OE hype (I.5.10, III.2.1, VI.9.1)

Ridger OE hrycg (ridger : 'ridge-chain' - part of draught-horse gear) (IM)

Spring nn OE spryng (VII.3.6)

OE \check{y} has normally merged with \check{i} , yielding (i) in SKSE; at some localities, however, (e) was recorded in one or more of the above words. (e) was also recorded in the following words as a reflex of OE \check{y} , alternating with (a) or (u):

Shut < OE scyttan (IV.3.4, IX.2.8/IM)

Tredden OE tyrdel ('pellet of sheep's dung') (II.1.7/17:7)

by metathesis.

The localities at which (e) < OE \check{y} was recorded in each of the above words are indicated in Table 2.1. below.

Table 2.1: Occurrence of (e) < OE \ddot{y}

	bristle	fill	hip	ridger	shut	spring	treddle
34.04							e
35.05						e	
35.06					e		e
35.07		e	e				e
35.11				e			e
35.12					e		e
35.14				e	e		e
35.15				e			e
40.05			e		e		e
40.06			e				
40.13				e			e
40.17	e						

The geographical distribution of (e) < OE \ddot{y} in this group of words is presented on Map P1.

There is evidence for the change of $\ddot{y} > \ddot{e}$ in Kentish spellings from the ninth century, but Campbell admits the possibility that during that century Kentish orthography was being emancipated from the Mercian tradition with the result that Kentish phonology could be represented more accurately in the spelling.⁷ In this case 'the Kt. modification of . . . \ddot{y} may have taken place at any time after i-umlaut caused these sounds to arise. . .'.⁸ Samuels draws attention to the parallel development of Gmc * $\ddot{u} > \ddot{e}$ by i-umlaut in Frisian, and suggests that the correspondences between Kentish and Frisian could possibly reflect tendencies inherited from contacts in

the pre-invasion period.⁹

In another work Samuels presents a map of the distribution of the words fell(e) 'fill' (< OE fyllan) and hell(e) 'hill' (< OE hyll) in late Middle English.¹⁰ In this region fell(e) occurs in eastern Surrey, Kent and eastern Sussex and also in a small area in Hampshire around Southampton Water; hell(e) occurs in eastern and southern Kent and the extreme east of Sussex. In his examination of the dialect of Sussex in the Middle English period, Rubin concludes that in West Sussex (locs. 40.01-03,16,17) ǔ is the normal development of OE ǚ, while in East Sussex (locs. 40.04-06,11-15) ě predominates. Within this East Sussex area, however, Rubin identifies two smaller areas where the western ǔ occurs with a greater frequency than in other parts: (α) in the west, an area covered roughly by locs. 40.04,11,14,15; and (β) an area in the extreme south-east of the county.¹¹

The modern distribution of (e) < OE ǚ presented on Map P1 bears a fairly close resemblance to that of ě < OE ǚ in the Middle English period, particularly with respect to the western limit of the eastern area in Sussex. Although it must be borne in mind that (e) represents OE ǚ only very rarely in the modern dialects of SKSE, this is nevertheless an example of the way in which the current distribution of an archaic feature may reflect the situation at an earlier stage of a region's linguistic development.

The Kentish development of ȳ > ē can conveniently be considered here. OE ȳ is regularly continued by (ai) in SKSE, having merged with OE ī. However, forms were recorded very occasionally in which the vowel has developed like OE ē. These fall into two groups:

A. Words with (ii) < OE \bar{y} Lice < OE $\bar{ly}s$: rec. at 34.05; 35.07; 40.05 (IV.8.1)Mice OE $\bar{m}y$ s: rec. at 34.02; 35.04, 07; 40.05 (IV.5.1)B. Words with (e) < OE \bar{y} , with shortening of ME \bar{e} Fist < OE $\bar{f}y$ st: rec. at 34.01 (VI.7.4)Thimble OE $\bar{p}y$ mel: rec. at 34.02 (V.10.9)2.1.2.2 (ʌ) ~ (u)

The lexical distribution of (ʌ) and (u) in SKSE is normally the same as that of RP /ʌ/ and /ɑ/ respectively.¹² ME \bar{u} has been unrounded to (ʌ) except after labial consonants, where the unrounded vowel tends to remain as (u),¹³ e.g. (bul) 'bull', (wul) 'wool', (put) 'put'. In some dialects of SKSE, however, there is a tendency for (u) to occur in words where it does not follow a labial consonant or, when following a labial consonant, to be distributed differently from RP /ɑ/. In addition, hypercorrections occur with (ʌ) corresponding to RP /ɑ/, e.g. (batʃər) at 34.02.

For each locality where the distribution of (u) is different from that of RP /ɑ/ an index score has been calculated in order to quantify this tendency: the number of words with SKSE (u) corresponding to RP /ʌ/ is expressed as a percentage of the total number of occurrences of (u) recorded at the locality. The results are given in Table 2.2 below, along with appropriate examples of (u) and examples of hypercorrection where recorded.

Table 2.2: SKSE (ʌ) and (u) distributed differently from
RP /ʌ/, /ʊ/.

Loc.	Index	(u)*	Hypercorrection
34.01	5%	(kudin) 'cudding' III.2.11	
34.02	6%	(krupər) 'crupper' I.5.9	(batʃər) 'butcher' VIII.4.6
34.03	8%	(bigun) 'begun' VII.6.23	(pat) 'put' IX.3.3
34.04	5%	(wuns) 'once' VII.2.7	
34.05	7%	(udər) 'other' IX.8.8	
35.01	7%	(kum) 'come' IX.3.4	(paliŋ) 'pulling' VI.4.4
35.03	34%	(dust) 'dust' VII.6.18	(patn) 'putting' VI.5.4
35.04	25%	(guts) 'guts' III.12.2	(ʃagər) 'sugar' V.8.10
35.05	23%	(dʒʌmp) 'jump' IV.2.10	(wamən) 'woman' VIII.1.6
35.06	17%	(ʌp) 'up' VII.2.9	(bʌʃ) 'bush' I.9.8
35.07	43%	(sʌtʃ) 'such' VIII.9.7	(pat) 'put' VI.5.9
35.13	4%	(wʌn) 'one' 28:1	
35.15	7%	(trʌbəl) 'trouble' IM	
40.01	6%	(spʌdz) 'spuds' II.4.1a	(pats) 'puts' VIII.5.1
40.02	8%	(tʃʌk) 'chuck' I.4.3	(pat) 'put' VI.5.4
40.03	3%	(wʌn) 'one' VII.1.1	(pat) 'put' IX.3.3
40.04	12%	(butər) 'butter' V.5.4	(batʃər) 'butcher' III.11.1
40.05	24%	(kʌt) 'cut' V.7.7	
40.06	11%	(udər) 'other' IX.8.8	(pat) 'put' VI.5.4
40.11	11%	(dʌn) 'done' IM	
40.14	7%	(ʌp) 'up' IM	
40.17	4%	(mʌʃrʌmz) 'mushrooms' 18:13	

* Included here are words in which ME ō, ō̄ > RP /ʌ/

These index scores are presented in isopleth form on Map P2, and it is clear that the tendency is strongest in peripheral areas. While the unrounding of ME ǔ became established in the predecessor of RP during the seventeenth century,¹⁴ the rounded sound ([ɔ]) has regularly remained in all environments over the whole of northern England and a large part of the Midlands,¹⁵ and also sporadically in the south in those words in which the unrounded vowel is the usual southern reflex.¹⁶ It is likely that the variation in the lexical distribution of SKSE (u) is due to the occasional retention of ME ǔ unchanged as a conservative feature, unaffected by the usual southern unrounding. This conclusion is supported by the geographical evidence of Map P2 in that the feature occurs most frequently on the periphery of the region.

2.1.2.3 (i) ~ (ii)

While (i) and (ii) are normally distributed in SKSE in the same way as /ɪ/ and /i:/ in RP, at some localities (i) occurs instead of (ii) in certain words. The words affected can be classified as follows:

A. Words with ME ē:

Beetle ('mallet') (I.7.5)	People (VIII.2.12)
Creep (IX.1.9)	Reest ('mouldboard') (I.8.8/10:7, 29)
Feed vb (III.5.1)	Seed (II.3.6/19:1)
Feet (VI.10.1)	Seem (IM)
Keep (IV.6.2/IM)	Sheep (II.1.7, III.6.1, III.7.6/35:20)
Needle (V.10.2a, V.10.5)	Weed (II.2.1)
Week (VII.3.1, VII.4.6, 7)	< OE <u>ī</u> lengthened ¹⁷

B. Words with ME ē:

Bean (21:1)	Evening (VII.3.11)
Besom (I.3.15/9:24)	Mean vb (IM)
Each (III.13.6, VI.2.8)	Reach (VI.7.15)
Easter (VII.4.8)	Sheaf (II.6.3)
Eat (V.7.7, VI.5.11)	Weasel (IV.5.6)

C. Words of uncertain etymology:

Reap (IV.2.6)	Sweep vb (V.7.7, V.9.12)
Spean ('prong') (I.7.10)	

The localities at which (i) was recorded in each of the words in this corpus are indicated in Table 2.3 below.

Table 2.3: Occurrence of SKSE (i) in words with /i:/ in RP

Loc.	Bean	Beetle	Besom	Creep	Each	Easter	Eat	Evening	Feed	Feet	Keep	Mean	Needle	People	Reach	Reap	Reest	Seed	Seem	Sheaf	Sheep	Spean	Sweep	Weasel	Weed	Week	Tot.	
34.01	i	i																									2	
34.02	i	i							i						i													4
34.03	i	i								i							i											4
34.04	i									i														i		i		4
34.05	i	i																										2
34.11		i																										1
35.01				i											i													2
35.02			i																									1
35.03			i													i												2
35.04				i		i															i	i						4
35.05				i				i	i																		i	4
35.07			i	i	i					i	i														i	i		7
35.13												i							i									2
35.14																	i											1
40.01										i	i																	2
40.02	i	i								i	i					i	i									i		7
40.03										i						i	i					i					i	5
40.04			i							i	i											i		i			i	6
40.05			i	i						i	i						i					i					i	7
40.06			i							i	i											i	i		i			6
40.11			i																			i						2
40.13	i										i	i															i	4
40.14																		i										1
40.16																						i						1
40.17											i																	2

The geographical distribution of this feature is presented on Map P3. The tendency for (i) to occur in these words is most marked in separate areas around the edge of the region, leaving a large continuous, predominantly northern and central, area in which it occurs less frequently.

The shortening of (ii) to (i) must have followed the merger of ME \bar{e} and \bar{e} in (ii) in SKSE, (the two sounds merged as /i:/

in the predecessor of RP in the fifteenth century¹⁸). The modern geographical distribution of the shortened forms suggests that the development could once have been more common over the whole region, and that this unity has been broken leaving the non-standard forms as an archaic feature in marginal areas.¹⁹ Note, however, the contrasting distribution of the parallel shortening of (uu) to (u) (cf. 2.1.2.4, Map P4).

2.1.2.4 (u) ~ (uu)

By a development parallel to the shortening of (ii) to (i), (u) and (uu) may be distributed differently in SKSE from /o/ and /u:/ to which they correspond in RP. The words in which SKSE (u) may correspond to RP /u:/ are classified as follows:

A. Words with ME ū:

Broom (I.3.14-16, V.2.14/3:12, 9:24)

Food (V.8.2)

Groom vb (IM)

Hoof (III.2.8, III.4.10, IV.3.10/32:4, 34:9)

Hoop (IM)

Roof (V.1.2/4:2)

Root (IV.12.1/20:4, 56:1)

Shoot (I.10.1a, V.1.6/15:5)

Soon (III.8.4a, V.6.8, VI.12.4/IM)

B. Miscellaneous words:

Pook vb 'to butt' (of cows) (III.2.10/32:7) Etym. uncertain

'to heap up' (hay) (I.7.11) Etym. uncertain

Room (V.2.4/4:8) < ME ū

Stook (II.6.5/23:11) < ME ū

Used (pt. as auxiliary) (II.9.10, IX.4.15/53:6) < eMnE iu

Whoop vb (VI.8.3) Imitative

Wound nn (III.2.3) < ME ū

The localities at which (u) was recorded in each of these words are indicated in Table 2.4 below.

Table 2.4: Occurrence of SKSE (u) in words with /u:/ in RP

Locs.	Broom	Food	Groom	Hoof	Hoop	Pook	Roof	Room	Root	Shoot	Soon	Stook	Used	Whoop	Wound	Total
34.01	u			u												2
34.02	u			u			u	u						u		5
34.03	u			u				u	u							4
34.04						u			u	u				u		4
34.05	u			u				u								3
34.11	u							u								2
35.01				u											u	2
35.04				u										u		2
35.05	u															1
35.06				u					u		u			u		4
35.07								u								1
35.12	u					u					u		u			4
35.13						u					u					2
35.14				u							u					2
35.15					u				u							2
40.01	u							u	u				u			4
40.02	u			u			u	u	u		u		u	u		8
40.03	u			u			u	u	u		u		u	u		8
40.04	u	u		u		u		u	u	u	u					8
40.05									u		u	u				3
40.06									u				u	u		3
40.11					u							u				2
40.12											u					1
40.13	u						u	u	u							4
40.14	u		u					u		u	u					5
40.15	u							u								2
40.16								u								1
40.17	u										u					2

The geographical distribution of this feature is presented on Map P4, where it will be seen that the tendency for (u) to occur in these words is strongest in a straggling but apparently continuous central area. This distribution offers an interesting contrast to that revealed by Map P3.

The occurrence of /ɑ/ as a reflex of ME \bar{q} is regular in certain words in RP,²⁰ as is (u) in SKSE, e.g. foot, good, hook; the shortening occurred, presumably, after the raising of ME \bar{q} to (uu) and after the unrounding of ME \bar{u} to (ʌ) in certain words. Although some RP speakers have /ɑ/ in a few of the words in the corpus presented above — broom, room, soon, stook²¹ — many dialects of SKSE have evidently taken the process further than RP.

This development has a structural significance in that it has reinforced the opposition between (ʌ) and (u) in SKSE. Minimal pairs to demonstrate the opposition between /ʌ/ and /ɑ/ in RP are rare, e.g. putt : put, cud : could, but SKSE dialects often have a wider range of such pairs, e.g. up (ʌp) : hoop (up) (35.15), rut (rʌt) : root (rut) (40.13), shut (ʃʌt) : shoot (ʃut) (40.14), sun (sʌn) : soon (sun) (40.17).

SKSE (uu) occurs in words which have /ɑ/ in RP as follows:

Gooseberry (IV.11.2/55:2)	: 34.05; 40.04,11
Hook (IV.3.5)	: 35.01
Look (III.13.18)	: 35.06
Soot (V.4.6/4:18)	: 35.01,06,13,14; 40.06,11,12
Took (IX.3.7)	: 35.01,03

These are either examples of hypercorrection or words in which shortening has never taken place.

2.1.2.5 (o) ~ (oo)

In many dialects of SKSE (o) tends to be replaced by (oo) before the voiceless fricatives (f, s, θ), e.g. (oof) 'off', (kroos) 'cross', (klooθ) 'cloth'. Table 2.5 below shows the percentage frequency with which (oo) occurs instead of (o) in this environment.

Table 2.5: Percentage frequency with which (oo) occurs before (f, s, θ)

34.01 : 90%	35.04 : 45%	40.03 : 83%
34.02 : 67%	35.05 : 61%	40.04 : 100%
34.03 : 90%	35.06 : 69%	40.05 : 77%
34.04 : 58%	35.07 : 27%	40.06 : 78%
34.05 : 87%	35.11 : 28%	40.11 : 71%
34.11 : 45%	35.12 : 100%	40.12 : 14%
35.01 : 85%	35.13 : 20%	40.14 : 28%
35.02 : 85%	35.14 : 20%	40.15 : 25%
35.03 : 41%	40.01 : 82%	40.17 : 64%
	40.02 : 100%	

Map P5 is based on these figures and shows that the tendency is most marked in a large continuous area, centred on the northern part of the region but reaching the south coast in two bands. The pattern of the distribution suggests that this tendency for (o) to be lengthened to (oo) has spread from this northern area.

This development of (oo) in SKSE is due to the lengthening of ME ǫ before f, s and θ which was responsible for the similar distribution of the corresponding /o:/ in some varieties -- now rather old-fashioned -- of RP.²² The lengthened vowel appeared in the predecessor of RP in the seventeenth century²³ and in modern regional English occurs in the counties south of (but generally excluding) Cheshire, Staffordshire, Warwickshire, Northamptonshire and Lincolnshire.²⁴ The lengthening of ME ǫ before f, s and θ is an

interesting parallel development as it has a similar history and modern geographical distribution,²⁵ but it is regular in RP and all dialects of SKSE.

If SKSE (oo) in this position has indeed spread from the northern part of the region, as suggested by Map P5, then the development here could well be due to the influence of London speech and of the standard language: Gimson points out that RP /o:/ before /f,s,θ/ 'is typical of conservative RP and . . . has a social prestige value in southern England' and is also 'typical of popular London speech'.²⁶ Non-linguistic evidence concerning the nature and direction of the spread is relevant here, and this will be considered in a later section (4.1.1).

A long vowel was occasionally recorded for (o) in other positions in SKSE, particularly before (g,n,ŋ), e.g. [dɔ:g] 'dog', [ɔ:n] 'on', [lɔ:ŋ] 'long' and in the word wash, but also before other consonants, e.g. [tɔ:p] 'top'. It is uncertain whether this represents a genuine phonemic change or merely allophonic lengthening.

At some localities half-long vowels were recorded before (f,s,θ); these are presumably transitional forms between (o) and (oo).

2.1.2.6 (iu)~(uu)

The diaphoneme (iu) occurs in SKSE in the following words only:

Chew (III.2.11)	Skew (IX.1.3,8)
Cucumber (V.7.17/21:5)	Spew (VI.13.14)
Dew (III.3.9,VII.6.7/52:4)	Stupid (VI.1.5)
Ewe (III.6.3,6/35:3-6)	Suit nn,vb (VI.14.2,21)
Few (VII.1.19,VII.8.21/IM)	Tuesday (VII.4.2)
New (VI.14.24,VII.4.8)	Tune (VI.5.19/48:10)
Newt (47:8)	Use vb (V.7.7)
Queue (IM)	

Table 2.6 shows the localities at which (iu) occurs in each of the words in this corpus; the total is expressed as a fraction, and in the final column as a percentage, of the total number of words with vowels derived from eMnE isolative iu recorded at each locality.*

Table 2.6: Occurrence of (iu)

Locs.	Chew	Cucumber	Dew	Ewe	Few	New	Newt	Queue	Skew	Spew	Stupid	Suit	Tuesday	Tune	Use	Total	%
34.01			iu							iu						2/16	13
34.02			iu		iu											2/17	11
34.03					iu											1/14	7
34.04					iu											1/14	7
34.05			iu		iu	iu						iu	iu			5/14	35
35.02		iu			iu					iu						3/14	21
35.03													iu			1/18	5
35.04			iu		iu	iu			iu				iu			5/15	33
35.05		iu	iu													2/18	11
35.06					iu											1/16	6
35.07	iu	iu	iu	iu	iu	iu			iu	iu	iu	iu	iu	iu	iu	13/15	87
35.11				iu	iu											2/9	22
35.12		iu														1/7	14
35.14			iu	iu										iu		3/9	33
35.15				iu												1/11	9
40.01	iu		iu		iu	iu						iu		iu		6/13	46
40.02			iu		iu									iu		3/14	21
40.03			iu													1/14	7
40.06			iu		iu	iu			iu			iu		iu		6/13	46
40.11				iu			iu	iu								3/13	23
40.12				iu												1/10	10
40.13				iu												1/11	9
40.14			iu	iu												2/13	15

*The development of the stressed vowel in cucumber is irregular but it must have merged with iu at an earlier stage of SKSE.

These percentages, showing the extent to which eMnE iu is preserved as SKSE (iu), are presented in isopleth form on Map F6. (iu) is concentrated in three separate areas: north-western Sussex and the extreme south-western corner of Surrey, the southern tip of Sussex, and in a broad band running north-south through central Kent, including 35.07 where eMnE iu is preserved in almost all cases. The distribution suggests that this archaic feature has tended to recede into peripheral areas.

The presence of (iu) in a dialect is important not only from the diachronic but also from the synchronic point of view, in that the number of u-diphthongs present in the phonemic system is increased.

When eMnE iu is not preserved as SKSE (iu) it has fallen in with (uu), in which case it may be preceded by (j), (cf. RP /ju:/²⁷). In many cases SKSE has (uu) where RP has /ju:/: in fact, in those examples recorded of words containing a reflex of eMnE iu, (uu) may occur without (j) in all except humour (VI.11.9), queue (IM) and skew (IX.1.3,8). The corpus of words recorded in which SKSE (uu) may correspond to RP /ju:/ is as follows:

Amuse (IM)

Cucumber (V.7.17/21:5)

Dew (III.3.9, VII.6.7/52:4)

Due (III.1.10,12, VII.6.25/IM) and Duty (VII.3.11)

Ewe (III.6.3-6)

Few (VII.1.19, VII.8.21/IM)

Hew (IV.12.5)

Knew (VI.5.17/IM)

New (IV.7.1, V.7.11, VI.14.24, VII.3.11, VII.4.8, VIII.3.5/IM)

Newt (IV.9.8/47:8)

Sewer (IM)

Spew (VI.13.14)

Stupid (VI.1.5, VIII.9.3)

Suit nn, vb (VI.14.2, 21/IM)

Tuesday (VII.4.2/16:5)

Tune (VI.5.19/48:10)

Use vb, Usually (IX.4.15/53:6)

The localities at which (uu) occurs in these words are indicated in Table 2.7 below. Where the sequence [tʃu:-] occurs in the words Tuesday and tune it is assumed to be a realization of (tʃuu-).

Table 2.7: Occurrence of SKSE (uu) in words with /ju:/ in RP

Locs.	Amuse	Cucumber	Dew	Due, Duty	Ewe	Few	Hew	Knew	New	Newt	Sewer	Spew	Stupid	Suit	Tuesday	Tune	Use, Usually	Tot
34.01				uu		uu		uu	uu					uu	uu	uu		7
34.02					uu			uu	uu				uu	uu	uu	uu		7
34.03			uu						uu					uu	uu	uu		5
34.04			uu						uu					uu	uu			4
34.05			uu	uu				uu	uu					uu			uu	6
34.11			uu					uu	uu	uu					uu	uu		6
35.01			uu	uu					uu	uu				uu	uu	uu		7
35.02			uu					uu	uu					uu	uu	uu		6
35.03			uu		uu	uu		uu	uu			uu		uu		uu		8
35.04					uu				uu				uu	uu		uu		5
35.05			uu		uu	uu		uu	uu				uu	uu	uu	uu		9
35.06			uu				uu	uu	uu				uu	uu	uu	uu		8
35.07						uu								uu				2
35.11						uu									uu			2
35.12	uu								uu									2
35.13				uu														1
35.14		uu													uu		uu	3
35.15											uu							1
40.01			uu						uu						uu			3
40.02									uu					uu				2
40.03														uu				1
40.04		uu	uu						uu					uu	uu	uu		6
40.05			uu	uu					uu					uu				4
40.06			uu					uu			uu			uu				4
40.11			uu						uu						uu			3
40.12			uu														uu	2
40.13									uu					uu		uu		3
40.14			uu			uu		uu		uu					uu	uu		6
40.17			uu					uu							uu	uu		4

The geographical distribution of (uu) in these words is shown on Map P7. (uu) occurs most often in a continuous northern area and in eastern Kent; the two southward 'bulges' from the large northern area seem to suggest that the tendency for eMnE iu to become (uu) in SKSE has spread from the north of the region. This pattern, together with the northern orientation of the distribution, suggests in turn that the spread of this feature may be due to the influence of London speech. Not only are forms without /j/ common in popular London speech,²⁸ but they were at one time fashionable in RP.²⁹ It seems likely, therefore, that SKSE (uu) in this position has indeed spread under the influence of London speech, but, as in 2.1.2.5 above, external factors have had some influence on the distribution pattern and these will be considered later on (4.1.1).

It should be noted that Map P7 complements P6 fairly closely in opposing the progressive areas with (uu) to the conservative areas with (iu). SKSE (juu) is probably a development of (iu)³⁰ which has subsequently tended, with (iu) itself, to be replaced in certain areas by (uu) along the lines suggested above, although its presence in the region has no doubt also been reinforced by RP /ju:/.

Note: Words like ruin, suet are analysed in terms of diaphonemes as (uu) + unstressed (i), rather than as (ui).

Before final and preconsonantal (l), (iu) is always replaced by (uu) or (juu), e.g. (gruul) 'gruel', (mjuul) 'mule'.

2.1.2.7 (ai)~(oi)

The lexical distribution of SKSE (oi) is generally the same as that of RP /oɪ/. In a few words, however, and at certain localities SKSE (ai) corresponds to RP /oɪ/; these words can be classified on the basis of their ME form:

A. Words with oi and ui in ME³¹:

Boil vb (V.8.6/31:17,39:10) Poison (54:12)
 Join (VIII.4.3) Voice (VI.5.17/IM)
 Oil (15:10)

B. Words with oi only in ME³²:

Noise (IM)

C. Words with ME ī³³:

Boil nn (VI.11.6) Groin (VI.9.4)

(ai) in the words in group C has developed regularly from ME ī, so boil nn and groin will be given no further consideration here. The localities at which each of the words in groups A and B was recorded with (ai) are shown in Table 2.8 below.

Table 2.8: Occurrence of SKSE (ai) in words with /oɪ/ in RP (< ME oi,ui)

Locs.	Boil	Join	Noise	Oil	Poison	Voice
34.11				ai		
35.07						ai
35.14				ai		
35.15					ai	
40.04		ai				ai
40.06	ai					ai
40.12	ai				ai	
40.13			ai		ai	ai
40.14	ai					

The geographical distribution of (ai) in these words is shown on Map P8. This non-standard feature occurs in a long and continuous area in the southern part of the region.

Dobson suggests that the first element of ME ui was unrounded along with ME ǔ in the predecessor of RP and that the diphthong then merged with the reflex of ME ī. The two sounds shared all subsequent developments with the result that ME ui could be represented by [ai] in nineteenth century RP.³⁴ The forms with SKSE (ai) in group A can probably be explained in the same way, while (naiz) 'noise' (group B) must owe its form to an analogy with the words in group A, since these had ME forms in oi as well as ui.

2.1.2.8 (ui)

As pointed out in 2.1.1.3 above, the diaphoneme (ui) is of very limited occurrence in SKSE. Map P9 shows the geographical distribution of (ui): it occurs in boy (VIII.1.3/42:3) at all the localities where it is present and additionally in boil vb (V.8.6) at 34.04 and in voice (VI.5.17) at 34.03. At all other localities boy has (oi) and boil and voice contain (oi) or (ai) (see 2.1.2.7 above).

It is reasonable to assume that SKSE (ui) continues ME ui, and the distribution pattern suggests that this archaic and non-standard feature once occupied a continuous area which has been divided by the influence of the standard language.

At several localities (oi) in the word boy alone is realized by a diphthong beginning with a closer vowel than is normal in these localities: [q̄i~q̄·i~oi~o·i~øi~øi].

Map P10 shows where this [oi] allophonic type occurs in boy only and also where (ui) is part of the phonemic system.

Localities where (oi) is realized by the [oi] allophonic

type in other words are excluded, unless they also have (ui).

The localities where (oi) → [oi] in boy complement those where (ui) occurs, together forming a large continuous area the north-eastern boundary of which follows closely those of the two (ui) areas (cf. Map P9). This pattern supports the interpretation of Map P9 suggested above, that (ui) once occupied a continuous area, since [oi] in boy must represent a transitional form between (ui) and the standard (oi) (= RP /oi/) and occurring in an area from which (ui) has receded. When it occurs in boy alone, [oi] could perhaps be regarded as an allophonic type of (ui) rather than (oi).

2.1.2.9 (ou)

The diaphoneme (ou) has developed as a result of the vocalization of final and preconsonantal (l) following the reflexes of ME \bar{q} , \bar{o} and, in the combinations uld, ult, ME \bar{u} . It has no equivalent in RP and is absent from a number of SKSE dialects. Furthermore, in some of the localities in which it is present the opposition with (au) is not always maintained; e.g. at 40.17 fold (foud) : road (raud), but also (aud) 'old' and (raud) 'road'. In the localities from which it is absent, (aul) and sometimes (ol), or (au) with vocalization of (l), correspond to (ou).

The localities at which the diaphoneme (ou) has been identified are shown on Map P11.

2.1.2.10 (ir)~(er)~(Ar)

The three SKSE diaphonemes (ir), (er) and (Ar) correspond to RP /ɪə/, /eə/ and /ɜ:/ respectively, and they are generally distributed in the same way as their RP equivalents. There is, however, some slight variation in lexical distribution at certain localities between (ir) and (er), (ir) and (Ar) and (er) and (Ar).

The following words with /ɪə/ in RP and (ir) usually in SKSE may have (er) in some dialects of SKSE:

Beard (22:7)	< ME $\bar{e}/\bar{e} + r$
Bier (III.12.1, VIII.5.9)	ME $\bar{e}/\bar{e}^* + r$
Ear ₁ (III.7.9, IV.8.11, VI.4.4)	ME $\bar{e} + r$
Ear ₂ (of corn) (II.5.2/22:6)	ME $\bar{e} + r$
Hear (VI.4.2/33:12) <u>and</u> Heard (V.7.7, VIII.2.6)	ME $\bar{e} + r$
Rear vb (VIII.5.1)	ME $\bar{e} + r$
Shear nm, vb (III.7.6, 7/35:19, 20)	ME $\bar{e} + r$
-Shire (IM)	ME $\bar{i} + r$
Smear (IM)	ME $\bar{e} + r$
Steer nm (29:6)	ME $\bar{e} + r$
Year (VII.3.4)	ME $\bar{e}/\bar{e}^* + r$

* \bar{e} is South-Western ME in these words

The localities at which (er) occurs in each of the words in this corpus are indicated in Table 2.9 (overleaf), and the geographical distribution of (er) in these words is shown on Map P12.

Table 2.9: Occurrence of SKSE (er) in words with /ɪə/ in RP

Localities	Beard	Bier	Ear ₁	Ear ₂	Hear(d)	Rear	Shear	Shire	Smear	Steer	Year	Tot.
34.02						er						1
34.05		er										1
35.01			er				er					2
35.02			er				er				er	3
35.03							er					1
35.04		er			er							2
35.06				er	er		er					3
35.07					er		er					2
35.14	er				er				er			3
35.15				er			er	er				3
40.04							er					1
40.05							er					1
40.06							er					1
40.14										er		1

In those words in the above corpus which contain ME \bar{e} the SKSE forms in (er) have followed the 'regular' SKSE and RP development by which ME $\bar{e} + r > (er)$, /eə/, e.g. (per), /pɛə/ 'pear', and in this respect the SKSE forms in (ir) and the RP forms in /ɪə/, e.g. (ir), /ɪə/ 'ear', are 'irregular'. The words with alternative forms in ME -- beard, bier and year -- all had variants in [eə] in eMnE,³⁵ and it is interesting that the South-Western \bar{e} seems to be continued in bier and year in South-Eastern territory. Indeed, the tendency for SKSE (er) to appear in this corpus of words is most marked in the eastern half of the region.

In some words which regularly have SKSE (er) and RP /eə/, (ir) may occur in certain dialects of SKSE. These are listed below, with the exception of (plough-)share in which (ir) is very widespread in SKSE:

Bearer (VIII.5.10)	< ME \bar{e} + r
Care vb (IX.4.10) <u>and</u> Careless (VI.7.14)	ME \bar{a} + r
Chair (4:11)	ME ai + r
Dare (IM)	ME \bar{a} + r
Pear (IV.11.8)	ME \bar{e} + r
Scare (II.3.7)	Etym. uncertain
Square (IM)	ME \bar{a} + r
Stare (VII.7.1)	ME \bar{a} + r

The localities at which (ir) appears in these words in SKSE are shown in Table 2.10 below.

Table 2.10: Occurrence of SKSE (ir) in words with / $\epsilon\bar{e}$ / in RP

Localities	Bearer	Care(less)	Chair	Dare	Pear	Scare	Square	Stare	Tot.
35.01		ir							1
35.06						ir			1
35.07	ir	ir			ir			ir	4
35.11							ir		1
35.14				ir					1
35.15			ir						1
40.06						ir			1
40.12							ir		1

The geographical distribution of (ir) in these words is presented on Map P13.

Since ME \bar{e} + r may be regularly represented by SKSE (ir) and RP / $\iota\bar{e}$ / in some words, e.g. (ir), / $\iota\bar{e}$ / 'ear', the most interesting aspect of this corpus is the presence of (ir) in words with \bar{a} or ai in ME. This development is difficult to account for historically, but the geographical evidence suggests an explanation. Maps P12 and P13 both show similar areas of concentration in Kent, particularly in the south-west of the county, and it is in any case reasonable to

examine these two features together as both are examples of variation between the (ir) and (er) diaphonemes.

The material presented on Maps P12 and P13 is combined on Map P14. It seems that in certain SKSE dialects, notably in the area of south-western Kent covered by localities 35.06,07, 14,15, there is, or has been in the past, some confusion between the (ir) and (er) diaphonemes with the result that these may be distributed differently from the corresponding /ɪə/ and /eə/ phonemes of RP. The cause of this confusion may possibly have been the awareness of variation in eMnE between the reflexes of ME \bar{e} and \bar{e} in certain words, e.g. beard, bier, year, and of the 'irregular' development of ME \bar{e} + r to /ɪə/ in RP, e.g. ear, shear. Speakers, conscious of these contrasts, may well have then introduced (ir) into words which regularly had (er), including reflexes of ME \bar{a} and ai + r, and (er) into words with ME \bar{e} + r like hear, steer, as a form of hypercorrection resulting from this confusion.

Some words with /eə/ in RP and (er) usually in SKSE may have (Ar) in some dialects of SKSE; where is excluded from the list below due to the very widespread distribution of (Ar) in this word in SKSE:

Bare (VI.10.2)	< ME \bar{a} + r
Care vb. (IX.4.10)	ME \bar{a} + r
Pear (IV.11.8)	ME \bar{e} + r
Scare (II.3.7)	Etym. uncertain
Spare adj. (I.3.18)	ME \bar{a} + r
Swear (8:11)	ME \bar{e} + r
Their(-s) (IX.8.5,MR)	ME ai + r
There (MR/IM)	ME \bar{e}/\bar{e} + r
Wear (VI.14.14)	ME \bar{e} + r

The localities at which (Ar) occurs in each of these words are indicated in Table 2.11 below.

Table 2.11: Occurrence of SKSE (Ar) in words with /eə/ in RP

Locs.	Bare	Care	Pear	Scare	Spare	Swear	Their	There	Wear
34.05							Ar		
35.03	Ar								
35.04				Ar					
35.06		Ar							Ar
35.07							Ar	Ar	Ar
35.11								Ar	
35.12						Ar		Ar	
40.04							Ar	Ar	Ar
40.05								Ar	
40.06			Ar		Ar				

The geographical distribution of (Ar) in these words is shown on Map P15.

Three of the words in the above corpus -- pear, swear wear -- contained ĕ in OE. This short ĕ was subject to lengthening in open syllables in ME, regularly yielding ME ē > SKSE (er), RP /eə/ when followed by r. Where (Ar) was recorded in these words in SKSE, this lengthening has clearly not taken place as the vowel has developed like ME ĕ before final and preconsonantal r (where this has not yielded (ar)), e.g. SKSE (garθ) 'girth' < ME gĕrð. The presence of (Ar) in there (and where) < ME ĕ (South-Western ĕ) + r may be due to the shortening of ē to ĕ in ME, or to centralization of the vowel in unstressed forms. Awareness of variation between (er) and (Ar) in these words just discussed may have led, in the area shown on Map P15, to the kind of confusion suggested above with regard to (ir) and (er), resulting in the introduction

of (ar) into words which regularly had (er), e.g. the words with ME ā and ai + r in the corpus above.

There are two examples only of the reverse of this feature, i.e. SKSE (er) corresponding to RP /ɜ:/ : earth (VIII.5.8) at 34.05 and learnt (III.13.17) at 35.04; (the occurrence of (er) in heard has already been dealt with as it is assumed to be based on the infinitive form (her) 'hear', cf. also (hird) 'heard' from (hir) 'hear'). 34.05 and 35.04 are both localities at which SKSE (ar) may correspond to RP /eə/ (see Map P15) and the presence of (er) in earth and learnt may be due to hypercorrection; alternatively, and more probably, this may reflect the eMnE development by which [e] < ME ĕ could be lengthened to [e:] before final and preconsonantal r, in which case it merged with the reflex of ME ā + r.³⁶

(ar) alternates with (ir) in SKSE in year, corresponding to the variation between /ɜ:/ and /ɪə/ in this word in RP.³⁷ The only other example of SKSE (ar) corresponding to RP /ɪə/ is hear at 35.04 (VI.4.2). Whereas RP has /ɜ:/ in heard, SKSE dialects often have (ir) < ME ĭ + r (as in the infinitive) or (er), for which see above.

2.1.2.11 (ur)

The diaphoneme (ur) has a very limited distribution in SKSE. It is regular in manure (I.1.2, I.3.13, II.1.4, 7/3:11), but was otherwise recorded sporadically in the following words only:

A. With ME ŭ + r:

Door (V.1.8, 11, 12/4:3)

Floor (4:7)

Poor (VI.13.1)

B. With ME qu/ū + r

Four (28:4)

Your (VI.5.17)

C. With eMnE iu + r:

Sure (IX.7.12/12:2)

D. With ME ū + r

Furrow (II.3.1) (vur)

The localities at which (ur) was recorded in each of these words are shown in Table 2.12 below.

Table 2.12: Distribution of SKSE (ur)

Locs.	Door	Floor	Four	Furrow	Poor	Sure	Your
34.02						ur	
34.05				ur		ur	
35.02					ur		
35.12			ur				
40.02						ur	
40.03	ur					ur	
40.04	ur					ur	
40.05	ur						ur
40.06	ur					ur	
40.12						ur	
40.13	ur						
40.16	ur	ur				ur	

At all other localities the words in groups A, B and C above contain the diaphoneme (or); furrow may have (or), (Ar) or (A). The geographical distribution of (ur) in the words of groups A-D above (i.e. excluding manure) is presented on Map P16.

Although (ur) is well-established in manure, the fact that (or) is dominant in SKSE in the words in groups A-C above and that (ur) is so rare even in these suggests that (ur) is recessive in these words. This being the case, the two separate (ur) areas shown on Map P16 were probably once united.

2.1.3 Phonetic Realization of Diaphonemes

This section deals with the ways in which each of the SKSE diaphonemes is realized on the phonetic level. It includes a description of every allophone, a consideration of the geographical distribution of allophonic types and the identification of the phonemic types occurring at the individual localities, along with a geographical and historical commentary.

Note on final and preconsonantal (r)

When in final or preconsonantal position SKSE (r) is realized by a voiced post-alveolar approximant, [ɹ], or by a voiced retroflex approximant, [ɻ]. Sometimes the sound seems to be articulated at some point between the two, i.e. [ɹ̥], but it has always been transcribed as one or the other. When examples are cited from particular localities [ɹ] or [ɻ] is used where appropriate; for comparative purposes, however, the symbol [r] is used to indicate [ɹ] or [ɻ]. The symbol [r] can be used unambiguously here, since the rolled I.P.A. [r] never occurs in SKSE.

SKSE final and preconsonantal (r) may be pronounced independently as [r] (i.e. [ɹ] or [ɻ]) or it may be realized by the r-colouring of the preceding vowel, in which case it is symbolized as [r̥] (i.e. [ɹ̥] or [ɻ̥], e.g. [bɑ̥^{r̥}:n] 'barn' at 34.11, [fɑ̥^{r̥}:m] 'farm' at 35.11); in addition, r-colouring of the vowel usually precedes independent [r], e.g. [kɑ̥^{r̥}:ɹ̥t] 'cart' (40.11). It is often difficult to distinguish between r-colouring and independent [r] and to be consistent in transcription; for certain comparative purposes, therefore, they are grouped together, so that [a^{r̥}:], [a:r] and [a^{r̥}:r], for example, would be classified as [a:r].

Retroflex [ɾ] usually causes retroflexion in adjacent [t, d, n, s, z, ʒ], e.g. [ja^ɾ:d] 'yard' (35.13).

For each of the diaphonemes the allophones described are in free variation in the dialects in which they occur; any restrictions on this free variation are noted in the appropriate place, and environments excluded from the analysis are indicated at the beginning of each section. The reference number of the relevant table in Volume II, on which distributions and frequencies are shown, is given under the heading of each section. A localized example of each allophone is given. Vowels are described in terms of Cardinal Vowels (CV).

2.1.3.1 (i)

Table T₁

Environments excluded: before intervocalic (r) (2.1.4.1.i)

before final and preconsonantal (l)

(2.1.4.2.i)

i The [ɪ] allophonic type

The allophones of this type are short unrounded front vowels approximating to CV₁, or slightly more open and retracted than CV₁:

[i] : e.g. [bizɪ]* 'busy', 35.06 (VIII.4.11)

[ɪ] : [ɹɪŋ] 'ring', 35.13 (3:4)

The [ɪ] allophonic type occurs principally in the north and east of the region (Map P17).

ii The [ɨ] allophonic type

The principal allophone of this type is a short unrounded front vowel slightly more closed than CV₂ and retracted:

* Stress is not marked in the SED BM

[ɪ] : e.g. [ɹks] 'ricks', 34.05 (II.7.1)

This allophonic type occurs at all localities and is in the majority at each. Rarely, [ɪ] may be lengthened:

[ɪː] : e.g. [slɪːts] 'slits', 35.07 (IV.3.6)

[ɪ:] : [bɹ:dʒ] 'bridge', 40.03 (IV.1.2)

iii The [ɛ] allophonic type

The allophones of this type are short unrounded front vowels more open than the [ɪ] type described above:

[ɛ] : e.g. [ɹɛŋ] 'ring', 35.03 (I.3.5)

[ɛ] : [wentʃ] 'winch', 40.14 (14:19)

[æ] : [sækspəns] 'sixpence', 40.03 (VII.7.4)

One allophone of this type is more retracted than [ɪ]:

[ɛ̠] : [pɛ̠t] 'pit', 40.17 (53:8)

The [ɛ̠] allophonic type occurs over the whole of the region except in a fairly narrow corridor running north-south through north-western Kent and eastern Sussex and sporadically elsewhere (Map P18).

[ɛ̠] has not been included here if it occurs in words which have (e) < OE \ddot{y} at that particular locality, since it is in such cases probably a transitional form arising out of an awareness of the variation between (i) and (e), e.g.

['ɹɛ̠dʒəʀ] beside ['ædʒəʀ], 'ridger', at 35.11 (6:9), see 2.1.2.1 above.

iv The [ɨ] allophonic type

The allophones of this type are short unrounded centralized front and fully central vowels:

[ɨ] : e.g. [kɹɨsməs] 'Christmas', 35.07 (VII.4.8)

[ɨ] : [tɨŋkəʀ] 'tinker', 35.06 (VIII.4.9)

[ə] : [kɹəsəməs] 'Christmas', 35.05 (VII.4.8)

This centralization may be more common after (r).

v Miscellaneous allophones:

[ɪ^ə] : e.g. [pɪ^ət] 'pit', 35.01 (I.3.11)

[ɪ^r] : [ɪ^rɪg] 'rig', 35.01 (III.4.7)

Phonemic Type

The phonemic type of (i) is /ɪ/ at all localities.

2.1.3.2 (e)

Table T2

Environments excluded: before intervocalic (r) (2.1.4.1.ii)

before final and preconsonantal (l)

(2.1.4.2.ii)

i The [ɛ] allophonic type

The allophones of this type are short unrounded front vowels closer than CV3 and sometimes retracted:

[ɪ] : e.g. [bɪd] 'bed', 34.05 (I.8.9)

[ɪ̠] : [ɪ̠g] 'egg', 34.03 (VII.4.9)

[e] : [kɛʔɪ] 'kettle', 35.02 (V.8.7)

[ɛ] : [hɛdʒ] 'hedge', 34.01 (IV.2.1a)

[ɛ̠] : [bɛ̠əd] 'bread', 40.12 (25:11)

[ɛ̠] : [hɛ̠n] 'hen', 35.13 (1:8)

Allophones of this type may be lengthened:

[ɛː] : e.g. [bɛːd] 'bread', 35.02 (V.6.11)

[ɛː] : [hɛːdʒ] 'hedge', 34.05 (IV.2.1a)

[ɛː] : [slɛːdʒ] 'sledge', 35.04 (I.9.1)

[ɛː] : [lɛːd] 'lead' mn, 40.06 (IV.4.5c)

It should be noted that M.B. uses [ɪ] to represent allo-

phones of this type more often than P.W. and myself who tend to use the symbol [ɛ̥] instead. Map P19 shows that the [ɛ̥] allophonic type occurs most frequently in central Kent and in a straggling central and western portion of the region, rarely rising above 40% in its frequency.

ii The [ɛ] allophonic type

The principal allophone of this type is a short unrounded front vowel approximating to CV3:

[ɛ] : e.g. [west] 'west', 40.11 (52:9)

[ɛ] may be retracted:

[ɛ̠] : e.g. [dɛ̠f] 'deaf', 35.14 (33:30)

or it may be lengthened:

[ɛː] : e.g. [ɛːdʒ] 'hedge', 35.04 (IV.2.1a)

[ɛ:] : [mɛ:s] 'mess', 34.02 (V.2.8)

This is the major type at all localities except 35.13 and 40.06.

iii The [ɛ̥] allophonic type

The allophones of this type are short unrounded front vowels more open than CV3:

[ɛ̥] : e.g. [nɛ̥k] 'neck', 40.17 (IM)

[ɛ̥] : [brɛ̥kfəs] 'breakfast', 40.04 (VII.5.10)

[ɛ̥] : [sɛ̥kn] 'second', 40.05 (VII.2.3)

[ɛ̥] may be lengthened:

[ɛ̥ː] : e.g. [kɛ̥ːs] 'cress', 35.01 (V.7.17)

This allophonic type occurs in two distinct areas: in south Surrey and the whole of Sussex except the extreme east and a small central southern area, and in northern and central Kent (Map P20).

iv The [ɛ̥] allophonic type

The allophones of this type are short unrounded centralized front and fully central vowels:

[ɛ̥] : e.g. [wɛ̥st] 'west', 34.02 (VII.6.25)

[ə̥] : [fɹɛ̥kɪz] 'freckles', 35.05 (VI.11.1)

v The [eə] allophonic type

This type consists of a series of centring diphthongs* beginning with an unrounded front vowel between [ɛ] and [e] and moving towards [ə], an unrounded central vowel between half-close and half-open:

[ɛə] : e.g. [ɛəfə^d] 'heifer', 35.06 (III.1.5)

[ɛ̄ə] : [bɛ̄əd] 'bed', 35.01 (V.2.3)

[ɛ̄^o] : [əhɛ̄^od] 'ahead', 35.01 (VI.1.1)

[eə] : [mɛəs] 'mess', 40.03 (V.2.8)

[ɛ^o] : [bɛ^od] 'bed', 35.01 (V.2.3)

[ɛ^o] : [θɹɛ^od] 'thread'^{mn}, 35.05 (V.10.2b)

Phonemic Types

In view of the differences in transcribing the [ɛ̄] allophonic type practised by the fieldworkers, it was decided not to assign the status of phonemic type to [ɪ] at any locality. The phonemic type of (e) is therefore /ɛ/ at all localities except 35.13 where it is /ɛ̄/.

Conditioned Phonetic Development

Very rarely an [ɪ]-glide may be introduced before (g) and (dʒ). The following examples of this development were recorded:

*All centring diphthongs in SKSE are falling diphthongs.

34.01 : [lɛ̃ˈg-] 'leg-' (I.11.1)

[slɛ̃ɪdʒ] 'sledge' (I.9.1)

40.17 : ['hɛ̃ɪdʒəʃ] 'hedger' (49:20)

Forms which include this glide are found most frequently in the south-west of England.³⁸

2.1.3.3 (a)

Table T3

Data for SED localities taken from MRs

Environments excluded: before intervocalic (r) at 34.01-04;
 35.02-04, 07, 11, 12, 14, 15; 40.01, 03-06,
 12-14 (2.1.4.1.iii)
 before (g) at 35.01, 12, 13
 before (k) at 35.01, 03, 12-14
 before (ŋ) at 35.12
 before intervocalic (l) at 35.12; 40.12
 before (m) at 35.12, 14; 40.12
 before (n) at 34.04; 35.12, 13; 40.12, 16

The symbol [æ̃] used in the descriptions below refers to an unrounded front vowel mid-way between half-open and open.

i The [ɛ̃] allophonic type

The allophones of this type are a series of short unrounded front vowels of which the most open is slightly more open than CV3, i.e. [ɛ̃]:

[ɪ̃] : [kɪ̃n] 'can' vb, 40.12 (IM)

[ɔ̃] : [dɔ̃ɛ̃g] 'drag', 35.07 (MR)

[ɛ̃] : ['ɛ̃mɛ̃] 'hammer', 40.13 (9:18)

[ɛ̃] : [flɛ̃t] 'flat', 35.11 (33:16)

This [ɛ̃] allophonic type has often been regarded as one of

the distinctive characteristics of south-eastern English,³⁹ yet its distribution presents some problems of interpretation. A sound approximating to [ɛ] may realize the corresponding /æ/ phoneme in some now rather old-fashioned varieties of RP⁴⁰ and in popular London speech,⁴¹ and it would seem reasonable to associate this with SKSE [ɛ]. If this were the case, SKSE [ɛ] would be expected to occur most frequently in the north of the region in the area adjacent to London and its suburbs, but although there is indeed an area of relatively high frequency in northern Surrey and northern Kent (Map P21), it is most frequent at 35.07, which is far from London. There is, furthermore, the small, apparently isolated, area of fairly high frequency in central southern Sussex. In view of these difficulties, it is more sensible to attempt an interpretation of this feature after a description of the remaining allophones and after an examination of the phonemic values of (a) in the individual dialects.

ii The [æ] allophonic type

The allophones of this type are a series of short unrounded front vowels between CV3 and CV4, ranging from [æ] to [æ̃]:

[æ] : e.g. [stæk] 'stack', 34.04 (MR)

[æ] : [ʔæfɪz] 'ashes', 40.16 (4:16)

[æ̃] : [kætʃ] 'catch', 34.11 (12:7)

This type occurs at all localities, and is in the majority at all except 34.04, 35.07 and 40.11.

iii The [a] allophonic type

The allophones of this type are short unrounded front vowels approximating to CV₄ or slightly more closed:

[a̠] : e.g. ['tɹafɪk] 'traffic', 40.05 (MR)

[a] : ['kætɪ] 'cattle', 40.01 (MR)

[a] may be retracted or centralized:

[a̠] : e.g. [bæk] 'back', 40.11 (IM)

[ä] : [θɹæʃt] 'thrashed', 40.11 (25:1)

The distribution of this type is shown on Map P22: its high frequency in the centre and its absence from the north of the region are to be noted.

Phonemic Types

The phonemic types which represent SKSE (a) at each locality are listed below. The types have been classified as /ε/, /æ/ or /a/ in the same way as the allophones were grouped under representative labels. The constituent allophones of each type are given along with probabilities expressed as a proportion of 1 where necessary. For the theory and methodology of this analysis, see 1.4.7,8 above.

34.01 /æ/ → [ε̠ ~ æ̠ ~ æ]

34.02 /æ/ → [æ̠ ~ æ̠ ~ æ]

34.03 /æ/ → [æ̠ ~ æ̠] (0.5)

/a/ → [a] (0.4)

/ε/ → [ε̠] (0.1)

34.04 /æ/ → [æ̠ ~ æ̠ ~ æ] (0.5)

/a/ → [a̠ ~ a] (0.5)

34.05 /æ/ → [ε̠ ~ æ̠ ~ æ]

34.11 /æ/ → [ε̠ ~ ε̠ ~ æ̠ ~ æ̠ ~ æ̠ ~ a̠] (0.9)

/a/ → [a] (0.1)

- 35.01 /æ/ → [ε ~ ɛ ~ æ ~ æ]
- 35.02 /æ/ → [ɛ ~ æ ~ æ]
- 35.03 /æ/ → [ε ~ ɛ ~ æ ~ æ ~ æ]
- 35.04 /æ/ → [ɛ ~ æ ~ æ ~ æ]
- 35.05 /æ/ → [ε ~ ɛ ~ æ ~ æ ~ æ] (0.9)
/a/ → [a] (0.1)
- 35.06 /æ/ → [ɛ ~ æ ~ æ ~ æ] (0.8)
/a/ → [a ~ a] (0.2)
- 35.07 /ε/ → [ɛ ~ ε ~ ɛ] (0.6)
/æ/ → [æ ~ æ] (0.4)
- 35.11 /æ/ → [æ ~ æ ~ æ ~ a] (0.9)
/ε/ → [ε ~ ɛ] (0.1)
- 35.12 /æ/ → [æ ~ æ ~ æ]
- 35.13 /æ/ → [ε ~ æ ~ æ]
- 35.14 /æ/ → [ε ~ æ ~ æ ~ æ]
- 35.15 /æ/ → [ε ~ ɛ ~ æ ~ æ ~ æ ~ a]
- 40.01 /æ/ → [ε ~ ɛ ~ æ ~ æ ~ æ ~ a ~ a]
- 40.02 /æ/ → [æ ~ æ ~ æ] (0.7)
/a/ → [a ~ a] (0.3)
- 40.03 /æ/ → [ɛ ~ æ ~ æ ~ æ]
- 40.04 /æ/ → [æ ~ æ ~ æ ~ a] (0.9)
/ε/ → [ε] (0.1)
- 40.05 /æ/ → [ε ~ æ ~ æ ~ æ] (0.6)
/a/ → [a ~ a] (0.4)
- 40.06 /æ/ → [æ ~ æ ~ a] (0.7)
/a/ → [a] (0.2)
/ε/ → [ε] (0.1)
- 40.11 /a/ → [a ~ a ~ a ~ ä] (0.5)
/æ/ → [ɛ ~ æ ~ æ ~ æ] (0.5)
- 40.12 /æ/ → [ɛ ~ ε ~ ɛ ~ æ ~ æ ~ æ] (0.9)
/a/ → [a ~ a] (0.1)

40.13 /æ/ → [ɛ ~ æ̃ ~ ǣ ~ æ̅ ~ ã ~ a]

40.14 /æ/ → [æ̃ ~ ǣ ~ æ̅ ~ ã] (0.8)

/a/ → [a] (0.1)

/ɛ/ → [ɛ ~ ɛ̃] (0.1)

40.15 /æ/ → [æ̃ ~ ǣ ~ æ̅] (0.9)

/ɛ/ → [ɛ] (0.1)

40.16 /æ/ → [ɛ̃ ~ æ̃ ~ ǣ ~ æ̅] (0.6)

/a/ → [a] (0.3)

/ɛ/ → [ɛ] (0.1)

40.17 /æ/ → [ɛ̃ ~ æ̃ ~ ǣ ~ æ̅ ~ a]

The geographical distribution of these types is shown on Map PP1.

Commentary

The [ɛ] allophonic type has two functions in SKSE dialects: either it exists as a distinct phonemic type, /ɛ/, or it participates in the raising of the /æ/ phonemic type of which it is one of the constituent allophones. This progressive raising of the /æ/ phonemic type is a process which can be quantified by calculating an index score using the method described in 1.4.6 above. The index scores for the localities at which there is no /ɛ/ phonemic type are presented in Table C1‡ and their geographical distribution is shown on Map P23. It is clear that the tendency for /æ/ to be raised towards [ɛ] is strongest in the north of the region and diminishes in intensity southwards. This pattern suggests that the tendency is indeed associated with the similar development in popular London speech and conservative RP mentioned above.

The explanation for the existence of the two areas where /ɛ/ occurs as a distinct phonemic type must be sought elsewhere. The distribution pattern of two separate peripheral areas

*In Volume II

suggests that /ɛ/ might be preserved here as a conservative feature, perhaps reinforced by the raising of /æ/ recently discussed. This being the case, it is possible that the /ɛ/ phonemic type reflects the change of OE ǣ > ě in Kentish which had occurred by the tenth century.⁴²

There are, however, some problems arising from this identification of /ɛ/ <-- SKSE (a) with Old and Middle Kentish ě < OE ǣ. In the localities concerned (see Map P23, shaded area) [ɛ] is in free variation with the other allophonic types, so that it can occur in words which had ǣ in OE, e.g. [mɛn] 'man', 35.11 (2:5), and in words which did not exist in OE, e.g. ['wɛɡɪn] 'wagon', 40.14 (13:1) which was adopted from Dutch in the eMnE period.

During the ME period ě commonly occurs for OE ǣ in Kent⁴³ and Sussex⁴⁴ and may also continue OE ǣ, e.g. lemp 'lamb',⁴⁵ and appear in words of non-English origin, e.g. mentle 'mantle' (< OF mantel).⁴⁶ Rubin attributes this introduction of ě into words with OE ǣ to confusion between ME ǣ and ě on the part of Anglo-Norman scribes;⁴⁷ yet ě < OE ǣ was being replaced by ME ǣ from the fourteenth century⁴⁸ and it is not difficult to imagine some confusion, in the spoken as well as in the written language, arising out of an awareness of variation between ě and ǣ in some words (< OE ǣ) and resulting in an extension of this variation to words which regularly had ǣ only. The historical objections to a reflection of this free variation in the modern speech of Kent and Sussex (and part of southern Surrey) are therefore not insuperable, and it is at least possible that the phonemic type /ɛ/ <-- SKSE (a) owes its existence to some extent to the Old Kentish change of OE ǣ > ě.

The [æ] allophonic type, along with [ɛ] ← /æ/, is the most common realization of (a) in SKSE; the northern bias of its distribution (see Map P23 and cf. Maps P21 and P22) suggests a connection with the speech of London and with the standard language. Dobson concludes that ME ǣ had become [æ] in the normal pronunciation of Standard English speakers by the late seventeenth century, although [æ] had been used in 'vulgar or dialectal speech' from the fifteenth.⁴⁹

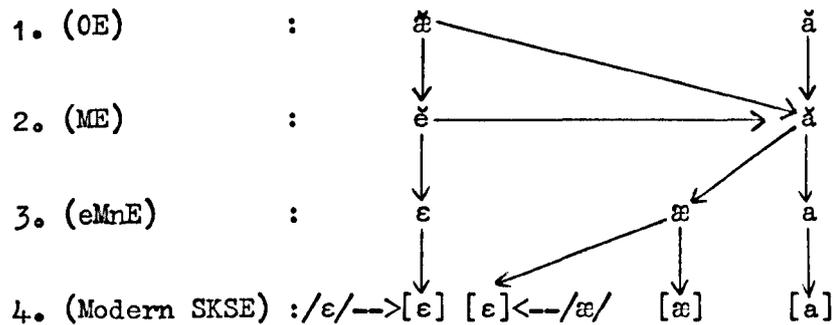
The quality of the sound from which this eMnE [æ] developed has been the subject of much debate, but it is now believed that ME ǣ was a fully open front vowel, i.e. [a].⁵⁰ [æ] < ME ǣ is a predominantly south-eastern feature, [a] being preserved in most of the rest of England.⁵¹ The presence of the [a] allophonic type in SKSE is presumably an instance of this preservation of the ME sound unchanged, and its status as a relict feature is reinforced by its geographical distribution: it is absent from the north and is fairly rare in most of the rest of the region (Map P22). This [a], then, must have been replaced in SKSE from the eMnE period by the advance of [æ] from the north of the region, where the tendency towards further closure in the direction of [ɛ] has continued.

In SKSE this [a] must continue the sound which replaced ǣ < OE ǣ during the ME period, itself being the regular development of OE ǣ and perhaps also of OE ǣ in those parts of the region which were less influenced by Kentish.⁵² Indeed, from the geographical point of view, the area in which the frequency of the [a] allophonic type is relatively high seems to divide and surround the two areas where /ɛ/ occurs as a distinct phonemic type of SKSE (a), (cf. Maps P22 and P23).

On the basis of the preceding argument, which has made use of geographical, functional and historical evidence, a sequence of development can tentatively be elaborated for SKSE (a):

1. OE $\underline{\text{æ}}$ > $\underline{\text{ě}}$ in Kentish
2. ME $\underline{\text{ě}}$ < OE $\underline{\text{æ}}$ replaced by ME $\underline{\text{ǣ}}$ ([a])
3. ME $\underline{\text{ǣ}}$ ([a]) > eMnE [æ]
4. Continued closure of eMnE [æ] towards [ɛ]

or diagrammatically:



Conditioned Phonetic Developments

I Before velar consonants SKSE (a) may, at some localities, be realized by allophones which are closer than those which realize unconditioned (a). The localities and environments concerned are shown in Table 2.13 below.

Table 2.13: Raising of SKSE (a) before velars

	35.01	35.03	35.12	35.13	35.14
Before (g)	+		+	+	
Before (k)	+	+	+	+	+
Before (ŋ)			+		

Details of allophones and their frequencies are given in Table T3a (cf. Table T3), and the geographical distribution of this development is presented on Map P24. Raising is found in a single coherent area, partly inside and partly outside of the area in which the raising of /æ/ <-- unconditioned (a) is most frequent and also, in the east, close to one of the areas where the /ɛ/ phonemic type occurs, (cf. Map P23).

II Before intervocalic (l) and before (m) and (n) SKSE (a) may, at some localities, be realized by allophones which are more open than those which realize unconditioned (a). The localities and environments concerned are shown in Table 2.14 below.

Table 2.14: Lowering of SKSE (a) before (l,m,n)

	34.04	35.12	35.13	35.14	40.12	40.16
+ (-l-)		+			+	
+ (m)		+		+	+	
+ (n)	+	+	+		+	+

Details of allophones and their frequencies are given in Table T3b (cf. Table T3), and the geographical distribution of this development is presented on Map P25. As in I above, and with the exception of the isolated occurrence at 40.16, this development is found in a coherent area, in this case situated on either side of the boundary of the unconditioned [a] allophonic type, (cf. Map P22).

Developments I and II above have some characteristics in common which make it sensible to consider them together.

Clearly an explanation which failed to take the phonetic details into account would be inadequate: anticipation of a following velar consonant may encourage raising in an open vowel, and the nasals (m) and (n), and (l) (cf. 2.1.4.2), seem to open a preceding vowel. These purely articulatory changes could occur anywhere in the appropriate environments, but they do not: their occurrence in small but coherent areas suggests that they may be due as much to geography as to articulatory phonetics. Furthermore, the raising and lowering of SKSE (a) both occur in areas of similar character, i.e. in border zones between areas of, on the one hand, relatively high frequency and, on the other, low frequency or total absence of the unconditioned [ɛ] and [a] allophonic types respectively (cf. Maps P21, P22).

It is possible that, in these border areas, speakers have been aware of variation between the [æ] and [ɛ] and [æ] and [a] allophonic types and have marshalled the tendencies towards raising and lowering into phonetically convenient environments within the system. The best example of this process is at 35.12 where partial complementary distribution of allophonic types has been achieved:

[æ] occurs in all environments, e.g. [plæt] 'plat' (1:13)

[ɛ] occurs before (g,k,ŋ) only, e.g. [ɛk] 'rack' (3:6)

[a] occurs before (l,m,n) only, e.g. [tɹamp] 'clamp' (20:6)

Thus, geographically determined phonetic variation has been endowed with systemic significance.⁵³

III Very rarely an [ɹ]-glide may be introduced before (g) and (ʃ). The following examples of this development were recorded:

- 34.02 : [dʒæ'g] 'drag' (MR)
 35.07 : ['ɛʃfə'd] 'Ashford' pl.n. (MR)
 35.15 : [dʒæ'g] 'drag' (9:14)
 40.02 : ['wæ'gən] 'wagon' (MR)

This development is normally associated with the speech of south-western England,⁵⁴ and it is, therefore, interesting that it also occurs in a small area in southern Kent (locs. 35.07,15).

2.1.3.4 (o)

Table T4

Data for SED localities taken from MRs

Environments excluded: before intervocalic (r) at 34.03; 35.05-07; 40.01-06 (2.1.4.1.iv)
 before final and preconsonantal (l)
 (2.1.4.2.iv)
 except at 40.13, when derived from ME
ǒ + f, s, θ (2.1.2.5)

SKSE (o) is realized by a series of short back vowels in the half-open -- open range. They are usually rounded:

- [ɔ] : e.g. [lɔŋ] 'long', 34.11 (IM)
 [ɒ] : [rɒdz] 'rods', 35.14 (14:15)

but may be slightly, or completely, unrounded:

- [ɒ̄]: e.g. [stɒ̄k] 'stock', 40.01 (MR)
 [ɑ] : ['dʒɑpɪn] 'dropping', 35.07 (MR)
 [ʌ] : [nʌk] 'knock', 35.15 (20:4)

The vowel may be slightly advanced:

[ʃ[†]] : e.g. [ʃ[†]ɔk] 'shock' (= 'stook'), 34.02 (MR)

[r[†]] : [r[†]ɔd] 'rod', 40.13 (15:6)

[g[†]ɔt] : [g[†]ɔt] 'got', 35.05 (MR)

For lengthening of ME ǫ before f, s, θ (and other consonants) see 2.1.2.5. In these environments half-long vowels are often recorded: these presumably represent a transitional pronunciation between (o) and (oo).

As far as the realization of SKSE (o) is concerned, the main interest lies in the extent to which the individual localities participate in the process of unrounding. The calculation of index scores for this development is shown on Table C2, and the geographical distribution of these scores is presented on Map P26. Apart from the isolated pocket with a relatively high index of unrounding at 35.02, the general picture is of a fairly steady increase in index values away from the central northern part of the region and towards three peripheral areas where unrounding is most common: western Surrey, eastern Kent and, most notably, south-eastern Sussex and south-western Kent. This pattern, particularly the concentration in separate peripheral areas, suggests that the feature has receded away from the central northern area adjacent to London.

There is some evidence for the unrounding of ME ǫ in eMnE,⁵⁵ and the same tendency appears in the fifteenth century to have been indigenous in the speech of London and the surrounding areas.⁵⁶ It would seem, bearing in mind the relatively high index at 35.02, that the tendency to unround ME ǫ was once common throughout Surrey, Kent and Sussex, and that, due to its status as a non-standard feature, it has been receding, since the eMnE period, into marginal areas.

Phonemic Types

The phonemic type of SKSE (o) is /ɑ/ at 40.04 and 40.06, /ɒ/ at 34.05, 35.03 and 35.07, and /ɔ/ at all other localities.

Conditioned Phonetic Development

Whereas ME ǣ after w- normally yields (o) in SKSE, at some localities unrounded and fronted vowels, [æ ~ a ~ ü], appear which are probably to be considered as allophones of SKSE (a), and as such must continue ME ǣ unchanged in this position. The localities and words concerned are indicated in Table 2.15 below.

Table 2.15: Preservation of ME ǣ after w-

	Want (IM)	Wasp (IV.8.7/46:7)	Wattle (III.7.11)
34.05		a	
35.03		a	.
35.06			a
35.07		a	
35.11	a	a	
35.15		a	

Map P27 shows that this feature is preserved most conspicuously in a small but coherent area in eastern Kent.

2.1.3.5 (ʌ)

Table T5

Environments excluded: before intervocalic (r) (2.1.4.1.v)
 before (m) at 35.01
 before (n,ŋ) at 35.01,04,07
 before final and preconsonantal (l)
 (2.1.4.2.v)

i The [ʌ] allophonic type

The allophones of this type are short unrounded back vowels approximating to CV14; they may be slightly closer or slightly more open:

[ʌ̠] : e.g. [mʌ̠d] 'mud', 40.01 (VII.6.17)

[ʌ] : [dʌŋ] 'dung', 40.16 (3:11)

[ʌ̣] : [bʌ̣tə^d] 'butter', 35.06 (V.5.4)

The vowel may be advanced:

[ʌ̠̠] : e.g. [xʌ̠̠z] 'rungs', 35.15 (9:20)

[ʌ̠̠̠] : ['ʌ̠̠vən] 'oven', 34.11 (25:15)

[ʌ] may be lengthened:

[ʌː] : e.g. [plʌːk] 'pluck' nn, 35.05 (III.11.6)

[ʌ:] : [ʌ:p] 'up', 40.04 (III.7.3)

This type is in the majority at all localities except 35.13.

ii The [ɤ] allophonic type

The allophones of this type are short unrounded centralized back and fully central vowels:

[ə] : e.g. [kət] 'cut' vb, 40.05 (IV.4.4)

[ɘ] : [hɘb] 'hub', 35.13 (14:2)

[ɤ̠] : [ʌ̠p] 'up', 35.13 (11:6)

[ɤ] : [spɤd] 'spud', 40.12 (9:14)

[ɤ] : e.g. [mɤk] 'muck', 40.15 (IM)

The [ɤ] allophone seems to be similar to the popular London realization of RP /ʌ/ which Bowyer analyses as [ɛ̃]⁵⁷ and it probably owes its presence in SKSE to this source.

The geographical distribution of the remaining members of the [ɤ] allophonic type, [ə ~ ɛ̃ ~ ɤ̃ ~ ɤ], is presented on Map P28. These allophones only occur to an appreciable extent in a small area in the centre of the region. The allophones [ə ~ ɛ̃ ~ ɤ̃ ~ ɤ] presumably represent successive stages in the development of SKSE [ʌ] from ME ǔ.

iii The [ɒ] allophonic type

The allophones of this type are short rounded back vowels approximating to, or slightly closer than, CV13:

[ɒ] : e.g. [dɒk] 'duck', 35.06 (IV.6.14)

[ɒ] : [ɒə^d] 'udder', 35.03 (III.2.5)

Spelling pronunciations with SKSE (o) corresponding to written o but RP /ʌ/ and regular SKSE (ʌ) have been excluded here. Map P29 shows that this type occurs sporadically in the region; even in Kent, where it is most prominent, its distribution has little coherence.

Phonemic Types

The phonemic types which represent SKSE (ʌ) at each locality have been classified as /ʌ/ or /ɒ/ in the same way as the [ʌ] and [ɒ] allophonic types, or as /ɤ̃/ or /ə/ for 'peaks' of allophonic concentration at [ɤ̃] and [ə ~ ɛ̃ ~ ɤ̃ ~ ɤ] respectively. The phonemic type is /ʌ/ alone at all localities except the following:

- 35.03 / Δ / \rightarrow [$\Delta \sim \ddot{\Delta} \sim \ominus$] (0.7)
 / ∇ / \rightarrow [$\nabla \sim \nabla$] (0.3)
- 35.05 / Δ / \rightarrow [$\Delta \sim \Delta^\circ$] (0.9)
 / ∇ / \rightarrow [∇] (0.1)
- 35.06 / Δ / \rightarrow [$\ddot{\Delta} \sim \Delta \sim \Delta^\circ \sim \ddot{\Delta}$] (0.8)
 / ∇ / \rightarrow [$\nabla \sim \nabla$] (0.2)
- 35.13 / $\ddot{\Delta}$ / \rightarrow [$\ddot{\Delta}$] (0.5)
 / Δ / \rightarrow [$\dot{\Delta}$] (0.3)
 / \ominus / \rightarrow [$\ddot{\Delta} \sim \ominus$] (0.2)
- 35.14 / Δ / \rightarrow [$\Delta \sim \dot{\Delta}$] (0.7)
 / $\ddot{\Delta}$ / \rightarrow [$\dot{\Delta} \sim \ddot{\Delta} \sim \ddot{\Delta}$] (0.3)
- 35.15 / Δ / \rightarrow [$\Delta \sim \dot{\Delta} \sim \ddot{\Delta}$] (0.8)
 / $\ddot{\Delta}$ / \rightarrow [$\dot{\Delta} \sim \ddot{\Delta}$] (0.2)
- 40.02 / Δ / \rightarrow [Δ] (0.9)
 / \ominus / \rightarrow [$\ddot{\Delta} \sim \ominus$] (0.1)
- 40.03 / Δ / \rightarrow [$\Delta \sim \nabla$] (0.9)
 / \ominus / \rightarrow [$\ddot{\Delta} \sim \ominus$] (0.1)
- 40.04 / Δ / \rightarrow [$\ddot{\Delta} \sim \Delta \sim \Delta^\circ$] (0.6)
 / \ominus / \rightarrow [\ominus] (0.4)
- 40.05 / Δ / \rightarrow [Δ] (0.9)
 / \ominus / \rightarrow [\ominus] (0.1)
- 40.06 / Δ / \rightarrow [Δ] (0.9)
 / \ominus / \rightarrow [$\ddot{\Delta} \sim \ominus$] (0.1)
- 40.16 / Δ / \rightarrow [Δ] (0.9)
 / \ominus / \rightarrow [$\ddot{\Delta}$] (0.1)

Conditioned Phonetic Development

Before nasal consonants SKSE (ʌ) may, at some localities, be realized by rounded allophones. Rounded allophones may occur more frequently before nasals than in other phonetic environments at these localities, or they may occur before nasals only. The localities and environments concerned are shown in Table 2.16 below, and details of the allophones and their frequencies in Table T5a.

Table 2.16: Rounding of SKSE (ʌ) before nasals

	35.01	35.04	35.07
Before (m)	+		
Before (n,ŋ)	+	+	+

These localities are indicated on Map P29. The situation here resembles that of the conditioned raising and lowering of SKSE (a) (cf. 2.1.3.3 above): this conditioned rounding is found in or close to that area in eastern and central Kent in which rounded allophones of (ʌ) may occur in free variation with other types. Awareness of this variation may have resulted in the rounded allophones being introduced into the system in phonetic environments which seem to favour rounding, i.e. before nasal consonants.

2.1.3.6 (u)

Table T6

Environments excluded: before final and preconsonantal (1)

at 35.02,05; 40.11,14,16 (2.1.4.2.vi)

i The [ɤ] allophonic type

The allophones of this type are short rounded back vowels approximating to CV8, slightly more open than CV8, or rather more open and advanced than CV8:

[u] : e.g. [tuk] 'took', 35.01 (IX.3.7)

[ɥ] : [bɥʃ] 'bush', 35.13 (14:9)

[ɤ] : [ɤks] 'hooks', 34.02 (IV.3.5)

The vowel may be lengthened:

[ɤː] : e.g. [lɤːkəʃ] 'looker', 35.07 (I.2.1)

This type is concentrated principally in a straggling area covering the northern and eastern central parts of the region (Map P30).

ii The [ɔ] allophonic type

The principal allophone of this type is a short rounded back vowel, slightly more closed than CV7 and advanced:

[ɔ] : e.g. ['kɔʃən] 'cushion', 40.11 (4:12)

This vowel may be more advanced:

[ɔ̟] : e.g. [fɔ̟t] 'foot', 40.15 (33:24)

or more open:

[ɔ̠] : e.g. [slɔ̠gz] 'slugs', 35.04 (IV.9.2)

This type is in the majority at all localities.

iii The [ɔ̥] allophonic type

The allophones of this type are short rounded centralized back vowels in the close — half-close range:

[y̥] : e.g. [gɥd] 'good', 35.02 (VII.2.10)

[ɔ̥] : [gɔ̥d] 'good', 35.14 (48:6)

[ø̥] : ['bɔ̥lun] 'bulling', 34.11 (30:1)

The unrounded central allophone [ə] is also included here:

[ə] : e.g. [sən] 'soon', 35.13 (IM)

This type is found principally in a coherent but straggling area in the north and centre of the region (Map P31).

Phonemic Types

At all localities except 40.05 the sole phonemic type of SKSE (u) is /ɔ̥/. At 40.05 the situation is:

/ɔ̥/ → [ɔ̥] (0.9)

/ɔ̥/ → [ɔ̥ ~ ə] (0.1)

2.1.3.7 (ii)

Table T7

Environments excluded: before final and preconsonantal (1)

(2.1.4.2.vii)

SKSE (ii) is realized by a series of long unrounded front vowels approximating to CV1, slightly more open than CV1, or rather more open and retracted:

[i:] : e.g. ['i:vnɪŋ] 'evening', 34.11 (16:6)

[i̠:] : [k̠i:] 'key', 40.12 (4:4)

[ɪ:] : [fɪ:t] 'feet', 40.13 (33:24)

The vowel may be central, approximating to CV17 (a close unrounded central vowel):

[ɨ:] : e.g. [gɨ:s] 'grease', 35.01 (I.11.4)

and it may be shortened slightly:

[i̠·] : e.g. [ʃi̠·pskɪn] 'sheepskin', 35.04 (III.11.8)

The vowel may be preceded by a retracted or centralized glide, [ʷ] or [ʷ̠], in which case the long vowel is sometimes shortened:

[ʷi:] : e.g. [bʷi:tɪ] 'beetle' (= 'mallet'), 35.03 (I.7.5)

[ʷi̠:] : [kʷi̠:] 'key', 40.15 (14:10)

[ʷi:] : [gʷi:n] 'green', 35.07 (V.10.7)

[ʷi̠·] : [pʷi̠·] 'pea', 35.03 (V.7.13)

[ʷi] : [gʷi:s] 'grease', 35.06 (I.11.4)

[ʷi̠] : [flʷi̠] 'flea', 35.01 (IV.8.4)

[ʷi] : [flʷi:z] 'fleas', 35.05 (IV.8.4)

This glide may be given more prominence, resulting in a series of rising diphthongs:

[ui:] : e.g. [spui:nz] 'speans' (= 'prongs'), 40.04 (I.7.10)

[ü:] : [ʃü:f] 'sheaf', 35.03 (II.6.3)

[u̠:] : [snu̠:z] 'sneath', 40.01 (II.9.7)

- [i:i] : e.g. [i:itʃ] 'each', 40.02 (III.13.6)
 [iɪ] : [piɪs] 'piece', 35.04 (V.6.11)
 [i] : [si:d-] 'seed', 35.05 (II.3.6)
 [i:] : [wi:d] 'weed', 35.03 (II.2.1)
 [i:] : [i:vnɪn] 'evening', 35.06 (VII.3.11)
 [ɪɛ:] : [kɪɛ:pɪn] 'creeping', 34.04 (IX.1.9)

It should be noted that M.B. records a glide more frequently than P.W. and myself.

Phonemic Type

The phonemic type of (ii) has been classified as /i:/ for all localities.

2.1.3.8 (aa)

Table T8

Data for SED localities taken from MRs

i The [a:] allophonic type

The allophones of this type are long unrounded front vowels in the half-open — open range:

- [ɛ:] e.g. [ɛ:skt] 'asked', 40.06 (MR)
 [æ:] [læ:st] 'last', 35.07 (MR)
 [æ:] ['b.æ:ntʃɪz] 'branches', 40.12 (56:3)
 [ɑ:] [dɔɑ:f] 'draught', 40.13 (4:6)
 [a:] [a:f] 'half', 34.03 (MR)

[a:] may be retracted:

- [ɑ:] : e.g. [tʃɑ:f] 'chaff', 35.15 (25:6)

The geographical distribution of this type is shown on Map P32.

ii The [ä:] allophonic type

The allophones of this type are long unrounded fully open centralized vowels:

[ä:] : e.g. ['ä:ftə^d] 'after', 35.12 (IM)

[ä:] : ['ä:ftə^d] 'after', 34.02 (MR)

iii The [a:] allophonic type

The allophones of this type are long unrounded open back vowels approximating to CV5, or advanced from CV5:

[ä:] : e.g. [dä:ft] 'draught', 40.16 (4:6)

[a:] : [la:st] 'last', 35.01 (MR)

Commentary

The [a:] allophonic type presumably reflects the eMnE lengthening of ME ǣ ([a], see 2.1.3.3 above) before voiceless fricatives⁵⁸ with which the reflexes of ME ǣ + lf, lm and OF an + consonant merged. [a:] is therefore archaic and, when contrasted with the corresponding RP [ä: ~ a:],⁵⁹ non-standard; Map P32 suggests that it has receded into separate peripheral areas. In RP eMnE [a:] has been retracted towards [ä:] by a development first noticed in the late seventeenth century.⁶⁰ The retraction of eMnE [a:] in SKSE seems to have been a gradual process, and the calculation of index scores to measure the extent to which it has occurred in each locality is shown in Table C3. These scores are presented on Map P33: the distribution here complements that shown on Map P32, and the orientation of the area in which high scores occur towards the north of the region and the London area suggests that retraction of eMnE [a:] in SKSE has been associated with the parallel development in the standard language. The

recession into peripheral areas of the archaic and non-standard form suggests that the tendency towards retraction has spread outwards from the northern part of the region.

Although it seems likely that the retraction of [a:] towards [ɑ:] has been a gradual process, it is possible for [a:] to have been replaced directly by [ɑ:] under the influence of RP. This would not, however, alter the significance of the distribution pattern.

Phonemic Types

The phonemic types which represent SKSE (aa) at each locality are listed below. The types have been classified as /a:/, /ä:/ or /ɑ:/ in the same way as the allophonic types.

- 34.01 /a:/ → [a:]
- 34.02 /ä:/ → [ä: ~ ü:] (0.6)
 /a:/ → [ɚ: ~ a:] (0.4)
- 34.03 /a:/ → [a: ~ ɚ: ~ ä:]
- 34.04 /a:/ → [a: ~ ɚ:] (0.6)
 /a:/ → [ä: ~ ɚ: ~ a:] (0.4)
- 34.05 /ä:/ → [a: ~ ä: ~ ɚ:]
- 34.11 /a:/ → [ä: ~ ɚ: ~ a:] (0.9)
 /a:/ → [a:] (0.1)
- 35.01 /a:/ → [ɚ: ~ a:]
- 35.02 /a:/ → [ɚ:]
- 35.03 /a:/ → [a: ~ ɚ: ~ ä:] (0.75)
 /a:/ → [ɚ:] (0.25)
- 35.04 /ä:/ → [ɚ: ~ ä: ~ ä: ~ ɚ:] (0.8)
 /a:/ → [æ: ~ a:] (0.2)
- 35.05 /a:/ → [ɚ: ~ a:] (0.7)
 /ä:/ → [ɚ: ~ ä: ~ ä:] (0.3)

- 35.06 /a:/ → [ɚ̄: ~ a:] (0.5)
 /ä:/ → [æ: ~ a: ~ ä: ~ ä:] (0.5)
- 35.07 /a:/ → [ǣ: ~ æ: ~ a:]
- 35.11 /a:/ → [ä: ~ ä: ~ ɚ̄: ~ a:] (0.8)
 /a:/ → [a: ~ ɚ̄:] (0.2)
- 35.12 /a:/ → [ä: ~ ä: ~ ɚ̄: ~ a:]
- 35.13 /a:/ → [ɚ̄: ~ a:]
- 35.14 /a:/ → [ɚ̄: ~ a:] (0.6)
 /a:/ → [a: ~ ɚ̄: ~ ä: ~ ä:] (0.4)
- 35.15 /a:/ → [ä: ~ ɚ̄: ~ a:] (0.8)
 /a:/ → [a: ~ ɚ̄: ~ ä:] (0.2)
- 40.01 /a:/ → [ǣ: ~ æ: ~ a: ~ ɚ̄: ~ ä:]
- 40.02 /a:/ → [æ: ~ a:]
- 40.03 /a:/ → [ɚ̄:]
- 40.04 /a:/ → [æ: ~ a:]
- 40.05 /a:/ → [æ: ~ a: ~ ɚ̄:] (0.8)
 /a:/ → [ä: ~ ɚ̄:] (0.2)
- 40.06 /a:/ → [ɛ: ~ ǣ: ~ æ:]
- 40.11 /a:/ → [ä: ~ ɚ̄: ~ a:] (0.7)
 /a:/ → [æ: ~ a: ~ ɚ̄:] (0.3)
- 40.12 /a:/ → [ä: ~ ɚ̄: ~ a:] (0.65)
 /a:/ → [æ: ~ a: ~ ɚ̄: ~ ä:] (0.35)
- 40.13 /a:/ → [ǣ: ~ æ: ~ a: ~ a:] (0.9)
 /a:/ → [ɚ̄:] (0.1)
- 40.14 /a:/ → [ä: ~ ɚ̄: ~ a:] (0.9)
 /a:/ → [ɚ̄:] (0.1)
- 40.15 /a:/ → [ä: ~ ɚ̄: ~ a:]
- 40.16 /a:/ → [ɚ̄: ~ a:]
- 40.17 /a:/ → [æ: ~ a: ~ ɚ̄: ~ ä: ~ ä:]

The geographical distribution of these types is shown on Map
 FP2.

2.1.3.9 (oo)

Table T9

Environments excluded: in final position at 34.02, 35.01,
40.02

before final and preconsonantal (1) at

34.04, 35.07, 40.01, 03, 06, 11

when derived from ME ō + f, s, θ

(2.1.2.5)

i The [o:] allophonic type

The allophones of this type are long rounded back vowels,
the closest of which is slightly more closed than CV6:

[ɔ:] : e.g. ['ɔ:ɪtə^ɾ] 'halter', 35.13 (3:4)

[o:] : [dɔ:tə^ɾ] 'daughter', 40.06 (VIII.1.4)

[ʊ:] : [bʊ:ɪd] 'bald', 35.11 (33:27)

[o:] may be advanced:

[ɔ̄:] : e.g. ['dɔ̄:tə] 'daughter', 35.15 (42:2)

This type is in the majority at all localities.

ii The [ɑ:] allophonic type

The single allophone of this type is a long unrounded open
back vowel approximating to CV5:

[ɑ:] : e.g. [bɹɑ:ʔ] 'brought', 40.02 (VIII.1.11)

Allophones of this type were also recorded occasionally from
the MRs at: 35.03, 05, 07; 40.04, 06.

iii The [oə] allophonic type

The allophones of this type are centring diphthongs begin-
ning with the rounded back vowels [ɔ] or [o] and moving to-
wards [ə], an unrounded central vowel between half-close and
half-open:

- [ɔ:ə] : e.g. [stɔ:p:ə] 'straw', 40.01 (II.8.2)
 [ɔə] : [jɔənɪn] 'yawning', 35.03 (VI.13.4)
 [o:ə] : [stɔ:p:ə] 'straw', 40.05 (II.5.2)
 [o:ə] : [jo:ə'n] 'yawn', 35.06 (VI.13.4)
 [oə] : [stɔ:p:ə] 'straw', 35.07 (II.8.2)

iv The [oə] allophonic type

The allophones of this type are closing diphthongs beginning with a rounded back vowel in the half-close -- open range and moving towards a rounded back vowel slightly more closed than CV7 and advanced:

- [oə] : e.g. [stɔ:p:ə] 'straw', 35.13 (25:4)
 [ɔə] : ['wɔ:tə] 'water', 40.15 (32:10)
 [oə] : [stɔ:p:ə] 'stalls', 35.13 (3:2)
 [və] : [stɔ:p:ə] 'stalls', 35.13 (3:2)

Phonemic Types

The phonemic type of SKSE (oo) is /o:/ alone at all localities except those listed below; the phonemic types have been classified as /o:/, /a:/, /oə/ or /oə/ in the same way as the allophonic types:

- 35.07 /o:/ → [o: ~ ɔ:] (0.8)
 /oə/ → [oə] (0.2)
 35.13 /o:/ → [ɔ:] (0.7)
 /oə/ → [oə ~ ɔə ~ və] (0.3)
 40.01 /o:/ → [o:] (0.9)
 /oə/ → [ɔ:p:ə ~ o:p:ə] (0.1)
 40.02 /o:/ → [o:] (0.9)
 /a:/ → [a:] (0.1)
 40.03 /o:/ → [o:] (0.9)
 /oə/ → [o:p:ə] (0.1)

40.05 /o:/ → [o:] (0.9)

/oə/ → [oə ~ o:ə] (0.1)

40.06 /o:/ → [o:] (0.8)

/oə/ → [oə ~ o:ə] (0.2)

40.15 /o:/ → [ɔ: ~ o:] (0.9)

/oə/ → [ɔə] (0.1)

Conditioned Phonetic Developments

I At three localities (34.02, 35.01, 40.02) final (oo) may be realized by a centring diphthong which does not occur in other environments. Details of allophones and frequencies are given in Table T9a.

II The [oo] allophonic type may occur at certain localities, from which it is otherwise absent, to realize SKSE (oo) when followed by vocalized final or preconsonantal (l). The localities concerned are: 34.04, 35.07, 40.01, 03, 06, 11, and details of allophones and frequencies are given in Table T9b. [oo] in this environment could perhaps be regarded as an allophonic type of (ou) rather than of (oo).

The geographical distribution of the [oo] allophonic type is shown on Map P34.

2.1.3.10 (uu)

Table T10

Environments excluded: before final and preconsonantal (1)

(2.1.4.2.viii)

SKSE (uu) is realized by a series of long rounded back vowels approximating to CV8 or slightly more open and/or advanced from CV8:

[u:] : e.g. [ku:tʃ] 'couch(-grass)', 40.05 (II.2.3)

[ɯ:] : [bɯ:m] 'broom', 35.15 (3:12)

[u̠:] : [fū:d] 'food', 35.13 (3:16)

[u̠̥:] : [ɹū:f] 'roof', 34.11 (4:2)

The vowel may be advanced further towards CV9:

[ü:] : e.g. [fū:d] 'food', 35.01 (V.8.2)

[ɥ:] : [ɹɥ:ts] 'roots', 40.12 (56:1)

[j̥:] : [j̥:sfɔ] 'useful', 34.01 (V.1.16)

[y:] : [fjy:] 'few', 35.02 (VII.8.21)

(The very advanced vowel in the last two examples may be due to the influence of the preceding [j].)

The vowel may be shortened slightly:

[u̠] : e.g. [fɹu̠:t] 'fruit', 35.03 (I.10.4)

[ɯ̠] : [sɯ̠:t] 'soot', 35.06 (V.4.6)

[ü̠] : [ɹü̠:ts] 'roots', 34.05 (IV.12.1)

The vowel may be preceded by a glide, in which case it is sometimes shortened. The glide is usually rounded and advanced or centralized, i.e. [ʷ], [ʷ̠] or [ʷ̠̥], but may be an unrounded central vowel, [ə], or, rarely, the half-open unrounded front vowel [ɛ̠]:

[ʷ̠u̠:] : e.g. [tʷ̠u̠:zdɹ] 'Tuesday', 35.06 (VII.4.2)

[ʷ̠ɯ̠:] : [bʷ̠ɯ̠:ts] 'boots', 40.11 (3:17)

[ʷ̠̥ɯ̠:] : [jʷ̠̥ɯ̠:z] 'use' vb, 40.12 (53:6)

- [⁺ɥ:] : e.g. [j⁺ɥ:zd] 'used', 40.15 (53:6)
 [⁺ɥ:] : [b⁺ɥ:t] 'boot', 40.17 (3:17)
 [əu:] : [b^əu:ts] 'boots', 34.01 (IX.8.6)
 [əɥ:] : [f^əɥ:d] 'food', 35.06 (V.8.2)
 [əü:] : [bl^əü:] 'blue', 35.04 (V.10.7)
 [ɛu:] : [j^ɛu:] 'ewe', 35.06 (III.6.3)
 [əu[•]] : [n^əu[•]n] 'noon', 35.04 (VII.3.11)
 [ʰu] : [t^ʰu] 'two', 35.06 (VII.1.2)
 [əu] : [bl^əu] 'blue', 35.03 (V.10.7)
 [əü] : [-n^əün] 'noon', 35.04 (VII.3.14)
 [ɛu] : [g^ɛus] 'goose', 35.06 (IV.6.15b)

This glide may be given more prominence, resulting in a series of rising diphthongs:

- [əu:] : e.g. [p^əɥ:v] 'prove', 34.02 (V.7.7)
 [əu:] : [ɣəu:s] 'roost' nm, 40.03 (IV.6.3)
 [ə:u] : [tə:un] 'tune', 34.03 (VI.5.19)
 [äü:] : [tʃäü:] 'chew', 35.14 (8:13)
 [əu:] : [təu:] 'two', 40.02 (VII.1.2)
 [əü[•]] : [məü[•]n] 'moon', 35.04 (VII.6.3)
 [əu] : [məun] 'moon', 40.13 (52:3)
 [äü] : [ɣäuf] 'roof', 34.02 (V.1.2)
 [əu] : [dəu] 'dew', 35.06 (VII.6.7)

The following allophones seem not to fit into any of the above categories:

- [vu:] : e.g. [hvu:f] 'hoof', 35.05 (III.4.10)
 [u:ə] : [-nu:ən] 'noon', 34.05 (VII.3.14)

Phonemic Type

The phonemic type of (uu) has been classified as /u:/ for all localities.

2.1.3.11 (ei)

Table T11

Environments excluded: before final and preconsonantal (1)
(2.1.4.2.ix)

i The [ɛɪ] allophonic type

The allophones of this type are closing diphthongs*

beginning with unrounded front vowels, of which the closest is slightly more closed than CV2 and the most open slightly more open than CV3, and moving towards the unrounded front vowel [ɪ], which is slightly more closed than CV2 and retracted:

- [ɛɪ] : e.g. [əwɛɪ] 'away', 35.02 (VIII.9.4)
 [eɪ] : [deɪz] 'days', 34.11 (16:2)
 [ɛɪ] : [deɪ] 'day', 40.16 (16:2)
 [ɛɪ] : [dɹɛɪn] 'drain' vb, 35.14 (49:9)
 [ɛɪ] : [mɛɪkɪŋ] 'making', 35.07 (IV.2.4)
 [ɛɪ] : [tʃeɪn] 'chain', 40.14 (58:2)
 [ɛɪ] : [kɹeɪn] 'crane', 34.05 (V.3.4)
 [ɛɪ] : [ɛɪpɹɪl] 'April', 35.04 (VII.3.3)
 [ɛɪ] : [ˈneɪbəʊz] 'neighbours', 35.11 (42:12)

In some cases the target vowel⁶¹ is reduced to a glide:

- [ɛɪ] : e.g. [ˈkɹɛɪdɪl] 'cradle', 40.12 (27:7)
 [eɪ] : [ˈsteɪbəl] 'stable', 40.13 (1:11)
 [ɛɪ] : [kleɪ] 'clay', 35.15 (53:1)

The diphthong may start with a slightly retracted vowel:

- [ɛɪ] : e.g. [spɛɪd] 'spade', 35.13 (9:6)

* All diphthongal realizations of SKSE (ei, ai, oi, ui, au, ou, əu) are falling diphthongs.

[ɛɪ] : e.g. [bɛɪs] 'base', 40.17 (24:9)

[tʃɛɪn] : [tʃɛɪn] 'chain', 35.12 (58:2)

The geographical distribution of this type is shown on Map P35.

ii The [æɪ] allophonic type

The allophones of this type are closing diphthongs beginning with unrounded front vowels more open than those included in the [ɛɪ] type described above and moving towards [ɪ]:

[bæɪkən] : e.g. ['bæɪkən] 'bacon', 40.14 (39:5)

[mæɪndʒ] : [mæɪndʒ] 'mange', 34.03 (III.13.7)

[spæɪd] : [spæɪd] 'spade', 40.06 (I.7.6)

[næɪm] : [næɪm] 'name', 35.12 (IM)

[gɹæɪt] : [gɹæɪt] 'great', 40.11 (8:15)

The diphthong may start with a slightly retracted vowel:

[dæɪ] : e.g. [dæɪ] 'day', 40.11 (16:2)

[tʃæɪn] : [tʃæɪn] 'chain', 35.12 (6:9)

[næɪ] : [næɪ] 'name', 40.11 (IM)

At one locality the diphthong may begin with a vowel that is both retracted and slightly rounded:

[dæɪɪzɪ] : e.g. [dæɪɪzɪ] 'daisy', 35.03 (II.2.10b)

The geographical distribution of this type is shown on Map P36.

iii The [ɛɪ] allophonic type

The allophones of this type are closing diphthongs beginning with unrounded centralized front or fully central vowels and moving towards [ɪ]:

- [ëɪ] : e.g. [bëɪstɪnz] 'beestings', 35.01
 (V.5.10, also [bɛɪstɪnz])
- [ɛ̥ɪ] : [lɛ̥ɪ-un] 'laying', 35.02 (IV.2.4)
- [ɛ̥ɪ] : [mɛ̥ɪd] 'made', 34.01 (IX.3.6)
- [ɛ̥ɪ] : [dɔ̥ɛɪn] 'drain' vb, 35.12 (49:9)
- [ɛ̥ɪ] : [mɛ̥ɪks] 'makes', 34.04 (IX.3.6)
- [ɛ̥ɪ] : [ɛ̥ɪ] 'hay', 40.06 (II.9.1)
- [ɛ̥ɪ] : [stɛ̥ɪ] 'stay' vb, 35.06 (VIII.5.2)
- [ɛ̥ɪ] : [bɛ̥ɪkɪn] 'bacon', 35.02 (III.12.4)
- [äɪ] : [näɪz] 'neighs', 35.02 (III.10.3)
- [äɪ] : [wäɪt] 'weight', 40.11 (9:1)
- [ɛ̥ɪ] : [bɛ̥ɪkɪn] 'bacon', 35.13 (39:5)

The geographical distribution of this type is shown on Map P37.

iv The [ɛə] allophonic type

The allophones of this type are centring diphthongs beginning with unrounded front or retracted front vowels, of which the most open is half-open, and moving towards [ə], an unrounded central vowel between half-close and half-open:

- [ɪə] : e.g. [spɪəd] 'spade', 40.04 (I.7.6)
- [ɛ̥ə] : [ə'gɛ̥ən] 'again', 40.13 (IM)
- [ɛə] : [nɛəm] 'name', 40.12 (IM)
- [ɛ:ə] : [brɛ:əsɪz] 'braces', 40.04 (VI.14.10)

The geographical distribution of this type is shown on Map P38.

v The [ɛ:] allophonic type

The allophones of this type are long unrounded front vowels in the half-close — half-open range:

- [e:] : e.g. [ge:t] 'gate', 34.11 (50:1)
 [e̞:] : [g̞e̞:t] 'gate', 40.13 (50:1)
 [ɛ:] : ['bɛ:kən] 'bacon', 40.12 (39:5)
 [ɛ:] : [tʃɛ:n] 'chain', 40.13 (3:4)

The geographical distribution of this type is shown on Map P38 along with that of [eə].

vi The [ɛ] allophonic type

The allophones of this type are short and half-long unrounded front and centralized front vowels in the half-open -- open range:

- [ɛ] : e.g. [sɛm] 'same', 40.13 (IM)
 [ɛ̞] : [ɛ̞pɛnz] 'aprons', 34.04 (V.11.2)
 [ɛ̝] : [pɛ̝stɹ] 'pastry', 35.01 (III.3.7)
 [ɛ̠] : [bɛ̠kəʳz] 'baker's', 40.03 (VII.1.10)
 [ɛ°] : [de°] 'day', 35.15 (16:10)

The geographical distribution of this type is shown on Map P39; these shortened monophthongal allophones occur principally in two areas: a small, rather straggling, area in southern Surrey and north-western Sussex, and a more coherent south-eastern coastal area. [ɛ, ɛ°], [ɛ̝, ɛ̠] and [ɛ̞] can quite satisfactorily be explained as being the result of the monophthongization of the [eɪ], [æɪ] and [ɛɪ] allophonic types respectively. However, [ɛ] and [ɛ°] may, in some localities, have resulted from the shortening of the [ɛ:] allophonic type, and [ɛ̝] and [ɛ̠] may reflect a sporadic failure to lengthen ǣ in open syllables in ME.

Commentary

The modern geographical distribution of the various allophonic types of SKSE (ei) enables the historical development of this diaphoneme to be deduced with a considerable degree of certainty. There is no evidence that the ME distinction between ā and ai is ever maintained in modern SKSE dialects, and the sound which can most satisfactorily be taken as the point at which these two ME phonemes merged and as the basis for all subsequent developments in SKSE is [ɛ:]. Dobson states that, in the dialects of eastern England, ME ā and ai had merged in the sound [ɛ:] in the fifteenth century.⁶² The [ɛ:] allophonic type occurs in SKSE most importantly in a small but coherent area in north-eastern Sussex, and also at two isolated localities in Surrey (Map P38), and it continues both ME ā and ME ai, e.g. [nɛ:m] 'name', 40.13 (IM), [tʃɛ:n] 'chain', 40.13 (3:4). Although ME ā ([a:]⁶³) must have been raised to [ɛ:] before the development of [a:] from ME ǣ + f, s, θ, lf, lm in eMnE, there is some evidence of overlap and consequent confusion between the two phonemes. Thus at two localities (40.11, 13) the word same (IM; ME sāme) may contain SKSE (aa), and, on the other hand, haulm (II.4.4/20:5; ME halm) contains (ei) at 35.07, 14 and 40.13, and can't (IX. 4.16) contains (ei) at 40.02.

The [ɛə] allophonic type occurs in an almost identical area to that occupied by the [ɛ:] type from which it presumably developed (Map P38). These two archaic and non-standard types, then, are concentrated in a small peripheral part of the region.

In the development of RP, [e:] < [ɛ:] < ME ā was diphthongized to [ei] about 1800,⁶⁴ and a similar process must be

responsible for the [ɛɪ] allophonic type in SKSE which is now dominant over most of the region (Map P35). The older SKSE [ɛ:] allophonic type must have been diphthongized to the [ɛɪ] type, a development which was probably reinforced by the corresponding [ɛɪ] in RP. Indeed Wright suggested that ei (= [ɛɪ]) was almost always due to the influence of RP when found in English dialects, implying that it had replaced the indigenous sounds ea, ie, ē (= [eə, ɪə, e:] in southern England).⁶⁵

The frequency of the [ɛɪ] allophonic type falls below 75% in three areas of which the first two are contiguous (Map P35): the London suburban area and northern and eastern Kent; central Sussex; and the extreme south-western corner of Sussex. The frequency decreases towards the central northern part of the region, and the pattern formed by the isopleths suggests that a previously unified [ɛɪ] area has been fragmented by innovations originating in the north. The sources of the innovations should therefore be sought in London English.

Map P36 shows that the distribution of the [æɪ] allophonic type complements that of [ɛɪ] except in the northern central part of the region, with the result that [æɪ] is concentrated in three separate areas. However, those localities at which [æɪ] occurs relatively infrequently are concentrated in the north of the region or close to one of the areas of relatively high frequency; in view of this and of the source of innovation suggested by Map P35, it is reasonable to assume that the [æɪ] allophonic type has a common origin wherever it is found in SKSE, and to look for an association with London English.

The realization of RP /eɪ/ (which corresponds to SKSE (ei)) as [æɪ] or [aɪ] is a familiar feature of popular London speech,⁶⁶ although Ellis believed that it was a fairly recent development, dating, presumably, from the first half of the nineteenth century.⁶⁷ It must have spread into SKSE soon afterwards, as Wright uses ai ([aɪ]) to symbolize the normal development of ME ā in south-eastern Kent,⁶⁸ and it is now the dominant type not only in the latter area (35.04,05), but also at 40.11 in northern Sussex.

Since [æɪ] seems to have been partially replaced in the northern central part of the region (Map P36), a more recent innovation must have spread into this area. This was clearly the [ɛɪ] allophonic type, the distribution of which (Map P37) complements that of the [æɪ] type in this part of the region (Map P35).

Neither Sivertsen nor Bowyer, in their studies of London speech, mention a centralized starting point for this diphthong, but the feature was recorded by SED at 30MxL1 and 2⁶⁹ and Matthews has [ai] corresponding to RP /eɪ/.⁷⁰ Furthermore, [ɛ], according to Gimson, is one of the possible starting points for RP /eɪ/.⁷¹ Additional evidence for the conclusion that the spread of [ɛɪ] into SKSE from London speech was later than that of [æɪ] is provided by the fact that its geographical distribution is very much more limited and that it only occurs to any appreciable extent in the area immediately adjacent to the capital.

The historical phonetic development of SKSE (ei) can be summarized as follows:

35.14 /ɛɪ/ → [ɛɪ ~ ɛɪ ~ ɛɪ ~ ɛɪ] (0.8)

/æɪ/ → [æɪ] (0.2)

35.15 /ɛɪ/ → [ɛɪ ~ ɛɪ ~ ɛɪ ~ ɛ·ɪ ~ ɛɪ ~ ɛɪ]

40.01 /ɛɪ/ → [ɛɪ ~ ɛɪ ~ ɛɪ]

40.02 /ɛɪ/ → [ɛɪ ~ ɛɪ]

40.03 /ɛɪ/ → [ɛɪ ~ ɛɪ ~ ɛɪ]

40.04 /ɛɪ/ → [ɛɪ ~ ɛɪ ~ ɛ:ɪ ~ ɛɪ ~ ɛɪ] (0.9)

/ɛə/ → [ɪə ~ ɛə ~ ɛ:ə ~ ɛ:] (0.1)

40.05 /ɛɪ/ → [ɛɪ ~ ɛə]

40.06 /ɛɪ/ → [ɛɪ ~ ɛɪ ~ ɛɪ ~ ɛɪ] (0.8)

/æɪ/ → [æɪ ~ ɛɪ ~ ɛɪ ~ ɛɪ ~ ɛɪ] (0.2)

40.11 /æɪ/ → [ɛɪ ~ ɛɪ ~
ɛɪ ~ ɛɪ ~ ɛɪ ~ ɛɪ ~ ɛɪ ~ ɛɪ]

40.12 /ɛɪ/ → [ɛɪ ~ ɛɪ ~ ɛɪ ~ ɛɪ ~ ɛ·ɪ ~ ɛə ~ ɛ: ~ ɛ: ~ ɛ:]

40.13 /ɛɪ/ → [ɛɪ ~ ɛɪ ~ ɛɪ ~ ɛɪ ~ ɛ·ɪ ~ ɛɪ ~ ɛ·ɪ] (0.8)

/ɛ:/ → [ɛə ~ ɛ: ~ ɛ: ~ ɛ:] (0.1)

40.14 /ɛɪ/ → [ɛɪ ~ ɛɪ ~ ɛɪ ~ ɛɪ ~ ɛɪ]

40.15 /æɪ/ → [ɛɪ ~ ɛɪ ~ ɛɪ ~ ɛɪ ~ ɛɪ ~ ɛɪ]

40.16 /ɛɪ/ → [ɛɪ ~ ɛɪ ~ ɛɪ ~ ɛɪ]

40.17 /ɛɪ/ → [ɛɪ ~ ɛɪ ~ ɛɪ ~ ɛɪ ~ ɛɪ]

The geographical distribution of these types is shown on

Map PP3.

2.1.3.12 (ai)

Table T12

Data for SED localities taken from MRs, except 34.01.⁷²

Environments excluded: before (r)

before (m,n) at 34.04

when derived from ME oi, ui at 40.13

(see 2.1.2.7)

before final and preconsonantal (1)

(2.1.4.2.x)

i The [əɪ] allophonic type

The allophones of this type are closing diphthongs beginning with [ə], an unrounded central vowel between half-close and half-open, or unrounded and centralized front or back vowels which are half-open or slightly lowered from the half-open position, and moving towards [ɪ], an unrounded front vowel slightly more closed than CV2 and retracted:

[əɪ] : e.g. [ɹəɪt] 'right', 35.07 (MR)

[æɪ] : [stæɪz] 'sties', 40.13 (1:7)

[ɛɪ] : [ɹɛɪt] 'right', 40.04 (MR)

[ɛɪ] : [hɛɪtθ] 'height', 35.11 (33:26)

[ɛɪ] : [fɛɪv] 'five', 35.03 (MR)

The geographical distribution of this type is shown on Map P40.

ii The [aɪ] allophonic type

The allophones of this type are closing diphthongs beginning with the unrounded open front vowel [a] or the slightly closer [æ] and moving towards [ɪ]:

[æɪ] : e.g. [fæɪnd] 'find', 40.12 (8:7)

[aɪ] : [laɪk] 'like', 40.02 (MR)

The diphthong may begin with a slightly retracted vowel:

[æ̠] : e.g. [blæ̠nd] 'blind', 40.13 (33:28)

[a̠] : [fa̠v] 'five', 34.11 (28:5)

This type also includes the long monophthong [a:]:

[a:] : e.g. [twa:n] 'twine', 40.12 (9:3)

The geographical distribution of this type is shown on Map P41.

iii The [ä̠] allophonic type

The allophones of this type are closing diphthongs beginning with the unrounded open centralized vowels [ä] or [ä̠], or the slightly closer [ä̠] or [ä̠], and moving towards [ɪ]:

[ä̠ɪ] : e.g. [dʌ̠ɪ] 'dry', 34.04 (MR)

[ä̠ɪ] : [hə̠ɪtθ] 'height', 35.14 (33:26)

[ä̠] : [sə̠d] 'side', 40.01 (MR)

[ä̠ɪ] : [fä̠ɪv] 'five', 34.02 (MR)

The long monophthongs [ä:] and [ä̠:] are included in this type:

[ä:] : e.g. [sə̠:t] 'sight', 34.04 (MR)

[ä̠:] : [tə̠:m] 'time', 35.12 (IM)

The geographical distribution of this type is shown on Map P42.

iv The [aɪ] allophonic type

The allophones of this type are closing diphthongs beginning with unrounded back vowels in the half-open -- open range and moving towards [ɪ]:

[aɪ] : e.g. [naɪf] 'knife', 35.11 (9:23)

[θaɪ] : [θaɪ] 'thigh', 40.11 (33:22)

[həɪt] : [həɪt] 'height', 34.11 (33:26)

[aɪ] : [blaɪnd] 'blind', 34.01 (VI.3.4)

The diphthong may begin with a slightly advanced vowel:

[ɪ̥i] : e.g. [ɪ̥aɪt] 'right', 35.15 (7:7)

[ɪ̥aɪ] : [ɪ̥aɪt] 'right', 34.05 (MR)

[aɪ] : [saɪd] 'side', 34.02 (MR)

The diphthong may begin with a lengthened vowel, in which case the target vowel becomes less prominent and is reduced to a glide:

[aː̥] : e.g. [naː̥f] 'knife', 40.15 (9:23)

[aː̥] : [taː̥m] 'time', 35.13 (IM)

The long monophthongs [a:] and [ɪ̥:] are included in this type:

[a:] : e.g. ['la:tɪʃ] 'lightish', 35.12 (IM)

[ɪ̥:] : [tɪ̥:m] 'time', 34.03 (MR)

The geographical distribution of this type is shown on Map P43.

y The [ɔɪ] allophonic type

The allophones of this type are closing diphthongs beginning with rounded back vowels in the half-open — open range and moving towards [ɪ]:

[ɔɪ] : e.g. [fɔɪv] 'five', 34.01 (VII.5.6)

[ɔɪ] : [aɪs] 'ice', 34.01 (VII.6.12)

[ɔɪ] : [haɪtθ] 'height', 40.11 (33:26)

The geographical distribution of these allophones is indicated on Map P43, since they are clearly associated with the [aɪ] allophonic type, both phonetically, in that they result from the rounding of the [aɪ] type, and geographically, in that they tend to occur in areas in which the frequency of the [aɪ] type is high.

The following allophone, the starting point of which is a rounded centralized half-close back vowel, is a rounded form of the [ɐɪ] type, and its presence is therefore indicated on Map P40:

[øɪ] : e.g. [töɪm] 'time', 35.03 (MR)

vi There is a tendency in some localities towards the monophthongization of the closing diphthongs which regularly realize SKSE (ai). The geographical distribution of these long monophthongs, [a:~ ä:~ ü:~ ɔ̄:~ a:], and of the presumably transitional diphthongs with the target vowel reduced to a glide, [a^h~ a:^h], is shown on Map P44. This tendency is found in a coherent area in the centre of the region. Since, within this area, it affects the [aɪ], [üɪ] and [aɪ] allophonic types, monophthongization must be more recent than the establishment of the current distributions of these allophonic types.

Commentary

The distribution pattern of the [ɐɪ] allophonic type (Map P40) suggests that this feature, in the south and east at any rate, has tended to recede away from the centre of the region, and the corridor through south-eastern Kent between two areas of relatively high frequency must represent the division of a previously unified [ɐɪ] area. The sporadic occurrences of [ɐɪ] in other parts of the region, in particular the further area of fairly high frequency in the extreme west of Sussex, suggest that this allophonic type was once widespread throughout the region, but has subsequently retreated before the advance of more recent types.

This conclusion is consistent with the historical evidence. According to Dobson, [əɪ] was an early stage in the development of ME i in the Great Vowel Shift,⁷³ and seems to have been established in the predecessor of RP in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries.⁷⁴ It is clearly archaic and, in common with other SKSE items of similar status, has tended to be replaced by later developments in the north and centre of the region.

EMnE [əɪ] was subsequently subject to a process of lowering towards the front of the mouth ([aɪ]), the back ([ɑɪ]) or into the fully open central position ([äɪ]). Each of these possibilities is represented by an allophonic type in SKSE.

The distribution of the [aɪ] allophonic type resembles that of [əɪ], in that two of the three conservative areas are represented (Map P41). The [aɪ] type is relatively rare in SKSE and could be a purely local development of [əɪ]. It could, however, in view of the similarity with the distribution of [əɪ], once have been a more widespread feature which has subsequently receded into the familiar conservative peripheral areas along with [əɪ] itself.

The distribution pattern of the [ɑɪ] allophonic type complements those of [aɪ] and [əɪ] in so far as it is absent or rare in the three conservative areas identified: eastern Kent, south-western Kent and eastern Sussex, and the extreme western part of Sussex (Map P43). This type is common in popular London speech as a realization of the corresponding /aɪ/ phoneme of RP,⁷⁵ and the northern and central orientation of SKSE [ɑɪ] in part of the region seems to suggest an association with the speech of London. However, [ɑɪ] is absent from the extreme north of the region and has tended to

recede southwards in the west. Here it has clearly been replaced by the [äɪ] type (Map P42), the distribution of which points much more clearly to the influence of London speech in the gradual spread of the feature from the north over large parts of the region.

The history and geography of the [aɪ] and [äɪ] allophonic types in SKSE is complicated and the chronological sequence uncertain. [aɪ] may, like [aɪ], be a local development of [əɪ], perhaps reinforced by a similar development in popular London speech; and the apparently more recent spread of [äɪ], which has tended to replace [aɪ] in part of the region, is probably due to the influence of London speech and is perhaps to be associated with the common realization of RP /aɪ/ in the [äɪ ~ äɪ] region.⁷⁶

Phonemic Types

The phonemic types which represent SKSE (ai) at each locality are listed below. The types have been classified as /əɪ/, /aɪ/, /äɪ/, /aɪ/ or /vɪ/ in the same way as the allophonic types.

34.01 /aɪ/ → [aɪ ~ äɪ ~ äɪ ~ äɪ ~ aɪ ~ aɪ ~ a:] (0.8)

/vɪ/ → [vɪ ~ vɪ] (0.2)

34.02 /äɪ/ → [äɪ ~ äɪ ~ äɪ ~ äɪ ~ äɪ ~ aɪ]

34.03 /äɪ/ → [äɪ ~ äɪ ~ äɪ ~ äɪ ~ aɪ ~ ä:]

34.04 /äɪ/ → [äɪ ~ äɪ ~ ä: ~ ä:]

34.05 /äɪ/ → [äɪ ~ äɪ ~ äɪ ~ äɪ ~ äɪ ~ aɪ ~ aɪ]

34.11 /aɪ/ → [äɪ ~ aɪ ~ aɪ ~ äɪ ~ aɪ ~ vɪ] (0.6)

/äɪ/ → [äɪ ~ äɪ ~ äɪ] (0.2)

/aɪ/ → [aɪ ~ äɪ] (0.2)

- 35.01 /äi/ → [ʃi ~ äi ~ di] (0.5)
 /ai/ → [ai] (0.5)
- 35.02 /äi/ → [äi ~ di]
- 35.03 /əi/ → [əi ~ xi ~ xi ~ di ~ ai ~ di]
- 35.04 /äi/ → [äi ~ äi] (0.6)
 /əi/ → [xi ~ xi ~ fi] (0.4)
- 35.05 /äi/ → [xi ~ äi ~ äi ~ di ~ ai ~ ai]
- 35.06 /äi/ → [ʃi ~ xi ~ ai ~ äi ~ äi ~ di ~ ai ~ fi ~ ai]
- 35.07 /əi/ → [əi ~ ʃi ~ ʃi]
- 35.11 /əi/ → [əi ~ xi ~ xi ~ di ~ di ~ ai ~ ai ~
 ai ~ ai ~ fi ~ ai]
- 35.12 /ai/ → [xi ~ di ~ di ~ ai ~ a^o ~ ai ~ ä: ~ a:]
- 35.13 /ai/ → [ai ~ ai ~ fi ~ a:^o] (0.8)
 /vi/ → [vi] (0.2)
- 35.14 /äi/ → [ʃi ~ xi ~ xi ~ äi ~ äi ~ di ~ di ~ ai ~
 ai ~ fi ~ vi]
- 35.15 /äi/ → [di ~ di ~ ai ~ ai ~ ai] (0.65)
 /əi/ → [əi ~ ʃi ~ xi ~ xi ~ ai ~ fi] (0.35)
- 40.01 /ai/ → [äi ~ di ~ ai ~ ä: ~ a:]
- 40.02 /ai/ → [ʃi ~ xi ~ xi ~ ai ~ ʃi ~ di]
- 40.03 /ai/ → [ʃi ~ ai ~ di ~ ai]
- 40.04 /əi/ → [əi ~ ʃi ~ ai ~ ʃi]
- 40.05 /əi/ → [əi ~ ʃi ~ xi ~ ʃi ~ ʃi ~ xi ~ di ~ ai] (0.8)
 /ai/ → [ai] (0.2)
- 40.06 /əi/ → [əi ~ ʃi ~ xi ~ ai ~ ʃi ~ äi ~ di]
- 40.11 /ai/ → [xi ~ di ~ ai ~ ai ~ ai ~ fi ~ ai] (0.8)
 /vi/ → [vi] (0.2)
- 40.12 /äi/ → [xi ~ xi ~ äi ~ äi ~ di ~ ai ~ ai ~ fi ~ ai] (0.7)
 /ai/ → [ʃi ~ ai ~ ai ~ a:] (0.3)

40.13 /əɪ/ → [əɪ ~ æɪ ~ ɛɪ ~ ɶɪ ~ ʌɪ ~ ʊɪ ~ aɪ ~ a:]

40.14 /aɪ/ → [äɪ ~ ǟɪ ~ ǟ̄ɪ ~ ǟ̄̄ɪ ~ aɪ ~ aɪ̄ ~ a:]

40.15 /aɪ/ → [ɛ̄ɪ ~ ǟ̄̄ɪ ~ aɪ ~ a^oɪ ~ vɪ]

40.16 /aɪ/ → [æɪ ~ ǟ̄̄ɪ ~ aɪ ~ vɪ]

40.17 /aɪ/ → [ɛ̄̄̄ɪ ~ ɛ̄̄̄̄ɪ ~ ǟ̄̄̄̄ɪ ~ aɪ ~ a^oɪ ~ aɪ̄ ~ ʌɪ̄ ~ vɪ]

The geographical distribution of these types is shown on Map P4.

Conditioned Phonetic Developments

I Before (r) SKSE (ai) is usually realized by a closing diphthong followed by [ə(r)]. This diphthong normally has the same quality as unconditioned (ai) in each locality, but at 40.13 it may be more open and more retracted, e.g. ['ä:ən], 'iron' (53:4). At a number of localities the sequence (air) may be realized by long monophthongs or long centring diphthongs. These allophones are listed below and their distributions are indicated in Table T12a. The information for the SED localities is taken from both the BM and the MRs.

[a:ər] : e.g. [a:ə^hn] 'iron', 35.13 (53:4)

[a^h:ər] : [ha^h:ə^hŋ] 'iron', 34.01 (IV.4.5b)

[ǟ̄̄:ər] : [ǟ̄̄:ə^hn] 'iron', 34.05 (MR)

[ǟ̄̄:ər] : [un^h'tǟ̄̄:ə^hlɪ] 'entirely', 34.04 (MR)

[a:ə] : [fa:ə] 'fire', 40.15 (4:14)

[a:ə̄] : [a:ə̄n] 'iron', 34.01 (I.10.1)

[a:r] : [a^h:rŋ] 'iron', 34.01 (IV.4.5b)

[a^h:r] : [fa^h:r] 'fire', 34.01 (V.3.1)

[a:] : [fa:] 'fire', 34.01 (V.3.1)

Map P45 shows that this feature occurs in a large and coherent area in the north and centre of the region and in a

narrow corridor through central Sussex. This distribution suggests that the feature is an innovation associated with the influence of the speech of London. And indeed, Gimson draws attention to the tendency for RP [aɪə] to be reduced to [a:ə] and then to [a:], and to the corresponding allophone [a:] in Cockney. He concludes:

This monophthongization of /aɪə/ . . . is likely to be one of the most striking sound changes affecting Southern British English in the twentieth century.⁷⁷

II At 34.04 (ai) when followed by the nasals (m) and (n) is almost always realized by a long monophthong rather than by a closing diphthong. The allophonic frequencies for this tendency are presented in Table T12b, and its relationship with the area in which long monophthongs occur for unconditioned (ai) is indicated on Map P44.

III When derived from ME oi, ui (see 2.1.2.7), (ai) may, at 40.13, be realized by allophones which do not represent it when derived from other sources:

[ʌɪ] : e.g. [nʌɪz] 'noise' (IM)

[ʌ'ɪ] : [pʌ'ɪzŋ] 'poison' (54:12)

The allophones [ʌɪ ~ ʌ'ɪ] should perhaps be regarded as transitional between (ai) and (oi) at this locality.

2.1.3.13 (oi)

Table T13

Environments excluded: [oi] allophonic type when occurring in boy (VIII.1.3/42:3) alone (see 2.1.2.8).

i The [oi] allophonic type

The allophones of this type are closing diphthongs beginning with the rounded half-close back vowel [o], or the slightly closer [ɔ], and moving towards the unrounded front vowel [ɪ] which is slightly more closed than CV2 and retracted:

[ɔɪ] : e.g. [vɔɪs] 'voice', 34.02 (VI.5.17)

[oi] : [pɔɪnt] 'point', 35.13 (IM)

ii The [oi] allophonic type

The allophones of this type are closing diphthongs beginning with rounded back vowels, the closest of which is slightly closer than CV6, and moving towards [ɪ] or the closer [ɪ~i]. The target vowel may be reduced to a glide:

[ɔɪ] : e.g. ['bɔɪlɪz] 'boils' vb, 34.11 (31:17)

[oi] : [pɔɪnts] 'points', 40.15 (9:15)

[o:ɪ] : [bɔ:ɪ] 'boy', 34.01 (IX.9.4)

[ɔɪ] : [bɔɪ] 'boy', 35.01 (VIII.1.3)

[ɔɪ] : [dʒɔɪnz] 'joins' nm, 35.11 (IM)

[ɔɪ] : [bɔɪz] 'boys', 35.04 (VIII.1.3)

[ɔɪ] : [ɔɪl] 'oil', 35.03 (V.2.13)

The diphthong may begin with a slightly unrounded vowel:

[vɔɪ] : e.g. ['pɔɪzənəs] 'poisonous', 35.15 (54:12)

[vɔɪ] : [bɔɪz] 'boys', 35.05 (VIII.1.3)

The starting point may be advanced or centralized:

[^ɪʊ] : e.g. [b^ɪɪz] 'oil', 35.06 (V.2.13)

[ʊ] : [b^ʊɪz] 'boils' nm, 40.04 (VI.11.6)

Phonemic Types

The phonemic types which represent SKSE (oi) are classified as /oɪ/ or /oɪ/ in the same way as the allophonic types. /oɪ/ is the phonemic type at all localities except the following:

35.13 /oɪ/ → [oɪ] (0.5)

/oɪ/ → [oɪ] (0.5)

40.11 /oɪ/ → [oɪ ~ ɔɪ ~ oɪ ~ ʊɪ]

40.16 No examples

Conditioned Phonetic Development

The ambivalent status of the [oɪ] allophonic type in boy as a transitional form between the (oi) and (ui) diaphonemes has been discussed in 2.1.2.8. The distribution of the allophones concerned, [ɔɪ ~ ɔ^ɪ ~ oɪ ~ oɪ ~ δɪ ~ ɔɪ], is shown in Table T13a.

2.1.3.14 (ui)

Table T14

The allophones of this diaphoneme are diphthongs beginning with close rounded back vowels approximating to CV8 or slightly more open, or between CV7 and CV8 and advanced, and moving towards the unrounded front vowel [ɪ] which is slightly more closed than CV2 and retracted. The starting point of the diphthong may be lengthened:

[ui] : e.g. [buɪ] 'boy', 35.06 (VIII.1.3)

[u:ɪ] : [bu:ɪ] 'boy', 40.05 (VIII.1.3)

- [ɥi] : e.g. [bɥi] 'boy', 34.03 (VIII.1.3)
 [ɔ̄i] : [bɔ̄i] 'boy', 34.04 (VIII.1.3)
 [ɔ̄i] : [vɔ̄is] 'voice', 34.03 (VI.5.17)
 [ɔ̄i] : [bɔ̄i] 'boy', 40.13 (42:3)

Phonemic Type

The phonemic type of (ui) has been classified as /uɪ/ for all localities in which the diaphoneme occurs.

2.1.3.15 (iu)

Table T15

The following allophones of this diaphoneme form a series of apparently level diphthongs beginning with unrounded retracted front vowels in the close — half-close range, [ɨ ~ ɤ], and ending with a close rounded back vowel approximating to CV8:

- [ɥu] : e.g. [fɥu] 'few', 35.04 (VII.8.21)
 [ɔ̄u] : [dɔ̄u] 'dew', 34.01 (VII.6.7)
 [ɨü] : [fɨü] 'few', 35.02 (VII.8.21)
 [ɨuː] : [tɨuːzdɨ] 'Tuesday', 35.03 (VII.4.2)
 [ɨu:] : [tɨu:n] 'tune', 40.06 (VI.5.19)

The diphthong may move towards the centralized vowel [ü]:

- [ɨü] : e.g. [fɨü] 'few', 35.06 (VII.8.21)

The diphthong may reach [u] via a more open and advanced vowel [ɔ̄]:

- [ɨ[̂]u:] : e.g. [sɨ[̂]u:t] 'suit' nm, 34.05 (VI.14.21)
 [ɨɔ̄u:] : [ɨɔ̄u:] 'ewe', 40.14 (35:6)

The starting point of the diphthong may be reduced to a glide:

- [ɥu:] : e.g. [dɥu:] 'dew', 35.05 (III.3.9)

- [ɥ:] : e.g. [nɥ:t] 'newt', 40.11(47:8)
 [ɥ̥:] : [tɥ̥:n] 'tune', 35.14 (48:10)
 [ü:] : [-nɥ̥:] 'new', 35.04 (VI.14.24)
 [ʷ:] : [kʷ:] 'queue', 40.11 (IM)

Phonemic Type

The phonemic type of SKSE (iu) has been classified as /u/ for all localities in which the diaphoneme occurs.

2.1.3.16 (au)

Table T16

Data for SED localities taken from MRs.

Environments excluded: before (r)

before final and preconsonantal (1)

(2.1.4.2.xi)

SKSE (au) is generally realized by one of a series of closing diphthongs beginning with unrounded front vowels, the closest of which is slightly closer than CV3 and the most open approximating to CV4. The diphthong may start with a retracted or centralized front vowel, rarely with the central vowel [e]. The target vowel, uniquely among SKSE diphthongs, is subject to a great deal of variation, hence the absence of a classification by allophonic types.

The diphthong may move towards a rounded back vowel slightly closer than CV7 and advanced or, at one locality (35.13), slightly more advanced than CV8:

- [ɛə] : e.g. ['kɛəmən] 'cowman', 35.13 (2:4)
 [ɛə] : [ɹɛənd] 'round', 35.01 (MR)
 [ɛə] : [plɛə] 'plough' vb, 40.04 (MR)
 [ɛə] : ['ɛəzɪz] 'houses', 40.16 (4:1)

- [æɔ] : e.g. [ə'beɪt] 'about', 34.02 (MR)
 [dʌɔ] : [dʌɔn] 'down', 35.12 (12:1)
 [nʌɔ] : [nʌɔ] 'now', 40.11 (IM)
 [daɔ] : [daɔn] 'down', 34.03 (MR)
 [æ̃^o] : [dæ̃^on] 'down', 40.13 (12:1)
 [ɛɔ] : [ɛɔs] 'house', 35.11 (4:1)
 [dʌ̃ɔ] : [dʌ̃ɔn] 'down', 40.06 (MR)
 [æ̃ɔ] : [ə'bẽɪt] 'about', 34.05 (MR)
 [nʌ̃ɔ] : [nʌ̃ɔ] 'now', 35.06 (MR)
 [ɛ̃ɔ] : [ɛ̃ɔt] 'out', 35.11 (IM)
 [plɛ̃ɔ] : [plɛ̃ɔ] 'plough' m, 35.01 (MR)
 [ʌ̃ɔ] : [ʌ̃ɔnd] 'round', 40.03 (MR)
 [ʌ̃ɔz] : ['ʌ̃ɔzɪz] 'houses', 35.12 (4:1)
 [θɔ] : ['θɔzənd] 'thousand', 40.11 (28:18)
 [nʌ̃^u] : [nʌ̃^u] 'now', 35.13 (IM)
 [ɔ̃^u] : [ɔ̃^ut] 'out', 34.01 (MR)
 [æ̃^u] : [æ̃^ut] 'out', 35.05 (MR)

The diphthong may move towards a more centralized vowel,

[ɔ̃]:

- [æ̃ɔ̃] : e.g. [ʌ̃ɔ̃nd] 'round', 40.12 (8:4)
 [kæ̃ɔ̃z] : [kæ̃ɔ̃z] 'cows', 35.14 (29:1)
 [nãɔ̃] : [nãɔ̃] 'now', 35.03 (MR)
 [ɔ̃^u] : [ɔ̃^ut] 'out', 35.07 (MR)
 [gʌ̃ɔ̃] : [gʌ̃ɔ̃n] 'ground', 35.03 (MR)

The target vowel may be a fully central rounded vowel, slightly more open than CV18 (i.e. [ɤ̃]):

- [æ̃ɤ̃] : e.g. [ʌ̃ɤ̃n] 'round', 35.13 (8:4)
 [ɔ̃^u] : [ɔ̃^ut] 'out', 34.04 (MR)
 [dæ̃ɤ̃] : [dæ̃ɤ̃n] 'down', 40.11 (12:1)
 [hæ̃ɤ̃] : [hæ̃ɤ̃s] 'house', 40.11 (4:1)

[aʊ] : e.g. [aʊt] 'out', 35.11 (IM)

[aʊ] : [aʊt] 'out', 35.14 (IM)

[aʊ] : [naʊ] 'now', 35.03 (MR)

The target vowel may be fronted to [ɹ], a rounded front vowel which is slightly more closed than CV10 and retracted:

[æɹ] : e.g. [plæɹ] 'plough' m, 35.03 (MR)

The diphthong may move towards [ɪ], the unrounded equivalent of [ɜ]:

[ɛɪ] : e.g. ['hɛɪzɪz] 'houses', 34.11 (4:1)

[aɪ] : [naɪ] 'now', 40.05 (MR)

[aɪ] : [daɪn] 'down', 40.17 (12:1)

(au) may be realized by one of a series of centring diphthongs moving towards [ə], an unrounded central vowel between half-close and half-open:

[ɛə] : e.g. [ɛəns] 'ounce', 40.14 (28:21)

[æə] : [dæən] 'down', 35.04 (MR)

[aə] : [aəʔ] 'out', 35.02 (MR)

Or it may be realized by one of the following long front unrounded vowels:

[æ:] : e.g. [hæ:s] 'house', 35.13 (4:1)

[æ:] : [næ:] 'now', 40.15 (IM)

[a:] : [ə'ba:t] 'about', 40.11 (8:10)

SKSE (au) may be realized by a long back rounded vowel, slightly more open and advanced than CV8 and preceded by an unrounded central glide:

[aʊ̯:] : e.g. [daʊ̯:n] 'down', 35.14 (IM)

The similar allophone [u:] occurs in the EM at 35.05 in [bu:t] 'about' (VII.2.8).

Commentary

Map P46 shows that diphthongs with central or centralized front vowels as starting points may represent SKSE (au) over most of the region, with the notable exception of the central northern part. The feature occurs most frequently in central and eastern Kent, and this fact, together with its absence from the central northern part of the region, suggests that it is recessive. The distribution of the [^aɥ:] allophone seems to be closely associated with the area of high frequency in eastern Kent, and it is probable that [^aɥ:] and the diphthongs with central or centralized starting points are archaic and reflect earlier stages in the development of SKSE (au) towards the diphthongs with fully front starting points which are now dominant in the region. According to Dobson the development of ME \bar{u} in eMnE entailed the evolution of a lax onset to [u:] (cf. SKSE [^aɥ:]) which then became the starting point of a diphthong (cf. SKSE [eə]).⁷⁸ In SKSE this must subsequently have undergone a process of lowering and fronting to reach [ɛə ~ eə ~ ɛə ~ ɛə ~ ɛə ~ ɛə ~ ɛə ~ ɛə] via [ɛə ~ ɛə ~ ɛə ~ ɛə]. The preservation of [^aɥ:] from a very early stage in the diphthongization of ME \bar{u} is a remarkable survival in the south of England, and is paralleled by a similar isolated pocket in south-western Gloucestershire (24G16,7) where [^au:] occurs regularly for ME \bar{u} .⁷⁹ The stages represented by [eə] and [ɛə ~ ɛə ~ ɛə ~ ɛə] in SKSE are probably to be dated to the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries.⁸⁰

The variation in the quality of the target vowel of SKSE (au) seems to reflect a progressive phonetic development in which [ə] is advanced to [ɔ], then centralized to [ɥ], un-

rounded to [ɤ] and lowered to [ə], finally being lost altogether in the series of long monophthongs [ɛ: ~ æ: ~ a:]. The calculation of index scores to measure the extent to which each locality has participated in this development is presented in Table C4. The geographical distribution of these index scores is shown on Map P47. The northern orientation of the pattern and the high index scores in the area adjacent to London suggest that this tendency has spread outwards from the London area, moving towards the south in four corridors. This conclusion based on the geographical evidence is confirmed by the fact that [a:] may realize the corresponding RP phoneme /ɑ/ in popular London speech,⁸¹ for which the following sounds have also been noted: [ɛ:ᶻ ~ ɛə ~ a:ᶻ],⁸² [ɛᶻ],⁸³ [ɛr ~ ɛr ~ ɛr];⁸⁴ A. J. Ellis recorded centring diphthongs moving towards [ə] in the popular London speech of the late nineteenth century.⁸⁵ The tendency towards monophthongization in SKSE (au) is therefore closely associated with popular London speech and is, furthermore, an example of a phonetic development which has proceeded gradually through a number of intermediate steps, i.e. [ɛɑ > ɛɔ > ɛɤ > ɛᶻ > ɛə > æ:]. It is, however, possible for [ɛɑ] to have been directly replaced by [æ:] in some localities.

Phonemic Types

The phonemic types which represent SKSE (au) at each locality are listed below. In the classification of these types, all closing diphthongs beginning with a front vowel have been levelled as /ɛɑ/, all closing diphthongs beginning with a central or centralized front vowel as /#ɑ/ and all long front monophthongs as /æ:/.

Conditioned Phonetic Development

Before (r) SKSE (au) is usually realized by a closing diphthong followed by [ə(r)]; in this context the centralization and unrounding of the target vowel of diphthongal allophones seems not to occur. At a number of localities, however, the sequence (aur) may be realized by long monophthongs or centring diphthongs. These allophones are listed below and their distributions are indicated in Table T16a. The information for the SED localities is taken from both the MRs and the BM.

[æ:ər]	:	e.g. [flæ:əʃ]	'flower', 40.14 (58:13)
[æ:ə]	:	[pæ:ə]	'power', 34.04 (MR)
[æːə]	:	[flæːə-]	'flour', 35.02 (V.6.1a)
[æə]	:	[æən]	'ourn', 35.02 (IX.8.5)
[æ:]	:	[flæ:ɹn]	'flowering', 34.01 (VIII.5.13)
[æ:]	:	[flæ:]	'flower', 34.01 (VIII.5.13)
[a:]	:	[a:]	'hour', 34.05 (VII.5.7)

Map P48 shows that the distribution of this feature is broadly similar to that of the parallel development in the sequence (air), (cf. Map P45). Once again the northern bias suggests an association with the speech of London, and Gimson notes the tendency for RP [aə] to be reduced to [a:ə] and then to [a:], and also the levelling of /aɪə/ and /aə/ as [a:] in Cockney,⁸⁶ cf. 2.1.3.12 above.

2.1.3.17 (ou)

Table T17

Data for SED localities taken from MRs

The allophones of this diaphoneme are usually closing diphthongs beginning with rounded back vowels, of which the closest is slightly closer than CV6 and the most open approximating to CV13, and moving towards [ɔ], a rounded back vowel slightly closer than CV7 and advanced:

[ɔ̹ɔ] : e.g. [ɔ̹ɔ] 'old', 35.07 (MR)

[ɔ̹ɔ] : [ɔ̹ɔ] 'old', 40.12 (48:1)

[ɔ̹ɔ] : [sɔ̹ɔ] 'sold', 34.11 (IM)

The diphthong may begin with an advanced or centralized vowel:

[ɔ̹ɔ] : e.g. [gɔ̹ɔ] 'gold', 40.14 (53:10)

[ɔ̹ɔ] : [ɔ̹ɔ] 'old', 35.07 (MR)

[ɔ̹ɔ] : [tɔ̹ɔ] 'told', 34.01 (MR)

At one locality SKSE (ou) may be realized by a long monophthong -- a rounded back vowel slightly more open than CV7:

[ɔ:] : e.g. [kɔ:d] 'cold', 40.17 (59:6)

Phonemic Type

The phonemic type of (ou) has been classified as /ɔ̹ɔ/ for all localities at which the diaphoneme occurs.

2.1.3.18 (Au)

Table T18

Data for SED localities taken from MRS

Environments excluded: before final and preconsonantal (1)

(2.1.4.2.iv)

i The [oɔ] allophonic type

The allophones of this type are closing diphthongs beginning with rounded back vowels in the half-close -- open range and moving towards [ɔ], a rounded back vowel slightly closer than CV7 and advanced:

[oɔ] : e.g. ['oʊvə] 'over', 35.03 (MR)

[ɔɔ] : [wɔʌnt] 'won't', 35.15 (30:2)

[oɔ] : [stɔʌnz] 'stones', 40.16 (3:8)

[vɔ] : [nʊɔ] 'know', 34.02 (MR)

The target vowel may be reduced to a glide:

[v^{ɔ̃}] : e.g. [nʊ^{ɔ̃}] 'no', 40.05 (MR)

The diphthong may begin with a slightly advanced vowel:

[ɔ̃ɔ] : e.g. [gɔ̃ɔ] 'go', 40.05 (MR)

The target vowel may be centralized:

[vɔ̃] : e.g. [vɔ̃st] 'oast', 40.04 (MR)

The geographical distribution of this type is shown on Map P49.

ii The [öɔ] allophonic type

The allophones of this type are closing diphthongs beginning with centralized back or fully central rounded vowels, of which the most open is half-open, and moving towards [ɔ]:

[öɔ] : e.g. [blöɔd] 'blowed', 35.07 (MR)

[öɔ] : [snöɔ] 'snow', 34.11 (51:6)

[ö̯] : e.g. [spö̯az] 'suppose', 40.02 (MR)

[ə̯] : [bə̯anz] 'bones', 35.15 (41:3)

The geographical distribution of this type is shown on Map P50.

iii The [ʌ̯] allophonic type

The allophones of this type are closing diphthongs beginning with unrounded back vowels approximating to, slightly more open than, or slightly advanced from CV14, and moving towards [ʌ̯]:

[ʌ̯] : e.g. [ʌ̯am] 'home', 40.14 (4:19)

[ʌ̯] : [nʌ̯] 'know', 35.03 (MR)

[ʌ̯] : [ʌ̯am] 'home', 34.03 (MR)

The target vowel may be the central rounded vowel [ɤ̯]:

[ʌ̯] : e.g. [dʌ̯nt] 'don't', 35.07 (MR)

iv The [ɤ̯] allophonic type

The allophones of this type are closing diphthongs beginning with unrounded centralized back vowels, of which the closest is slightly closer than half-open, and moving towards [ɤ̯]:

[ɤ̯] : e.g. [dɤ̯nt] 'don't', 35.13 (IM)

[ɤ̯] : [kɤ̯m] 'comb', 34.02 (MR)

[ɤ̯] : [hɤ̯m] 'home', 40.15 (4:19)

The starting point may be advanced towards the front of the mouth:

[ɤ̯] : e.g. [nɤ̯] 'no', 35.14 (IM)

[ɤ̯] : [speɤ̯z] 'suppose', 35.15 (IM)

The target vowel may be [ɤ̯]:

[ɤ̯] : e.g. [tɤ̯z] 'toes', 40.14 (33:25)

v The [əɔ] allophonic type

The allophones of this type are closing diphthongs beginning with [ə], an unrounded central vowel between half-close and half-open, and moving towards [ɔ], the closer [u], or the more advanced [ɔ̃]:

[əɔ] : e.g. [stəɔn] 'stone', 35.04 (MR)

[əu] : [fləun] 'flown', 35.13 (44:3)

[əɔ̃] : [əɔ̃ts] 'oats', 40.17 (22:3)

The allophone [ə̃y:], a long rounded back vowel slightly more open than CV8 and preceded by an unrounded central glide, is included here as it may have evolved from this type:

[ə̃y:] : e.g. [pə̃y:sts] 'posts', 40.12 (IM)

Similar allophones occur in the BM as follows:

34.04 [kəɔkɔ:m] 'curry-comb' (III.5.5); 34.05 [ɔu:] 'row'
 mn (II.9.4); 40.04 [ɔu:d] 'road' (IV.3.12); 40.06 [ku:m]
 'comb' (VI.2.4). The geographical distribution of these allophones and of [ə̃y:] is shown on Map P51. The feature tends to be localized in a southern central area.

vi The [o:] allophonic type

The allophones of this type are long rounded back vowels in the half-close -- open range:

[o:] : e.g. ['o:və] 'over', 35.07 (MR)

[o:] : ['ɔo:mɔn] 'roaming', 40.05 (MR)

[v:] : [mɔ:] 'mow', 40.01 (MR)

This is a suitable place to note some forms which occur in the BM and which seem to have developed from the [o:] type. [to:wəd] 'toad', 40.05 (IV.9.7) shows the development of a centring glide in the long monophthong, (cf. the development of the [eə] allophonic type from [ɛ:] ← (ei), 2.1.3.11);

a change of stress during the further evolution of this sound in initial position has resulted in the development of the sequences (wA-) or (wu-) recorded occasionally in SKSE in the words oak (IV.10.2), oats (II.5.1/22:3) and whole (VII.2.12, with loss of initial (h)), i.e.

[o:] > [óə] > [áə] > [ǎə] > [wA~ wǎ]

The localities concerned are:

oak: 34.02; 40.05 (with loss of initial (w-))

oats: 34.01,05; 40.02,04,06,12

whole: 40.03 (with loss of initial (w-)), 05.

vii The [v] allophonic type

The allophones of this type are short or half-long back vowels in the half-open -- open range which may be rounded or unrounded:

[ʌ] : e.g. [bʌn] 'bone', 40.14 (43:21)

[ʌ̃] : [stʌ̃n] 'stone' (weight), 40.13 (IM)

[ö] : [möst] 'most', 40.13 (IM)

[v] : [bʌθ] 'both', 40.13 (59:1)

[ʌ°] : [nʌ°] 'know', 40.05 (MR)

[v°] : [spv°z] 'suppose', 40.05 (MR)

Similar short vowels occur in the BM as follows: 34.04 [θɔt] 'throat' (VI.6.3); 35.01 [və] 'over' (V.6.8); 35.03 [kəɾukum] 'curry-comb' (III.5.5); 35.04,05 [vəʃ] 'over' (IX.10.6); 40.04 [ɪpʌm] 'hip-bone' (III.2.1); 40.05 [-pʌst] 'post' (IV.3.4), [vəʃ] 'over' (V.6.8).

These short allophones have presumably resulted from the shortening of the [o:] allophonic type in the case of [v~v°] or from the reduction of the [oa], [öa] or [ʌa] allophonic types. The geographical distribution of this allophonic type,

including the examples taken from the BM, is shown on Map P52 where two clear and coherent areas emerge.

Commentary

As in the case of (ei) the modern geographical distribution of the various allophonic types of SKSE (au) sheds important light on the historical development of this diaphoneme in the region, and on the relative chronology of the various stages. The stage in which ME q̄ and qu had merged in SKSE must be represented by the long monophthongs of the [o:] allophonic type. As far as absolute chronology is concerned, Dobson assigns the merger of monophthongal reflexes of ME qu with ME q̄ to the late fifteenth or early sixteenth centuries in Standard English.⁸⁷ There is little evidence in SKSE for the raising to [o:] which occurred in the predecessor of RP,⁸⁸ since [o:] seems to have been diphthongized to sounds in the [oə ~ uə] range more frequently than to [oə]. The modern geographical distribution of this [oə] allophonic type (Map P49) clearly reflects its archaic nature, in that it is concentrated in separate pockets on the periphery of the region and the overall pattern suggests a recession away from the northern and central parts of the region.

With the exception of the [öə] type, the remaining diphthongal allophonic types of (au) represent successive stages in the development of the starting point of the diphthong: [o] is unrounded to [ʌ], then centralized to [ɤ] and finally further advanced and raised to [ə]. The calculation of index scores to measure the extent to which each locality has participated in this development is presented in Table C5. Map P53 shows that the highest index scores occur consist-

ently in a northern central area which also extends south-eastwards through Kent to 35.15. Relatively high index scores occur in a corridor running through central Sussex to 40.15, and again in a small pocket in the extreme south-western corner of the county. The tendency to unround and centralize the starting point of (au) diminishes in intensity as it moves away from its core area in the centre and north of the region, gradually in the west, but with more abrupt boundaries in the south and east.

This pattern suggests that the tendency is associated with the speech of London. The most advanced stage in this development, [əʊ], is similar to the usual modern realization of the corresponding RP phoneme /əʊ/,⁸⁹ and it would therefore seem that the evolution of the conservative SKSE [oʊ] type towards [əʊ] has been closely connected with the standard language, and the geographical evidence identifies the capital as the source of this development in SKSE. It should also be noted that an unrounded and centralized starting point for this diphthong is usual in popular London speech,⁹⁰ and it is probable that this too has exerted some influence on the SKSE situation. In those areas where abrupt transitions occur, particularly in the extreme south and east of the region, it is perhaps more probable that [oʊ] has been directly replaced by [əʊ] rather than through the intermediate stages [ʌʊ] and [ʌə].

It is difficult to accommodate the [öʊ] allophonic type into this analysis. Map P50 shows that its distribution tends to be associated with that of [oʊ] (cf. Map P49), and the most satisfactory explanation is to assume that the centralization which changed [ʌʊ] to [ʌə] operated directly on [oʊ]

Phonemic Types

The phonemic types which represent SKSE (au) at each locality are listed below. The types have been classified as /oɑ/, /öɑ/, /ʌɑ/, /ɣɑ/, /əɑ/ or /o:/ in the same way as the allo-
 phonemic types. The [v] type has been excluded.

- 34.01 /ɣɑ/ → [ʌɑ ~ ɣɑ ~ ʧɑ ~ əɑ]
 34.02 /ɣɑ/ → [ʌɑ ~ ʎɑ ~ ɣɑ ~ əɑ] (0.8)
 /oɑ/ → [vɑ] (0.2)
 34.03 /ʌɑ/ → [ʌɑ ~ ʎɑ] (0.5)
 /ɣɑ/ → [ɣɑ ~ əɑ] (0.4)
 /oɑ/ → [vɑ] (0.1)
 34.04 /əɑ/ → [ɣɑ ~ əɑ] (0.6)
 /ʌɑ/ → [ʌɑ ~ ʎɑ ~ vɑ] (0.4)
 34.05 /ʌɑ/ → [ʌɑ ~ əɑ] (0.6)
 /öɑ/ → [öɑ] (0.4)
 34.11 /ɣɑ/ → [ʌɑ ~ ɣɑ ~ ʧɑ ~ əɑ] (0.8)
 /oɑ/ → [oɑ ~ vɑ ~ øɑ ~ öɑ] (0.2)
 35.01 /əɑ/ → [ʌɑ ~ ɣɑ ~ əɑ]
 35.02 /əɑ/ → [ɣɑ ~ əɑ]
 35.03 /oɑ/ → [oɑ ~ oɑ ~ vɑ] (0.7)
 /ʌɑ/ → [ʌɑ ~ ɥɑ ~ ɣɑ] (0.3)
 35.04 /əɑ/ → [ʌɑ ~ ʎɑ ~ ɣɑ ~ ʧɑ ~ əɑ ~ vɑ]
 35.05 /oɑ/ → [oɑ ~ oɑ ~ vɑ ~ øɑ] (0.7)
 /əɑ/ → [əɑ] (0.2)
 /ʌɑ/ → [ʌɑ ~ ʎɑ] (0.1)
 35.06 /əɑ/ → [ʌɑ ~ ɣɑ ~ əɑ]
 35.07 /əɑ/ → [ɣɑ ~ əɑ ~ ʉ:] (0.3)
 /öɑ/ → [oɑ ~ ʧɑ ~ øɑ] (0.2)
 /oɑ/ → [oɑ ~ vɑ] (0.2)
 /ʌɑ/ → [ʌɑ ~ ʎɑ ~ ʎɥ] (0.2)
 /o:/ → [o:] (0.1)

- 35.11 /ə/ → [ħə ~ ʧə ~ əə ~ və]
- 35.12 /ə/ → [ʌə ~ ʰə ~ ʧə ~ əə ~ əy: ~ və]
- 35.13 /ə/ → [ʰə ~ əə ~ əu ~ əy:] (0.7)
/ħə/ → [ħə ~ ʧə ~ və] (0.3)
- 35.14 /ə/ → [ʌə ~ ʰə ~ ʧə ~ ʒə ~ əə ~ əu ~ əə]
- 35.15 /ə/ → [ʌə ~ ʰə ~ əə ~ əə ~ əə ~ əə ~ əə]
- 40.01 /ħə/ → [ʌə ~ ʰə ~ əə] (0.8)
/əə/ → [və] (0.1)
/əy:/ → [v:] (0.1)
- 40.02 /əə/ → [və ~ əə] (0.7)
/ʌə/ → [ʌə ~ ʰə] (0.3)
- 40.03 /ħə/ → [ħə ~ əə] (0.6)
/əə/ → [əə ~ əə ~ və] (0.4)
- 40.04 /ħə/ → [ʌə ~ ʰə ~ əə] (0.8)
/əə/ → [və ~ əə] (0.2)
- 40.05 /əə/ → [əə ~ və ~ v^ə ~ əə] (0.5)
/ʌə/ → [ʌə ~ ʰə ~ ʰə ~ əə] (0.4)
/əy:/ → [əy: ~ əy:] (0.1)
- 40.06 /əə/ → [əə ~ və] (0.8)
/ʌə/ → [ʌə] (0.2)
- 40.11 /ə/ → [ʌə ~ ʰə ~ ʧə ~ əə]
- 40.12 /ə/ → [əə ~ əy: ~ əə ~ və]
- 40.13 /ʌə/ → [ʌə ~ ʰə] (0.4)
/ə/ → [ħə ~ əə] (0.4)
/əə/ → [və ~ əə ~ əə] (0.1)
- 40.14 /ħə/ → [ħə ~ ʧə ~ ʧə ~ əə] (0.4)
/ʌə/ → [ʌə ~ ʰə] (0.4)
/əə/ → [və] (0.2)
- 40.15 /ħə/ → [ħə ~ ʧə ~ əə]

- 40.16 /oə/ → [oə] (0.5)
 /ʌə/ → [ʌə ~ ɰə ~ əə] (0.5)
- 40.17 /əə/ → [ɰə ~ ʏə ~ əə ~ əə̃] (0.8)
 /ʌə/ → [ʌə ~ ʌ̃ə] (0.1)
 /oə/ → [və] (0.1)

The geographical distribution of these types is shown on Map PP6.

2.1.3.19 (ir)

Table T19

Percentage frequencies are not given for the allophones of this diaphoneme or for those of (er) and (ur). The only purpose which these would have served would have been the calculation of the frequencies of rhotic and non-rhotic forms, and this has been omitted for these three diaphonemes for the following reason: since (ir), (er) and (ur) are usually realized by allophones such as [iə(r), eə(r), uə(r)], and since these diaphonemes occur in final position in the majority of cases, the presence or absence of (r) here is probably connected with its treatment in final unstressed (ər) which is not considered in this survey.

Rhotic Types

i The [ɪr] allophonic type

The allophones of this type are short unrounded front vowels, slightly closer than CV2 and retracted or centralized, followed by (r):

[ɪr] : e.g. [jɪɹ] 'year', 35.12 (16:4)

[iɪr] : [jɪ̃ɹ] 'years', 40.14 (16:4)

ii The [iəɹ] allophonic type

The allophones of this type begin with unrounded front vowels in the close — half-close range, some of which are retracted or centralized, and move to (r) via [ə], an unrounded central vowel between half-close and half-open:

- [iəɹ]: e.g. [stiə^d] 'steer' nn, 35.03 (III.1.16)
 [ɨəɹ]: [dɨə^d] 'dear', 34.11 (8:8)
 [ɤəɹ]: [jɤə^d] 'year', 35.04 (VII.3.4)
 [ɯəɹ]: [ʃɯə^ɾ] 'share' nn (of plough), 40.03 (I.8.7)
 [ɤ̄əɹ]: [jɤ̄ə^d] 'year', 40.12 (16:4)
 [īəɹ]: [jīə^ɾ] 'year', 35.06 (VII.3.4)

If the allophone begins with a close front vowel this may be preceded by a retracted or centralized glide:

- [ɯiəɹ] : e.g. [fɯiə^ds] 'fierce', 34.02 (V.6.8)
 [ɨ̄iəɹ] : [kl̄iə^d] 'clear' vb, 35.03 (V.8.14)

iii The [i:r] allophonic type

The single allophone of this type is a long unrounded front vowel, slightly more open than CV1, followed by (r):

- [i:r] : e.g. [ji:r] 'year', 40.17 (16:4)

Non-rhotic Typesiv The [iə] allophonic type

The allophones of this type are centring diphthongs beginning with unrounded front vowels in the close — half-close range, which may be retracted, and moving towards [ə], the slightly more advanced [ɨ̄], or the more open [ɤ̄ ~ ɐ̄]:

- [iə] : e.g. [fiəs] 'fierce', 35.05 (V.6.8)
 [īə] : [īə] 'hear', 35.01 (VI.4.2)
 [ɨ̄ə] : [ʃɨ̄ə] 'share' nn (of plough), 40.13 (10:5)

- [ɪə] : e.g. [ʃɪə] 'share' nn (of plough), 35.13 (10:5)
 [ɪə] : [nɪə] 'near', 34.01 (IX.2.10)
 [ɪə̃] : [jɪə̃z] 'years', 35.01 (VII.3.4).
 [ɪə̃] : [ɪə̃z] 'ears', 35.02 (VI.4.1)
 [ɪə̃] : [jɪə̃] 'year', 35.12 (16:4)
 [ɪə̃] : [jɪə̃z] 'years', 35.14 (16:4)

While the above allophones are falling diphthongs, a rising diphthong was recorded at one locality:

- [ɪ'ə] : e.g. [jɪ'ə] 'year', 35.15 (16:4)

Phonemic Types

All rhotic types are classified as /ɪər/ and all non-rhotic types as /ɪə/. Thus /ɪər/ occurs as a phonemic type of SKSE (ir) at all localities, and /ɪə/ at: 34.01,11; 35.01,02,05,12-15; 40.11,13-15,17.

2.1.3.20 (er)

Table T20

Rhotic Types

i The [ɛr] allophonic type

The allophones of this type are short unrounded front vowels, approximating to CV3 or slightly closer and retracted, followed by (r):

- [ɛ̃r] : e.g. [dɛ̃r] 'there', 35.13 (IM)
 [ɛr] : [wɛr] 'wears', 40.12 (8:6)

ii The [ɛə] allophonic type

The allophones of this type begin with unrounded front vowels in the half-close -- half-open range, some of which are retracted or centralized, and move to (r) via [ə], an unrounded central vowel between half-close and half-open, or the slightly more advanced [ɘ]:

[ɛ̠ə] : e.g. [hɛ̠ə^r] 'hare', 34.04 (IV.5.10)

[ɛ̠ə] : [skɛ̠ə^r-] 'scare', 35.13 (19:3)

[ɛ̠ə] : [ʃɛ̠ə^r] 'share' nm (of plough), 40.02 (I.8.7)

[ɛ̠ə] : [kɛ̠ə^d] 'care' vb, 35.07 (IX.4.10)

[ɛ̠ə^r] : [lɛ̠ə^d] 'lair', 35.06 (III.11.3)

A close [ɪ] may intervene between the front vowel and [ə]:

[eɪə] : e.g. [meɪə^d] 'mare', 35.05 (III.4.5)

[ɛ̠ə] : [hɛ̠ə^d] 'hare', 35.06 (IV.5.10)

[eɪə] : [eɪə^r-] 'hair', 40.06 (V.9.11)

[ɛ̠ə] : [ɛ̠ə^r] 'ear' (of corn), 35.06 (II.5.2)

The central element may be reduced to a glide:

[e^ɹ] : e.g. [e^ɹ:d] 'heard', 35.07 (V.7.7)

[e^ɹ] : [ʃe^ɹ:d] 'shear' vb, 35.06 (III.7.6)

iii The [ɛ:r] allophonic type

The allophones of this type are long unrounded half-open front or centralized front vowels followed by (r):

[ɛ:r] : e.g. [skɛ^r:-] 'scare', 40.17 (19:3)

[ɛ̠:r] : [wɛ̠^d:z] 'wears', 35.14 (8:6)

Non-rhotic Typesiv The [ɛə] allophonic type

The allophones of this type are centring diphthongs beginning with unrounded front vowels approximating to CV3, slightly closer or more open than CV3, or centralized from CV3, and moving towards [ə], the slightly more advanced [ɛ̄] or the more open [ɚ]:

[ɛə] : e.g. [pɛəz] 'pears', 34.01 (IV.11.8b)

[tɛə] : [tʃɛə] 'chair', 40.14 (4:11)

[ɛ̄] : [ɛ̄-] 'hear', 35.06 (VI.4.2)

[ɛ̄] : [wɛ̄] 'wear', 35.01 (VI.14.14)

[ɛ̄] : [bɛ̄] 'bare', 35.15 (33:32)

[ɛ̄] : [bɛ̄-] 'bare', 35.06 (VI.10.2)

[ɛ̄] : [pɛ̄z] 'pears', 35.01 (IV.11.8b)

[ɛ̄] : [mɛ̄] 'mare', 40.11 (34:5)

[ɛ̄] : [ðɛ̄] 'there', 35.12 (IM)

[ɛ̄] : [stɛ̄z] 'stairs', 35.01 (V.2.5)

An [ɪ] glide may intervene after the front vowel:

[ɛɪ] : e.g. [ɛɪ] 'hair', 35.06 (VI.2.1)

[ɛɪ] : [mɛɪ] 'mare', 35.01 (III.4.5)

[ɛɪ] : [ɛɪ] 'hare', 35.01 (IV.5.10)

y The [ɛ:] allophonic type

The allophones of this type are long front unrounded vowels approximating to CV3 or slightly closer; the vowel may be retracted:

[ɛ:] : e.g. [skɛ:] 'scare', 40.15 (19:3)

[ɛ:] : [ðɛ:] 'there', 35.13 (IM)

[ɛ:] : [wɛ:z] 'wears', 34.11 (8:6)

Phonemic Types

All rhotic types are classified as /ɛər/ which therefore represents SKSE (er) at all localities. The non-rhotic types are classified in the same way as the allophonic types: as /eə/ which comprises all the centring diphthongs and which occurs at: 34.01,03,11; 35.01,02,05-07,12-15; 40.01,02,11-14; and as /ɛ:/ which comprises the long monophthongs and occurs at: 34.11; 35.13,15; 40.12,13,15,17.

2.1.3.21 (ar)

Table T21

Data for SED localities taken from MRsRhotic Types

Table T21a

i The [ar] allophonic type

The allophones of this type are short unrounded fully open vowels followed by (r):

[ar] : e.g. ['gɑ^ɹɹdən] 'garden', 40.11 (9:6)[a_r] : [bɑ^ɹɹ] 'bar', 40.16 (6:12)[ä_r] : [spü^ɹɹz] 'spars', 40.05 (MR)[ɑ⁺ɹ] : [bɑ⁺ɹɹz] 'bars', 34.11 (3:3)

Although this type, like the [ɪr] and [ɛr] allophonic types of (ir) and (er) respectively, is important in that it demonstrates the phonetic reality of the diaphonemes consisting of the sequence 'short vowel + (r)', it is given no further consideration here, since it is difficult to accommodate it in the analysis of the long vowels which realize (ar) in all other cases.

ii The [a:r] allophonic type

The allophones of this type are long unrounded front vowels in the half-open — open range followed by (r):

[æ:r] : e.g. [hæːd] 'hard', 40.12 (IM)

[a:r] : [ˈkaːtə] 'carter' 40.03 (MR)

The vowel may be retracted:

[ɑ:r] : e.g. [fɑːm] 'farm', 35.11 (1:1)

The geographical distribution of this type is shown on Map P54.

iii The [ä:r] allophonic type

The allophones of this type are long unrounded fully open centralized vowels followed by (r); the slightly closer [ä:r~ ɶ:r] and the considerably more closed [ɛ:r] are also included here:

[ä:r] : e.g. [jäːdz] 'yards', 34.04 (MR)

[ɶ:r] : [jɶːd] 'yard', 40.13 (1:4)

[ɛ:r] : [pɛːt] 'part', 40.17 (IM)

[ü:r] : [füːm] 'farm', 35.07 (MR)

[ɶ:r] : [ˈhɶːvɪst] 'harvest', 34.05 (MR)

The geographical distribution of this type is shown on Map P55.

iv The [ɑ:r] allophonic type

The allophones of this type are long unrounded open back vowels approximating to CV5, or advanced from CV5, followed by (r):

[ɑːr] : e.g. [stɑːrʔ] 'start', 35.13 (IM)

[ɑ:r] : [fɑːm] 'farm', 40.14 (1:1)

The geographical distribution of this type is shown on Map P56.

v The [ɑ:ɚ] allophonic type

The single allophone of this type begins with the long open unrounded vowel [ɑ:] and moves to (r) via the unrounded central vowel [ə]:

[ɑ^r:ə^r] : e.g. [kɑ^r:ə^rt] 'cart', 40.13 (13:3)

Non-rhotic Types

Table T21b

vi The [ɑ:ə] allophonic type

The single allophone of this type is a centring diphthong beginning with [ɑ:], a long open unrounded vowel slightly advanced from CV5, and moving towards [ə], an unrounded central vowel between half-close and half-open:

[ɑ:ə] : e.g. [fɑ:əm] 'farm', 34.03 (MR)

vii The [ɑ:] allophonic type

The allophones of this type are long unrounded front vowels in the half-open — open range:

[æ:] : e.g. [ʃæ:p] 'sharp' vb, 40.13 (IM)

[ɑ:] : [kɑ:t] 'cart', 35.04 (MR)

The vowel may be retracted:

[ɑ:] : e.g. [fɑ:mɪn] 'farming', 40.12 (1:3)

viii The [ä:] allophonic type

The allophones of this type are long unrounded fully open centralized vowels:

[ä:] : e.g. [stä:t] 'start', 35.05 (MR)

[ä:] : [kä:t] 'cart', 35.12 (13:3)

ix The [ɑ:] allophonic type

The allophones of this type are long open unrounded back vowels, approximating to CV5 or advanced from CV5:

[ɑ̃:] : e.g. [jɑ̃:dz] 'yards', 34.01 (MR)

[ɑ:] : [ja:d] 'yard', 40.15 (1:4)

This type is in the majority in all non-rhotic systems, except at: 34.03; 35.04,05; 40.01,12.

Commentary

The [ɑ:r] allophonic type presumably reflects the eMnE lengthening of ME ǣ, i.e. [a], before final and preconsonantal (r) and is therefore an archaic survival from this period in SKSE. Its restriction to two fairly small separate and predominantly peripheral areas (Map P54) is consistent with this archaic status.

The [ɑ̃:r] allophonic type is absent from the northern part of the region (Map P55), and its frequency increases as it approaches three marginal areas. This distribution suggests that this type too is fairly old and has perhaps been replaced in the central and northern part of the region. Its distribution is, however, more widespread than that of [ɑ:r], which would seem to indicate that it is more recent.

The [ɑ:r] allophonic type must be the innovation which has replaced [ɑ̃:r] and the earlier [ɑ:r] in a large part of the region (Map P56). It is concentrated in a large continuous central and northern area and it has divided more conservative areas to reach the Sussex and Kent coasts. Its orientation towards the north of the region suggests an association with London speech, and the quality of the vowel is no doubt connected with the corresponding [ɑ̃:~ɑ:] of RP.⁹²

Thus SKSE (ar) has, since the eMnE period, been subject to a process of retraction similar to that undergone by SKSE (aa), cf. 2.1.3.8. Each stage of this process has been preserved in certain SKSE dialects to an extent determined partly by geographical position and partly by the extent of linguistic conservatism in the individual varieties.

The predominance of the [a:] allophonic type in the non-rhotic systems must likewise be due to the influence of RP.

The extent to which final and preconsonantal (r) has been lost has clearly had a considerable influence on the nature of the (ar) diaphoneme in modern SKSE. Since, however, the loss of (r) in this environment may affect the whole phonemic structure of the dialects involved, the examination of this development in the (ar), (or) and (ʌr) diaphonemes is included in a later section (2.1.5.1).

Phonemic Types

Rhotic Systems

The phonemic types have been classified as /a:r/, /ä:r/ or /ɑ:r/ in the same way as the allophonic types. It should be borne in mind, however, that the following are strictly speaking phonemic types of SKSE (a) conditioned by a following final or preconsonantal (r):

34.01 /a:r/ → [ä:r]

34.02 /a:r/ → [ä:r ~ a:r]

34.03 /a:r/ → [a:r ~ ɑ:r ~ ä:r]

34.04 /ä:r/ → [a:r ~ ɑ:r ~ ä:r ~ ɤ:r ~ ä:r]

34.05 /ä:r/ → [ɑ:r ~ ä:r ~ ɤ:r ~ ɥ:r ~ ä:r] (0.7)

/a:r/ → [a:r] (0.3)

34.11 /a:r/ → [ä:r ~ ä:r ~ a:r]

- 35.01 /a:r/ → [ä:r]
 35.02 /a:r/ → [a:r]
 35.03 /ü:r/ → [ä:r]
 35.04 /a:r/ → [a:r ~ a:r]
 35.05 /a:r/ → [ä:r ~ ü:r ~ ä:r]
 35.06 /a:r/ → [ä:r ~ a:r]
 35.07 /ü:r/ → [ü:r ~ ä:r]
 35.11 /a:r/ → [a:r ~ a:r ~ ä:r ~ ä:r] (0.8)
 /a:r/ → [ü:r ~ ä:r ~ a:r] (0.2)
 35.12 /a:r/ → [ä:r ~ ä:r ~ a:r]
 35.13 /a:r/ → [ä:r ~ a:r]
 35.14 /a:r/ → [a:r ~ ä:r ~ ä:r ~ a:r]
 35.15 /a:r/ → [ü:r ~ ü:r ~ ä:r ~ a:r]
 40.01 /ü:r/ → [a:r ~ a:r ~ ä:r ~ ü:r ~ ä:r]
 40.02 /a:r/ → [a:r ~ ä:r ~ ü:r ~ ä:r ~ a:r]
 40.03 /a:r/ → [a:r ~ a:r ~ ä:r] (0.7)
 /a:r/ → [ü:r ~ ä:r] (0.3)
 40.04 /a:r/ → [ä:r] (0.7)
 /ü:r/ → [ä:r ~ ü:r] (0.3)
 40.05 /a:r/ → [ä:r ~ ü:r ~ ü:r ~ ä:r ~ a:r]
 40.06 /a:r/ → [ä:r ~ ü:r ~ ä:r]
 40.11 /a:r/ → [a:r ~ a:r ~ ä:r ~ ø:r ~ ü:r] (0.65)
 /a:r/ → [ä:r ~ a:r] (0.35)
 40.12 /a:r/ → [ä:r ~ ü:r ~ ä:r ~ a:r] (0.6)
 /a:r/ → [æ:r ~ a:r ~ a:r] (0.4)
 40.13 /a:r/ → [a:r ~ ä:r ~ ü:r ~ ä:r ~ ä:r^r : ø^r]
 40.14 /a:r/ → [ä:r ~ ü:r ~ ä:r ~ a:r]
 40.15 /a:r/ → [ü:r ~ ä:r]

40.16 /a:r/ → [a:r ~ ä:r ~ ä̇:r ~ ü:r] (0.8)

/a:r/ → [ä:r ~ a:r] (0.2)

40.17 /a:r/ → [ä:r ~ ä̇:r ~ ə:r ~ ü:r ~ ä̇:r] (0.7)

/a:r/ → [a:r ~ a:r] (0.3)

The geographical distribution of these types is shown on Map PP7a.

Non-rhotic Systems

The non-rhotic phonemic types which represent SKSE (ar) have been classified as /a:/, /ä:/ or /a:/ in the same way as the allophonic types. The phonemic type is /a:/ alone at all except the following localities:

34.03 /a:/ → [a: ~ a: ~ ä: ~ ä̇:ə]

35.03 /a:/ → [ä:] (0.7)

/ä:/ → [a: ~ ä: ~ ü:] (0.3)

35.04 /a:/ → [a: ~ a: ~ ä: ~ ü:]

35.05 /ä:/ → [ä: ~ ü: ~ ä:]

35.11 /a:/ → [ü: ~ ä:] (0.6)

/a:/ → [a: ~ a:] (0.4)

40.01 /a:/ → [a:] (0.5)

/a:/ → [ä:] (0.5)

40.11 /a:/ → [ä: ~ a:] (0.75)

/a:/ → [a:] (0.25)

40.12 /ä:/ → [a: ~ a: ~ ä: ~ ü: ~ ä:]

40.13 /a:/ → [ü: ~ ä:] (0.6)

/a:/ → [æ: ~ a: ~ a: ~ ä:] (0.4)

The geographical distribution of these types is shown on Map PP7b.

2.1.3.22 (or)

Table T22

Data for SED localities taken from MRs

Environments excluded: when final at: 35.11,13; 40.11

when derived from ME ǫ + r at 40.06Rhotic Types

Table T22a

i The [o:r] allophonic type

The allophones of this type are a series of long rounded back vowels followed by (r); the closest of the vowels is slightly closer than CV6 and the most open approximates to CV13:

- [ɔ:r] : e.g. [ɔ̄ːs] 'horse', 35.13 (7:2)
 [o:r] : [fōːk] 'fork', 34.11 (3:13)
 [ɤ:r] : [kɤ̄ːn] 'corn', 35.07 (MR)
 [ɔ̄:r] : [wɔ̄ːts] 'warts', 40.12 (33:35)

The vowel may be advanced or centralized:

- [ɔ̄ːr] : e.g. [hɔ̄ːsɪz] 'horses', 34.05 (MR)
 [ö:r] : [sȫːtʃ] 'sorts', 35.15 (IM)

The following allophone containing [ə:], a long unrounded central vowel between half-close and half-open, is included here:

- [ə:r] : e.g. [ə̄ːnɔ̄z] 'horns', 35.14 (IM)

The similar allophone [ɛ:r] was recorded in the EM at 35.07 in [fɛ̄ːk] 'fork' (I.7.9).

The allophones of this type may undergo a process of unrounding:

- [ō:r] : e.g. [kōːn] 'corn', 35.15 (22:5)
 [ɔ̄:r] : [lɔ̄ːd] 'Lord', 35.03 (MR)
 [a:r] : [jāːks] 'yorks' (= 'knee-straps'), 40.17

(3:18)

Similar open unrounded allophones were recorded in the BM as follows: 35.02 [fa^ɹ:] 'four' (VII.1.4); 40.05 [ma^ɹ:rɪn] 'morning' (VII.3.11).

ii The [oɚ] allophonic type

The allophones of this type begin with rounded back vowels, which may be advanced, and move to (r) via [ə], an unrounded central vowel between half-close and half-open, or, rarely, the more open [ɜ]:

[oɚ]	: e.g. [bɪ'fəɚ ^d] 'before', 40.05 (MR)
[ɔɚ]	: [sɔɚ ^ɹ tʃ] 'sorts', 40.11 (IM)
[oɚ]	: [boɚ ^ɹ dz] 'boards', 40.15 (IM)
[ɔɚ]	: [bɔɚ ^d] 'boar', 40.12 (36:8)
[ɔɚ]	: [kɔɚ ^d dz] 'cords', 35.12 (IM)
[oɚ]	: [kəɚ ^d n] 'corn', 34.04 (MR)
[ɔɚ]	: [ɔɚ ^d s] 'horse', 35.03 (MR)
[ɔɚ]	: [kɔɚ ^d n] 'corn', 40.05 (MR)
[⁺ ɔɚ]	: [k ⁺ ɔɚ ^d s] 'course', 34.05 (MR)
[⁺ oɚ]	: [f ⁺ oɚ ^d] 'sure', 40.13 (12:2)

Non-rhotic Types

Table T22b

iii The [oə] allophonic type

The allophones of this type are centring diphthongs beginning with rounded back vowels, the closest of which is slightly closer than half-open and which may be advanced and/or lengthened, and moving towards the unrounded central vowel [ə] or, rarely, the more open [ɜ]:

[ɔə]	: e.g. [kɔəs]	'course', 35.04 (MR)
[ɔ:ə]	: [kɔ:ən]	'corn', 35.14 (22:5)
[oə]	: [koən]	'corn', 40.02 (MR)
[o:ə]	: [kwɔ:ət]	'quart', 35.11 (31:14)
[ɔʊ]	: [fɔʊdʒ]	'forge' nm, 35.06 (MR)
[ɔ̃]	: [fɔ̃dʒ]	'forge' nm, 35.02 (MR)
[õ]	: [kɔ̃s]	'course', 35.05 (MR)
[ɔ̃:ə]	: [wɔ̃:əm]	'warm', 40.13 (IM)

The starting point of the diphthong may be slightly unrounded:

[vɪə]	: e.g. [vɪəs]	'horse', 35.03 (MR)
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iv The [o:] allophonic type

The allophones of this type are long rounded back vowels. The closest is slightly closer than CV6 and the most open is fully open, approximating to CV13:

[ɔ:]	: e.g. [fɔ:k]	'fork', 35.13 (9:12)
[o:]	: [fo:k]	'fork', 40.13 (3:13)
[ɔ̃:]	: ['mɔ̃:nɪŋ]	'morning', 35.05 (MR)
[ɔ̃:]	: ['pɔ̃:sɪz]	'horses', 35.03 (MR)
[vɔ:]	: [k ^w vɔ:n]	'corn', 40.01 (MR)

The vowel may be advanced:

[ɔ̃:]	: ['mɔ̃:nɪŋ]	'morning', 34.05 (MR)
[õ:]	: [sɔ̃:ts]	'sorts', 35.02 (MR)

Like those of [o:r], the allophones of this type may undergo a process of unrounding:

[vɔ:]	: e.g. [vɔ:sɪz]	'horses', 35.03 (MR)
[ɔ̃:]	: [kɔ̃:n]	'corn', 35.03 (MR)
[ɔ̃:]	: ['fɔ̃:weɪd]	'forward', 35.05 (MR)

v The distribution of unrounding in (or), as exemplified by the allophones [oɹ:r ~ ʊɹ:r ~ a:r ~ ʊɹ: ~ [†]ɑ: ~ [†]ɑ:], is presented on Map P57. This tendency is concentrated in two distinct areas: eastern Kent and south-eastern Sussex. The fact that this distribution parallels to some extent that of relatively high index scores for unrounding in (o), cf. Map P26, suggests that unrounding in (or), which presumably preceded the loss of final and preconsonantal (r), may be related to unrounding in (o), cf. 2.1.3.4.

Phonemic Types

Rhotic Systems

The phonemic types are classified as /o:r/ or /oær/ in the same way as the allophonic types. Like the rhotic phonemic types of (ar), the following are theoretically members of the (o) diaphoneme conditioned by a following final or preconsonantal (r):

- 34.01 /o:r/ → [o:r]
 34.02 /o:r/ → [o:r] (0.7)
 /oær/ → [oær] (0.3)
 34.03 /oær/ → [oær] (0.6)
 /o:r/ → [o:r] (0.4)
 34.04 /o:r/ → [o:r] (0.6)
 /oær/ → [oær] (0.4)
 34.05 /oær/ → [oær ~ [†]oær ~ [†]oær] (0.6)
 /o:r/ → [o:r ~ [†]o:r] (0.4)
 34.11 /o:r/ → [o:r] (0.7)
 /oær/ → [oær] (0.3)
 35.01 /oær/ → [oær ~ [†]oær]
 35.02 /oær/ → [[†]oær]

- 35.03 /o:r/ → [o:r ~ v:r ~ v(:):r ~ a:r] (0.7)
 /øer/ → [øer ~ øer ~ øer] (0.3)
- 35.04 /øer/ → [øer ~ øer] (0.7)
 /o:r/ → [o:r] (0.3)
- 35.05 /o:r/ → [o:r ~ v:r] (0.65)
 /øer/ → [øer] (0.35)
- 35.06 /o:r/ → [o:r]
- 35.07 /o:r/ → [o:r ~ ø:r ~ v:r] (0.75)
 /øer/ → [øer] (0.25)
- 35.11 /o:r/ → [o:r] (0.7)
 /øer/ → [øer] (0.3)
- 35.12 /o:r/ → [ø:r ~ o:r] (0.6)
 /øer/ → [øer ~ øer ~ †øer] (0.4)
- 35.13 /o:r/ → [ø:r ~ o:r]
- 35.14 /o:r/ → [o:r ~ ø:r] (0.7)
 /øer/ → [øer] (0.3)
- 35.15 /øer/ → [øer ~ øer] (0.6)
 /o:r/ → [o:r ~ ö:r ~ o(:):r] (0.4)
- 40.01 /o:r/ → [o:r]
- 40.02 /o:r/ → [o:r] (0.7)
 /øer/ → [øer] (0.3)
- 40.03 /o:r/ → [o:r]
- 40.04 /o:r/ → [o:r] (0.9)
 /øer/ → [øer] (0.1)
- 40.05 /o:r/ → [o:r] (0.6)
 /øer/ → [øer ~ øer ~ øer ~ †øer] (0.4)
- 40.06 /øer/ → [øer ~ øer] (0.6)
 /o:r/ → [o:r] (0.4)
- 40.11 /o:r/ → [o:r] (0.8)
 /øer/ → [øer ~ øer ~ øer] (0.2)

40.12 /o:r/ → [o:r ~ v:r ~ a:r] (0.7)

/oer/ → [qer ~ oer] (0.3)

40.13 /oer/ → [per ~ oer ~ †er]

40.14 /o:r/ → [o:r] (0.75)

/oer/ → [oer] (0.25)

40.15 /oer/ → [oer ~ oer]

40.16 /o:r/ → [o:r]

40.17 /o:r/ → [o:r ~ a:r] (0.8)

/oer/ → [oer] (0.2)

The geographical distribution of these types is shown on Map PP8a.

Non-rhotic Systems

The non-rhotic phonemic types which represent SKSE (or) have been classified as /o:/ or /oə/ in the same way as the allophonic types. The phonemic type is /o:/ alone at all except the following localities:

34.11 /o:/ → [o:] (0.8)

/oə/ → [oə ~ o:ə] (0.2)

35.01 /o:/ → [o: ~ †o: ~ †o:] (0.9)

/oə/ → [†oə] (0.1)

35.02 /oə/ → [†oə ~ †oə] (0.6)

/o:/ → [†o: ~ †o:] (0.4)

35.03 /o:/ → [p: ~ v: ~ †o: ~ v(: ~ †o:] (0.9)

/oə/ → [†oə ~ v(ə] (0.1)

35.04 /oə/ → [pə ~ oə ~ †oə] (0.8)

/o:/ → [p: ~ o:] (0.2)

35.05 /o:/ → [o: ~ q: ~ v: ~ †o: ~ †a:] (0.7)

/oə/ → [oə ~ †oə] (0.3)

35.06 /o:/ → [o: ~ q:] (0.7)

- /oə/ → [oə ~ ɔə] (0.3)
 35.13 /o: / → [ɔ: ~ o:] (0.9)
 /ə/ → [ɔ:ə] (0.1)
 35.14 /o: / → [ɔ: ~ o:] (0.8)
 /ə/ → [ɔə ~ ɔ:ə] (0.2)
 35.15 /o: / → [o:] (0.9)
 /ə/ → [oə] (0.1)
 40.02 /oə/ → [oə]
 40.05 /oə/ → [oə] (0.55)
 /o: / → [o:] (0.45)
 40.11 /o: / → [ɔ: ~ o:] (0.6)
 /ə/ → [ɔ:ə ~ oə] (0.4)
 40.13 /o: / → [o:] (0.9)
 /ə/ → [o:ə ~ ɔə ~ ɔ:ə] (0.1)
 40.14 /o: / → [o:] (0.8)
 /ə/ → [oə] (0.2)
 40.17 /o: / → [ɔ: ~ o:] (0.7)
 /ə/ → [oə ~ o:ə] (0.3)

The geographical distribution of these types is shown on Map PP8b.

Conditioned Phonetic Developments

I When in final position, SKSE (or) is realized at certain localities either by a different set of allophones or by similar allophones in different proportions from non-final (or). The localities, allophones and frequencies are indicated in Table T22c. At 35.11 and 40.11 the frequency of the allophones of the [oə] and [oə] types is substantially increased in this position, and at all three localities centring diphthongs moving towards [ə] occur in final position only.

II When derived from ME $\delta + r$, SKSE (or) is realized at 40.06 by a different set of allophones from that which realizes (or) from other sources. The allophones of this subsystem are presented in Table T22d. In words of this type the otherwise absent unrounded [a:r] occurs in the majority of cases, while there is a substantial diminution in the frequency of allophones of the [oer] type.

III In a small, but coherent, central area (Map P58), a [w]-glide may be introduced between initial (k) and a following (or), e.g. [k^wo:n] 'corn', 40.01 (MR); [k^wo^r:s] 'course', 40.11 (IM).

2.1.3.23 (Ar)

Table T23

Data for SED localities taken from MRs

i The [e:r] allophonic type (rhotic type)

The allophones of this type are long unrounded central vowels in the half-close — half-open range followed by (r):

[e:r] : e.g. [gə^r:rθ] 'girth', 40.16 (6:9)

[e:r] : [ˈmɛ^r:tʃənt] 'merchant', 35.03 (MR)

[e:r] : [ˈtɜ^r:nɪp] 'turnip', 40.12 (20:2)

ii The [e:] allophonic type (non-rhotic type)

The allophones of this type are long unrounded central vowels in the half-close — half-open range:

[e:] : e.g. [tʃe:nz] 'churns', 34.11 (31:12)

[e:] : [gə:θ] 'girth', 40.13 (6:8)

[e:] : [ˈɜ:θli] 'earthly', 35.03 (MR)

Phonemic Types

The phonemic types representing SKSE (Λr) have been classified in the same way as the allophonic types. Thus the rhotic type / e:r/ , strictly speaking a conditioned variant of (Λ), occurs at all localities, and the non-rhotic type / e:/ occurs at: 34.01-04,11; 35.01-07,12,13,15; 40.01,03,04,12-15.

2.1.3.24 (ur)

Table T24

Rhotic Typesi The [u ər] allophonic type

The allophones of this type begin with rounded back vowels in the close -- half-close range, which may be advanced or lengthened, and move to (r) via [ə], an unrounded central vowel between half-close and half-open:

[u ər] : e.g. [du ə^{r}] 'door', 40.04 (V.1.8)[u: ər] : [fu: ə^{r}] 'sure', 34.02 (IX.7.12)[ə u ər] : [f u ə^{r}] 'sure', 40.12 (12:2)ii The [o ər] allophonic type

The allophones of this type begin with rounded back vowels in the half-close -- half-open range and move to (r) via [ə]:

[o ər] : e.g. [do ə^{r}] 'door', 40.16 (4:3)[ə o ər] : [f o ə^{r}] 'sure', 40.16 (12:2)

This type, occurring at 40.16 only, is included in (ur), since the reflexes of ME \bar{u} + \underline{r} and eMnE \underline{iu} + \underline{r} , [o $\text{ə}^{\text{r}} \sim \text{œ}^{\text{r}}$], are kept apart from those of ME \bar{o} , \bar{u} + \underline{r} , [o $\text{r}^{\text{r}} \sim \text{œ}^{\text{r}}$] <-- (or), at this locality.

Non-rhotic Typeiii The [uə] allophonic type

The allophones of this type are centring diphthongs beginning with a close rounded back vowel approximating to CV8 ([u]), or the more open and advanced [ɔ~ɤ], and moving towards [ə]:

[uə] : e.g. [mənjuə] 'manure', 34.04 (II.1.4)

[ɔə] : [æɔt'dɔəz] 'outdoors', 40.13 (4:3)

[ɤə] : [pɤə] 'poor', 35.02 (VI.13.1)

Phonemic Types

The phonemic types of SKSE (ur) have been classified in the same way as the allophonic types. Thus /uər/ occurs at:

34.02,03,05; 35.12-15; 40.02-06,11,12,14,17; /oər/ at: 40.16;

/uə/ at: 34.04; 35.02,13; 40.01,13.

2.1.4 The Influence of Following Consonants

The influence of various consonants on the phonetic development of preceding vowels was discussed at several points in the preceding section. As far as the SKSE vowel system as a whole is concerned, conditioning of this kind is of limited importance in that it tends to be restricted to one or two diaphonemes in a relatively small number of localities. The conditioning to be discussed in this section, on the other hand, affects whole classes of diaphonemes throughout the region, and is often of systemic, as well as phonetic, importance.

2.1.4.1 The Influence of Intervocalic (r)

Before intervocalic (r) the SKSE short vowels tend to undergo the following changes (cf. 2.1.3.1-6):

i (i) tends to be centralized:

[ɨ] : e.g. ['skwi:ɨɪ] 'squirrel', 35.15 (45:12)

[ə] : [skwəɾɪ] 'squirrel', 35.02 (IV.5.8)

It may then be lengthened:

[e:] : e.g. [skə^r:ɾɔ] 'squirrel', 40.02 (IV.5.8)

ii (e) tends to be centralized

[ɛ] : e.g. [ɛɪnz] 'herrings', 34.05 (IV.9.11)

[ɛ̄] : [vɛ̄ɾɪ] 'very', 34.01 (VIII.3.2)

[ə] : ['fəɪts] 'ferrets', 40.13 (45:9)

It may then be lengthened:

[e:] : e.g. ['tə^d:bli] 'terribly', 35.12 (IM)

iii (a) tends to be lowered and to undergo a process of retraction:

- [ə] : e.g. ['b̩̩.ɹ̩̩] 'barrel', 35.12 (58:1)
 [a] : ['kɑ.ɹɛts] 'carrots', 35.12 (21:3)
 [ɑ] : ['kɑ.ɹɪ] 'carry', 40.14 (23:16)
 [ɔ̩] : ['b̩̩.ɹ̩̩z] 'barrels', 40.12 (58:1)
 [ɑ̩] : ['b̩̩.ɹ̩̩n] 'barren', 35.14 (30:4)
 [ɑ] : [fɑ̩̩.ɹ̩̩] 'farrow' vb, 40.03 (III.8.10)

It may then be lengthened:

- [ɑ̩:] : e.g. ['b̩̩:ɹ̩̩] 'barrel', 35.14 (58:1)
 [ɑ:] : [bɑ:ɹ̩] 'barrel', 34.04 (VI.13.12)

iv (o) tends to be raised and lengthened:

- [ɔ̩] : e.g. [kwɔ̩.ɹɪ] 'quarry', 35.06 (IV.4.6)
 [ɔ:] : [kwɔ:ɹɪ] 'quarry', 35.05 (IV.4.6)
 [o:] : [kwɔ:ɹɪ] 'quarry', 34.03 (IV.4.6)

v (ʌ) tends to be centralized:

- [ʌ] : e.g. [fʌ̩̩.ɹ̩̩] 'furrow', 34.11 (11:2)
 [ə] : [fə.ɹɛ] 'furrow', 35.01 (II.3.1)
 [ɛ̩] : [fɛ̩̩.ɹ̩̩] 'furrow', 34.01 (II.3.1)
 [ə] : ['kɛ̩̩.ɹ̩̩-] 'curry(-comb)', 40.12 (34:14)

The vowel is often lengthened in furrow, i.e. [fə:r], but the word is excluded from this analysis, since speakers seem to treat it as (fɑr) as, for example, in the non-rhotic form [və:] recorded at 40.13 (11:2).

vi (u), which is rare in this environment, is unchanged.

The localities at which the developments described above were recorded are indicated in Table T25.

vii The vocalic elements of the diaphonemes (iir, eer, aar, oor, AAr, uur), which occur in this position only (see 2.1.1.6), are subject to the same range of variation as those of (ir, er, ar, or, Ar, ur) which correspond to them in final and preconsonantal position.⁹³

Commentary

The structural significance of the changes which the short vowels undergo before intervocalic (r) is clear. As pointed out in 2.1.1.6, within a single morpheme a sequence of a stressed vowel derived from a ME short vowel followed by intervocalic (r) should be analysed as:

(i)r	(u)r
(e)r	(A)r
(a)r	(o)r

The developments described above, however, provide evidence of a tendency for these sequences to be treated in the same way as sequences made up of a short vowel followed by final or preconsonantal (r), i.e.:

e.g. [skwɪræɪ] 35.07 (i) + r	
e.g. ['fɛrɪt] 34.11 (e) + r	
e.g. ['bærɛɪ] 40.17 (a) + r	→ (ar) e.g. ['bɪdʒ:æɪ] 35.14
e.g. [kwɔrɪ] 34.04 (o) + r	→ (or) e.g. [kwo:ɪ] 34.03
e.g. ['kArɪ] 40.11 (A) + r	→ (Ar) { e.g. [skwɛrɛɪ] 35.02 e.g. ['fɛrɪts] 40.13 e.g. ['kɛrɪ-] 40.12
e.g. [kɔrɪ-] 35.01 (u) + r	

Compare the above with 2.1.1.5.

This tendency to merge all sequences of 'short vowel + (r)' regardless of their relationship to morphological structure or etymology would, if carried through completely, remove the need for the separate system of diaphonemes before intervocalic (r) discussed in 2.1.1.6. Thus the language is itself moving towards greater regularity through the simplification of its structural rules.

2.1.4.2 The Influence of Final and Preconsonantal (l)

The realization of many of the SKSE vowel diaphonemes may be modified under the influence of a following final or preconsonantal (l). Allophones in this environment tend to be more open than their unconditioned equivalents. The situation is complicated by the fact that (l) in this position, usually dark [ɫ] in SKSE, is frequently vocalized. This vocalization occurs to a greater or lesser extent at all localities, and the tendency is also to be heard in the introduction of a [ə] glide between the preceding vowel and [ɫ], e.g.: [gɪəɫt] 'gilt', 34.01 (III.8.5); [æ^əɫm] 'elm', 40.14 (54:4); [pəəɫz] 'pulls', 40.01 (VI.4.4). The glide vowel may be the unrounded [ə], e.g. [æəɫv] 'helve' (handle of axe), 40.12 (9:7).

Although vocalized (l) has normally been transcribed as [ə~ɤ] by all three fieldworkers in the region, on closer examination this identification seems to be inaccurate; the vocalic allophones of (l) are in fact determined by the quality of the preceding vowel, as follows⁹⁴:

After front vowels	: (1) → [ɔ]
After (o, ʌ)	: (1) → [ɔ]
After (u)	: (1) → [ɔ]

It should, furthermore, be noted that when (1) is realized as [ɔ ~ ɔ̄] the combination of the two vowel sounds does not constitute a true diphthong, but merely a sequence of 'vowel + vowel'. After (o, ʌ), however, where (1) → [ɔ], the sequence has been fitted into the group of closing u-diphthongs, which tend to move towards [ɔ], and the (ou) diaphoneme has evolved as a result. Thus [æɔ] ← (e + 1) never merges with (au), but [ɔɔ] ← (o + 1) may, if the (ou) diaphoneme is not maintained, merge with (au), (see iv below).

Final and preconsonantal (1) influences the SKSE vowels as follows, (cf. 2.1.3.1-7, 10-12, 16-18):

i (i) may be lowered:

[ɪ]	: e.g. [mɪɔk] *'milk', 40.03 (III.13.12)
[ɛ]	: [mɛɔk] 'milk', 35.03 (III.13.12)
[e]	: [mɛɔk] 'milk', 35.11 (IM)

ii (e) may be lowered:

[ɛ]	: e.g. ['ɛɔde-] 'elder', 35.15 (54:7)
[æ]	: [twæɔv] 'twelve', 34.11 (28:12)
[æ]	: [ʃæɔf] 'shelf', 40.15 (4:10)
[a]	: [smaɔ] 'smell', 40.11 (IM)

This development is rarely noted in the EM, but the evidence of the MRs confirms that it nevertheless occurs at all localities.

* The original transcription has been retained with [ɔ ~ ɔ̄]

iii (a) is rare in this position since ME $\underline{\text{ǣ}} + \underline{\text{l}}$ finally or pre-consonantly has normally yielded (aa) or (oo). When it has remained in SKSE it tends to merge with (e + l), e.g.:

$$[\text{ælm}] \left\{ \begin{array}{l} \underline{\text{haulm}} (20:5) \\ \underline{\text{elm}} (54:4) \end{array} \right\} 35.14$$

It is presumably this rarity of (a + l) which has allowed (e), and then (i), to be lowered in this environment.

iv (o) and (au) generally merge before final and preconsonantal (l); when (l) is preserved the result is usually (au). (au) in this position tends to begin with a rounded back vowel, even when allophones of this type are rare or absent in isolative (au) ⁹⁵:

[oɔ]	:	e.g. [oɔhd]	'old', 34.05 (MR)
[ɔɔ]	:	[pɔɔt]	'pole', 40.05 (MR)
[oɔ]	:	['koɔtə]	'coulter', 35.12 (10:4)
[o ^o]	:	[ko ^o hd]	'cold', 35.15 (59:6)
[ʊɔ]	:	['ʃʊɔhdə]	'shoulder', 40.13 (33:13)
[⁺ oɔ]	:	[⁺ oɔt]	'holes', 35.14 (IM)
[⁺ ʊɔ]	:	[p ⁺ ʊɔt]	'poles', 40.17 (15:7)
[öɔ]	:	['ʃöɔhdə]	'shoulder', 34.11 (33:13)
[öɔ]	:	[göɔhd]	'gold', 40.11 (53:10)
[ʊɔ]	:	[ʊɔhd]	'old', 40.06 (MR)

There is also an increased tendency for (au) to be realized by long monophthongs in this position. Examples from the BM are included in the following:

[o:]	:	e.g. [sto:t]	'stole' vb pt., 35.01 (VIII.7.5)
[ɔ:]	:	[ɔ:t]	'whole', 35.03 (MR)
[o:]	:	[ko:t]	'coal', 40.14 (53:3)
[ɔ:]	:	[mɔ:l]	'mole', 35.06 (IV.5.4)

When (l) is vocalized after rounded diphthongs or long monophthongs, the result, in the localities indicated on Map P11, is (ou). Unrounded diphthongs followed by vocalized (l), however, are allophones of (au).

Occasionally (o) and (au) may merge as (o) before (l), e.g.:

(kolt) 'colt', 35.03 (III.4.3)

(fold) 'fold', 35.15 (IM)

The change of (au) to (o) is rare here, and the presence of (ol) rather than (aul) for (o + l) must represent the survival of ME ǒ intact.

v (ʌ) is rare in this position, since ME ǔ + l has tended to continue as (u). When (ʌ) does occur here, however, it may be rounded and, with vocalization of (l), fall in with (ou), e.g. [-gʊʌ] 'gull', 35.14 (44:7).

vi As pointed out above, ME ǔ before l has usually continued as (u) in SKSE, and consequently a relatively large number of the recorded examples of this diaphoneme are followed by (l). This (l) has had little influence on the preceding (u), but at 35.02 and 35.05 the juxtaposition of (u) and the vocoid allophone of (l) has resulted in the formation of long monophthongs, e.g.: [bʊ:] 35.02, [bu:] 35.05, 'bull' (III.1.14), [wʊ:] 'wool', 35.02 (III.7.5). At 40.11, 40.16 (u) may be lowered, e.g.: [bʊʌ] 40.11, [bʊʌ-] 40.14, [bʊʌ-] 40.16, 'bull' (29:4).

vii Before [ɪ] <-- (1) (ii) may be realized by a close front vowel followed by an unrounded central glide onto [ɪ], e.g. [iə] in [fiəldz] 'fields', 40.16 (1:12). The front vowel may be lowered and retracted to [ɪ], e.g. [jʌɪd] 'yield' nn, 34.01 (III.3.5). These 'centring diphthongs' are positional variants of (ii) and never achieve independent phonemic status.

The glide vowel may be rounded, as in [miəɪ] 'meal', 35.11 (25:12), [riəɪ] 'reel', 40.01 (V.10.6). If (1) is completely vocalized, the allophones of (ii) may merge with those of (i) before vocalized (1), e.g.:

$$[stɪə] \left\{ \begin{array}{l} \underline{\text{steel}} \text{ (IM)} \\ \underline{\text{still}} \text{ (IM)} \end{array} \right\} 35.13$$

The phonemic opposition between (i) and (ii) may also be neutralized in this position by other means, e.g. the pairs:

<u>(ii)</u>	<u>(i)</u>
35.11 - [miəɪ] 'meal' (25:12)	: [iəɪz] 'hills' (51:9)
40.12 - [wiəɪ] 'wheel' (10:10)	: [biəɪ] 'bill' (49:20)
40.14 - [wiəɪ] 'wheel' (14:1)	: [hiəɪ] 'hill' (46:15)

viii (uu) tends to be unchanged before (1) more frequently than (ii), e.g. [skɪ:ɪ] 'school', 40.11 (58:4). This is even the case when (1) is vocalized, e.g. [skɪ:ə] 'school', 35.12 (58:4) or lost, e.g. [skɪ:z] 'schools', 40.15 (58:4). (Vocalized (1) here is more narrowly [ɔ].) In addition, (uu) may be lowered in this position, e.g. [skɔ:əɪ] 'school', 40.14 (58:4), and [skɔ:] 'school', 40.13 (58:4) in which (1) has been vocalized and lost.

Before [ɪ] (uu) may be realized by 'centring diphthongs' corresponding to [iə] <-- (ii + 1), e.g. [təɪz] 'tools',

- [ɪ̃:] : e.g. [wɪ̃:ɪ] 'while', 34.02 (MR)
 [a:] : [wa:ɪd] 'wild', 40.17 (47:7)
 [a:ə] : [ma:əɪz] 'miles', 35.11 (IM)

xi Before (l) the centralization and unrounding of the target vowel of (au) seem not to occur.

For the treatment of (oo) before final and preconsonantal (l) see 2.1.3.9.II.

When the quality of a vowel is modified by a following (l) in morpheme final position, this quality is regularly retained if (l) becomes intervocalic by the addition of a suffix, e.g. at 40.13:

- [ˈfæɪlɪn] 'felling' (56:6), present participle of *[fæɪ] 'fell', with (e) + final (l) → [æɪ]; c.f. [æɪm] ← (elm) 'elm' (54:4)

vs

- [ˈbæɪli] 'belly' (6:8), with (e) + intervocalic (l) within a single morpheme → [æɪ-].

Thus, although vocalized (l) cannot occur intervocalically, the opposition between (au) and (ou) can still be maintained before intervocalic (l), even when the latter has arisen through the vocalization of morpheme final (l); e.g. in my own speech⁹⁶:

- [ˈhʊəli] ← (houɪ-i) 'wholly', cf. [hʊə] ← (hou) 'whole'

vs

- [ˈheəli] ← (hauɪ) 'holy'.

2.1.5 Structural Dialectology in Surrey, Kent and Sussex

In his important article on structural dialectology, Weinreich observed that, in the comparison of differing systems which nevertheless constitute a related group,

structural linguistics requires that the forms of the constituent systems be understood first and foremost in terms of those systems . . .⁹⁷

To this end the phonemic types representing the SKSE diaphonemes have been identified, in the preceding sections, for each locality on the basis of the range of allophonic variation recorded within each local system. In those cases where there is significant geographical variation in these phonemic types, the distributions have been mapped on Maps PP1-PP8.

Having analysed these local systems on their own terms, it is now possible to attempt a diatopic comparison of some aspects of them:

- (i) the extent to which merger of certain diaphonemes takes place, thereby reducing the number of potential phonemic oppositions.
- (ii) the ways in which the opposition between certain diaphonemes is maintained when they are realized in the same portion of 'phonological space'.⁹⁸

Examples of each of these two approaches are presented in the corresponding sections 1 and 2 below.

2.1.5.1 The Loss of Final and Preconsonantal (r)

The structural significance of the presence or absence of final and preconsonantal (r) in SKSE has already been noted (2.1.1.5). The extent to which this (r) is lost in (ar), (or) and (Ar) is shown on Maps PP9, 10 and 11 respectively (cf. Tables T21a, T21b, T22a, T22b, T23).

Despite minor differences in detail, these three maps give an identical overall impression: high frequencies in the north of the region diminishing southwards, with corridors of relatively high frequencies reaching the coast in eastern Kent and central Sussex and approaching it through western Kent and eastern Sussex. The northern orientation of the loss of final and preconsonantal (r) clearly reflects its association with the completely non-rhotic systems of RP and popular London English, in which it had been lost by the end of the eighteenth century.⁹⁹ Since that period, the tendency has spread outwards into the SKSE region, leaving peripheral areas distant from the capital and its influence still predominantly, or completely, rhotic.

Map PP12, which summarizes Maps PP9-PP11, is based on the average score for non-rhotic forms of (ar), (or) and (Ar), (see Table TP1). The dialects have been classified as follows:

0-34% inclusive: I : Predominantly rhotic

35%-64% inclusive: II : Transitional

65%-100% inclusive: III: Predominantly non-rhotic

As a consequence of the loss of (r), SKSE (aa) and (ar) and SKSE (oo) and (or) have been merged in some dialects.

i Merger of SKSE (aa) and (ar)

(cf. 2.1.3.8,21)

In rhotic systems the opposition (aa:ar) is maintained by the presence of final and preconsonantal (r). After the loss of this (r) the two diaphonemes may merge, or they may be distinguished by a difference in vowel quality.

The phonemic types of (aa) are /a:/, /ä:/ and /ɑ:/ (2.1.3.8), and the non-rhotic types of (ar) are similarly /a:/, /ä:/ and /ɑ:/ (2.1.3.21). All nine possible types of opposition between (aa) and (ar) are found, and the classification of these combinations is shown below, M indicating 'merger':

Table 2.17

		(ar)		
		/a:/	/ä:/	/ɑ:/
(aa)	/a:/	MA	A2	A3
	/ä:/	B1	MB	B3
	/ɑ:/	C1	C2	MC

The probability with which these combinations occur in the individual systems is indicated in Table TP2, (see 1.4.8 for the method). Map PP13a, based on the distribution of the oppositional types dominant at each locality, shows where (aa) and (ar) are merged or distinguished in the majority of cases in non-rhotic systems. Map PP13b shows the extent to

which (aa) and (ar) are merged in non-rhotic systems in SKSE. Map PP13a demonstrates that, in non-rhotic systems, SKSE (aa) and (ar) are distinguished in marginal parts of the region and in those which are adjacent to fully rhotic areas. These systems, in which (aa) and (ar) are distinguished by vowel quality after the loss of (r), occupy an intermediate position between the rhotic systems and those in which the two diaphonemes are merged as (aa). Map PP13b confirms the northern orientation of the tendency to merge (aa) and (ar) suggested by PP13a: it is strongest in the central northern part of the region and has generally radiated outwards with diminishing frequency. This pattern also illustrates geographically the association of this feature with RP and popular London English.¹⁰⁰

ii Merger of SKSE (oo) and (or)

(cf. 2.1.3.9,22)

The position of the (oo:or) opposition in non-rhotic systems is parallel to that of (aa:ar), in that the distinction may be lost or it may be maintained by means of a difference in vowel quality.

The phonemic types of (oo) are /o:/, /a:/, /oə/ and /oc/ (2.1.3.9), and the non-rhotic types of (or) are /o:/ and /oə/ (2.1.3.22). The types of opposition found and their classification are shown below, M indicating merger:

Table 2.18

		(or)	
		/o:/	/oə/
(oo)	/o:/	MA	A2
	/a:/		B2
	/oə/	C1	MC
	/oa/	D1	D2

The probability with which these combinations occur in the individual systems is indicated in Table TP3, and Map PP14 shows the distribution of those systems in which (oo) and (or) merge totally, or in the majority of cases, and those in which the distinction is maintained by vowel quality.

2.1.5.2 The Opposition between (ei) and (ai)

(cf. 2.1.3.11,12)

The diaphonemes (ei) and (ai) are both generally realized in the same portion of phonological space by closing diphthongs moving from unrounded vowels in the half-open -- open range towards [ɪ]. This section examines the ways in which this important opposition is maintained in the various local systems of SKSE.¹⁰¹

The phonemic types of (ei) are /ɛɪ/, /æɪ/, /ɛ̃ɪ/, /ɛə/ and /ɛ:/ (2.1.3.11), and those of (ai) are /əɪ/, /aɪ/, /äɪ/, /ɑɪ/ and /vɪ/ (2.1.3.12). The types of opposition found and the classification of these combinations are shown below:

Table 2.19

		(ai)				
		/əɪ/	/aɪ/	/äɪ/	/ɑɪ/	/vɪ/
(ei)	/ɛɪ/	A1	A2	A3	A4	A5
	/æɪ/	B1		B3	B4	B5
	/ɛ̃ɪ/			C3	C4	C5
	/ɛə/	D1				
	/ɛ:/	E1				

It is immediately clear that the two types of opposition in which the diaphonemes would be in danger of merging — */æɪ : aɪ/ and */ɛ̃ɪ : əɪ/ — are avoided altogether. Also, to introduce a diachronic perspective, the two archaic phonemic types of (ei) — /ɛə/ and /ɛ:/ — only combine with /əɪ/, the most archaic phonemic type of (ai); thus types D1 and E1 reflect aspects of older phonemic systems from the period before the two diaphonemes came to be realized in the same phonological space.

The probability with which the various types of (ei:ai) opposition occur in the individual systems is shown in

Table TP4. Only seven of these types are ever dominant in any locality: /ɛɪ : eɪ/, /ɛɪ : aɪ/, /ɛɪ : üɪ/, /ɛɪ : aɪ/, /æɪ : üɪ/, /æɪ : aɪ/ and /ɛɪ : üɪ/. Map PP15 shows how the region can be divided on the basis of the distribution of the types dominant at each locality; the distribution of the same types when in a minority is also indicated.

The problem of how to distinguish (ei) from (ai) has been solved in several different ways by the various dialects of SKSE, and the same methods tend to be used consistently throughout a number of well-defined areas. The location of the boundaries is obviously determined to a large extent by the diffusion of the various allophonic types, e.g. the preponderance of [eɪ] ← (ai) in the A1 areas, and of [æɪ] ← (ei) in the B3 and B4 areas. The fact that the two diaphonemes are strictly kept apart, however, and that the two theoretically possible oppositional types */æɪ : aɪ/ and */ɛɪ : eɪ/ are absent, suggests that at this realizational level there must be a close and dependent relationship between their respective allophonic ranges, which in its turn may be reflected in the geographical pattern. It may be, for example, that the presence of the /aɪ/ phonemic type ← (ai) in a stable system may itself have been responsible for the failure of allophones of the [æɪ] type ← (ei) to penetrate the system from outside, or that a pre-existent /aɪ/ phonemic type ← (ai) may have allowed the allophonic range of (ei) to be extended into the [æɪ] region when allophones of this type became available. On the other hand, the entry of [æɪ] ← (ei) into a system may have caused the allophones of (ai) to be retracted towards [aɪ]. Such possibilities illustrate the need for systemic factors to

be taken into account when examining geographical patterns, although it is unfortunately often impossible to establish the probable sequence of cause and effect, which may in any case differ from one variety to another. Much of the importance of structural dialectology, however, rests in the way in which it illustrates this complex interplay between the synchronic and diachronic and between the internal and external aspects of linguistic evolution.

A further example of the way in which distance is maintained between neighbouring diaphonemes is provided by the fact that /oɪ/ occurs as a phonemic type of SKSE (oi) (2.1.3.13) at two localities only: 35.13 and 40.11, at both of which (ai) may be represented by the /oɪ/ phonemic type. Once again, it is difficult to interpret diachronically what is clearly a close and balanced relationship between the (ai) and (oi) diaphonemes in these localities: it is uncertain whether the rounding of (ai) reflected in the /oɪ/ phonemic type caused the closure of (oi) to /oɪ/, or whether (oi) was already represented by /oɪ/ in these dialects, leaving room in the low back region for (ai) to be safely rounded.

2.2 Consonants2.2.1 The System of Diaphonemes

SKSE has the following consonant diaphonemes:

Plosives

Bilabial	:	Voiceless (p)	Voiced (b)
Alveolar	:	(t)	(d)
Velar	:	(k)	(g)

Affricates

Palato-Alveolar:	(tʃ)	(dʒ)
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Fricatives

Labio-Dental	:	(f)	(v)
Dental	:	(θ)	(ð)
Alveolar	:	(s)	(z)
Palato-Alveolar:	(ʃ)	(ʒ)	
Glottal	:	(h)	

Nasals

Bilabial	:	(m)
Alveolar	:	(n)
Velar	:	(ŋ)

Lateral

Alveolar	:	(l)
----------	---	-----

Approximant

Post-Alveolar or Retroflex	:	(r)
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Semi-Vowels

Bilabial	:	(w)
Palatal	:	(j)

This inventory is identical to that of RP;¹⁰³ apart from (r) and (l) which have already been dealt with (2.1.3n and 2.1.4.2 respectively), there are only minor realizational differences between the SKSE diaphonemes and the corresponding RP phonemes,¹⁰³ and these will not be discussed here.

The major distributional differences between SKSE and RP are:

- i The presence of (r) in final and preconsonantal position in SKSE. This has already been examined in considerable detail, see especially 2.1.1.5, 2.1.3.19-24 and 2.1.5.1.
- ii The frequent loss of (h), which in any case occurs in initial position only. Awareness of this contrast between SKSE and RP is responsible for such hypercorrect forms as [hæks] 'axe', 35.15 (IM).
- iii The suffix -ing usually appears as (-in) in SKSE rather than (-iŋ).

Of the minor distributional differences, two have been selected for detailed examination here: (i) the voicing of initial voiceless fricatives, and (ii) the change of initial (ð) to (d).¹⁰⁴

2.2.1.1 Voicing of Initial Voiceless Fricatives

In some varieties of SKSE the initial voiceless fricatives (f, θ, s, ʃ), normally realized as [f, θ, s, ʃ] respectively, may be replaced by the corresponding voiced consonants (v, ð, z, ʒ) → [v, ð, z, ʒ] respectively, e.g.:

(f) > (v) : [vɪɔz] 'fields', 40.01 (I.1.1)

(θ) > (ð) : [ðə:tɪ] 'thirty', 35.02 (VII.1.13)

(s) > (z) : [zɔ:t] 'sort', 35.13 (IM)

(ʃ) > (ʒ) : ['ʒɔgə] 'sugar', 40.14 (31:18)

Although this is strictly speaking a phonemic difference, the voiced and unvoiced forms are regularly in free variation in the individual dialects, e.g.: 35.15 [vɪθɪz] and [fɪθɪz] 'field(s)' (1:12), and 40.14 ['ʒAvɔɪz] and ['ʃAvɔz] 'shovel(s)' (9:10, 3:12). Furthermore, lightly voiced 'intermediate' forms occur, e.g.:

(f) → [f̥] : [f̥ɔks] 'fox', 40.12 (45:15)

(θ) → [θ̥] : [θ̥ɪŋk] 'think', 35.12 (MR)

(s) → [s̥] : [s̥ɛɪf] 'safe', 40.05 (MR)

[ʒ̥] : [ʒ̥wɔɪz] 'swaths', 40.04 (MR)

It would perhaps be more in line with the speakers' usage to place this voicing on the realizational level, and to state that, initially, the voiceless fricatives may have the following allophones:

(f) → [f ~ f̥ ~ v]

(θ) → [θ ~ θ̥ ~ ð]

(s) → [s ~ s̥ ~ z̥ ~ z]

(ʃ) → [ʃ ~ ʒ]

The only exceptions to this rule are the following words: fallow (II.1.1/17:1), furrow (II.3.1/11:2) in its monosyllabic forms (vor ~ var ~ vur), and feer 'to draw a furrow'

(< OE fyrian).¹⁰⁵ At some localities (34.03; 35.06; 40.15,17) these are the only words with (v) for (f), and they can therefore be considered as fossilized forms in which (v) is not in free variation with (f).

The geographical distribution of voicing is shown on Maps PC1-3; the voicing of (ʃ) is not mapped, as this occurs at the two neighbouring localities 40.04 and 40.14 only. (f) is voiced occasionally over a large southern part of the region, principally in the west but also in a small area in eastern Kent; the development is concentrated in a solid core area in central Sussex (Map PC1). (s) is voiced less frequently and over a more restricted area, but its southern and western orientation is clear (Map PC3). The rare voicing of (ʃ) is found only in central Sussex, but its distribution is related to that of (f) and (s). Map PC4 compares the distributions of voicing in (f), (s) and (ʃ) and identifies a core area of voicing in central and western Sussex and south-western Surrey, along with a much smaller concentration in south-eastern Kent. Map PC2 shows that the voicing of initial prevocalic (θ) only partially fits into this pattern: while the voicing of (θ) at 40.03,04,14 must be a manifestation of the familiar tendency towards voicing in this south-western area, the concentration of the remaining instances of voicing in central and western Kent is unusual and suggests that a different explanation may be necessary here (see 2.2.1.2 below).

The tendency to voice initial voiceless fricatives in SKSE is, with the possible exception of (θ) in parts of Kent, identical with that found throughout south-western England.¹⁰⁶ The same tendency has long been a feature of southern

dialects of English and was first represented orthographically in early ME, although it may be much older.¹⁰⁷ It was once thought that voicing was confined almost exclusively to native English words, and this was used as a criterion for dating the development to the period before the introduction of Anglo-Norman words into English.¹⁰⁸ Wakelin and Barry point out, however, that voicing also occurs in words of Romance origin,¹⁰⁹ and this is confirmed by the SKSE evidence (see, for example, the voicing in sort and sugar cited above, and also the frequent voicing in farm). So long as this voicing is thought of as a distinct sound-change which can be dated, its modern occurrence in Anglo-French words will cause difficulties. Yet if, as suggested above, the voiced forms are merely free variant allophones of the voiceless diaphonemes, the whole phenomenon can be described as a tendency which has been active in southern English dialects over a remarkably long period.

Within the SKSE region the tendency towards voicing is now, as a non-standard feature, clearly recessive. Map PC4 suggests that voicing once took place over the whole region, but that the pocket in eastern Kent has been separated from the main western area by a band contiguous with the northern part of the region adjacent to London from which voicing is absent.

2.2.1.2 Initial (ð) > (d)

In some varieties of SKSE initial (ð) may be replaced by (d). The geographical distribution of this feature is shown on Map PC5 where localities are classified as follows:

- I : (d) replaces (ð) frequently (16 or more occurrences
in written and mechanical
field recordings)
- II : (d) replaces (ð) occasionally (6-15 occurrences in
written or mechanical
field recordings)
- III : (d) replaces (ð) rarely (1-5 occurrences in written
and mechanical field record-
ings)

The words in which this feature was recorded at the individual localities are indicated in Table 2.20 (overleaf).

- Examples: the : [də sɪz] 'the scythes', 35.12 (23:2)
- that : [dæt] 40.11 (IM)
- there : [dæə^d] 35.07 (MR)
- this : [dɪs] 40.06 (IX.10.2)
- they : [dɛt] 34.11 (IM)
- these : [dɪ:z] 40.13 (IM)
- them : [dɛm] 40.05 (IX.10.6)
- then : [dɛn] 35.13 (IM)
- their : [dæə^d] 35.14 (IM)
- than : [dɛn] (unstressed) 40.04 (MR)

Table 2.20: Lexical Distribution of (d-) < (ð-)

	the	that	there	this	they	these	them	then	their	than
34.01	d									
34.02	d									
34.05	d									
34.11	d				d					
35.03						d				
35.04	d				d	d	d			
35.05		d		d						
35.06	d		d	d						
35.07	d	d	d	d	d	d	d	d	d	d
35.11	d	d	d	d	d					
35.12	d									
35.13	d	d	d		d			d		
35.14	d	d	d		d		d	d	d	
35.15	d		d	d						
40.01		d		d						
40.02	d									
40.03	d									
40.04	d	d	d	d	d	d	d	d	d	d
40.05	d	d	d	d	d	d	d	d	d	
40.06	d	d	d	d	d	d	d			d
40.11	d	d	d							
40.12	d									
40.13	d	d	d			d	d			
40.14	d	d								
40.16			d							

The principal features of the distribution pattern of (d-) revealed by Map PC5 are: (a) its concentration in a coherent area in eastern Sussex and western Kent, and (b) the nature of the boundaries surrounding this area; the transition in the west is abrupt while in the north and east it is more gradual. A. J. Ellis presents some valuable evidence about the distribution of this feature in the second half of the nineteenth century, since it is the criterion he uses for separating his East Southern District (9) from the eastern Mid Southern (5). The boundary between these two districts runs roughly north-north-eastwards from the mouth of the River Adur (approximately mid-way between 40.15 and 40.16).¹¹⁰ East of this line, in Kent and eastern Sussex, (d-) regularly replaces (ð-),¹¹¹ while west of it this feature was not recorded.¹¹² Thus Ellis's boundary coincides almost exactly with the boundary in central Sussex between frequent and rare occurrence of (d-) for (ð-) shown on Map PC5. It is probable, then, that the western boundary in Sussex of the core area identified above has remained static for at least the last hundred years.

The more gradual transition from rare to frequent occurrence of (d-) for (ð-) in the north and east suggests that the feature has receded here. Ellis noted that it was absent in eastern Kent at the time when he was writing, but that its disappearance had been fairly recent and that it had been usual in the area in the mid-eighteenth century.¹¹³ There is therefore historical evidence for the recession of this feature in the east, and its disappearance in the north has probably been due to the influence of London. On the basis of the modern distribution and of Ellis's evidence it can be

concluded that in the whole of Kent and in eastern Sussex (δ -) was once regularly replaced by (d-). In western Sussex and Surrey (δ -) has been replaced only very rarely.

William Bullokar, writing in the sixteenth century, noted the occurrence of [d] in that, thorn and those in East Sussex and Kent,¹¹⁴ and Samuels thinks it probable that the change of ME th to [d] 'had taken place in all contexts by the early fifteenth century' in 'Kent, East Sussex and to some extent East Surrey'.¹¹⁵ Since [d] is more likely to have developed from [δ] than from [θ], and since in the ME and eMnE periods [d] occurred initially in words which now regularly have [θ],¹¹⁶ the change of ME th- to [d-] presupposes the regular southern voicing of th- to [δ -].¹¹⁷ In modern SKSE (d) continues ME th- in those demonstratives, pronouns, adverbs and conjunctions which have / δ / in RP; the only remaining example of SKSE (d) corresponding to RP / θ / is the form [dæ:tɪ:n] 'thirteen', 35.13 (28:14). This restriction to weakly stressed words in SKSE is probably due to an awareness of the distribution of / θ / and / δ / in RP, as Samuels points out:

. . . the phonetic distance between [d] and the Standard English / δ / of demonstrative forms is less than that between [d] and the Standard English / θ / of all the other words.¹¹⁸

It seems, then, that under the influence of the standard language (d) has been replaced by (θ) in SKSE in words with / θ / in RP, while (d) has tended to remain in those words with / δ / in RP where the phonetic distance is not so great.

Samuels' explanation of the origin of this change of southern ME / δ -/ to /d-/ in Kent, East Sussex and East Surrey soon after 1400 is attractive and worth presenting

in full:

On the Continent, it is clear that the gradual loss of the Germanic /θ-ð/ phoneme was a matter of geographical spread, and a survey of the dates of its stages suggests that the south-east English development was part of the last stage before it ceased, leaving only the rest of English and Icelandic unaffected. It started in South German in the eighth century and then spread northwards, reaching Middle German in the ninth and tenth centuries, Low Franconian in the eleventh, Low German in the twelfth, Danish in the fourteenth and Swedish in the fifteenth. The date of its spread from Flanders to South-East England thus exactly parallels that of the spread from Danish to Swedish. Apart from the difference of /ð/ and /d/, many words had the same form in both Flemish and English (e.g.: thick, thin, thorn, these, there) and therefore provided a link for the substitution of /d/.¹¹⁹

Whatever the history of this development, its most striking aspect is its remarkably stable geographical distribution over a period of five centuries.

The unusual distribution of voicing in modern SKSE (θ-) can now be considered (cf. 2.2.1.1, and Map PC2). This, along with the replacement of (ð-) by (d-), is one of a number of changes to which the SKSE initial dental fricatives are subject. The others are:

i The devoicing of (ð) in that at 34.05; 35.05; 40.01, 06 (IX.10.1).

ii The change of (ð) to (t) in the at 35.13 (MR)

iii The change of (θ) to (t) in thing at 35.11 (IM)

Map PC6 shows that these admittedly sporadic and rare developments tend to be concentrated in the historical (d-) < (ð-) area (cf. Map PC5). The preservation of voicing in (θ-) in those parts of this area where voicing in the other voiceless fricatives is rare or absent should perhaps be seen in the context of these minor changes. Together they may be symptomatic of a tendency towards instability in this area in initial (θ) and (ð) connected with the change of

(ð-) to (d-) and conceivably resulting from the continental influences suggested by Samuels.

Chapter Three : Word Geography

The items discussed in this chapter have been selected because they show significant geographical distributions. Most of the concepts mapped are connected with agriculture, but a number of items referring to the countryside and wild-life are also included. Where appropriate and where sufficient evidence is available, the objects to which the various words refer are described and their distributions mapped. Etymologies are usually not given in the case of generally used Standard English words or of compounds composed of such words.

3.1 Farm Buildings

3.1.1 Pigsty (I.1.5/1:7)

Map L1 *

In the SKSE region pigs were traditionally accommodated in buildings of a type found throughout England and Wales,¹ consisting of a low shed opening onto a small enclosed yard in which the animals were fed.

Map L1 has been drawn so as to show the contrast between pound (OE pund in pundfeald 'pinfold')² and sty (OE stī in stīfearh 'sty-pig'), indicating the full extent of the area in which the former occurs. Pound was recorded only in a well-defined area in south-eastern Sussex and western Kent, and is found nowhere else in England.³ Although this distribution may formerly have been static, the word is now being replaced by the standard sty which occupies much of

* In Volume II

England.⁴ The word pig-pen (35.11 only) may be a local alteration of pound in a locality close to the present boundary of the pound area, or it may simply be a compound of St.E. pen (OE penn).

Piggery (OED 1804)⁵ is a modern word occurring sporadically throughout the region. It is taken here to refer to the type of building described above, but at 35.15 and 40.13 it is applied to a collection of sties or to a larger building in which pigs are housed.

3.1.2 Hen-house (I.1.6/1:8)

Map L2

Although hens are accommodated in buildings of several different types in the region, the words mapped here refer to any building in which they are housed. In south-western Sussex domestic hens were not housed in a specific building, but were free to roost anywhere in the farmyard.

The three principal words mapped on Map L2 are: chicken-house, fowl-house and hen-house,⁶ in which variation occurs in the first element of the compound only. These words occupy distinct geographical areas, and the pattern suggests that chicken-house, now found in three separate areas, formerly covered most of the region, but has subsequently been divided in two places by hen-house which now occupies a continuous central area. Further evidence that hen-house has advanced in SKSE is provided by the fact that in those localities where chicken were formerly not housed the word adopted has been hen-house. The position in this sequence of fowl-house, which in England as a whole seems to be recessive,⁷ is uncertain.

3.1.3 Dove-cote (I.1.7/44:6)

Map L3

Domestic pigeons and doves are accommodated in buildings of several different types: in a free-standing building,⁸ in a small box on top of a post, in the gable of a large building, or in the porch of a barn in those areas where this feature is found. Apart from the fact that -loft (OE loft) seems to reflect the latter two types in some localities, there appears to be little relationship between the word used and the type of accommodation referred to. While the distribution pattern is clear, each word occurring in one or more well-defined areas, the interpretation of the geographical evidence is difficult. The word -coo (etym. unknown; not found outside SKSE) occupies a continuous central area, not unlike that of hen-house (cf. 3.1.2 and Map L2), and seems to have advanced at the expense of -cove and -cote, which is described as 'older' at 35.02. -Cove (OE cofa 'chamber'; recorded as (kauv), (kuuv) and (kavi) in SKSE) is, like -coo, absent outside this region; its occurrence in two areas separated by -cote and -coo suggests that it has at some time been replaced in this intervening area by -cote, which has itself yielded subsequently to -coo. -Cote appears in SKSE as (kaut), (kuut) and (kot).

3.1.4 Cart-shed (I.11.7/13:8)

Map L4

The words presented here refer to any building in which agricultural vehicles were kept, and the discussion will take no account of the first element of the compound, i.e. cart- or wagon-. To understand fully the distribution pattern shown

on Map L4, the region must be seen in its wider geographical context.⁹ The occurrence of -hovel (etym. uncertain) in the north-west of the region marks the southern boundary of a large east midland area covered by this word. In the case of the outlying example at 40.16, the word hovel seems to refer to any low, open-fronted building. The -house area in south-western Sussex is continuous with an extensive area in western and central southern England. -Shed (OE scead, -u) has a relatively limited distribution within south-eastern England where its relationship with -lodge (ME log(g)e < OF loge) is unclear. The latter occupies a restricted but solid area covering not only most of Kent and eastern Sussex, but also eastern Essex and south-eastern Suffolk. -Lodge may have replaced -shed from the east, dividing the two -shed areas in the SKSE region, or, alternatively, the standardized -shed may have invaded the -lodge area in the north (locs. 35.01, 02) and along the south-eastern coast. The latter interpretation is to be preferred since the characteristic local use of lodge in this area to refer to any small out-building (OED 1706, from Kent) survives (e.g. at 35.11) where -shed is now used for cart-shed. Apart from the isolated occurrence of -lodge at 34.11, which is difficult to explain, it is absent west of the distinct boundary which emerges on Map L4; this suggests that the boundary has been stable for some time, and even if the word has receded from the west, leaving 34.11 isolated, then this must have been at a relatively early date.

3.2 The Cow-house3.2.1 Cow-house (I.1.8/1:9)

Map L5

The words presented on Map L5 refer to the building in which dairy cows are housed. Cow-shed (OE scead,-u), which is widespread throughout central and eastern England,¹⁰ occurs over much of the region and is clearly advancing from the north. The map has been drawn so as to show the distributions of words other than cow-shed. Cow-house occurs elsewhere in a solid south-east midland area extending into the northern part of the map;¹¹ it must formerly have covered more of the region before the advance of cow-shed detached the outlying pocket in south-western Kent. The distribution of cow-lodge (ME log(g)e) should be related to the Kentish application of lodge to any small outbuilding and compared with that of cart-lodge (3.1.4, Map L4). Cow-stall (OE steall 'place for cattle') occupies a well-defined central and western area; outside the region it is found only in a small area of southern Somerset and western Dorset.¹² The small cow-pen (OE penn) area in extreme south-western Sussex may be continuous with another small pocket in south-western Hampshire and south-eastern Wiltshire in which this word is found; it also occurs in western Warwickshire.¹³

Hovel (etym. uncertain) is normally used in the western part of the region to refer to an open-fronted shed for sheltering loose cattle, particularly when being fattened in a yard (1:6, not in SED);¹⁴ its application at 40.03 to an enclosed building for dairy cattle may possibly be due to a misunderstanding on the part of the informant. The small group of localities in western Kent and south-eastern

Sussex where dairy (ME deierie, dayerie) apparently refers to this building is also to be noted.

3.2.2 Methods of Securing Cows in Cow-house

Map M1

It is clear from the responses to question I.3.3 obtained by the SED fieldworkers in Surrey, Kent and Sussex that many informants in the region were unfamiliar with the method of securing cows presupposed by the Dieth-Orton Questionnaire. The traditional local methods are often described in the recording books, however, and with the help of these and the more detailed responses of my own informants (question 3:4), it has been possible to classify the various types and to map their distribution. Some localities have had to be omitted due to the evidence being unclear or ambiguous, and others (marked * below) can only tentatively be assigned to a particular type.

Type I

34.01; 35.06*,12

The cow's head is secured within a wooden framework fixed to the front of the trough. The details seem to vary slightly between localities, but the basic principle of the method was described by Stevenson in his survey of the agriculture of Surrey in the early nineteenth century: two posts were placed upright with a horizontal cross-timber above and below; one of these upright posts, which could slide in the upper horizontal timber, was pushed far enough to one side to admit the cow's head, and then returned to its vertical position and fastened with a wooden pin.¹⁵ This method was described as the 'old way of tying cows' at 34.01 (RB) and

at 35.12 it was used for 'difficult cows'. At the latter it was called a bilboe (etym. uncertain)¹⁶ and the identical word at 35.06 (I.3.4) has been taken to refer to this method.

Type II

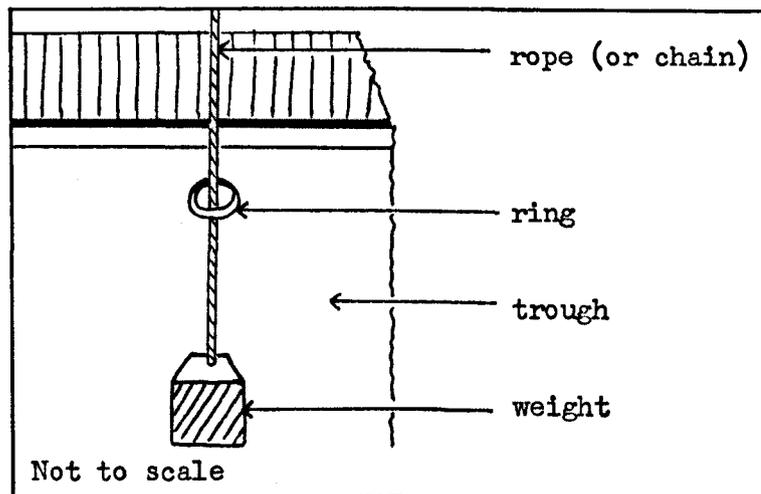
34.04; 35.03*,05-07,11,12; 40.13,16

By this method the cow is attached to the trough (see 3.2.6).

There are two variants:

- (a) A chain or rope is secured round the cow's neck and threaded through a ring (40.16 staple < OE stapol) on the front of the trough; a weight or plug (35.07,12; MLG, MDu plugge), larger than the ring and attached to the end of the chain or rope, prevents the cow from being released when she raises her head (Figure 1).

Figure 1: Securing of cows - Type IIa



- (b) The chain is fastened directly to the ring on the front of the trough.

Type III

34.01; 35.15; 40.04,11

The cow is attached to the partition (see 3.2.4) which separates the stalls (3.2.3). At 34.01, 35.15 and 40.11 a chain is secured round the cow's neck and attached directly (i.e. without the sliding arrangement characteristic of Type IV below) to a staple (35.15, 40.11; OE stapol) or tie-rod (34.01; OE rodd) at the foot of the partition. At 40.04 the chain seems to be attached to a bolt (OE bolt) running through the partition.

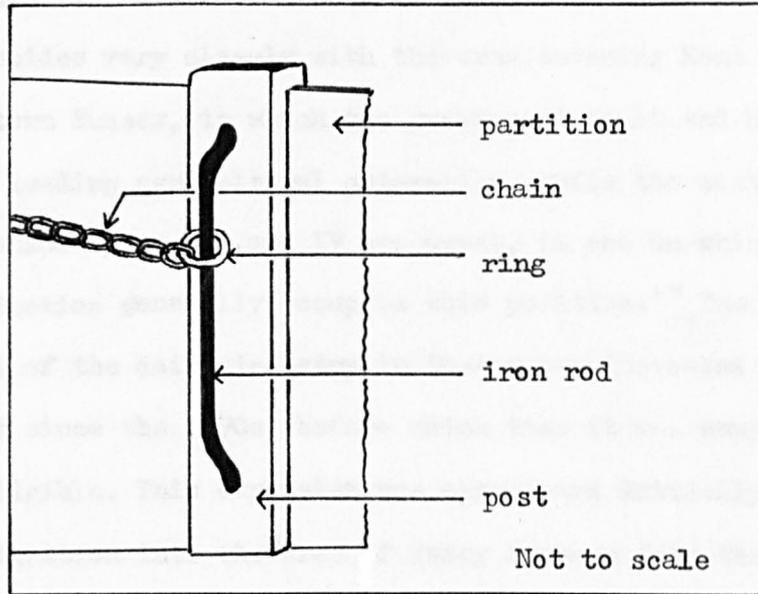
As a result of having to rely on oral evidence, there is some uncertainty as to the exact form and distribution of this type. However, since the important feature is the use of the partition, the validity of the conclusions drawn from Map M1 (see below) is not affected.

Type IV

34.02*,11; 35.02,13; 40.01*,02*,05,06,12,14,15,17

As in Type III the cow is attached to the partition. In this method, however, the chain is attached to a large ring which slides up and down an iron rod, called a pin (40.15; OE pinn), runner (35.02), slide (40.06,12), sliding-iron (40.05), slot (40.15; MLG, MDu. slot, with meaning of 'metal rod, wooden bar' in English from 14th Cent.), stake (40.01; OE staca), staple (34.02,11; 40.02,12; OE stapol). This rod is attached to a strong post in the partition, and the method allows the cow to raise and lower her head (Figure 2).

Figure 2: Securing of cows - Type IV



The geographical distribution of these types is shown on Map M1. At 35.14 farmers usually kept a small number of cows for domestic purposes only, and fully-equipped cow-houses were, according to the informant, not found. A distinct north-south boundary is revealed on the map: east of it, in all of Kent except the extreme north-west and in south-eastern Sussex, Type II -- by which cows are attached to the trough -- predominates; west of this line Types III and IV -- by which cows are attached to the partition -- are clearly dominant. It is to be noted that the probably archaic Type I is distributed in a small but coherent area cutting across the major boundary line. It seems that Types III and IV have advanced at the expense of older methods: at 34.01 Type III is more modern than Type I (RB), while at 40.11 Type IV was identified as being more modern than Type III. The isolated occurrences of Type II in this western 'partition-area' are possibly remnants of a much more extensive former distribution here.

The map may be interpreted in the light of external evidence. The eastern area, in which Type II is dominant, coincides very closely with the area covering Kent and south-eastern Sussex, in which the growing of fruit and hops is the leading agricultural enterprise, while the western area, in which Types III and IV are usual, is one in which milk production generally occupies this position.¹⁷ The importance of the dairy industry in Sussex has increased dramatically since the 1870s, before which time it was comparatively negligible. This expansion was associated initially with the immigration into the area of dairy farmers from the West of England who took farms vacated during the agricultural depression of the late nineteenth century, when the traditional farming system in much of Sussex -- the growing of cereals and the rearing of beef cattle -- became uneconomic.¹⁸ In Kent dairy cattle were, in 1951, most numerous in the extreme north-western corner of the county.¹⁹

Although there are difficulties in assessing the exact relationship between the historical and geographical evidence, it is possible that in the area where milk production became the most important aspect of agriculture, farmers tended to adopt the more modern Types III and IV. Where other agricultural enterprises have been dominant, however, and milk production has generally been of less importance, the older Type II tended to be preserved.

3.2.3 Stall (I.3.1/3:2)

Map L6

The words presented here refer to one of the compartments into which the cow-house is usually divided and in which one

or two cows are tethered. Since the Type II method for securing cows (3.2.2 above) does not presuppose a division of the cow-house into stalls, the concept is not known in some parts of Kent. Stall (OE steall) occupies a large part of the region and is in many localities found alongside other terms. Since stall is probably advancing, the map is biased towards the other words used in the region. Standing occurs nationally in a large east midland area,²⁰ and extends into the north-western corner of the region; the word may have some status as a standard technical term,²¹ which possibly accounts for the isolated occurrence at 40.15. Pen (OE penn) is very rarely used with this meaning outside SKSE and seems to be recessive before stall here; it may owe its existence in some localities to the need to distinguish the concepts stall and cow-house in those parts of the region where cow-stall refers to the latter (cf. 3.2.1 and Map L5). The distribution of stall in the region is clearly associated with the extensive area in East Anglia, the West Midlands and south-western England in which it is the dominant term.²²

3.2.4 Partition (I.3.2/3:3)

Map L7

The partition is the panel separating the stalls in the cow-house, hence where the concept of stall is unknown, that of partition is also absent (cf. 3.2.3 and Map L6). Partition (OF partition) has a northern orientation within the region, and in southern England as a whole seems to have advanced at the expense of parting, reflecting its status as a standard term. The non-standard parting (attested from the early 18th Cent.) survives in a small but continuous area in the SKSE

region, as well as in much of south-western England.²³

3.2.5 Tether (I.3.4/3:4)

Map L8

These words refer to the tether which is fastened around the cow's neck and by which she is attached to the trough or partition (cf. 3.2.2). The basic geographical pattern revealed by the map is that of a contrast between chain, including various compounds and covering most of the region, and halter (OE hælfter, hælfetre), which is almost completely restricted to a continuous coastal area in eastern Kent. The response halter may, however, reflect a difference in the nature of the object: the tether seems to have been made of rope at 35.07 and of leather at 35.03 (RB). Although halter refers to a chain at 35.15, rope or leather may once have been used throughout this area, hence the contrast with chain.

3.2.6 Trough (I.3.6/3:5)

Map L9

These words refer to the receptacle fitted in the cow-house for holding food (and sometimes water). The responses bodge (etym. unknown), pat (etym. unknown) and stock (OE stoc) all refer to specifically circular containers. The pattern in which three separate and predominantly marginal areas of trough (OE trog) are divided by a continuous central manger area (OF mangeoire) suggests that the latter is advancing at the expense of trough. As in all similar patterns, this type of interpretation is to be preferred to the unlikely

alternative that the same word has evolved independently in the separate marginal areas. In this case manger seems to have some status as a standard term,²⁴ and the northern orientation of its distribution within the region, i.e. towards the capital, suggests that its spread has been due to the influence of the standard language. This conclusion is supported by evidence from outside the region.²⁵

3.2.7 Drain (I.3.8/3:9)

Map L10

This item refers to a channel running behind the cows in the cow-house by means of which the urine flows out. The map reveals a rather confusing geographical pattern in which, nevertheless, three principal words occur consistently in one or more fairly well-defined areas: drain (OE drē(a)hnian vb), gully (OF goulet 'neck of bottle, outlet, narrow passage of water') and gutter (AN gotere). The occurrence of grip (OE grypa 'sewer') in two separated localities in Kent (35.03,06) is interesting, as the word is otherwise found no further south than Leicestershire.²⁶

3.3 Livestock: Cattle

3.3.1 To Slip the Calf (III.1.11/30:6)

Map L11

The responses here refer to a cow calving before the proper time, and the map shows a contrast between the two verbs slink (OE slincan 'creep, crawl' (of reptiles); sling at 35.12, 40.05) and slip (probably MLG slippen). At some localities slink and slip seem to be differentiated in their meaning:

this is explicit at 35.01 where slink refers to a birth before the seventh month of pregnancy and slip to one after that time. Slink is extremely rare outside SKSE and within the region its westward boundary with slip is very distinct. In south-eastern Kent, however, the much more widespread slip has gained a foot-hold and seems to be advancing into the slink area (cf. 3.4.1 and Maps L15, L15a).

3.3.2 Afterbirth (III.1.13/30:8)

Map L12

There are three principal words in SKSE for the placenta of the cow: afterbirth (after + birth or perhaps directly from Ger. Afterbürde; in English from 16th Cent.), clean ~ cleaning ~ cleanings (OE clāne adj.) and cleanse ~ cleansing ~ cleansings (OE clānsian vb). The geographical pattern suggests that clean, -ing(s) has receded before cleanse, -ing(s), probably reflecting the fact that the latter has some standard status.²⁷ Afterbirth is also a standard term,²⁸ and occurs in several localities; although it forms coherent areas in two parts of Kent, its distribution tends to be sporadic in the rest of the region. The word slinkings is presumably to be associated with the verb slink (cf. 3.3.1).

3.3.3 Udder (III.2.5/31:1)

Map L13

While the standard udder (OE ūder) occupies much of the region, the term bag (etym. uncertain; OED 1579) is used for the mammary glands of the cow in a large northern area. This represents the southern limit of a very extensive area in the north of England and the Midlands in which bag occurs.²⁹

3.3.4 Teats (III.2.6/31:2)

Map L14

Most of the region is occupied by tits or the standard teats in an apparently random distribution. Although tits and teats now seem to be regarded as variants of the same word, they were originally separate (OE tit and ME tete < OF tete respectively); teat has the unlengthened variant (tet). In the eastern part of the region teats ~ tits seems to be replacing speans (MDu., MLG spene) and the map has been drawn so as to show the full distribution of the latter. Speans is not found outside SKSE in modern English dialects, and the pattern here suggests that it has already been completely replaced in the extreme east of Kent.

3.4 Livestock: Horses3.4.1 To Slip the Foal (III.4.6/34:6)

Map L15

The pattern here is similar to that revealed by Map L11 which deals with the same phenomenon in cattle, and the interpretation suggested in 3.3.1 applies here also. Map L15a combines Maps L11 and L15 and shows the maximum extent of slink.

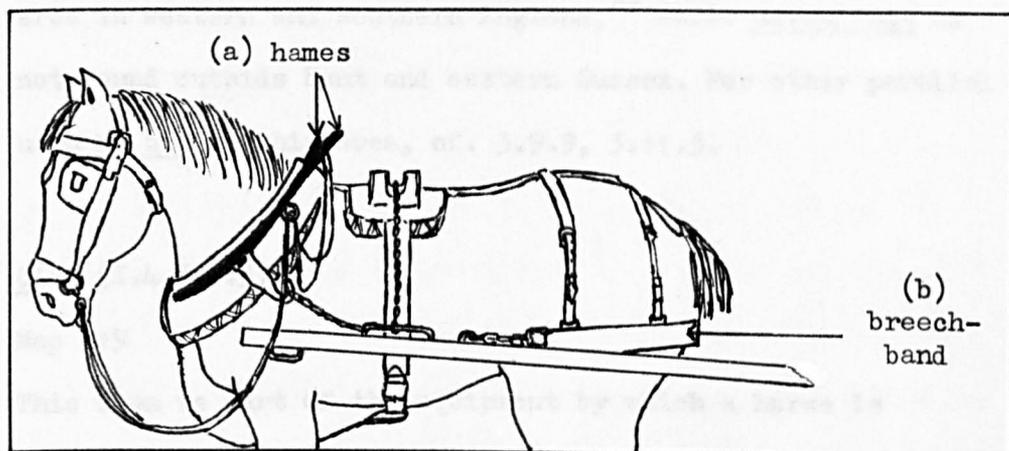
3.4.2 Hames (I.5.4/6:5)

Map L16; Figure 3(a) (overleaf)

While the standard hames (MDu. hame), which covers most of England,³⁰ occurs at almost all localities in the region, it is interesting that three non-standard words are

concentrated in contiguous areas in the south-eastern part of the region: hame-woods, an exclusively SKSE word, tugs (ME togge vb, as nn from 13th Cent.), and a word, diaphonemically (eimenz), which has been interpreted as hame-ends.

Figure 3: Draught Harness



3.4.3 Breech-band (I.5.10/6:11)

Map L17; Figure 3(b)

The occurrence of the exclusively SKSE coiler(s) (Fr. cul 'hinder part')³¹ in two separate areas divided by the nationally very widespread breeching (OE brēc pl. 'posterior') suggests that the latter, which occurs in a continuous area orientated towards the north, has advanced at the expense of the traditional local word. Indeed breeching often occurs beside coiler(s), and the map has been drawn so as to show the full extent of the latter.

3.4.4 Stretcher (I.5.11/6:12)

Map L18

The stretcher is a pole used to keep the traces apart between horses working in tandem. The map reveals an important contrast between the western spreader and the eastern spread-bat (spread + OE batt 'staff'). Spreader occurs in a large area in western and southern England,³² while spread-bat is not found outside Kent and eastern Sussex. For other parallel uses of bat in this area, cf. 3.9.9, 3.11.5.

3.4.5 Clog (I.4.3/5:3)

Map L19

This item is part of the equipment by which a horse is secured in the stable. The method used is identical to the Type II arrangement for tethering cows in the stall (3.2.2), and the clog is the weight on the end of the tethering rope. Five principal words are used in the region: block (OF bloq), chog (etym. unknown), clog (etym. unknown), plug (MLG, MDu. plugge) and weight. These all have well-defined distributions, some extending outside the region, but the overall pattern is difficult to interpret.

3.5 Livestock: Sheep3.5.1 Pet-lamb (III.7.3/35:15)

Map L20

The words presented here refer to a lamb which has to be reared on a bottle after the death of its mother. The map reveals a basic tripartite division of the region into areas occupied by hob-lamb, pet-lamb and a group of words based on

sock-, suck- and suckle-. Hob-lamb (etym. unknown)³³ seems not to occur outside Surrey and north-western Sussex. The pet-lamb area is part of a larger distribution covering much of central southern England and the southern Midlands; it also occupies most of northern England.³⁴ The third major area can be subdivided: the western area has suckling(-lamb) (suck + -ling) at 35.02,12³⁵,13 and suckler at 35.01; the outlying suckle-lamb at 40.06 must be associated with, and was perhaps once united with, this area. The eastern area has suck-lamb (OE sūcan) at 35.04,05 and sock-lamb (OE soc nn 'suck, sucking at the breast', from weak grade of sūcan vb³⁶) at 35.03,06,07,11,14,15; suck-lamb also occupies an area in Somerset, Wiltshire, Devon and Dorset,³⁷ and the alternation with the historically separate sock-lamb in Kent is perhaps now seen as a difference in the distribution of the (o) and (ʌ) diaphonemes within a single word.³⁸

3.5.2 Overturned (III.7.4/35:16)

Map L21

The state referred to here is that of a sheep accidentally turned over onto its back and unable to right itself. In a large southern part of the region the purely descriptive on its back is used, and in many localities in this area no response was obtained, sometimes because the question was not asked owing to the informants' unfamiliarity with sheep farming. In spite of these deficiencies, this item has been included to illustrate the well-defined distributions of cast (ON kasta) on the one hand and over-/mislaid on the other. The cast area represents the southern extremity of an extensive south midland and East Anglian area.³⁹ In northern

and eastern Kent, mis laid occurs at 35.03,04,07,11,15, while over laid is found at 35.01,05, and additionally at 40.06.

3.5.3 Shepherd (I.2.1/2:1)

Map L22

While the standard word shepherd is known throughout the region, the term looker is found additionally in a small but significant area of south-eastern Kent. Looker is restricted to the Romney Marsh area, and is associated with the system of sheep management practised on the marshes.⁴⁰

3.6 Livestock: Pigs

3.6.1 Piglet (III.8.2/36:2)

Map L23

The words presented here are taken to refer to young unweaned pigs under about twelve weeks old. The standard piglet occupies most of the region, but two other terms were recorded in fairly small but coherent areas: shoot (OED 1413, cf. West Flemish schote) and a group of compounds based on suck (sucking pig at 34.01, 40.04; suckling at 34.03, 35.03; suckler at 35.02,12; cf. 3.5.1 above). Shoot is used in southern Sussex in the sense defined here, but was perhaps originally applied to a slightly older weaned pig.

3.6.2 Weakling (III.8.4/36:5)

Map L24

The weakling referred to here is the weakest piglet in a litter. In the centre and west of the region the principal division is between darling (OE dēorling; applied here in

the sense of 'favourite in a family, one meet to be much loved, a lovable creature', OED) and dawling (with dawl-pig, dolling, dolly, dolly-pig; apparently based on Doll, a shortened pet-form of the personal name Dorothy). Although these two words are concentrated in this region, they were also recorded occasionally in parts of central southern England.⁴¹ The origin of Daniel, an exclusively Kentish term occupying a solid area in the central southern part of the county, is unknown, but that of Antony, which covers the area immediately to the north-east, is particularly interesting: in the Middle Ages the weakling was often dedicated to St. Antony the Abbot,⁴² one of whose traditional emblems was the pig.⁴³ The cult of St. Antony as the patron saint of pigs is well-known in Europe,⁴⁴ but the reason for the survival of Antony with this meaning in a well-defined area in north-eastern Kent is not known.⁴⁵ The word fondling (35.12; ME foned + -ling) has never before been recorded with this meaning, which presumably represents a specialization of the sense 'one who is fondly loved, one who is much fondled or caressed, a pet' (OED 1640). This parallels the use of darling in this sense (see above), and both words must reflect the special care which the weakest piglet needs in order to survive.

3.7 Livestock: Poultry

3.7.1 Perch nn (IV.6.3/43:2)

Map L25

The responses here were obtained as answers to the question:

'What do hens rest on at night?'. The standard perch

(OF perche) dominates the region and has apparently divided a formerly united roost area (OE hrōst). The map has been drawn so as to show the full extent of the recessive forms, and reveals a solid area in Kent in which chee (EDD 1736; etym. unknown) is found; this word is unknown elsewhere and is often used in the phrase 'go to chee', i.e. 'go to bed'.

3.7.2 Broody Hen (IV.6.7/43:6)

Map L26

The standard broody (OE brōdig) occupies a large central area and is bordered to the west and south by a group of words based on the verbs sit and set (sitty: 34.02; setty: 40.14, 17; sitter mn: 40.04). There is a very firm boundary between broody and, to the east, cluck (presumably imitative), although the latter has yielded to the standard word in a small pocket in southern Kent.

3.7.3 Brood (IV.6.12/43:12)

Map L27

The word for the group of chicks hatched from a single sitting of eggs is brood (OE brōd) over most of the region. In the south-western quarter, however, three other words occur, each occupying a relatively small but coherent area: batch (OE *bæcce; including vatch at 40.03), clutch (presumably associated with ON klekja vb 'hatch') and hatch (OE *hæccan vb).⁴⁶

3.7.4 To Pluck (IV.6.21/43:20)

Map L28

SKSE has two words for the process of removing the feathers from poultry: pluck (late OE pluccian) and pick (etym. obscure). The present geographical pattern suggests that pluck, now divided into three separate and predominantly marginal areas, formerly occupied a unified area which has subsequently been broken by the advance of pick from the north, spreading to the coast in two corridors (cf. 3.2.6 trough and Map L9). There is clear evidence throughout the south of England for the tendency for pick to advance at the expense of pluck.⁴⁷

3.8 Arable Farming3.8.1 To Thin Out (Turnips) (II.4.2/20:3)

Map L29

The expressions presented here refer to the operation of separating young turnip plants and setting them out at regular distances. Five principal expressions were recorded in the region, each occupying a well-defined area: chop out, set out, single and thin out, and the interesting and exclusively Kentish slate (perhaps OF esclater 'to break in pieces').

3.8.2 Potato-haulms (II.4.4/20:5)

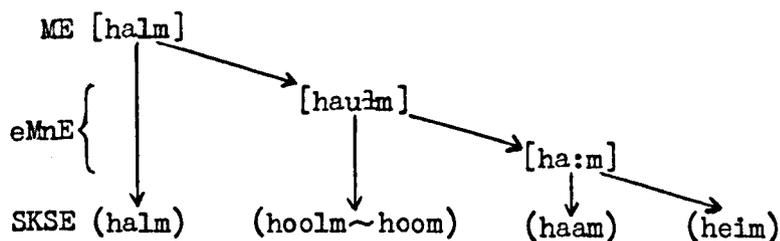
Map L30

This item refers to the stem and leaves of the potato plant, and since localities are, in the vast majority of cases, differentiated only by what are historically alternative

reflexes of OE healm, it is strictly speaking an example of variation in the lexical distribution of diaphonemes. However, since the various reflexes seem to be regarded as separate words and since each generally has a coherent geographical distribution, the matter is dealt with here. There are four reflexes of ME halm < OE healm in SKSE: (halm), (hoolm ~ hoom), (haam) and (heim); it should be noted that (h-) is usually absent (see 2.2.1.ii).

(halm) continues the ME form unchanged, while (hoolm ~ hoom), like all and walk, reflects the eMnE introduction of a u glide between ǣ and a following dark l and the subsequent merger of this sequence with ME au > SKSE (oo);⁴⁸ cf. also (koof) 'calf' < ME calf, 40.05 (III.1.2). (haam) represents the regular development of this au before lm, i.e. to SKSE (aa), cf. calm;⁴⁹ with loss of (h-) and confusion with arm this variant is often pronounced (arm). (heim) has resulted from confusion in the eMnE period due to the development of [a:] from ME -ǣlm while [a:] from ME ā (> SKSE (ei)) had not yet been completely raised to [ɛ:] (cf. 2.1.3.11 Commentary).

Thus each of these four variants of halm reflects an historical stage in the development of ME halm in SKSE:



The occurrence of bine (related to bind vb, cf. bell-bine, 3.12.1) in northern Kent represents the southward continuation of a concentrated distribution of this word in Essex.⁵⁰

3.8.3 Clamp (II.4.6/20:6)

Map L31

A clamp is a large covered heap of roots, e.g. potatoes, man-golds, in which they can be stored during the winter and protected from damage by frost. At 40.11, clamps were constructed as follows: a shallow trench was dug and lined with straw; the roots were then stacked in the trench and covered with a thick layer of straw; finally the clamp was covered with soil, leaving four or five gaps in which drain pipes filled with straw were placed for ventilation. At 35.14 swedes were stored in a clamp covered with leaves. Sometimes root crops, particularly turnips, were stored indoors, in a shed (35.11,15; 40.13), in an oast-house (35.12) or in a barn (35.13; 40.14,17); at 35.13 root crops were protected from frost by being stored in a well below the floor level of the barn.

The map shows that the region is divided between two principal words: clamp (MDu. klamp 'heap', related to MLG klumpe, MDu. klompe 'lump, mass') and pie (OF pie). The occurrence of the latter in the region is interesting, as it is otherwise concentrated in Durham, Yorkshire and the north-east Midlands.⁵¹

3.8.4 Swath (II.9.4/26:5)

Map L32

The notion referred to here is that of a row of grass immediately after being mown for hay. Two swaths were usually turned together into a windrow during the drying process. Like haulm (3.8.2) this is properly a phonological item, but the historically related forms are now sufficiently differentiated to be considered as separate words. The region is sharply divided between the western (swooθ) and the eastern (sweið ~ sweid). (swooθ) is derived from OE swaþ (strong neuter, 'trace, track') by the following process:

1. Rounding of ME ǣ after w to eMnE ō.⁵²
2. Lengthening of eMnE ō to SKSE (oo) before (θ), (2.1.2.5).

A postvocalic (r) has often been introduced here with the result that the word is pronounced (sworθ). (sweið ~ sweid), on the other hand, must be derived from the oblique cases of OE swaþ or from the related synonym swaþu (strong feminine) as follows:

1. Lengthening of OE ǣ to ME ā in open syllables.⁵³
2. Development of ME ā to SKSE (ei).

The doublet (swooθ):(sweið) is therefore analogous to, for example, staff:stave.⁵⁴ The final consonant of (sweid) is perhaps to be associated with the SKSE change of (ð) to (d), (cf. 2.2.1.2).

3.8.5 Aftermath (II.9.17/26:13)

Map L33

The words presented here were obtained in response to the question: 'When you let the grass grow again in order to cut it again, you call it' Apart from the single occurrence of aftermath (after + OE māþ 'mowing, hay harvest'), the region is divided among three terms of which two -- second crop and second cut -- are purely descriptive. Rowen(s) (ONF *rewain, in English from 14th Cent.; cf. modern Picard rouain, Norman revouin < re- + Common Romance *gwadaniare < OHG *weidinjan vb from weida 'fodder, pasture'; cf. Fr. gagner; OED) occupies a distinct area in eastern Sussex and western Kent; it also occurs in a small area in Essex and Hertfordshire and in Suffolk, which would suggest that it once occupied a much larger area in southern England, in most of which it has now been replaced by more recent terms.⁵⁵

3.8.6 Cutting (of hay) (II.9.15/26:11)

Map L34

The words discussed here refer to a portion of hay cut out from the stack with a hay-knife (3.9.12). The very widespread truss (OF trusse) occupies most of the region having possibly divided, in the south-east, a previously unified cant area (cf. MDu. kant 'piece, portion'; unknown outside SKSE with this meaning). The use of flake (etym. uncertain) in the region is interesting, as it occurs elsewhere with this meaning only in the central Midlands.⁵⁶

It is to be noted that at 40.13, in an area where both truss and cant are known, the two words are differentiated in

meaning: truss refers to a single portion of hay, while cant denotes a whole section cut out from the stack.

3.8.7 Stackyard (I.1.4/24:4)

Map L35

A stackyard is the enclosure on a farm in which hay- and corn-stacks are built. The most noteworthy point to emerge from the map concerns the respective distributions of the two alternative first elements of the compound words: rick (OE hrēac) and stack (ON stakkr). The native rick does not, on the evidence of this item, occur east of localities 35.02,13, 40.05,12; stack, on the other hand, the Scandinavian origin of which is reflected in its distribution throughout the north and east of England,⁵⁷ not only occupies the area to the east of these localities, but seems also to have spread as a standard term from the north of the region into the rick area, replacing the older term completely in a corridor through central Sussex.

The rick-paddock and stack-plat areas have been linked on the map as paddock and plat are equivalent terms (cf. 3.14.1); the combined area reflects an interesting localized application of the paddock/plat notion. The term rick-steddle normally, in this region, refers to the framework, often resting on mushroom-shaped blocks, on which stacks and granaries are built (OE stapol 'base, support'); at 40.14, however, the informant insisted that rick-steddle referred to the yard, and this usage has been recorded in central Sussex in the past.⁵⁸ Steddle here presumably continues OE stapol in its alternative sense of 'fixed position, place, site'.

3.9 Hand Tools3.9.1 Fork (I.3.13, I.7.9/3:13, 9:12)

Map L36

This section combines the responses to questions dealing with two notions: muck-fork (I.3.13/3:13) and forks in general (I.7.9/9:12). This amalgamation has been made since the responses overlap in many cases, and SKSE speakers do not normally distinguish between the two notions, except perhaps for the prefixing of dung- or muck- to the former. All such prefixes are omitted on Map L36. The words discussed can therefore be assumed to refer to all farm and garden forks with three to five prongs.

The standard fork (OE forca, force) dominates the region and so the map has been biased towards the non-standard words. Prong (etym. obscure), which occurs in a large area of south-western and central southern England,⁵⁹ extends into the region in two places in the extreme west. Among modern English dialects spud (etym. obscure) has this meaning in SKSE only; within the region it has clearly receded away from the north and centre as a result of the advance of fork.

3.9.2 Hay-fork (I.7.11/9:13)

Map L37

This item differs from that dealt with in 3.9.1 by having two prongs only; the handle may be long or short, but the types are distinguished by the use of different words at two localities only (A and B). All words other than those containing fork (OE forca, force) and prong (etym. obscure) have been omitted, as have prefixes such as hay- and pitch-.

What remains is a basic and distinct opposition between fork in Kent and the area adjacent to London and prong elsewhere.

3.9.3 Prong (I.7.10/9:15)

Map L38

The words presented here refer to the prong of one of the farm or garden forks discussed in 3.9.1 and 2 (above). Five principal words occur: grain (ON grein), tine (OE tind), spean (etym. obscure), prong (etym. obscure) and sprong (etym. unknown). Grain occurs in the extreme west of the region, continuing a substantial area in central southern England; this latter seems to be separated from a large grain area in north-western England by the intrusion of tine.⁶⁰ Tine occupies most of the English Midlands and the east coast, and extends southwards into the northern central part of the SKSE region. Here it has advanced at the expense of spean which now seems to be an exclusively SKSE word. Prong is found sporadically throughout the region, but seems to be the dominant word only in northern and central Kent. Sprong, which also occurs in parts of Devon and Somerset,⁶¹ is perhaps a hybrid of spean and prong.

3.9.4 Mallet (I.7.5/9:5)

Map L39

The type of mallet referred to here is the large wooden tool used, for example, for driving stakes and fencing posts into the ground. It may take the form of a large and heavy wooden hammer, or it may simply be fashioned out of a single piece of wood. Three principal words were recorded: beetle

(OE b̄etel, b̄ietel), maul (ME meall, mal(e) < OF mail < Lat. malleus 'hammer') and mallet (OF maillet from mailler 'hammer' vb, itself from mail, cf. SKSE maul). Each of these words occurs in at least two distinct areas within the region, and it is difficult to account for this geographical distribution or to place the various items in any chronological sequence.

3.9.5 Rung (I.7.15/9:20)

Map L40

SKSE has six principal words for the steps of a ladder, each occupying a well-defined area: round (OF rond, -e), rung (OE hrung), staff and stave (OE stæf, the latter from the oblique cases with ME lengthening of ǣ in open syllables), stale (OE stalu) and tread (ME trede from OE tredan vb). The round area in the extreme west of the region represents the eastern limit of a substantial distribution in the south Midlands and central southern England.⁶² Similarly the staff~stave area continues outside the region into East Anglia and the north Midlands.⁶³ The staff:stave boundary is clearly marked within the region, but the words seem to have been replaced from the north by the standard rung, which has also made inroads into the territory of the exclusively Kentish stale in the south-east of that county. Another word not recorded elsewhere is tread which is restricted to a small area in south-western Sussex.

3.9.6 Besom (I.3.15/9:24)

Map L41

The item under consideration here is a broom made usually of birch twigs, but sometimes of heather, tightly bound to a stick. The map shows a basic opposition in the region between besom (OE bes(e)ma) and birch-broom (OE brōm). The geographical pattern suggests that besom has spread from the north-west of the region towards the Sussex coast, dividing a formerly unified birch-broom area.

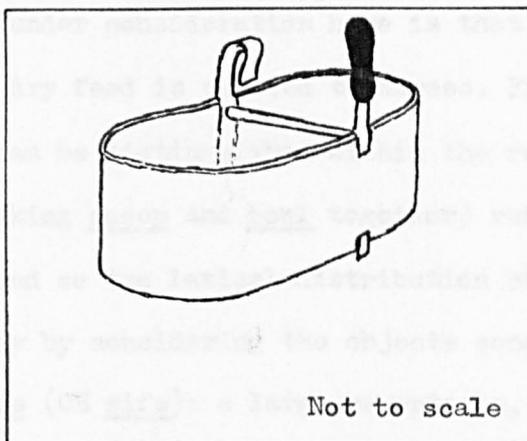
3.9.7 Sowing-basket (II.3.6/19:1)

Map L42

The tool discussed here is the container in which seed was carried when sowing broadcast. It was usually carried on a strap passed over the sower's shoulder and generally also had a handle in front. The principal words recorded are: bodge (etym. unknown), seed-cord (etym. unknown), seed-lip (OE sādleap), skip (late OE sceppe) and trug (perhaps a variant of trough < OE trog; cf. trough in this sense at 35.06). The word seed- may be prefixed to bodge, trug and hopper (for which see Map L42).

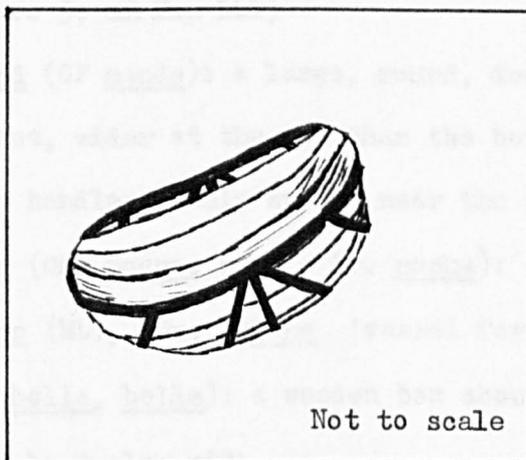
The distribution pattern cannot be fully understood without considering the nature of the object referred to. The following responses refer to an oval or kidney-shaped container made of galvanized metal (Figure 4, overleaf): seed-lip, skip, seed-cup, hopper; seed-cord can refer to this type, but it may also be made of basket-work (35.04 RB).

Figure 4: Seed-lip



The following responses refer to an oval basket made of willow laths (Figure 5): bodge, trug, basket.⁶⁴

Figure 5: Trug



It is clear that this traditional local type occurs in a fairly large area of central Kent and eastern Sussex. From the lexical point of view, the seed-lip area continues an extensive distribution in south-western and central southern England,⁶⁵ and the sharp eastern boundary of this term in the centre of the region is to be noted.

3.9.8 Basket (for horses' fodder) (III.5.4/34:13)

Map L43

The item under consideration here is that of the container in which dry feed is carried to horses. Five different objects can be distinguished within the region; each of the words (taking scoop and bowl together) refers to a different object, and so the lexical distribution can be explained completely by considering the objects concerned:

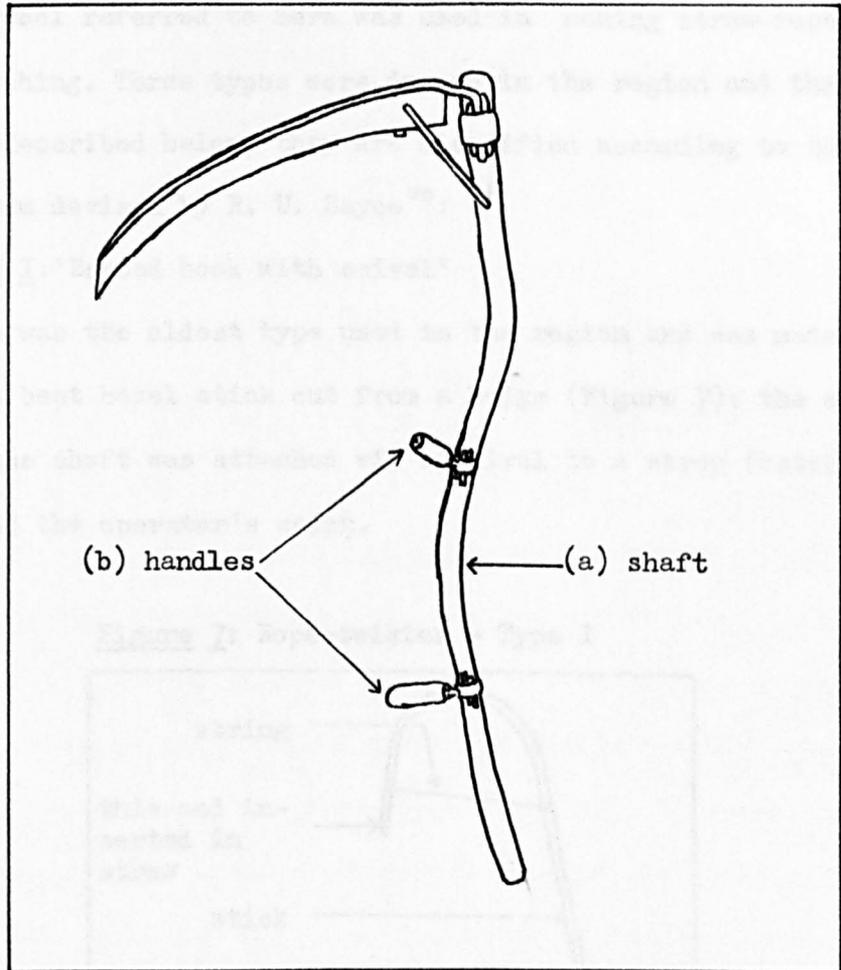
1. Sieve (OE sife): a large receptacle, usually round and about three feet in diameter but occasionally oval, with low wooden sides and a bottom made of rushes, cane, wickerwork or metal.
2. Trug: an oval basket made of laths (see 3.9.7 and Figure 5; cf. Map L42)
3. Maund (OF mande): a large, round, deep wickerwork basket, wider at the top than the bottom, with two or four handles evenly spaced near the top.⁶⁶
4. Poke (ONF poque, poke = Fr. poche): a large sack.
5. Scoop (MLG, MDu. schōpe 'vessel for baling'), bowl (OE holla, bolle): a wooden box about eighteen inches long by twelve wide.

3.9.9 Shaft of Scythe (II.9.7/27:2)

Map L44; Figure 6(a) (overleaf)

The region is divided by a very sharp boundary between sneath (OE snæð; principal SKSE variants: (sniiθ), (sniid), (sniid̥)) and bat (OE batt 'staff'). While the former is widespread throughout southern and western England,⁶⁷ the latter is an exclusively Kentish word (cf. 3.4.4 and 3.11.5).

Figure 6: The Scythe



3.9.10 Handles of Scythe (II.9.8/27:3)

Map L45; Figure 6(b)

Apart from a small area in the extreme west where the central southern English nibs (MDu. nib, MLG nibbe 'beak') occurs, the whole region is occupied by what seem to be three variant reflexes of OE þol(1). Tholes is the regular development and the word occurs in this form in southern East Anglia and in the Isle of Wight also.⁶⁸ Doles, an exclusively SKSE form, must reflect the local change of ME th- to d- (2.2.1.2), while dowls appears to be a phonologically obscure but geographically well-defined variant of this.⁶⁹

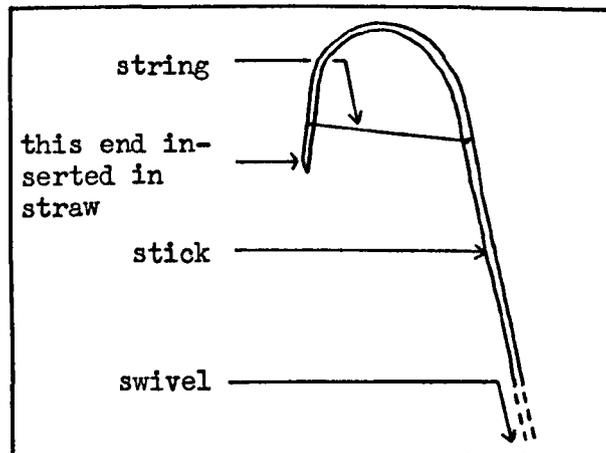
3.9.11 Rope-twister (II.7.8/24:18)

Map L46

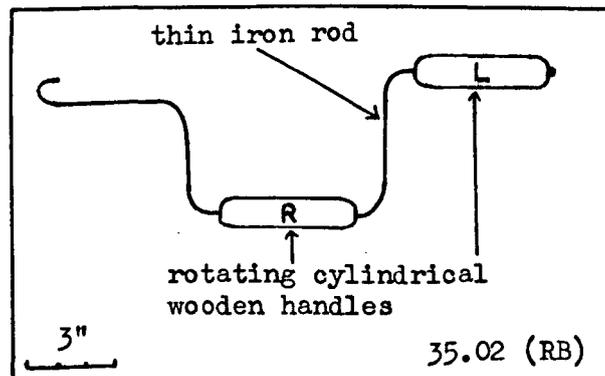
The tool referred to here was used in making straw-rope for thatching. Three types were in use in the region and these are described below; they are classified according to the system devised by R. U. Sayce⁷⁰:

Type I: 'Braced hook with swivel'

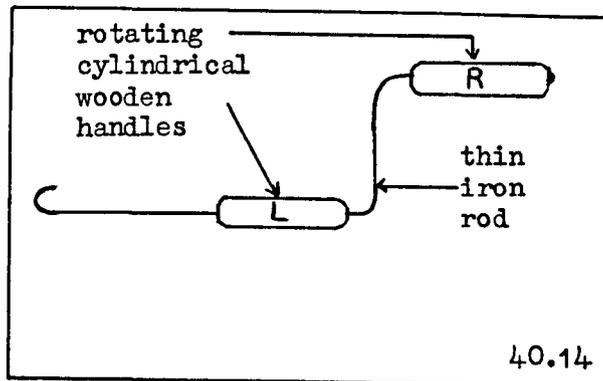
This was the oldest type used in the region and was made out of a bent hazel stick cut from a hedge (Figure 7); the end of the shaft was attached via a swivel to a strap fastened round the operator's waist.

Figure 7: Rope-twister - Type I

This type was known at 34.01; 35.02,12.

Type II: 'Brace-and-bit type'Figure 8: Rope-twister - Type II

L: Left hand; R: Right hand
(for right-handed operator)

Type III: 'Crank handle type'Figure 9: Rope-twister: Type III

Types II and III seem to have been used throughout the region.

The dominant word for this tool in the region is wimble (AF *wimble, variant of *guimble; cf. diminutive ginlet < OE guimbelet)*, the distribution of which continues into central southern England.⁷¹ In the centre of the region two other words occupy fairly small but distinct areas: wim-wom (etym. uncertain) and bond-winch (bond i.e. 'straw-bond' + OE wince). The formal differences between the various types of this tool seem not to be reflected in its terminology.

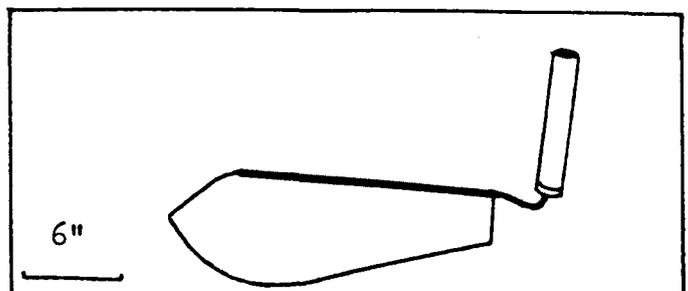
3.9.12 Hay-knife (II.9.14/26:10)

Maps M2, L47

This is a large knife used for cutting hay out of a stack. The representative example illustrated in Figure 10 (below) is based on a knife in Tenterden Museum, Kent (6 miles south of loc. 35.14).

Figure 10

Hay-knife



† The word seems originally to have referred to a boring tool

Several types of hay-knife were in use in the region, and a classification of these is presented below. The diagrams illustrate the shape of the blade and the relationship of the handle to the blade in a very schematic way; the symbols are used on Map M2 to show the geographical distribution of the various types.

I: Asymmetrical blades

A: Blade pointed

- | | | |
|---|--|---|
| (i) Handle at 90° to blade: α) above... |  | ■ |
| β) below... |  | ■ |
| (ii) T-handle at 90° to blade..... |  | ■ |
| (iii) Handle parallel to blade..... |  | ■ |
| (iv) Handle extends from blade
via crank |  | ■ |

II: Symmetrical blades

A: Blade pointed

- | | | |
|-----------------------------------|---|---|
| (i) T-handle at 90° to blade..... |  | ▽ |
|-----------------------------------|---|---|

B: Blade rounded

- | | | |
|--|---|---|
| (i) T-handle at 90° to blade.....
(blade 'pear-shaped' at
35.11) |  | ○ |
|--|---|---|

The bar linking the handle to the blade is usually bent towards the user so that the handle lies in a parallel plane to that of the blade; this prevents the abrasion of the user's hands against the hay in the stack.

The tools have been classified primarily with reference to the purely formal criterion of blade shape, and then subdivided on the basis of the relationship between the handle and the blade -- a factor which must have had some influence

on the way in which the knife was used.

Map M2 shows that knives with symmetrical blades are almost entirely restricted to eastern Kent (east of line X--X); there is an isolated example of this type at 40.01. The geographical position and pointed blades of the knives of Type IIAi suggest that this type is perhaps transitional to the asymmetrical knives (Type IA). The knives of Type IIBi, which have rounded blades, occur in a smaller but more coherent area east of line Y--Y, which thus marks a distinct formal boundary.

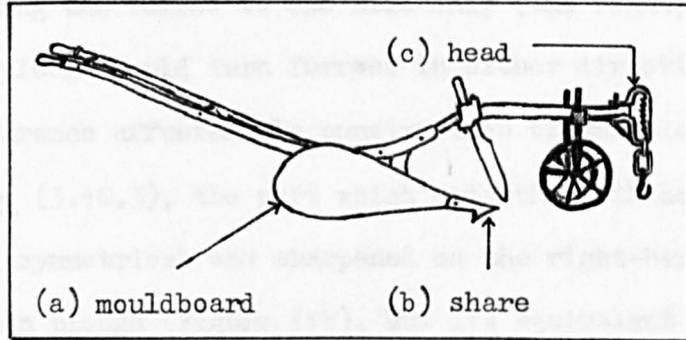
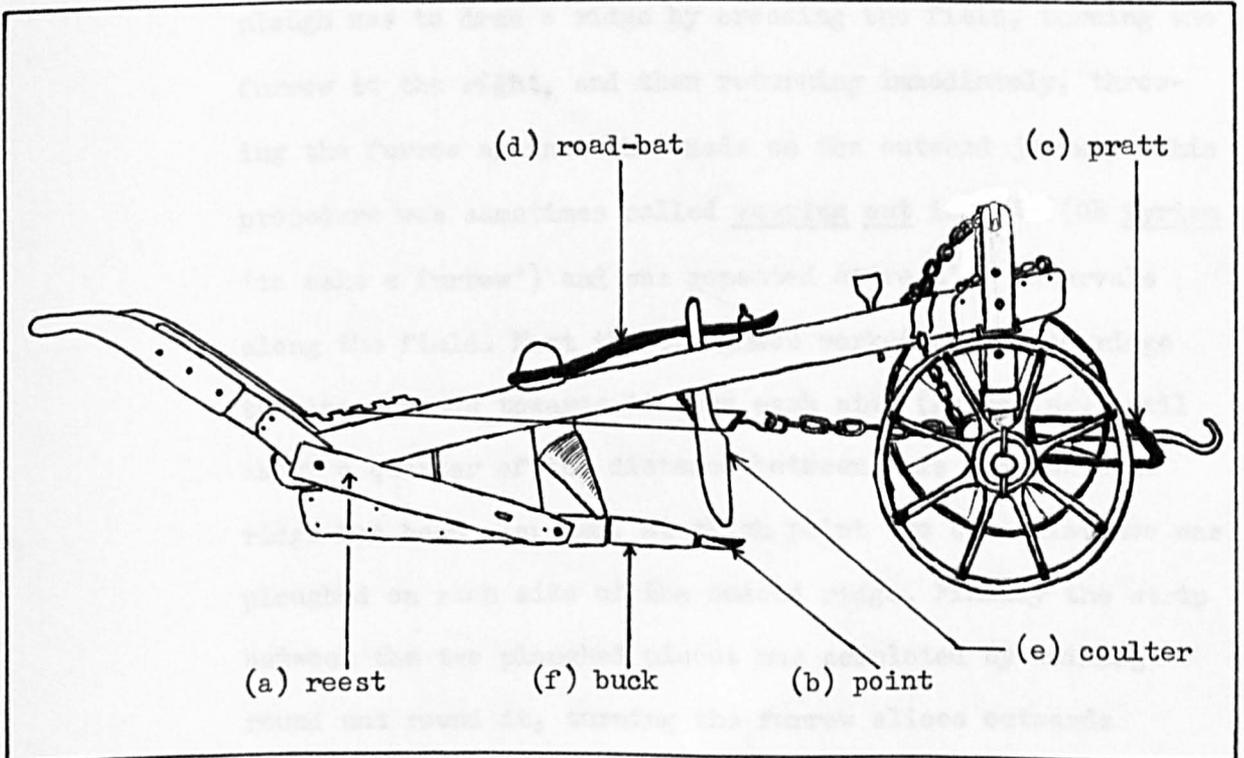
Within Type IA some interesting local variations are to be noted: Type IAii is fairly widespread throughout the area, but Type IAia is restricted to a small, but well-defined area in central Kent, and Type IAiii is found in Surrey and parts of northern Sussex.⁷²

A comparison with Map L47 shows that there is no correlation between the form of the tool and its terminology. Hay-knife dominates the region, although hay-cutter occupies a significant area in south-western Kent and eastern Sussex. The term mow-cutter, which was recorded in a small but distinct area in western Surrey, represents an interesting survival of OE mūga, mūha, mūwa 'stack of hay or corn' in a fossilized form: as a word for 'stack', mow is now restricted to parts of south-western England no further east than Somerset.⁷³ The word toss in toss-cutter (35.03) is a variant of tass from OF tas(se), cf. MDu. tas(s) 'heap'.⁷⁴

3.10 The Plough and Ploughing3.10.1 Types of Plough

Map M3

Two types of horse-drawn plough were used in the region: the English 'common' plough (Figure 11) and the south-eastern 'one-way' plough (Figure 12).

Figure 11: Common ploughFigure 12: South-Eastern One-Way Plough

The principal difference between the two types was the nature of the mouldboard (3.10.2), the part of the plough which turns the furrow: in the common plough this was permanently fixed (Figure 11a), while in the one-way plough the equivalent part was moveable (Figure 12a) and at the end of each furrow was removed from one side of the plough and fixed to the other. Thus the common plough was capable of turning the furrow to one side only (the right), but the one-way plough could turn furrows in either direction. This basic difference affected the construction of the ploughs: the share (3.10.3), the part which cuts the soil horizontally, was asymmetrical and sharpened on the right-hand side in the common plough (Figure 11b), but its equivalent in the one-way plough was symmetrical (Figure 12b).

These two plough-types were each associated with a different ploughing tradition. The method adopted with the common plough was to draw a ridge by crossing the field, turning the furrow to the right, and then returning immediately, throwing the furrow against that made on the outward journey. This procedure was sometimes called veering out in SKSE (OE fyrian 'to make a furrow') and was repeated at regular intervals along the field. Next the ploughman worked round one ridge turning furrows towards it from each side (gathering) until about a quarter of the distance between this and the next ridge had been ploughed, at which point the same distance was ploughed on each side of the second ridge. Finally the strip between the two ploughed pieces was completed by working round and round it, turning the furrow slices outwards (splitting) and eventually leaving a double open water-furrow for drainage midway between the two ridges. In SKSE each

section of a ploughed field is called a land (34.01,04; 40.03, 05,13) or a cant (cf. MDu. kant 'piece, portion'; 35.12,13; 40.01,04,11).⁷⁵

By virtue of its moveable mouldboard, on the other hand, the one-way plough was worked up and down across the field without the necessity of ploughing in lands. The method adopted with the one-way plough was as follows: at the end of each furrow the plough was turned round and the ploughman's mate removed the mouldboard or reest (Figure 12a, 3.10.2.1 below), scraped it clean and fitted it onto the opposite side of the plough. After the coulter (OE culter; Figure 12e) had been adjusted for the new direction of ploughing and secured with the road-bat (Figure 12d; road + OE batt 'staff'), the plough returned across the field; although the furrow was now being turned in the opposite direction relative to the plough, the effect was to leave all the furrows in the field pointing in the same direction.⁷⁶ At 40.04 and 40.12 one return journey across the field was called a went (related to wend vb).

Passmore thinks it very likely that the type of plough called here the 'south-eastern one-way plough' (also known as the 'Kent-', 'wheel-' or 'turn-wrest-plough') was introduced from the Continent 'very little earlier than the fifteenth century'.⁷⁷ It is certain, from more recent evidence, that one-way ploughs have been widespread in north-eastern France,⁷⁸ Belgium,⁷⁹ parts of western Germany⁸⁰ and in parts of the Netherlands,⁸¹ and the distribution of the south-eastern one-way plough (Map M3) represents a continuation of this northern European area.⁸² In 1653 Blith noted the similarity between the Kent plough and those used in Picardy and

Normandy,⁸³ and this type had been described by Fitzherbert over a century previously:

In Kente they have other maner of plowes, somme goo with wheles, as they doo in many other places, and some wyll tourne the sheldbredth [i.e. mouldboard] at every landes ende, and plowe all one waye.⁸⁴

While a fair amount is known about the history of ploughs of this type in Europe and their construction has been studied closely,⁸⁵ little evidence has hitherto been presented to enable the distribution of the one-way plough in south-eastern England to be mapped. However, with the help of the sometimes copious notes made by the SED fieldworkers in the recording books and of information provided by my own informants, it has been possible to show the distribution of ploughs of this type on Map M3. This has been supplemented by the evidence of material in the collection of the Museum of English Rural Life at the University of Reading.⁸⁶

Map M3 shows a striking correlation between the evidence of the informants and that obtained from other sources, confirming that the distribution indicated must be substantially correct. The map shows that one-way ploughs were traditionally restricted to Kent and south-eastern Sussex, and apparently also continued into Surrey at 34.01. There is evidence from 1809 for the presence of one-way ploughs on parts of the chalk downs of Surrey (34.01 is in this area) and in the south-east of the county,⁸⁷ hence the rather isolated occurrence at 34.01 must form part of the larger unified area. There is no evidence that ploughs of this type ever existed west of the area in which their use is indicated on the map, and the eastern orientation of their distribution is consistent with the theory that the south-

eastern one-way plough was imported from the adjacent part of north-western Europe.

Passmore noted that the use of one-way ploughs 'has generally been confined to hilly districts',⁸⁸ yet the south-eastern one-way plough was used equally on the flat land of Romney Marsh, the rolling hills of the Downs and the various types of soil and landscape of the eastern Weald. It was not, on the other hand, found on the downland in the west of the region or on the hills of the western Weald (see 4.1.4, Maps G2, 3, Overlays X2,3). This seems to suggest that the initial adoption and continued use into the early years of the present century of this type of plough and the methods associated with it had less to do with environmental factors than it did with more intangible cultural influences such as local custom and 'tradition'.

The principal variation in the south-eastern one-way plough was the construction of a wheel-less type. Jessup observed that 'in the Weald the wheels were commonly dispensed with',⁸⁹ and wheel-less ploughs were used at 40.04,12 and 14 and at locality 4 (Map M3). In addition the plough from locality 8 had one wheel only.

More recently the standard plough with a fixed mouldboard became common in the one-way ploughing area, but the two types were often distinguished in their terminology (cf. mouldboard, 3.10.2).

3.10.2 Mouldboard3.10.2.1 Mouldboard: One-Way Plough (I.8.8/10:29)

Map L48a; Figure 12a

The usual word applied to the mouldboard of the south-eastern one-way plough is reest (OE rēost > (riist) at 35.01, 03-05, 07, 11, (rist) at 35.14, 40.05 and (rais) at 34.01, 35.01, 40.06, 12, 14).⁹⁰ The response wing occupies a coherent area in western Kent and eastern Sussex; cf. 3.10.2.2 and Map L48b.

3.10.2.2 Mouldboard: Common Plough (I.8.8/10:7)

Map L48b; Figure 11a

The distribution shown on the map is clearly strongly influenced by that of the two types of plough used in the region. Except at 34.01, where both types of plough were probably in use, the term turn-furrow, which also extends over a large part of central southern England,⁹¹ is restricted to that western portion of the region where the common plough was traditional and where the one-way plough was not found (cf. Map M3). In the east, however, where the one-way plough was traditional, the more recent introduction of the common plough is reflected in a multiplicity of forms; while in some localities the word properly belonging to the one-way plough has been applied to the common plough, in others, particularly in those nearest to London, new words have been adopted to refer to the unfamiliar object: the standard mouldboard (OE molde 'earth' + bord 'board, plank') and the East Midland and East Anglian breast (OE brēost).⁹² The two traditional local words for the mouldboard of the one-way plough, wing and reest,⁹³ have sometimes been used to differentiate between the two types of mouldboard, e.g.

at 4.0.05, 12 and 14 where reest is applied to the one-way plough and wing to the common plough (cf. 3.10.2.1). It should also be noted that neither of these words is found outside the one-way ploughing area (cf. Map M3).

3.10.3 Share (I.8.7/10:5,26)

Map L49⁹⁴; Figures 11b, 12b

Two words occur here: the standard and very widespread share (OE scar, scear) and point (OF pointe). The distribution of the two words within the region reflects that of the two plough types and, originally, the differing forms of the object (see 3.10.1); thus point is only found within the one-way ploughing area.

3.10.4 Plough Beam-End (I.8.4,5/10:12,13,38,39)

Maps L50a,b; Figures 11c, 12c

As a result of the existence of several different methods of attaching the draught animals to the plough, the questions dealing with this aspect of the plough terminology often yielded confusing and not strictly comparable responses. The source of most difficulty was the notion of evener (I.8.4) -- the bar used for 'equalizing the pull of the horses' -- since this was often absent from the one-way plough. The number of words to be considered here for the device at the front of the plough-beam has been reduced to the three which show significant geographical distributions: head, shackle (OE sceacul 'fetter') and pratt (etym. unknown).

Map L50a shows the distribution of head and shackle: head is clearly associated with the common plough area (cf. Map M3), and its connection with this plough type is stated explicitly at 35.01 (I.8.5). The distribution of pratt (Map L50b), by contrast, reflects that of the one-way plough (cf. Map M3). Though the word was often transferred to the equivalent part of the common plough, pratt originally referred to the peculiarly shaped device on the one-way plough (Figure 12c). Thus, to a great extent, the distribution of head and pratt complement each other, reflecting the formal difference between the corresponding parts of the two traditional plough types of the region.

3.10.5 Swingle-tree (I.8.3/10:12,39)

Map L51

The item discussed here is the bar to which the traces of the horses are attached for ploughing. The region is divided between two principal words: whippen (etym. obscure) which continues into central southern England,⁹⁵ and billet (OF billette, diminutive of bille 'trunk of a tree, length of round timber') which, with this meaning, is unknown elsewhere. The distribution of billet suggests a close association with the one-way plough.

3.10.6 Headland (II.3.3/11:4)

Map L52

The headland is the stretch of land at each side of a field in which the plough is turned and which is ploughed last, at ninety degrees to the direction of the furrows. The standard and very widespread headland (OE heafodland)⁹⁶ occurs at

almost all localities, and the map has been drawn to show the full extent of the distribution of fore-acre (presumably OE fore + æcer 'the fore part of the field'). Fore-acre has never been recorded outside Kent,⁹⁷ but the most interesting aspect of its distribution in eastern Kent is the fact that it has an exact parallel in the word foareker which occurs in part of the West Frisian-speaking area of the Netherlands.⁹⁸ This is another example of a close correspondence between SKSE and Frisian (cf. also 2.1.2.1, 2.1.3.3n⁴²).

3.10.7 Cartman (I.2.2/2:2,3)

Map L53

This item has been included in this section since one of the principal jobs of the man referred to was to undertake the ploughing. The region shows a sharp division between carter (ME carte + -er) in the west and wagoner (Du. wagenaar, waghenaer, in English from 16th Cent.) in the east. Carter is the usual word throughout central southern England,⁹⁹ while wagoner, which was presumably introduced from the Low Countries along with the vehicle and its name (Du. wagen, waghen),¹⁰⁰ is concentrated principally in Kent and southern Essex and in a large midland and eastern coastal area.¹⁰¹

3.11 Carts and Wagons3.11.1 Shaft (I.9.4/14:15)

Map L54

Two principal words realize this notion in SKSE: shaft (OE scæft, scaeft), which is dominant throughout most of England,¹⁰² and rod (OE rodd) in an exclusively SKSE application of the word. Rod does not occur west of localities 34.02, 34.11 and 40.03, and this line probably represents the original western boundary of the term. The map also suggests that in the rest of the region the local rod is being replaced by the spread of standard shaft from the north, i.e. from the London area.

3.11.2 Ladders/Poles (I.10.5/14:14)

Maps L55a,b

The words presented here refer to devices attached to the front and rear of carts and/or wagons to enable larger loads to be carried. Two such devices were in use:

1. Ladders (Map L55a): these consisted of a framework formed from a pair of strong wooden side pieces joined by two or more thin slats. One was fitted at the front and one at the rear of the vehicle.¹⁰³
2. Poles (Map L55b): four vertical wooden poles were fitted, one at each corner of the vehicle.¹⁰⁴

Map L55a shows that three principal words are found in the region for (1): racks (ME rakke < Du. rak, LG rack) in part of eastern Kent, lades (cf. East Frisian lade 'an object on which things are loaded', cognate with OE hladan 'to load') in a small central area, and ladders (OE hlād(d)er) over most of the rest of the region. In the areas marked 'n.f.'

the second type of device was used (2 above). On Map L55b the line X—X encloses the area in which poles were used in this way; the location of vehicles with poles in the material and pictorial collections of the Museum of English Rural Life is also indicated.¹⁰⁵ This method, which Jenkins recognizes as a characteristic of south-eastern wagons,¹⁰⁶ occurs in a long, continuous and predominantly marginal area in the south of the region. Three words were recorded: stipers (cf. Fr. stipe 'stalk' < Lat. stīpes 'log, post, tree-trunk') in south-eastern Kent, standards (AN estaundart) in central southern Kent, and poles (OE pāl) elsewhere.

3.11.3 Tire (I.9.10/14:5)

Map L56

The tire referred to here is that of a wooden-wheeled cart or wagon. The tire was made of an iron hoop which was dropped over the wheel when hot and shrunk to the required size in cooling. The standard tire (etym. uncertain), which occurs throughout south-eastern England,¹⁰⁷ was recorded at almost all localities, but the map has been drawn so as to show the full distribution of rim (OE rima) in eastern Sussex and western Kent.

3.11.4 Hub (I.9.7/14:2)

Map L57

The object under consideration here is the wooden hub of a cart or wagon wheel into which the spokes are morticed. The map has been drawn in such a way as to emphasize the distributions of words other than the standard hub (etym. uncertain).

Nave (OE nafu, -a) has certainly receded before hub in the eastern part of the region, while stock (OE stoc) which continues into Hampshire and Buckinghamshire¹⁰⁸ seems to have proved more resistant. Box (OE box), which was recorded in a small central area and sporadically elsewhere, is more usually applied to the metal lining of the hub (I.9.8/14:9).

3.11.5 Rod (to tip cart) (I.10.3/15:6)

Map L58

This section deals with devices of several types for securing the body of a cart to the shafts, and in some cases for controlling the angle at which the body is tipped. All responses have been omitted which seem not to consist of a definite word referring to the whole object or which are otherwise unclear.

The response chain, which is almost completely confined to a compact area in eastern Sussex, reflects the practice of securing the body of the cart to the shafts by means of a chain.

The remaining responses refer, apparently indiscriminately, to two devices, both of which were described by George Sturt.¹⁰⁹

The first, called by Sturt a key-stick, was:

A slender piece of wood containing, at each end, an iron crank for 'keying' the body of a tip-cart down on to the shafts.¹¹⁰

The second, which he called a tip-stick, was an upright bar, sometimes made of iron:

It was hinged from the shafts through the lighter on the body; and, being perforated with holes, made it possible to keep the body tipped at any desired angle for crossing a field.¹¹¹

[Lighter: a thick bar of wood across the front 'sides' of a dung cart, lying just over the back ends of the shafts.

One end of the lighter formed a handle for tipping the body; and through a mortice in the middle of the lighter stood up the hinged tip-stick from the shafts.]¹¹²

There is some evidence that the second type is more recent in the region than the first.¹¹³

The response tip-bar (ME tīpe + OF barre) occupies a small but coherent area in south-western Surrey and north-western Sussex. Key-stick (ME kei(3)e(n) vb < OE cāg, -e nm + OE sticca) continues into Hampshire and the south-east Midlands,¹¹⁴ and trap-stick (ME trappen vb) continues into southern Essex.¹¹⁵ The remaining area in the east of the region uses compounds of bat (OE batt 'staff'; cf. spread-bat 3.4.4, and scythe-bat 3.9.9): trigger-bat (etym. uncertain, cf. trigger-bar at 35.01, trigger-stick at 40.05) in western Kent and north-eastern Sussex, and tinge-bat (OE *tengan = ON tengja 'to fasten')¹¹⁶ in eastern Kent.

3.11.6 To Tip (a cart) (I.11.6/15:5)

Map L59

Apart from the standard and very widespread tip (ME tīpe),¹¹⁷ three words are found in the region: shoot (OE scēotan) in central southern Sussex and, to the east, two exclusively SKSE words -- shelve (OED 1587; etym. uncertain, cf. West Frisian skelf adj. 'somewhat oblique, not quite straight or level') and untinge (OE *tengan, cf. tinge-bat, 3.11.5 above and note).

3.11.7 Drag (I.11.3/14:17)

Map M4

This question asks: 'What do you put underneath the wheel to stop a wagon going too fast downhill?'. Throughout the

region the response was skid-pan (OE panne) referring to a thick cast-iron shoe about a foot long and suspended from the wagon by a chain just in front of one of the rear wheels. When descending a hill, the skid-pan was placed under the wheel to stop it rotating; it skidded instead, slowing the vehicle down.¹¹⁸ However, the responses to this question show that another method for braking wagons was in use in part of the region: one of the rear wheels was locked by chaining it to the body frame.¹¹⁹ This chain (false(-chain) at 35.04,06,12,13, 40.05,12, safety-chain at 40.04,06) seems to have been used in addition to the skid-pan in some localities; in others the skid-pan was used on the road and the chain in the fields. Map M4 shows that this method was characteristic of a well-defined and solid area in eastern Sussex and western Kent. No environmental explanations can be adduced to account for this distribution.

3.12 The Countryside

3.12.1 Bindweed (II.2.4/18:4)

Map L60

The words presented here refer to two plants: the great bindweed (convulvulus sepium) and the field bindweed (convulvulus arvensis). The application of the word lily (OE lilie) to this plant in a small area in north-western Sussex and south-western Surrey is no doubt due to the nature of the white bloom of the bindweed. The areas in which the remaining three terms occur are very clearly defined: bind-weed (OE bindan vb + wēod) occupies two fairly widely separated

areas; bell-bind (presumably reflecting the shape of the bloom) continues from its area in the northern central part of the region into southern East Anglia;¹²⁰ and bear-bind (OE bere 'barley') which, as well as occupying a distinct area in southern Kent and south-eastern Sussex, occurs again in the south-west Midlands.¹²¹

3.12.2 Goose-grass (II.2.5/18:5)

Map L61

The words discussed here refer to the plant galium aparine, and despite the large number of negative responses it is possible to indicate on the map a clear boundary between clider(s) (OE cliðan 'stick' vb) in the extreme west of the region and cliver(s) (OE cliffe, from base of cleofian, clifian 'stick, adhere' vb) in most of the rest of the region. The distribution of the former continues into central southern England, and that of the latter into Essex and other parts of the south-east Midlands.¹²² Sweet-hearts, presumably named after the adhesive quality of the plant's seeds, occupies a compact central area, and has perhaps spread elsewhere, while goose-grass is confined to north-western Kent.

3.12.3 Charlock (II.2.6/18:6)

Map L62

The plant under consideration here is sinapis arvensis. The standard and general southern English charlock (OE cerlic, cyrlic) is relatively rare in the region: it occurs principally in the extreme west adjoining Hampshire and Berkshire, and also in a rather ill-defined central area and sporadic-

ally elsewhere.¹²³ The pocket of cadlock (OE cedelc) in the north of the region is interesting since this word is otherwise found only in the north Midlands.¹²⁴ Kilk (etym. unknown), which occupies a large area in the south of the region, seems to be confined to SKSE; similarly kinkle (etym. unknown) is unknown outside eastern Kent.

3.12.4 Haws (IV.11.6/55:4)

Map L63

The words discussed here refer to the berries of the hawthorn, and although each of the five principal terms generally occupies a clearly defined area, it is often difficult to analyse the form of the various responses. All the words seem to include in some form a reflex of OE haga. Thus the standard haws, occupying a large area in the north of the region and spreading elsewhere, has developed regularly via ME haw(e), with ME au > SKSE (oo). The curious group of responses labelled (eigaaz ~ egaaz) on the map seems to contain a reflex of OE haga as a second element, with ME au > SKSE (aa) in this case; the first element of these compounds, on account of its containing the voiced stop (g), perhaps continues an OE *hacga,¹²⁵ in some cases with ǣ lengthened and subsequently diphthongized to SKSE (ei). Some of the variants in this group have double plurals, and this feature is also represented in the clearly related and neighbouring group of responses labelled (hogaasiz); the (hog) element here is perhaps due to folk-etymology, but should be compared with the responses pig-berries and pig-haws in Somerset and Wiltshire.¹²⁶ This (hog) element appears again in the term hog-hazels which occurs in a small area in south-

eastern Sussex and southern Kent; the hazel element (presumably OE hæsel) is also found in hazel-berries (35.12).

The response (haavz), which is confined to eastern Kent, seems to represent an interesting development of OE haga: it suggests that OE medial [ɣ] was preserved for a sufficiently long time for [ɣ] to become [v] by a change parallel to that by which ME [x] > [f].¹²⁷ Further evidence for this development in Kent is provided by the forms (jeiv) shave 'a small copse' (OE sceaga > general SKSE (fo) shaw) at 35.11 (56:8) and (trauvz) troughs (presumably from the oblique cases of OE trog) at 35.12 (36.15).¹²⁸ All these forms show the ME lengthening of short vowels in open syllables, but while (jeiv) and (trauvz) both show a regular development of the lengthened vowel, (haavz) must have merged in the early modern period with (aa) < ME ǣ + lv (cf. 2.1.3.11 Commentary).

3.12.5 Stump (IV.12.4/56:5)

Map L64

The notion under consideration here is that of the base of a tree-trunk left standing after the tree has been blown, or sawn, down. The word stool (OE stōl) seems to have receded from some parts of the region, although in eastern Kent it sometimes survives in the sense of the stump of a tree felled by sawing; the stool area in north-western Surrey continues into part of the south-east Midlands.¹²⁹ Similarly stump (MLG stump(e), MDu. stomp), which occupies three separate areas in the region, continues into Hampshire in the west¹³⁰ and Middlesex and Essex in the north.¹³¹ Butt (etym. obscure) and stub (OE stub) occupy quite large areas in the centre of the region, while in part of south-eastern Kent the meaning

of root(s) (late OE rōt) has been extended to include the notion of stump.

3.12.6 To Trim (a hedge) (IV.2.3/49:17)¹³²

Map L65

The words discussed here were recorded in response to the question: 'When you take the rough growth off your hedges, what do you say you do to them?'. Apart from a small area of cut (35.06 and 40.13), the region is fairly sharply divided between the widespread trim (etym. obscure) in the west and brush (presumably from ME brusche < AN brousse, OF brosse 'brushwood') in the east.¹³³ Note the pronunciation of brush as (brɪʃ) in most of this eastern area.

3.12.7 Rivulet (IV.1.1/49:1)

Map L66

The notion discussed here is that of a stretch of running water more narrow than a river. The map shows a clear contrast in the region between stream (OE strēam) and brook (OE brōc). The geographical pattern suggests strongly that brook is advancing from the north at the expense of stream, and this observation is confirmed by the tendency for stream to recede before brook in a large part of southern and western England.¹³⁴

3.12.8 Ditch (IV.2.1c/49:11)

Map L67

An attempt has been made here to present the usual local words for a narrow drainage channel dividing two fields. In addition to the responses to question IV.2.1c/49:11

those obtained from IV.2.2/49:16 and IV.2.11/49:15 and the evidence of the IM have been used.¹³⁵ The map shows the full distribution of words other than the standard (ditʃ).

The three forms (ditʃ), (dik) and (daik) all seem to continue to some extent OE dīc. OED suggests that (daik) was originally a northern variant, although in north-eastern Kent it could reflect the influence of MDu. dije 'ditch'. (dik), which is restricted to a small area in south-eastern Sussex and south-western Kent, is related to (daik) and shows shortening of ME ī. The (dik) area and that of (daik) in north-eastern Kent may once have constituted a unified area in the east of the region. (ditʃ) shows the same shortening of ME ī as (dik).

3.12.9 Puddles (IV.1.6/49:6)

Map L68

The words presented on the map were recorded in response to the question: 'What do you call those small hollows in the road, filled with water after rain?', and the two principal words, puddles (ME podel, puddel diminutive of OE pudd 'ditch, furrow') and pot-holes (presumably ME pott + OE hol) seem to be equivalent in meaning. The geographical pattern suggests that puddles has spread over the region at the expense of the non-standard pot-holes, which has receded into three mainly peripheral areas.

3.13 Wildlife3.13.1 Bat (IV.7.7/44:9)

Map L69

In addition to the standard bat (ME backe, bakke) three local words survive in the region, each occupying a clearly defined area, although all seem to be giving way to bat: flitter-mouse (ME flitten + -er + mouse, perhaps modelled on Du. vledermuis) may once have covered a larger area, since it occurs not only in central Kent, but also in two isolated localities in central Sussex in an area in which the clearly related flitter-bat was recorded. Like flitter-bat, the eastern Kentish flinter-bat is an exclusively SKSE word; the latter contains the Kentish flinder (Du. vlinder) 'butterfly'.¹³⁶

3.13.2 Weasel (IV.5.6/45:6)

Map L70

The standard weasel (OE wesule, wesle, weosule) occurs in almost all localities, but the map indicates the full distribution of the exclusively SKSE kine (etym. unknown). Kine seems to be recessive and probably once covered a much larger area in the eastern half of the region; at some localities (35.13 and 40.05) it refers particularly to a small weasel.

3.13.3 Ant-hills (IV.8.13/46:15)

Map L71

The words discussed here refer to the mound of earth made by a colony of ants. The standard and widespread hills covers the entire central part of the region, but around the peri-

phery two further principal words are used: casts (ME casten < ON kasta 'to throw') and mounds (etym. unknown). Casts, unknown in this sense outside SKSE, is now confined mostly to a long straggling coastal area in the east of the region; however, its distribution pattern suggests that it has been replaced by hills inland, and consequently that it once covered a much larger area. The distribution of mounds continues from southern Sussex into part of Hampshire.¹³⁷

3.13.4 Snail (IV.9.3/47:3)

Map L72

The standard snail (OE snæg(e)l, sneg(e)l) was recorded at almost all localities, but the map has been drawn so as to show the complete distributions of two exclusively SKSE terms. Sneg (ME snege)¹³⁸ must once have covered a much more extensive area than that in central Kent indicated on the map, since outlying occurrences were recorded at 40.03 and 40.05. The shell- prefix at 40.05 is also present in shell-snail in a small area of central Sussex and southern Surrey.

3.14 Miscellaneous Items

3.14.1 Paddock (I.1.10/1:13)

Map L73

The notion under consideration here is that of a small enclosed piece of pasture close to the farmyard. The region is divided between two principal words: paddock (OE pearroc, -uc) and plat (OE plot); the map shows the complete distribution of plat. The standard paddock is clearly replacing plat throughout the region, and, in spreading from the

north, has divided what must formerly have been a unified plat area.¹³⁹

3.14.2 Gate-bars (IV.3.6/50:10)

Map L74

The words presented here refer to the four or five non-weight-bearing horizontal bars of a wooden field-gate. Five principal words occur in the region, each with a clearly defined area of distribution. The standard bars (OF barre) occupies the northern central area adjacent to London and continues into the south Midlands, central southern England and much of the rest of the country;¹⁴⁰ it has also become established in eastern Kent. Slats (OF esclat 'splinter, piece broken off') covers a large eastern area, but seems to have yielded to bars to both the east and west. Slits (ME slitte vb in the sense 'to cut wood into thin deals' OED 1522) and laths (ME lappe) both occupy two separate areas in the south of the region, while the exclusively SKSE spleats (cf. MDu., MLG splete, related to split vb) is restricted to a small but coherent area in the extreme west of the region.

3.14.3 Sheep-dung (II.1.7/17:7)

Map L75

The map shows the distribution of treddles (OE tyrdele diminutive with i-umlaut from Gmc *turdam, OE tord 'turd'; for the SKSE phonology see 2.1.2.1) to refer to pellets of sheep dung. The word occurs in a fairly large and, except in the north-west, clearly defined area centred on south-western Kent and south-eastern Sussex.

3.14.4 Dung-heap (3:14)

Map L76

The object under discussion here is a heap of dung in a farm-yard or in a field in preparation for spreading. This item was not included in the Dieth-Orton Questionnaire, but the word is frequently recorded in the IM for the SED localities, and this evidence has been combined with the responses to my question 3:14 to produce Map L76.

The four principal words -- dung-mix, mixen, maxen and maxtel -- all contain in some form reflexes of OE mix, miox, meox 'dung'.¹⁴² Dung-mix in south-western Sussex seems to continue OE mix unchanged, although the addition of dung- possibly followed the false identification of mix with St.Eng. mix vb. Mixen, which covers a large and mainly central part of the region, continues the derivative OE mixen, meoxen 'dung-heap'. In a substantial area in Kent and south-eastern Sussex OE meoxen has yielded maxen; the unusual development of the vowel here is also present in two place-names in this area, both of which probably contain OE meox: Macted Street in Elmsted parish, Kent,¹⁴² and Maxfield in Guestling parish, Sussex.¹⁴³ The same development of OE meox > SKSE (maks-) is reflected in maxtel (probably an alteration of max-hill)¹⁴⁴ which is restricted to the south-eastern corner of Kent. Both of the place-names cited above were spelt Mex- until the sixteenth century, and the modern forms of all these words with SKSE (a) could be due to hyper-correction as a result of confusion between Middle Kentish ǣ from OE æ and ě from other sources (see 2.1.3.3 Commentary).

3.14.5 Scraps (from pig) (III.12.10/39:11)

Map L77

The words presented here refer to the particles left over after rendering the kidney-fat of a pig. There is a clear boundary in the region dividing browsels (Fr. *broussailles from dialectal brousser 'to coagulate'; the phonology suggests an entry into SKSE in the ME period) from scraps (ON skrap). Browsels is unknown outside eastern Kent.

Chapter Four : Conclusions

4.1 Dialect Areas

4.1.1 The Influence of Standard and London English

On a number of the maps discussed in Chapters Two and Three a distribution pattern with the following features has been identified:

- (i) The item presented occurs in a continuous area based on the central northern part of the region; in the case of an item analysed quantitatively, the highest frequencies are in this central northern area.
- (ii) The item shows a tendency to spread into the rest of the region, displacing older forms in the process; frequencies tend to diminish with increasing distance from the core area.
- (iii) The item may reach the coast by driving a corridor in one or more places through a previously unified area occupied by an older form.
- (iv) The item is associated with RP and/or popular London English in the case of phonological maps; in the case of lexical maps, the item is a standard term or is expanding in other directions from the London area.

In each case it has been suggested that the item is an innovation in SKSE, spreading over the region as a result of its association with popular London and/or Standard English. In this section these similar distributions will be compared, and the combined evidence will be used to account for the direction taken by the diffusion of these innovations.

The items concerned are listed below. The map number is given and, in the case of items analysed quantitatively, the minimum numerical value characteristic of the pattern:

Phonological Items

1. P5 : Percentage frequency of SKSE (oo) before
(f, s, θ) : 50%+
2. P7 : Number of words with SKSE (uu) in
words with /ju:/ in RP : 5+
3. P23 : Index score for raising of /æ/ : 20+
4. P33 : Index score for retraction of SKSE (aa) : 100+
5. P35 : Percentage frequency of [ɛɪ] allo-
phonic type ← SKSE (ei)¹ : 75%-
6. P45 : Presence of long monophthongs and long
centring diphthongs ← SKSE (air)
7. P47 : Index score for progressive monophthong-
ization of SKSE (au) : 50+
8. P48 : Presence of long monophthongs and long
centring diphthongs ← SKSE (aur)
9. P53 : Index score for development of
[ɔɔ > ʌɔ > ɪɔ > əɔ] ← SKSE (Au) : 150+
10. PP9 : Percentage frequency of non-rhotic
forms ← SKSE (ar) : 50%+
11. PP10 : Percentage frequency of non-rhotic
forms ← SKSE (or) : 50%+
12. PP11 : Percentage frequency of non-rhotic
forms ← SKSE (ʌr) : 50%+

Lexical Items

1. L9 : Use of manger for TROUGH
2. L12 : Use of afterbirth or cleanse, -ing(s) for AFTERBIRTH
3. L17 : Use of breeching for BREECH-BAND
4. L25 : Use of perch for PERCH
5. L28 : Use of pick for PLUCK vb
6. L40 : Use of rung for RUNG
7. L41 : Use of besom for BESOM
8. L66 : Use of brook for RIVULET
9. L68 : Use of puddles for PUDDLES
10. L73 : Use of paddock for PADDOCK
11. L74 : Use of bars for GATE-BARS

Tables TA1* (phonological items) and TA2 (lexical items) show the extent to which each locality participates in this distribution pattern on the evidence of the items and values presented in the corpus above. A percentage score is calculated for each locality, and the distribution of these is presented in isopleth form on Maps A1 (phonological items) and A2 (lexical items). The phonological and lexical scores are averaged on Map A3.

Although there are some differences in detail, Maps A1-3 all reveal what is essentially the same pattern: the influence of popular London English and RP in pronunciation and of Standard English in lexical items is strongest in the area immediately adjacent to London, i.e. in the central northern part of the region; it then tends to radiate outwards with diminishing intensity into the rest of the region. This is not a regular process, however, since corridors of relatively

*In Volume II

strong influence cut through the region to reach the Channel coast in two places: (i) through central Sussex and (ii) through northern Kent to the south-eastern corner of the county. In addition, wedges of relatively strong influence are driven into western Kent and north-eastern Sussex on the one hand, and into south-western Surrey on the other: the former does not reach the coast, but the latter 'leapfrogs' over the intervening stretch of country and emerges again in extreme south-western Sussex (40.17). This 'leapfrogging' tendency can also be seen at 40.15 on Maps A2 and A3. While innovations are readily adopted in the four areas identified above, adjacent areas at an equal distance from London show a much stronger tendency to retain older forms.

Although some of the phonological innovations reflect features of popular London speech -- items 2 (2.1.2.6), 5 (2.1.3.11), 7 (2.1.3.16) -- the remainder are to a large extent characteristic of both popular London and RP English. While it needs to be stressed that RP -- and Standard English in the case of lexical innovations -- is a socially rather than geographically determined variety, and is therefore not necessarily associated with the capital or its suburbs, it is nevertheless clear that London has been the source of RP and Standard English influence on SKSE and has determined the nature of the diffusion pattern characteristic of these innovations.

An explanation is now required to account for the fact that the four areas identified above (cf. Maps A1 - A3) are considerably more susceptible to influence from London than other, sometimes adjacent, parts of the region. Map G1 and Overlay Map X1 show that these four areas coincide

with the main communication routes from London to the principal urban centres on the South Coast as follows:

1. The corridor running through the north Kent coastal belt by which linguistic innovations reach the south-eastern corner of the county reflects the route of the Roman Watling Street to Dover via Rochester and Canterbury.² Unlike most of the other routes in the region, the Dover road had long been adequate for efficient communications before being turnpiked over most of its distance by 1753;³ Watling Street is the modern A2 trunk road.⁴ The main railway lines to the Channel Ports (Dover and Folkestone) follow similar routes: that via Ashford was completed in 1844, that via Canterbury in 1861.⁵
2. The wedge of strong London influence in western Kent and north-eastern Sussex seems to owe its existence to the road from London towards the Cinque Port of Hastings via Tonbridge; this was turnpiked throughout by 1753.⁶ In addition, this area -- centred on Tunbridge Wells -- was covered with a close network of turnpike roads by 1800.⁷ Communications with the capital were further improved by the arrival of the railway at Tunbridge Wells in 1846.⁸
3. The corridor through central Sussex to the coast is clearly associated with the communication routes from London to the urban area now based on Brighton. In 1700 roads crossed Sussex to the old ports of Newhaven and Shoreham;⁹ Lewes was reached by a turnpike from London in 1752,¹⁰ and Brighton, now the 'hub' of a new system of improved roads,¹¹ was well provided with connections to London by 1800.¹² The railway from London, following

fairly closely the alignment of what is now the A23 road, reached Brighton in 1841,¹³ bringing in its wake the development of towns such as Haywards Heath.¹⁴

4. The wedge of relatively strong London influence in south-western Surrey seems to correspond to the route of the modern A3 trunk road from London to Portsmouth, which was turnpiked beyond Guildford in 1749.¹⁵ The direct railway line from London to Portsmouth, opened in 1859,¹⁶ follows a similar route through Guildford. The increased tendency to adopt innovations in the extreme south-western corner of Sussex must be due to these reaching Portsmouth from London in advance of the intervening rural areas, and then spreading outwards.

In spite of the considerable difficulties of communication in the region before the modern period,¹⁷ the geographical proximity of London must always have resulted in a fairly close association between SKSE and the speech of the capital.¹⁸ However, the fact that the diffusion of linguistic innovations in the region follows to such a large extent the principal communication routes from London, suggests that the evolution of this pattern must post-date the improvement and development of these routes. The brief survey of the development of the four main routes given above shows that improvements in the road system began in the mid-eighteenth century; in each case a railway line following an almost identical route was built in the middle years of the nineteenth century.

The effect of turnpiking on the life of the more isolated parts in the centre of the region must have been considerable. On the improvement of the Horsham-Dorking driftway in 1755, Arthur Young noted that the road was 'no sooner completed

than rents rose from 7s. to 11s. per acre; nor is there a gentleman in the country who does not acknowledge and date the prosperity of the country to this road'.¹⁹ During the same period, from 1750 to 1850, the destinations of these roads were increasing in importance and population: the ports of Chatham, Dover and Portsmouth, the spa town of Tunbridge Wells, and above all the resort of Brighton,²⁰ whose population increased by 66% in the decade 1821-31.²¹

It is suggested, therefore, that the development of the coastal urban centres in the region and of the communication routes linking them with the capital has been responsible for the growth, direction and intensity of the influence of London speech on SKSE. This process must have been considerably accelerated and intensified after the middle of the eighteenth century. In those areas relatively untouched by improved communications and increased external influences, traditional local linguistic forms have tended to remain in use, and the rate of linguistic evolution seems to have been slower.

While the geographical method employed here can illustrate the spatial pattern by which linguistic innovations are diffused and, when supported by historical evidence, suggest explanations for the nature of this pattern, it cannot handle the mechanism by which innovations are incorporated into the individual local varieties. This is often a socially determined process and, ideally, the geographical survey should be complemented by a sociolinguistic analysis along the lines adopted by Labov.²²

4.1.2 The Recession of Archaic Features

Another recurring pattern reflects the way in which archaic features have receded away from the central northern part of the region into one or more marginal areas. Since the spread of lexical innovations often results in the replacement and recession of more than one traditional local form, this discussion will be restricted to those archaic phonological features whose distribution suggests that they once covered the whole region, or which are presupposed by the subsequent development of SKSE. These features are listed below along with map numbers and, where appropriate, the minimum numerical value characteristic of the pattern:

1. P2 : Index score for SKSE (u) corresponding to RP /ʌ/ : 10%+
2. P6 : Percentage frequency with which SKSE (iu) occurs to continue eMnE iu : 20%+
3. P10 : Presence of SKSE (ui) and of [oɪ] allophonic type ← SKSE (oi) in boy
4. P16 : Presence of SKSE (ur) in words other than manure
5. P26 : Index score for unrounding of SKSE (o) : 25+
6. P32 : Percentage frequency of [a:] allophonic type ← SKSE (aa) : 25%+
7. P38 : Presence of [ɛ:] and [ɛə] allophonic types ← SKSE (ei)
8. P40 : Percentage frequency of [əɪ] allophonic type ← SKSE (ai) : 25%+
9. P46 : Percentage frequency of [ə~ɛ~ɛ~ɛ~ɛ] as starting point of SKSE (au) : 10%+

10. P49 : Total percentage frequency of [ɔ:]
 and [oɔ] allophonic types ← SKSE (au) : 20%+
11. P54 : Percentage frequency of [a:r] allo-
 phonic type ← SKSE rhotic (ar) : 20%+

Table TA3 shows the extent to which each locality participates in this distribution pattern on the evidence of the features and values listed in the corpus above. The distribution of the total percentage scores is shown in isopleth form on Map A4.

The pattern which emerges on Map A4 complements, in its broad outlines, that examined in 4.1.1 above; (it is best contrasted with Map A1 which deals with the influence of RP and popular London speech on SKSE phonology). Archaic phonological features have receded away from the London area and from those areas in which the influence of London is strong (cf. 4.1.1 and Overlay Map X1), particularly through central Sussex and central Kent. Note also the relative lack of archaic features at 40.15 and 40.17, reflecting the influence of Brighton and Portsmouth respectively.

Using the 40% isopleth as an arbitrary criterion, the most conservative areas of the region are:

1. Eastern Kent
2. Eastern Sussex and the extreme south-western corner of Kent
3. South-western Surrey and western Sussex, except the extreme south-western corner.

These are very similar to those areas which are shown by Maps A1-3 to be relatively unaffected by the diffusion of innovations associated with RP, Standard and popular London English.

4.1.3 Kent and Eastern Sussex

The dynamic patterns associated with the diffusion of innovations and the recession of archaic features cut across a number of more stable recurrent patterns. In this region phonological, and particularly phonetic, distributional patterns tend to be dynamic, and can generally be related to the process of innovation and recession discussed in the previous two sections. The more stable underlying patterns to be examined now tend, on the other hand, to be associated with the distribution of lexical items, and the establishment of areas will be carried out primarily on lexical grounds.

H. Kurath has proposed that linguistic areas should be established by counting the number of isoglosses running between each pair of neighbouring localities, and by basing the division of the area on the thickness of the bundles of isoglosses which emerge.²³ This rather mechanical, but admittedly objective, method proved to be totally unsatisfactory when applied to the region examined here, partly because it stresses those features which separate localities rather than those which unite them; it consequently resulted in an unrealistic fragmentation of the region and submerged the important recurrent patterns that clearly exist.

The method adopted is similar to that employed in 4.1.1 and 4.1.2 above and enables core and marginal areas to be identified; it is applied here to the Kent and eastern Sussex area. The lexical items characteristic of this area are as follows (map numbers are given):

1. L4 : Use of -lodge for CART-SHED
2. L14 : Use of speans for TEATS
3. L15a : Use of slink for SLIP vb
4. L18 : Use of spread-bat for STRETCHER
5. L20 : Use of compounds of suck-, sock- for PET-LAMB
6. L26 : Use of cluck for BROODY (HEN)
7. L44 : Use of -bat for SHAFT (OF SCYTHE)
8. L53 : Use of wagoner for CARTMAN
9. L58 : Use of shut-, tinge-, trigger-bat for ROD
10. L60 : Use of bear-bind for BINDWEED
11. L65 : Use of brush for TRIM vb

Table TA4 shows the extent to which each locality participates in this pattern; the percentages expressing this, on the basis of the corpus of words listed above, are shown in isopleth form on Map A5. The sharp transition between 35.13 and 34.04, 40.11 is to be noted, as is the almost total non-participation west of the 20% isopleth. The core of this area is in central Kent, and there is a slight diminution in the extent of participation in eastern Kent, due to the spread of standard words from the area of the Channel ports (e.g. L14, L26).

This area is principally lexical, and the few phonological features whose boundaries can be reasonably closely correlated with the pattern revealed by Map A5²⁴ are concerned with differences in the lexical distribution of diaphonemes:

(i) The western boundary of the main area of SKSE (e)
< OE ȳ (Map P1; 2.1.2.1)

(ii) The western boundary of the occasional and frequent change of initial (ð) to (d) (Map PC5; 2.2.1.2: the feature has probably receded in the north and east)

- (iii) The development of OE meox > SKSE (maks-) (Map L76;
3.14.4)

The material cultural boundary marked by the western limit of the one-way ploughing tradition (Map M3) follows a broadly similar alignment to that of the 20% isopleth on Map A5.

4.1.4 Surrey, Central and Western Sussex and North-Western Kent

This lexical area complements that discussed in 4.1.3 above, and the items which combine to form this pattern are as follows:

1. L18 : Use of spreader for STRETCHER
2. L26 : Use of broody for BROODY (HEN)
3. L35 : Use of rick- in STACKYARD
4. L37 : Use of prong for HAY-FORK
5. L42 : Use of seed-lip for SOWING-BASKET
6. L44 : Use of sneath for SHAFT (OF SCYTHE)
7. L53 : Use of carter for CARTMAN
8. L65 : Use of trim for TRIM vb

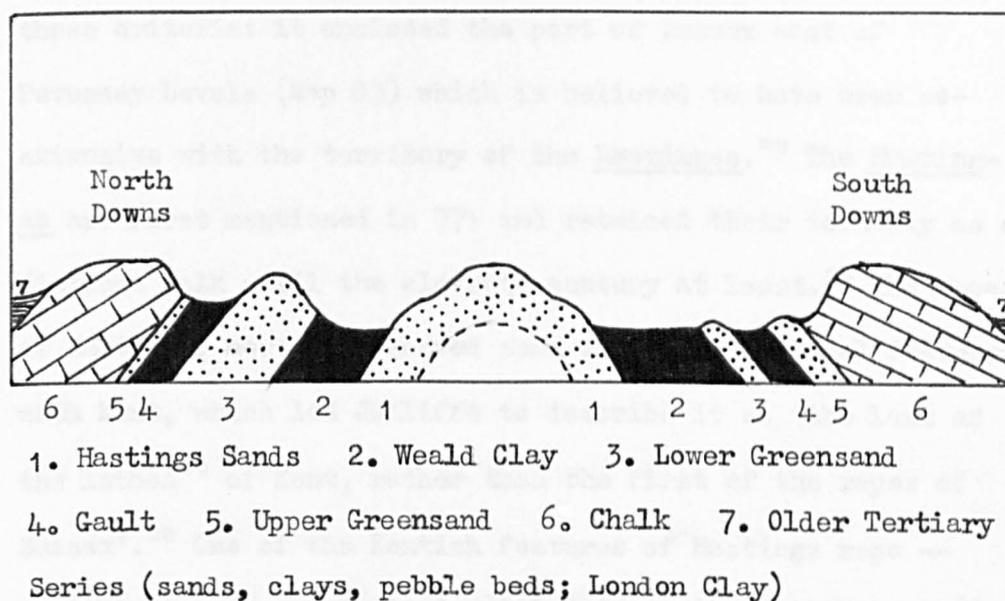
The extent of participation in this pattern is shown in Table TA5 and mapped in isopleth form on Map A6. The very distinct eastern boundary of this area, particularly the abrupt transitions between 35.12 and 35.13 and between 40.13 and 40.05,12, is to be noted. Several of the words in this corpus continue into central southern England. The increased frequency in eastern Kent is due to the fact that some of the words indigenous to the Surrey, central and western Sussex and north-western Kent area have become standard terms and have spread into the extreme east of the region via the Channel ports (e.g. L26). Indeed some words, e.g. teats ~ tits (L14), have spread eastwards to such an extent that they

have had to be omitted from consideration here. There appear to be no phonological or material cultural distributions which can be correlated with this pattern.

The patterns revealed by Maps A5 and A6 can be combined to demonstrate the existence of an important boundary running north-south through the region and dividing it into eastern and western areas. Map A7 shows the location of a narrow boundary zone between the 40% isopleths of Maps A5 and A6; there is a particularly sharp boundary to the west of 40.13. It seems much more realistic to construct a zone in this manner on a quantitative basis, than to attempt to establish a single uniform and distinct boundary line.

Now that this boundary zone has been identified on linguistic grounds alone, the stage has been reached at which external evidence can be examined which might shed light on its location. Geologically, the region has a basically symmetrical structure: a series of strata consisting in ascending order of Hastings Sands, Weald Clay, Lower Greensand, Gault, Upper Greensand and Chalk was originally deposited in flat sheets; the region was then uplifted into a dome, the crest of which was subsequently removed by erosion. Thus the area of Hastings Sands forming the High Weald (Map G2) represents the core of the region, and the outcrops of the higher strata surround it in roughly concentric zones (see Figure 13 overleaf): the Weald Clay (Low Weald), the Lower Greensand ridge, the Gault (clay), the Upper Greensand and finally the Chalk (North and South Downs).²⁵

Figure 13: Geological Section across the Region (simplified)



If Map A7 is compared with Overlay Map X2, it is clear that the boundary zone between the eastern and western areas cuts across the high ground of the North Downs and High Weald and the intervening low-lying clay. The only 'natural' boundary with any relevance to the linguistic division is the line followed by the watershed between the Mole and Medway systems in the north and between the Ouse/Cuckmere and Eastern Rother systems in the south. A comparison with Overlay Map X3 shows a fairly close correlation between the western edge of the boundary zone and this line.

In the north of the region, the western edge of this boundary zone shows a remarkably close relationship with the county boundary between Surrey and Kent (cf. Map G1, Overlay Map X1). Since it is rare for linguistic and administrative boundaries to coincide, one is entitled to look for a similar correlation with the southern continuation of the linguistic boundary towards the coast which would link the extreme south-eastern corner of Sussex with Kent and mark it off from the

rest of Sussex.

The western boundary of the rape of Hastings²⁶ fulfils these criteria: it enclosed the part of Sussex east of Pevensey Levels (Map G3) which is believed to have been co-extensive with the territory of the Hæstingas.²⁷ The Hæstingas are first mentioned in 771 and retained their identity as a distinct folk until the eleventh century at least.²⁸ The rape of Hastings, moreover, shared some important cultural features with Kent, which led Jolliffe to describe it as 'the last of the lathes'²⁹ of Kent, rather than the first of the rapes of Sussex'.³⁰ One of the Kentish features of Hastings rape — partible tenure — survived until late in the Middle Ages.³¹ The medieval culture of the extreme south-eastern corner of Sussex seems to have been closely related to that of Kent, and it has been suggested that the Hæstingas colonized the area from the Jutish kingdom of Kent not later than the seventh century.³²

How far can this historical evidence be related to the modern linguistic boundary? The following must remain highly speculative, but if south-eastern Sussex can retain some aspects of its Kentish culture until the late Middle Ages, it is not impossible that the cultural boundary remained active and continued to be expressed in the linguistic association of this area with Kent rather than the rest of Sussex. For example, if partible tenure could remain as a characteristic of the rape of Hastings until the late Middle Ages, the feeling of cultural unity with Kent could still have been responsible for the adoption of wagoner in this area when it was introduced from the Low Countries in the eMnE period (3.10.7, Map L53). It is also tempting to relate

the eastern orientation of this part of Sussex to its position on the eastern side of the watershed between the Ouse/Cuckmere and Eastern Rother river systems noted above.

As Wakelin has observed in Cornwall, the frontiers of early medieval settlement patterns can be reflected in modern linguistic boundaries and can influence the distribution even of relatively recent developments.³³ It is at least a possibility that the area formed by the Jutish kingdom of Kent and its satellite in the territory of the Hæstingas remained a cultural unity long enough for its frontier to be reflected in the modern boundary of the distinctive vocabulary of Kent and south-eastern Sussex.

4.1.5 Eastern Kent

The distributions of the following lexical items are examples of a recurrent pattern in eastern Kent:

1. L8 : Use of halter for TETHER
2. L9 : Use of stock for TROUGH
3. L21 : Use of over-, mislaid for OVERTURNED
4. L24 : Use of Antony for WEAKLING
5. L25 : Use of chee for PERCH
6. L32 : Use of (sweid̥ ~ sweid) for SWATH
7. L38 : Use of sprong for PRONG
8. L40 : Use of stale for RUNG
9. L42 : Use of seed-cord for SOWING-BASKET
10. L52 : Use of fore-acre for HEADLAND
11. L55a : Use of racks for LADDERS (on cart or wagon)
12. L62 : Use of kinkle for CHARLOCK

13. L63 : Use of (haavz) for HAWS
 14. L69 : Use of flinter-bat for BAT
 15. L77 : Use of browsels for SCRAPS

Table TA6 shows the extent to which each locality participates in this pattern, and the results are presented in isopleth form on Map A8. No locality west of the 20% isopleth possesses more than one item of this distinctive corpus, and the eastern Kent area itself can be sub-divided into two zones: the sharp boundary between 35.04 and 35.12 and between 35.07 and 40.13 marks this area off from the rest of the region, and another abrupt transition further east encloses the core of this area, localities 35.03 and 35.05.

This lexical area is paralleled by:

- (i) The principal area in which ME ǣ is preserved as SKSE (a) after w- (Map P27; 2.1.3.4)
- (ii) To some extent, the eastern Kentish conservative area (Map A4; 4.1.2; also Maps P40, P49)
- (iii) The distribution of the maund type of basket for holding horses' fodder (Map L43; 3.9.8)
- (iv) The distribution of hay-knives with symmetrical blades, particularly Type IIBi (Map M2; 3.9.12).

It is difficult to find any external evidence which would account for the location of this well-defined area.

4.1.6 South-Eastern Sussex and South-Western Kent

The distributions of the following lexical items are examples of a recurrent pattern in south-eastern Sussex and south-western Kent:

1. L1 : Use of pig-pound for FIGSTY
2. L7 : Use of parting for PARTITION
3. L19 : Use of block for CLOG
4. L30 : Use of (heim) for POTATO-HAULMS
5. L33 : Use of rowens for AFTERMATH (including third crop)
6. L34 : Use of cant for CUTTING (OF HAY)
7. L42 : Use of trug (and trough) for SOWING-BASKET
8. L47 : Use of hay-cutter for HAY-KNIFE
9. L56 : Use of rim for TIRE
10. L59 : Use of shelve for TIP vb
11. L63 : Use of hog-hazels for HAWS
12. L64 : Use of stub for STUMP
13. L75 : Use of treddles for SHEEP-DUNG

Table TA7 shows the extent to which each locality participates in this pattern, and the results are presented in isopleth form on Map A9. The core of this area is enclosed by a very distinct boundary formed by the almost identical paths of the 40% and 60% isopleths. This abrupt transition is particularly noticeable between 40.04 and its neighbours to the west, 40.11 and 40.14, and in the north between 35.06 and 35.12.

This lexical area is paralleled by³⁴:

- (i) The principal area in which a chain is used to secure the body of a cart to the shafts (Map L58)
- (ii) The area in which a chain is used as a brake on a wagon (Map M4)
- (iii) The area in which (dik) is used for DITCH (Map L67)
- (iv) One of the areas providing strong resistance to phonological and lexical innovations (Maps A1-A3)
- (v) One of the most conservative areas in the region (Map A4)

Note also the area into which the occurrence of initial (d) for (ð) has receded in the north and east (Map PC5; 2.2.1.2; for the western boundary, see 4.1.3).

The position of the 40% and 60% isopleths which enclose the core of this area in south-eastern Sussex and south-western Kent corresponds fairly closely to the High Weald (cf. Overlay Map X2), except in the extreme west of this formation. If this correspondence is relevant, it is unclear how this topographical area could have been responsible for the evolution of this distinctive and conservative linguistic area.

4.2 Stability and Change: General and Theoretical Conclusions

This thesis has been written in the belief that a reconciliation is possible between linguistic geography and modern linguistics.³⁵ The speech examined has been that of elderly natives of selected rural communities, and, provided that no claim is made to the effect that this sample is representative of the whole population of the region, the analysis and comparison of material drawn from this source is a legitimate academic pursuit. While the source of this data is identical to that of traditional dialect surveys, an attempt has been made to use analytical methods associated with more recent approaches to the study of language. Thus the material has, in the first instance, been subjected to a purely descriptive synchronic analysis, both from the phonemic and phonetic points of view; this has recognized the importance of variation within each local system.

In order to account for some phenomena, however, it has been necessary to incorporate a diachronic perspective. While the geographical methods used have been primarily based on the synchronic analysis, they have in fact often revealed dynamic patterns of evolution in progress which by their nature demand a diachronic interpretation. The principal role of linguistic geography is to illustrate and explain the spatial dimension of linguistic variation; a linguistic map which seems to indicate change in progress can, by virtue of the way in which it represents the intersection of the synchronic and diachronic axes, be compared to a still frame from a motion film. While recognizing the existence and probable inevitability of change, it is necessary for

practical purposes to assume that, for the duration of the period from which the material is drawn, the situation is stable (cf. 1.3.4: it is believed that change was in fact minimal during the period examined here). The sociologist Frankenberg recognized this paradox that 'in the attempt to illustrate and illuminate a theory of change' the method requires that one should 'deal with societies as if they did not change'.³⁶

In the past dialectologists, influenced ultimately by the neo-grammarians model of linguistic evolution, have tended to regard the phenomenon of variation within a local linguistic system as somewhat abnormal. In the present investigation, however, it has been necessary to confront this problem firmly, and the methods of analysis and approaches to interpretation adopted have been based on the conclusion, also reached by Labov,³⁷ that variation is inherent within each linguistic system. Once this is accepted, the study of variation becomes an important topic for linguistic research. Labov and other sociolinguists have developed methods for studying the social or 'vertical' dimension of variation, and a substantial part of the present work has been devoted to analysing and interpreting its spatial or 'horizontal' dimension.

This inherent variation is, of course, a symptom of the constantly changing nature of language. The evidence presented in this thesis suggests the following conclusions about the mechanism of linguistic change:

1. Within the System

(i) **Phonetic change:** this affects word-classes as a whole.³⁸ Phonetic change may ultimately cause a re-organization of the phonemic system; for example, the progressive monophthongization of SKSE (au) (2.1.3.16) would, if carried through completely, replace a u-diphthong by a long monophthong. Even a relatively restricted extension of the allophonic range of a phoneme may occasion adjustments in the positions of other phonemes in the same phonological space (e.g. 2.1.5.2).

(ii) **Phonemic change:** this proceeds either:

α by word-classes, e.g. the loss of final and pre-consonantal (r), (2.1.5.1), and the evolution of (ou), (2.1.2.9)

or

β by individual words, e.g. the change of (iu) to (uu) or (juu), (2.1.2.6).

When the loss or addition of a phoneme is involved, both α and β obviously affect the nature of the system. Phonemic change may ultimately lead to apparent lexical differences between localities, e.g. the opposition of (halm, hoolm, hoom, haam, heim) 'hauhm' (3.8.2).

(iii) **Lexical change:** this obviously involves the replacement of one item by another in a particular semantic function, although both terms may persist through the development of a new opposition, e.g. the specialized senses of cant and truss at 4.0.13 (CUTTING OF HAY, 3.8.6).

It is to be noted that phonemic change shares characteristics with phonetic change on the one hand and lexical change on the other.

2. Outside the System

The direction taken by linguistic change may be partly determined by a number of external factors. This thesis has examined the influence of geographical position on local systems and has shown that the dynamic patterns in the speech of the rural areas of Surrey, Kent and Sussex can in many cases be related to the influence of varieties of English associated with London. Depending on their proximity to the capital or to those areas in which its influence is strong, local systems may participate in the diffusion of innovations or the recession of archaic features (4.1.1,2).

One of the principal aims of traditional linguistic geography was the drawing of boundaries and the identification of dialect areas. If it is recognized that variation and change are inherent and 'regular' in linguistic systems and that this is reflected in dynamic geographical patterns, symptoms of stability, such as the 'bundling' of the boundaries of several items, are exceptional and important. A linguistic (or cultural) boundary should possess some measure of diachronic stability,³⁹ and when the limits of a number of items of different attributes and origins coincide independently in a well-defined zone, the result must be such a boundary. The four areas whose limits are discussed in 4.1.3-6 above seem to fulfil these criteria: they incorporate both items which have at some time spread into the area

and come to rest in the common boundary zone (e.g. wagoner, 3.10.7 and 4.1.3) and items which have receded into the area from a more widespread distribution (e.g. perhaps rowens, 3.8.5 and 4.1.6); in addition they may present innovations with strong resistance (Maps A1-3) and, conversely, retain archaic features (Map A4).

The validity of these areas and the boundary zones which define them may be extended if they can be correlated with the unconditioned distribution of material cultural items. Non-linguistic distributions are only relevant in this respect if they are unconditioned by environmental or economic factors: thus it would seem to be valid to place the distribution of the hay-knives of Type IIBi (3.9.12 and 4.1.5) alongside linguistic distribution patterns, but it would not be legitimate to do the same with the distribution of the various methods for securing cows in the cow-house (3.2.2). It should be stressed that linguistic areas must be established on linguistic grounds alone; if sufficient non-linguistic evidence can be correlated with these, then their status may be elevated to that of 'culture area' (cf. 1.2.4).⁴⁰

A consideration of the evidence of material folk culture has another use in linguistic geography: spatial variation in the form and function of material objects may be reflected in their associated terminology (cf. the Wörter und Sachen approach, 1.2.4). Much of the variation in the SKSE plough terminology, for example, can be related to the differences in construction and use between one-way ploughs and common ploughs (3.10.1-5); the distributions of these terms (e.g. reest, turn-furrow, 3.10.2.1,2) cannot, therefore, be directly compared with those of other linguistic items, and

to compare point with share (3.10.3), for example, without taking the difference in form and function into account would not be to compare like with like.

The methods used in 4.1.3-6 enable the core of each linguistic area to be identified and the structure of its boundary zone examined. The objection might be raised that the criteria used to establish these areas have been selected subjectively, and that a few, perhaps relatively unimportant, features have been endowed with a greater value than they deserve in order to achieve a division of a region which, it might be argued, is uniform in many important respects. The approach of the linguistic and cultural geographer is to be defended on the grounds that one's awareness of regional affiliations and differences is rarely based on objective observation, but more frequently on the subjective selection of a number of features which are then taken as characteristics of a particular area and used to divide the cultural continuum.⁴¹ It is the right of the linguistic geographer to select from his material those items which, in the context of his whole analysis, seem to him to reflect recurrent patterns and to be characteristic of significant linguistic areas.

It is against the background of constant linguistic change as reflected in dynamic geographical patterns that relatively stable dialect boundaries and areas stand out most clearly. The identification and interpretation of stability is thus, paradoxically, closely associated with the investigation of change, and the rural areas of Surrey, Kent and Sussex have proved to be an excellent laboratory for the study of the spatial dimension of these two aspects of language.

Notes and References

Bibliography

Indexes

Appendices

Notes and References

The abbreviations used are the conventional ones.

Chapter One

1. See H. Orton, Survey of English Dialects: Introduction (Leeds, 1962), p.14.
2. E. Dieth and H. Orton, A Questionnaire for a Linguistic Atlas of England (Leeds, 1962), p.44.
3. Introduction to M. F. Wakelin (ed.), Patterns in the Folk Speech of the British Isles (London, 1972), p.2.
4. An example familiar to me is A. Sonder, Das ländliche Leben der Unterengadiner Gemeinde Tschlin im Spiegel seiner Sprache (Samaden, Switzerland, 1944).
5. T. Bynon, Historical Linguistics (Cambridge, 1977), p.192.
6. E. Stankiewicz, 'On Discreteness and Continuity in Structural Dialectology', Word, XIII (1957), 44-59(p.50).
7. U. Weinreich, 'Is a Structural Dialectology Possible?', Word, X (1954), 388-400(p.397).
8. Ibid., p.397
9. Op. cit., p.3
10. H. Orton and M. F. Wakelin (eds), Survey of English Dialects: The Basic Material - Vol. IV: The Southern Counties, 3 parts (Leeds, 1967).
11. M. V. Barry, 'Studies in the Linguistic Geography of Kent, Surrey and Sussex', 2 Vols (unpublished M.A. dissertation, University of Leeds, 1960).
12. Deposited in the Institute of Dialect and Folk Life Studies at the University of Leeds.
13. Deposited in the Institute of Dialect and Folk Life Studies at the University of Leeds.
14. Op. cit., p.10.
15. These recordings have been deposited in the Institute of Dialect and Folk Life Studies at the University of Leeds.
16. Cf. H. Orton, op. cit., p.15.
17. 35.13 (Chiddingstone) is an amalgamation of two localities -- Chiddingstone itself and Hever (1 $\frac{1}{2}$ W) -- treated separately in my dissertation 'Two West Kent Dialects' (unpublished M.A. dissertation, University of Leeds, 1979), but considered as a single locality in this wider survey.

18. P. Nauton (ed.), (Paris, 1963), Vol. IV. The fieldwork was undertaken in 1951-53.
19. Op. cit.
20. Op. cit.
21. See D. J. North and A. Sharpe, A Word-Geography of Cornwall (Redruth, 1980).
22. Op. cit., p.10.
23. For an example of this approach, see E. Kolb, B. Glauser, W. Elmer and R. Stamm (eds), Atlas of English Sounds (Berne, 1979).
24. The first number refers to the Dieth-Orton Questionnaire, the second to my own.
25. For an example of this approach, see H. Orton, S. Sanderson and J. Widdowson (eds), The Linguistic Atlas of England (London, 1978).
26. Op. cit., p.48.
27. M. F. Wakelin, English Dialects: An Introduction (London, 1972), pp.88-91, 103.
28. Op. cit., pp.18-19.
29. Cf. H. Orton, 'An English Dialect Survey: Linguistic Atlas of England', Orbis, IX (1960), 331-341 (p.332): 'Our target . . . was traditional vernacular, genuine and old.'
30. W. Labov, 'On the Mechanism of Linguistic Change' (1965), reprinted in A. R. Keiler (ed.), A Reader in Historical and Comparative Linguistics (New York, 1972), pp.267-288 (p.270).
31. D. Jones, Outline of English Phonetics (Cambridge, 1960), p.53; see also J. C. Wells, 'Local Accents in England and Wales', Journal of Linguistics, VI (1970), 231-252 (p.232n.).
32. Frequency tables are to be found in Volume II along with the maps.
33. Although the borders between these allophonic types are sometimes drawn in a rather arbitrary fashion, comparability between localities is not impaired as the division is the same in all cases.
34. It must be admitted, however, that the actual position of the isopleths on the map is not absolute and may reflect the cartographer's interpretation.
35. P. Trudgill, The Social Differentiation of English in Norwich (Cambridge, 1974), pp.79-89.

36. Ibid., p.85.
37. Op. cit.
38. See G. R. Cochrane, 'The Australian English Vowels as a Diasystem', Word, XV (1959), 69-88 (p.71); also cf. C. F. Fries and K. L. Pike, 'Coexistent Phonemic Systems', Language, XXV (1949), 29-50 (p.29): 'The speech of monolingual natives of some languages is comprised of more than one phonemic system.'
39. Cf. W. G. Moulton, 'Dialect Geography and the Concept of Phonological Space', Word, XVIII (1962), 23-32.
40. A similar use of this method is described in M. Benskin and M. Laing, 'Translations and Mischsprachen in Middle English Manuscripts', in M. Benskin and M. L. Samuels (eds), So meny people longages and tonges: philological essays in Scots and mediaeval English presented to Angus McIntosh (Edinburgh, 1981), pp.55-106 (p.80).

Chapter Two

1. ME forms have usually been taken from H. C. Wyld, The Universal Dictionary of the English Language (London, 1936). Kentish and South-Eastern dialectal forms of OE and ME will only be taken into account if they are directly reflected in modern SKSE.
2. A. A. Prins, A History of English Phonemes (Leiden, 1972), pp.99-100.
3. (ə) occurs in unstressed syllables only.
4. A. A. Prins, op. cit., pp.100-102.
5. Since rolled r, I.P.A. [r], does not occur in SKSE, the symbol [r] is used in this survey for comparative purposes to represent [ɹ] and [r̥].
6. See U. Weinreich, 'Is a Structural Dialectology Possible?', Word, X (1954), 388-400.
7. A. Campbell, Old English Grammar (Oxford, 1959), §§288-290.
8. Ibid., §290.
9. M. L. Samuels, 'Kent and the Low Countries: some linguistic evidence', in A. J. Aitken, A. McIntosh and H. Pálsson (eds), Edinburgh Studies in English and Scots (London, 1971), pp.3-19 (p.4). For the details of the Frisian developments see Th. Siebs, 'Geschichte der Friesischen Sprache', in H. Paul (ed.), Grundriss der Germanischen Philologie, Band I (Strasbourg, 1891), pp.723-779 (pp.733-734). For the distribution of e < Gmc *u by i-umlaut in the modern dialects of the Low Countries, see G. G. Kloeke (ed.), Taalatlas van Noord- en Zuid-Nederland (Leiden, 1948), Afl.4, No.3 RUG ('back').
10. M. L. Samuels, Linguistic Evolution (Cambridge, 1972), p.122.
11. S. Rubin, The Phonology of the Middle English Dialect of Sussex (Lund, 1951), pp.106-120.
12. For details of RP see A. C. Gimson, An Introduction to the Pronunciation of English (London, 1962).
13. A. A. Prins, op. cit., pp.151-152.
14. Ibid.; see also H. C. Wyld, A History of Modern Colloquial English (London, 1920), p.232.
15. E. Kolb, B. Glauser, W. Elmer and R. Stamm (eds), Atlas of English Sounds (Berne, 1979), Maps 227 and 229: Collective Maps for ME ǔ.
16. Ibid., Map 234 DUCKS (SED IV.6.14).

17. (wik) 'week' could be due to the failure of OE ī to be lengthened here.
18. A. A. Prins, op. cit., pp.138-139.
19. Note the apparently hypercorrect (briitfin) 'breeching' (I.5.10/6:11) at 35.06,13; 40.15.
20. A. A. Prins, op. cit., §4.8.1.
21. D. Jones, English Pronouncing Dictionary (London, 1956).
22. A. C. Gimson, op. cit., §7.15.
23. A. A. Prins, op. cit., p.151.
24. E. Kolb et al., op. cit., Map 214.
25. A. A. Prins, op. cit., p.145; E. Kolb et al., op. cit., Map 183.
26. Op. cit., p.108.
27. A. C. Gimson, op. cit., p.115, and A. A. Prins, op. cit., §§4.41,42.
28. R. Bowyer, 'A Study of Social Accents in a South London Suburb' (unpublished M.Phil. dissertation, University of Leeds, 1973), p.48; also E. Sivertsen, Cockney Phonology (Oslo, 1960), §4.442.
29. A. A. Prins, op. cit., §4.41; evidence from the eighteenth century is given.
30. According to Prins, *ibid.*, [ju:] was becoming common in the predecessor of RP in the late seventeenth century, having developed from eMnE iu by a shifting of the stress.
31. E. J. Dobson, English Pronunciation 1500-1700 (Oxford, 1957), Vol. II, §§255-256.
32. *Ibid.*, §254.
33. *Ibid.*, §259.
34. *Ibid.*, §262.
35. A. A. Prins, op. cit., §§2.53, 4.29.
36. *Ibid.*, §4.20.
37. D. Jones, op. cit.
38. M. F. Wakelin, English Dialects: An Introduction (London, 1972), pp.92,94.
39. *Ibid.*, p.95.
40. A. C. Gimson, op. cit., p.101.
41. E. Sivertsen, op. cit., §3.311.
42. A. Campbell, op. cit., §288. This is one of the Kentish features the Frisian correspondences to which M. L. Samuels draws attention (1971, op. cit.).

43. See, for example, R. Morris (ed.), Dan Michel's Ayenbite of Inwyt (E.E.T.S., London, 1866), v-vi.
44. S. Rubin, op. cit., pp.33-36.
45. Ibid., p.24.
46. R. Morris, op. cit., v.
47. S. Rubin, op. cit., pp.19,27-28.
48. A. A. Prins, op. cit., p.78n.
49. E. J. Dobson, op. cit., p.548.
50. Ibid., §59; also R. Lass, English Phonology and Phonological Theory (Cambridge, 1976), p.128.
51. E. Kolb et al., op. cit., Map 182: Collective Map 1 for ME ǣ.
52. S. Rubin, op. cit., p.36.
53. This interpretation was suggested by M. L. Samuels (1972), op. cit., p.140:
- The variants occurring in the spoken chain . . . may be selected and marshalled into sets of oppositions according to current requirements of the system for the maintenance of equilibrium and of the level of redundancy.
- There are admittedly no examples of new phonemic oppositions arising out of these developments within SKSE (a), but complementary distribution of allophones, as at 35.12, can represent a step towards this.
54. M. F. Wakelin, op. cit., pp.92-94.
55. A. A. Prins, op. cit., §4.16.
56. E. J. Dobson, op. cit., §87.
57. R. Bowyer, op. cit., p.32.
58. E. J. Dobson, op. cit., §§50, 54.
59. A. C. Gimson, op. cit., p.105.
60. A. A. Prins, op. cit., §4.13.1.
61. The word 'target' is used instead of 'second element' in the belief that this reflects more accurately the movement involved in diphthong articulations.
62. E. J. Dobson, op. cit., §98.
63. Ibid.
64. Ibid., §102.
65. J. Wright, The English Dialect Grammar (Oxford, 1905), §43.
66. A. C. Gimson, op. cit., p.123.
67. A. J. Ellis, On Early English Pronunciation, Pt. V (London, 1889), pp.226-234.
68. J. Wright, op. cit., §43.

69. H. Orton and P.M.Tilling (eds), Survey of English Dialects: The Basic Material - Vol.III: The East Midland Counties and East Anglia, 3 parts (Leeds, 1969).
70. W. Matthews, Cockney Past and Present (London, 1938), p.79.
71. A. C. Gimson, op. cit., p.123.
72. Here the editors noted no discrepancy between the field-worker's transcriptions and the evidence of the MR, see H. Orton and M. F. Wakelin (eds), Survey of English Dialects: The Basic Material - Vol.IV: The Southern Counties (Leeds, 1967), p.36. On the basis of the very few examples of (ai) on the MR for this locality, I am in general agreement with this.
73. E. J. Dobson, op. cit., §137.
74. A. A. Prins, op. cit., §4.5.
75. A. C. Gimson, op. cit., p.125.
76. Ibid., §7.23.
77. Ibid., §7.27(1,2)
78. E. J. Dobson, op. cit., p.685.
79. E. Kolb et al., op. cit., Maps 22-28.
80. A. A. Prins, op. cit., §4.6.
81. A. C. Gimson, op. cit., p.132.
82. H. Orton and P. Tilling, op. cit., 30MxL1,2.
83. E. Sivertsen, op. cit., §3.341.
84. R. Bowyer, op. cit., p.33.
85. A. J. Ellis, op. cit., p.232.
86. A. C. Gimson, op. cit., §7.27(1,2).
87. E. J. Dobson, op. cit., §248.
88. Ibid., p.673.
89. A. C. Gimson, §7.25.
90. Ibid.
91. Ibid.
92. Ibid., p.105.
93. The [ɛ:r ~ ɛ:] allophonic type seems to realize (eer) more often than [ɛ:r] and [ɛ:] realize (er), cf. 2.1.3.20. Other allophones which occur in this environment only are: [iə] ← (iir) at 35.01, e.g. [kl'iəɪ] + vowel 'clear' vb (VIII.7.9); [ɛə] ← (eer) at 34.01, e.g. [bɛəɹɛz] 'bearers' (VIII.5.10); [ɛ̃] ← (eer) at 35.01, e.g. [stɛ̃ʝun] 'staring' (VI.3.7).

94. This analysis of the quality of vocalized (1) is to a large extent based on my own speech. I was born and, until the age of nineteen permanently resident, 3 miles NW of loc. 34.04 where my parents, both from the SKSE region, still live. The nature of vocalized (1) in my speech is, I believe, representative of SKSE as a whole.
95. Data for SED localities taken from MRs.
96. See note 94 above.
97. U. Weinreich, op. cit., p.392.
98. Cf. W. G. Moulton, 'Dialect Geography and the Concept of Phonological Space', Word, XVIII (1962), 23-32.
99. A. C. Gimson, op. cit., p.205.
100. Ibid., p.106.
101. The necessity for maintaining an adequate 'safety margin' between the allophones of (ei) and those of (ai) within the individual systems is illustrated by the confusion that can occur between different systems; for example in my own speech, [æɪ] ← SKSE (ei) has often been understood as a realization of RP /aɪ/.
102. A. C. Gimson, op. cit., §8.01.
103. Ibid., Chap. 8.
104. All available MRs were consulted for sections 2.2.1.1,2.
105. Note the further change of (v-) > (w-) in ['wɪəʊn], 34.01 (MR).
106. See M. F. Wakelin and M. V. Barry, 'The Voicing of Initial Fricative Consonants in Present-Day Dialectal English', Leeds Studies in English, II (New Series) (1968), 47-64.
107. J. and E. M. Wright, An Elementary Middle English Grammar (London, 1928), §236; also W. H. Bennett, 'The Southern English Development of Germanic Initial [f s þ]', in R. Lass (ed.), Approaches to English Historical Linguistics (New York, 1969), pp.349-354.
108. J. and E. M. Wright, op. cit., §236.
109. Op. cit., p.60.
110. A. J. Ellis, op. cit., p.91.
111. Ibid., p.131.
112. Ibid., p.108; n.b. also:
 'This is unknown even at Bolney [i.e. loc. 40.14] . . . but has been heard from old people at Cuckfield [3 miles NE of 40.14].'

113. Ibid., pp.131-132.
114. E. J. Dobson, op. cit., §374.
115. M. L. Samuels (1971), op. cit., p.11.
116. Ibid., pp.11-13; also Bullokar's thorn.
117. J. and E. M. Wright, op. cit., §236.
118. M. L. Samuels (1971), op. cit., p.19,n.81.
119. Ibid., pp.13-14.

Chapter Three

1. J. E. C. Peters, Discovering Traditional Farm Buildings (Aylesbury, 1981), pp.72-73.
2. The following works have been consulted for etymologies:
The Oxford English Dictionary; C. T. Onions (ed.), The Oxford Dictionary of English Etymology (Oxford, 1966); J. Wright (ed.), The English Dialect Dictionary, 6 Vols. (London, 1898-1905); J. Bosworth and T. N. Toller, An Anglo-Saxon Dictionary (Oxford, 1898).
3. In Herefordshire (locs. 15He2,4) it refers to the enclosed yard only; see H. Orton and M. V. Barry (eds), Survey of English Dialects: The Basic Material - Vol.II: The West Midland Counties, 3 parts (Leeds, 1969).
4. H. Orton and N. Wright, A Word Geography of England (London, 1974), M22.
5. Earliest reference.
6. Cf. H. Orton and N. Wright, op. cit., M151.
7. Ibid.
8. J. E. C. Peters, op. cit., pp.74-75.
9. Cf. H. Orton and N. Wright, op. cit., M199.
10. Ibid., M2C.
11. Ibid., M2B.
12. 31So13; 38Do3,4: H. Orton and M. F. Wakelin (eds), Survey of English Dialects: The Basic Material - Vol.IV: The Southern Counties, 3 parts (Leeds, 1967). Also in the Gower Peninsula in South Wales, see D. Parry (ed.), The Survey of Anglo-Welsh Dialects - Vol.1: The South-East (Swansea, 1977), p.184, locs. WGmg4-8.
13. H. Orton and N. Wright, op. cit., M2A.
14. See Guidebook to Weald and Downland Open Air Museum, Singleton, West Sussex (Singleton, 1977), pp.26-27.
15. W. Stevenson, General View of the Agriculture of the County of Surrey (London, 1809), p.80.
16. The word is localized to Kent and Surrey with this meaning in EDD. The word occurs in literary English from 1557 and is defined in OED as:
A long iron bar, furnished with sliding shackles to confine the ankles of prisoners, and a lock by which to fix one end of the bar to the floor or ground.
In Sussex the word referred to a Y-shaped wooden frame in

- which a sheep's head was held while the animal was shorn or trimmed for show; see H. Hall, A Dictionary of the Sussex Dialect (Bexhill, 1957).
17. J. T. Coppock, An Agricultural Atlas of England and Wales (based on the 1958 agricultural census) (London, 1964), Fig. 200, p.201.
 18. R. H. B. Jesse, A Survey of the Agriculture of Sussex (London, 1960), pp.46-47.
 19. G. H. Garrad, A Survey of the Agriculture of Kent (London, 1954), p.131.
 20. H. Orton and N. Wright, op. cit., M166.
 21. It is used, for example, in W. Fream, Elements of Agriculture (12th. Edition; London, 1932), p.645.
 22. H. Orton and N. Wright, op. cit., M166.
 23. Ibid., M191.
 24. W. Fream, op. cit., p.645.
 25. Cf. H. Orton, S. Sanderson and J. Widdowson (eds), The Linguistic Atlas of England (London, 1978), Map L3.
 26. See the following volumes of the Survey of English Dialects: Basic Material: H. Orton and W. J. Halliday (eds), Vol.I: The Six Northern Counties and the Isle of Man, 3 parts (Leeds, 1962); H. Orton and M. V. Barry (eds), op. cit.; H. Orton and P. M. Tilling (eds), Vol.III: The East Midland Counties and East Anglia, 3 parts (Leeds, 1969); also H. Orton and N. Wright, op. cit., M95.
 27. Used in W. Fream, op. cit., p.611.
 28. Ibid., p.537.
 29. H. Orton and N. Wright, op. cit., M50.
 30. Ibid., M109.
 31. Cf. Eng. recoil < Fr. reculer; OED: coil : 'breech of a gun' (1706), coiler rope : 'rope attached to breech of gun' (1600).
 32. H. Orton, S. Sanderson and J. Widdowson, op. cit., Map L4b.
 33. Cf. hob up 'to rear a young animal on a bottle', recorded at: 34.03,05,11; 40.02-04 (IM).
 34. H. Orton and N. Wright, op. cit., M127.
 35. 35.12 has the variant sockling.
 36. My informant at 40.13 called his dog an 'old sock' (IM), cf. EDD: 'a child who likes or receives a good deal of petting; a pet' (Kent, Sussex). This word also continues OE soc.

37. H. Orton and N. Wright, op. cit., M127.
38. Cf. also the tendency for (ʌ) to be realized as [ɒ] in parts of Kent (2.1.3.5iii), and note 35 above.
39. H. Orton and N. Wright, op. cit., M182.
40. See G. H. Garrad, op. cit., p.78.
41. See H. Orton and M. V. Barry, op. cit.; H. Orton and P. M. Tilling, op. cit.; H. Orton and M. F. Wakelin, op. cit.
42. M. F. Wakelin, Language and History in Cornwall (Leicester, 1975), pp.199-200.
43. H. Thurston and D. Attwater (eds), Butler's Lives of the Saints (London, 1956), Vol.I, p.108.
44. In the Low Countries, for example; cf. P. J. Meertens and M. De Meyer, Volkskunde-Atlas van Nederland en Vlaams-België (Antwerp and Utrecht, 1968), Afl.III, No.28: 'Bescherme-heiligen van de varkens' (patron saints of pigs).
45. EDD reports the word in Cheshire, Derbyshire, Hertfordshire, Hampshire, Dorset and Devon, as well as in Kent. SED records it (outside Kent) in western Suffolk (22Sf4) only (H. Orton and P. M. Tilling, op. cit.).
46. For this notion cf. H. Orton and N. Wright, op. cit., M183.
47. Ibid., M96.
48. A. A. Prins, A History of English Phonemes (Leiden, 1972), §4.13.3 .
49. Cf. G. L. Brook, English Sound-Changes (Manchester, 1975), §4.73.
50. H. Orton and P. M. Tilling, op. cit.
51. H. Orton and N. Wright, op. cit., M93A.
52. A. A. Prins, op. cit., §4.13.7.
53. Ibid., §3.45.
54. G. L. Brook, op. cit., §3.41.
55. H. Orton and N. Wright, op. cit., M97; cf. also EDD.
56. H. Orton and M. V. Barry, op. cit.; H. Orton and P. M. Tilling, op. cit.
57. H. Orton and N. Wright, op. cit., M193A.
58. H. Hall, op. cit.
59. H. Orton and M. V. Barry, op. cit.; H. Orton and M. F. Wakelin, op. cit.
60. H. Orton and N. Wright, op. cit., M55.
61. H. Orton and M. F. Wakelin, op. cit.
62. H. Orton and N. Wright, op. cit., M76A.

63. Ibid., M76.
64. J. G. Jenkins, Traditional Country Craftsmen (London, 1978), pp.55-58; also A. Tuffin, 'The Sussex Trug' (unpublished B.A. dissertation, University of Leeds, 1971).
65. H. Orton and M. V. Barry, op. cit.; H. Orton and M. F. Wakelin, op. cit.
66. EDD.
67. H. Orton and N. Wright, op. cit., M36A.
68. Ibid., M110.
69. EDD quotes 'a sythe batt and dowlis' from the Inventory of the Poorhouse at Pluckley (4 miles NE of 35.14) for 1793.
70. R. U. Sayce, 'The Wimble and its Relatives', Folk-Liv, 3(2 & 3) (1937), 160-207.
71. H. Orton and M. F. Wakelin, op. cit.
72. This rather curious type is not based on a misunderstanding of the informant's information, since that drawn in the RB for 34.05 by M.B. is accompanied by the note: 'seen in Mr Baker's (i.¹) yard'.
73. H. Orton and N. Wright, op. cit., M41, 125.
74. EDD.
75. For the preceding, see W. Fream, op. cit., p.40; information also from various informants.
76. Information from various informants.
77. J. B. Passmore, The English Plough (London, 1930), p.71.
78. A. G. Haudricourt and M. J-B. Delamarre, L'Homme et la charrue à travers le monde (Paris, 1955), Chap. XX.
79. Ibid., Chap. XVIII, and E. Legros, 'Le joug et la charrue en Ardenne liégeoise', in Mélanges de Linguistique Romane offerts à Jean Haust (Liège, 1939), pp.250-280.
80. A. G. Haudricourt and M. J-B. Delamarre, op. cit., Chap. XVIII.
81. J. M. Van der Poel, Oude Nederlandse Ploegen (Arnhem, 1967), pp.12, 29-30, 61-64.
82. For the distribution of the 'one-way' plough in Europe, see A. G. Haudricourt and M. J-B. Delamarre, op. cit., Carte VI, especially the area covered by 'charrues à versoir mobile' (pp.376-377).
83. W. Blith, The English Improver Improved (1653), quoted by J. B. Passmore, op. cit., p.71.
84. Master Fitzherbert, The Book of Husbandry (1534), ed. W. W. Skeat (London, 1882), §2.

85. See J. B. Passmore, *op. cit.* and A. G. Haudricourt and M. J-B. Delamarre, *op. cit.*

86. I am grateful to the staff of the Museum for their assistance during my visit in October, 1979.

Key to definitely localized items connected with south-eastern one-way plough mapped on Map M3. Museum accession numbers given; all complete ploughs listed are SE one-way ploughs:

1. Acc.No.55/786: plough from Hawkinge, Kent.
2. Acc.Nos.59/168-171,181: various parts of one-way ploughs from Elean, Kent.
3. Acc.No.60/6319: plough from Ruckinge, Kent.
4. Acc.No.52/219: plough from Little Common, Bexhill, Sussex.
5. Acc.No.59/11: plough from Polegate, Sussex (maker's plate: H. A. Thompson, Lewes).
6. Acc.No.68/398: part of one-way plough from Wilmington, Sussex.
7. Acc.No.68/399: share from one-way plough from Boarshead, Crowborough, Sussex.
8. Acc.No.52/352: plough from West Grinstead, Sussex.

The following refer to illustrations of south-eastern one-way ploughs contained in T. Hennell, Change in the Farm (Cambridge, 1936):

- i. Plough from Ash, near Sevenoaks, Kent; p.73.
- ii. Plough from Pyecombe, Sussex; p.81.

Also:

- I. Share-point from one-way plough found at Bramber, Sussex, 14/4/1982.

87. W. Stevenson, *op. cit.*, pp.116-123.

88. *Op. cit.*, p.66.

89. F. W. Jessup, A History of Kent (London, 1958), p.141.

90. The plough is called the turn-reest (rais, raist) at 40.04, 06,12,14,15.

91. H. Orton and N. Wright, *op. cit.*, M114A.

92. *Ibid.*, M114. One wonders to what extent this was due to the pre-eminence in the nineteenth century of agricultural implement manufacturers from the eastern counties.

93. (rais) at 40.06, (raist) at 35.06. The response (ground-reest at 34.01,02,05 refers to a different part of the plough,

- either the sole (I.8.9/10:9) or the ground-wrest (see J. B. Passmore, op. cit., p.27).
94. References to share where this means the whole buck + point arrangement (Figure 12b,f) have been omitted, as have references to the broad-share which is a different object.
95. H. Orton and M. F. Wakelin, op. cit.
96. H. Orton and N. Wright, op. cit., M150.
97. EDD.
98. L. Grootaers and G. G. Kloeke (eds), Taalatlas van Noord- en Zuid-Nederland (Leiden, 1972), Af1.9, No.6 WENDAKKER.
99. H. Orton, S. Sanderson and J. Widdowson, op. cit., Map L2.
100. J. G. Jenkins, The English Farm Wagon (Newton Abbot, 1972), pp.7-9.
101. H. Orton, S. Sanderson and J. Widdowson, op. cit., Map L2.
102. Ibid., Map L6.
103. J. G. Jenkins (1972), op. cit., p.104.
104. Ibid., p.103.
105. Key to wagons with poles in the material and pictorial collections of the Museum of English Rural Life, University of Reading:
1. Wagon from Ruckinge, Kent (photograph).
 2. Acc.No.58/85: wagon from Bodiam, Sussex.
 3. Acc.No.54/677: wagon from Lower Beeding, Sussex.
106. Op. cit. (1972), pp.103, 162.
107. H. Orton, S. Sanderson and J. Widdowson, op. cit., Map L7.
108. H. Orton and M. F. Wakelin, op. cit.; H. Orton and P. M. Tilling, op. cit.
109. G. Sturt, The Wheelwright's Shop (Cambridge, 1923). Sturt's shop was in Farnham, Surrey, 6 miles NW of 34.05.
110. Ibid., p.218.
111. Ibid., p.224.
112. Ibid., p.218.
113. At 35.12 the first method was associated with the local carts, while the second was found on the presumably imported 'Suffolk carts'. It is possible that the latter were based on 'Scotch carts', which were distinguished from the local 'Kent carts' of the tumbril type at 35.14. Cf. J. G. Jenkins, 'Two-Wheeled Carts', Gwerin, II (1958-59), 162-175.
114. H. Orton and M. V. Barry, op. cit.; H. Orton and P. M. Tilling, op. cit.; H. Orton and M. F. Wakelin, op. cit.

115. H. Orton and P. M. Tilling, op. cit.
116. Compounds of verb ting recorded in 1587 at Dover, 8 miles SE of 35.05 (OED).
117. H. Orton, S. Sanderson and J. Widdowson, op. cit., Map L8a.
118. J. G. Jenkins (1972), op. cit., p.100.
119. Ibid.
120. H. Orton, S. Sanderson and J. Widdowson, op. cit., Map L11a.
121. Ibid.
122. Ibid., Map L12b.
123. Cf. H. Orton and N. Wright, op. cit., M66.
124. Ibid., M66A.
125. This cannot continue OE haga, since OE ǣ + intervocalic g, [ɣ], > ME aw as in haw; A. A. Prins, op. cit., p.98. *Hacga is suggested by H. Orton and N. Wright, op. cit., M11A; cf. also M. F. Wakelin, English Dialects: An Introduction (London, 1972), p.44.
126. H. Orton and N. Wright, op. cit., M11B.
127. A. A. Prins, op. cit., p.232.
128. Cf. E. J. Dobson, English Pronunciation 1500-1700 (Oxford, 1957), Vol.I, p. 182.
129. H. Orton and M. V. Barry, op. cit.; H. Orton and P. M. Tilling, op. cit.; H. Orton and M. F. Wakelin, op. cit.
130. H. Orton and M. F. Wakelin, op. cit.
131. H. Orton and P. M. Tilling, op. cit.
132. Includes evidence from 49:18 Hedge-trimmings
133. For the wider distribution of these terms, see H. Orton, S. Sanderson and J. Widdowson, op. cit., Maps L21a,b.
134. H. Orton and N. Wright, op. cit., M39A.
135. IV.2.2/49:16 'What do you mean by dike ?' often elicited a word which was not in everyday use in the locality. The responses to IV.2.11/49:15 To ditch often reflect the usual local term.
136. EDD quotes Ayenbite of Inwyt (Canterbury, 1340), 206:
 And zuo long uliþ þe ulindre aboute þe candle þet hi bernþ.
137. H. Orton and M. F. Wakelin, op. cit.
138. This presumably continues the word from which snail itself is derived by the addition of the OE -el suffix, i.e. Gmc *snaz-, *snez-, cf. MLG snigge, OHG snecko. EED quotes

Ayenbite of Inwyt (Canterbury, 1340), 32:

þo anlikneþ þan þet ne dar naȝt guo ine þe peþe uor
þane snegge þet sseaweþ him his hornes.

139. For the national distributions of these two words, see H. Orton and N. Wright, *op. cit.*, M63, 63A.
140. H. Orton and W. J. Halliday, *op. cit.*; H. Orton and M. V. Barry, *op. cit.*; H. Orton and P. M. Tilling, *op. cit.*; H. Orton and M. F. Wakelin, *op. cit.*
141. See J. and E. M. Wright, Old English Grammar (Oxford, 1925), p.35.
142. 8 miles N of 35.15. See J. K. Wallenberg, The Place-Names of Kent (Uppsala, 1934).
143. 9 miles SE of 40.13. See A. Mawer and F. M. Stenton, The Place-Names of Sussex (Cambridge, 1929-30).
144. Cf. EDD.

Chapter Four

1. A maximum value is given here, since the [ɛɪ] type has been replaced by the spread of the [æɪ] and [ɛɪ] types in succession; see 2.1.3.11.
2. J. T. White, The South-East (London, 1977), p.73.
3. C. W. Chalklin, Seventeenth-Century Kent (London, 1965), p.164; C. P. Burnham, 'Transport and Settlement Pattern', in S. G. McRae and C. P. Burnham (eds), The Rural Landscape of Kent (Wye, 1973), pp.145-163 (p.147).
4. J. T. White, op. cit., pp.12-13,77.
5. T. G. Burnham in S. G. McRae and C. P. Burnham, op. cit., pp.152-153.
6. G. J. Fuller, 'The Development of Roads in the Surrey-Sussex Weald and Coastlands between 1700 and 1900', Institute of British Geographers Transactions and Papers, (1953), 37-49 (p.42).
7. Ibid., p.45.
8. H. P. White, A Regional History of the Railways of Great Britain - Vol.2: Southern England (Newton Abbot, 1969), p.35.
9. G. J. Fuller, op. cit.,p.38.
10. Ibid., p.42.
11. P. Brandon, The Sussex Landscape (London, 1974), p.179.
12. G. J. Fuller, op. cit., p.45.
13. H. P. White, op. cit., pp.75-76.
14. J. T. White, op. cit., p.227.
15. G. J. Fuller, op. cit., p.42.
16. H. P. White, op. cit., p.120.
17. G. J. Fuller, op. cit., pp.39-40.
18. Ibid., p.41: 'Despite the transport difficulties, London dominated the life of Surrey and Sussex' (c.1700).
19. A. Young, A General View of the Agriculture of Sussex (1813), p. 416, quoted in G. J. Fuller, op. cit., p.41.
20. H. C. Prince, 'England circa 1800', in H. C. Darby (ed.), A New Historical Geography of England after 1600 (Cambridge, 1976, pp.89-164(pp.161-163)).
21. A. Harris, 'Changes in the Early Railway Age 1800-1850', in H. C. Darby, op. cit.. pp.165-226 (p.215).
22. W. Labov, Sociolinguistic Patterns (Oxford, 1978).
23. H. Kurath, Studies in Area Linguistics (Bloomington, 1972), Chap. 2.

24. It would in any case be pointless to expect or look for exact coincidence of any group of linguistic boundaries.
25. S. W. Wooldridge and F. Goldring, The Weald (London, 1953), pp.5-7; also J. T. White, *op. cit.*, p.18.
26. One of the medieval administrative divisions of Sussex; see D. Haselgrove, 'The Domesday Record of Sussex', in P. Brandon (ed.), The South Saxons (Chichester, 1978), pp.190-220 (p.198).
27. *Ibid.*
28. M. G. Welch, 'Early Anglo-Saxon Sussex: From Civitas to Shire', in P. Brandon (1978), *op. cit.*, pp.13-35 (pp.33-34).
29. A Kentish administrative division.
30. J. E. A. Jolliffe, Pre-Feudal England: The Jutes (Oxford, 1933), p.75.
31. *Ibid.*
32. M. G. Welch, *op. cit.*, p.34.
33. M. F. Wakelin, Language and History in Cornwall (Leicester, 1975), p.202.
34. The use of trug for SOWING-BASKET is partly determined by the nature of the object (see 3.9.7).
35. Cf. K. M. Petyt, The Study of Dialect (London, 1980), Chap.4.
36. R. Frankenberg, Communities in Britain (Harmondsworth, 1966), p.269.
37. W. Labov, *op. cit.*, pp.204, 223-226.
38. Cf. W. Labov, 'On the Mechanism of Linguistic Change' (1965), reprinted in A. R. Keiler (ed.), A Reader in Historical and Comparative Linguistics (New York, 1972), pp.267-288 (p.270).
39. K. Kolsrud, 'On Cultural Boundaries as an Ethnological Problem', Ethnologia Scandinavica, (1973), 5-29 (p.8).
40. Cf. U. Weinreich, 'Is a Structural Dialectology Possible?', Word, X (1954), 388-400 (p.397).
41. Cf. R. Weiss, 'Cultural Boundaries and the Ethnographic Map', in P. L. Wagner and M. W. Mikesell (eds), Readings in Cultural Geography (Chicago, 1962), pp.62-74.

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SKSE words only are included. Compounds are listed under the second element, except where this cannot sensibly be done or where the two elements are inseparable, in which case the word is listed under the first element; thus scythe-bat appears under bat, but fore-acre under fore-.

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- Share nm (i) horizontal cutting part of plough 3.10.1, 3.10.3;
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- Sharp nm L54
- Shave nm 3.12.4
- Shave down vb L65
- Shaw nm 3.12.4
- Shed
- Cart-s., Wagon-s. nm 3.1.4; L4
- Chicken-s. nm L2
- Cow-s. nm 3.2.1; L5
- Shelve vb 3.11.6; L59
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- Shoe-laces nm L60
- Shoot nm 3.6.1; L23
- Shoot vb 3.11.6; L59
- Sieve nm 3.9.8; L43
- Single vb 3.8.1; L29
- Sitter nm 3.7.2; L26
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- Skip nm 3.9.7; L42
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- Slats nm 3.14.2; L74
- Slide nm 3.2.2
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- Slinkings nm 3.3.2; L12
- Slip nm L8
- Slip vb (i) calf 3.3.1; L11
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- Slits nm 3.14.2; L74
- Slot nm 3.2.2
- Snail nm 3.13.4; L72
- Shell-s. nm 3.13.4; L72
- Sneath nm 3.9.9; L44
- Sneg nm 3.13.4; L72
- Shell-s. nm 3.13.4; L72
- Sort out vb L29
- Spat nm L18

Spean nm ('Prong') 3.9.3; L38
 Speans nm ('Teats') 3.3.4; L14
 Spindle-weed nm L60
 Splashes nm L68
 Spleats nm 3.14.2; L74
 Spline nm L38
 Split vb 3.10.1
 Spoke nm L40
 Spreader nm 3.4.4; L18
 Sprong nm 3.9.3; L38
 Spud nm 3.9.1; L36
 Staff nm 3.9.5; L40
 Stake nm 3.2.2
 Stale nm 3.9.5; L40
 Stall nm 3.2.3; L6
 Cow-s. nm 3.2.1; L5
 Stall-boards nm L7
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 Staple nm (i) Type II method for securing cows 3.2.2
 (ii) Type III method for securing cows 3.2.2
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 Stay nm L40
 Stedde Rick-s. nm 3.8.7; L35
 Stem nm (i) 'Potato-haulms' L30
 (ii) 'Stump' L64
 Stick nm L18
 Key-s. nm 3.11.5; L58
 Tip-s. nm 3.11.5; L58
 Trap-s. nm (i) 'Stretcher' L18
 (ii) for tipping cart 3.11.5; L58
 Trigger-s. nm L58
 Tween-s. nm L18
 Stiddle nm L7
 Stipers nm 3.11.2; L55b
 Stock nm (i) 'Trough' 3.2.6; L9
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- Stub nn 3.12.5; L64
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 (ii) 'Piglet' 3.6.1; L23
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- Teats nn 3.3.4; L14
 Thin out vb 3.8.1; L29
 Tholes nn 3.9.10; L45
 Throng nn L40
 Tie Cow-t. nn L8
 Tine nn 3.9.3; L38
 Tip vb 3.11.6; L59
 Tire nn 3.11.3; L56
 Tits nn 3.3.4; L14
 Top vb L65
 Tread nn 3.9.5; L40
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 Whipple-t. nn L51
- Trench nn L10
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 (ii) 'Drain (in cow-house)' L10
 (iii) 'Sowing-basket' 3.9.7; L42
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 (ii) 'Basket (for horses' fodder)' 3.9.8; L43
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Well nm 3.8.3

Went nm 3.10.1

Whippen nm (i) 'Stretcher' L18

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Whipple nm L46

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Wimble nm 3.9.11; L46

Wim-wom nm 3.9.11; L46

Wind-bond nm L46

Windrow nm 3.8.4

Wing nm 3.10.2.1; L48a; 3.10.2.2; L48b

Yard

 Rick-y. nm 3.8.7; L35

 Stack-y. nm 3.8.7; L35

Yark Rick-y. nm L35

APPENDIX 1: QUESTIONNAIRE

The questionnaire used during my fieldwork in 1979-80 is reproduced below.

Conventions:

Key-words (i.e. the notions to be named) appear in capital letters.

. . . (beginning a 'naming' question) = 'What do you call . . . ?'

. . . (beginning a 'naming' question and followed by for) =

'What's your word for . . . ?'

. . . (in a 'completing' question, usually preceding the key-word)

indicate that the fieldworker should pause for the informant to complete the sentence.

The underlining of a question number indicates that a picture is to be shown.

1. The Farmstead

1. . . . this ? FARMSTEAD

2. . . . this ? FARMHOUSE

3. . . . the man who lives in the farmhouse ? FARMER

4. . . . this ? FARMYARD

5. . . . the yard in which cattle are kept, especially during the winter, for fattening and for producing dung ? STRAW-YARD

What kind of cattle ?

Where is it ?

Which direction does it face ?

6. . . . a long building with an open front, used for housing cattle ? HOVEL

What kind of cattle ?

Where is it ?

Which direction does it face ?

7. . . . the place where you keep the animals that produce bacon ? PIGSTY (If resp. is 'piggery', ask for the name of the individual pens).

Describe it.

8. . . . the place where you keep the birds that lay eggs for you ? HEN-HOUSE

Describe it.

9. . . . the place where you keep the animals that give you milk ? COW-HOUSE

Where is it ?

10. . . . this building ? BARN

What is it used for ? Was it ever used for housing cattle ?

Describe it, and name the various parts.

Where is it ?

11. . . . the place where you keep the horses ? STABLE

Where is it ?

12. . . . these ? FIELDS

13. . . . the small enclosed piece of pasture near the farmhouse where you might put a cow or a pony that's none too well ?
Paddock.

2. The Workmen on the Farm

1. . . . the man who looks after those animals that give us wool ?
SHEPHERD

2. . . . the man in charge of the vehicles ? CARTMAN

3. . . . the man who does the ploughing ? PLOUGHMAN

Did he have a boy to help him ?

4. . . . the man who looks after the animals that give milk ?
COWMAN

5. . . . the man who is put to any task and does general work on the farm ? FARM-LABOURER

3. The Cow-house

1. What did the inside of the old-fashioned cow-house look like ?

2. . . . this ? STALL

3. . . . this ? PARTITION

4. How was the cow fastened ?

What was she fastened to ?

What are the names of the various parts ?

5. . . . this ? TROUGH

6. . . . this ? HAY-RACK

7. How were the cows fed ? (GANGWAY)

8. . . . this ? FLOOR

What was it made of ?

9. . . . this ? DRAIN

10. . . . this ? CURB-STONE

What was it made of ?

11. . . . the solid stuff that you have to sweep up ? DUNG

12. What do you sweep it up with ? MUCK-BRUSH

13. What do you remove it with ? MUCK-FORK

Describe it.

14. Where do you put it ? DUNG-HEAP

Where is it ?

15. What would you lead a cow by ? HALTER

16. Is there a place inside the cow-house for storing the hay ?

HAY-LOFT

Where is it ?

17. If you were mucking out a cow-house, you wouldn't wear ordinary shoes but a pair of . . . BOOTS.

18. . . . the straps worn below the knees ? KNEE-STRAPS

4. The House

1. . . . this ? HOUSE
2. . . . this ? ROOF
3. . . . this ? DOOR
4. What do you lock a door with ? KEY
5. . . . these ? WINDOWS
6. If you open the window and the door, what are you bound to feel coming through the room ? DRAUGHT
7. . . . this ? FLOOR
8. . . . this, that we're sitting in now ? And in there ? (-)ROOM
9. How do you see in this room when it gets dark ? WE PUT THE LIGHT ON
10. . . . this ? SHELF
11. . . . this ? CHAIR
12. . . . this ? CUSHION
13. . . . the top covering on a bed ? QUILT
14. What's that burning there ? FIRE
15. . . . the red-hot things that fall through the grate when the fire is burning ? CINDERS
16. . . . the things you take out from underneath the grate when you clean up in the morning ? ASHES
17. . . . the things you use for picking up pieces of coal ? TONGS
18. . . . the black stuff that comes down the chimney ? SOOT
19. After you've been away for some time, you might open your front door and say, 'it's very nice to be back . . . HOME'.

5. The Stable

1. . . . this ? HAY-RACK
2. . . . this ? TETHERING-ROPE
3. . . . this ? CLOG

6. The Harness

1. Before your horse in the stable can pull the cart, what must you do with it ? TO GEAR
2. . . . this ? HARNESS
3. . . . this ? BLINKERS
4. . . . this ? COLLAR
5. . . . this ? HAMES
6. What do you pull to make a horse turn ? REINS
7. . . . this ? SADDLE
8. . . . this, going from shaft to shaft to stop the cart tilting up ? BELLY-BAND
9. . . . this, for fastening the saddle on the horse ? GIRTH
10. . . . this ? CRUPPER
11. . . . this ? BREECH-BAND
12. . . . the wooden rod that keeps the traces apart when the horses are working in tandem ? STRETCHER
13. What do some farmers lash a horse with ? WHIP

7. Horses in use

1. When you have more than one horse pulling a heavy load, what do you call them ? TEAM
2. . . . this (nearest the vehicle) ? SHAFT-HORSE
3. . . . this (in front) ? TRACE-HORSE
4. If you had more than two horses in a row, what did you call them ?
5. . . . this (of two horses working side by side) ? NEAR-HORSE
6. . . . this (of two horses working side by side) ? FAR-HORSE
7. Or you could say that this horse is on the left and this one is on the . . . RIGHT.

8. If horses are working very hard, they often become covered in . . . SWEAT.
9. And what is it that makes human beings sweat? Not the cold but the . . . HEAT.
10. When did you use horses in tandem and when did you use them abreast ?

8. Miscellaneous Words (1)

1. If something is left out in the rain, it's bound to get . . . WET.
2. France is quite a long way from here, but Australia is much . . . FURTHER .
3. What do burglars do ? They break into other people's houses and . . . STEAL.
4. A ball isn't square, it's . . . ROUND.
5. You are doing some work, but so far you've done only a little of it; so you've still got how much left to do ? A good deal . . . MORE .
6. You say of a woman who rules her husband: . . . SHE WEARS THE TROUSERS.
7. He was looking for his knife, but couldn't . . . FIND IT .
8. Years ago a glass of beer was quite cheap but now it's rather . . . DEAR .
9. On a Saturday how many times does the postman come ? ONCE
10. And roughly what time does he come ? ABOUT . . .
11. Of a person who uses a lot of bad language, you'd say: He's always . . . CURSING and SWEARING .
12. Someone says to you : 'Look at that bird over there.' You can't see it, and so you ask: 'WHERE IS IT ?'

13. If you were hungry you'd ask for something to . . . EAT.
14. When someone has had too much beer, you might say that he is . . . DRUNK.
15. What was the name of that king of England who burnt the cakes ? Alfred the . . . GREAT.

9. Implements

1. To find out how heavy something is, you have to . . . WEIGH IT.
2. What would you weigh grain in ? SACK
3. What would you tie the sack up with ? STRING
4. . . . the container in which you keep the corn for immediate use ? CORN-BIN
What is it made of ?
5. . . . for a wooden hammer ? MALLET
What is it used for ?
6. . . . this ? SPADE
7. . . . this ? SHAFT (of spade)
8. . . . this ? EARS (of spade)
9. . . . this ? BLADE (of spade)
10. . . . this ? SHOVEL
11. Do you use a hoe like this around here ?
What do you call it ? CANTERBURY HOE
12. . . . this ? 3-5 TINED FORK
13. . . . this ? HAY-FORK
Ascertain its use according to length of shaft.
14. . . . this ? DRAG (for dung)
15. . . . this ? PRONG
16. What is each type of fork used for ?
17. . . . this ? SHAFT OF HAY-FORK
18. . . . this ? HAMMER

19. . . . this ? LADDER
20. . . . this ? RUNG
21. . . . this ? SAWING-HORSE
22. . . . the stuff that falls to the ground as you saw ? SAW-DUST
23. . . . this ? KNIFE
24. . . . this ? BESOM
- What is it made of ?
25. . . . this part ? HANDLE
26. Who made the tools mentioned above ?

10. The Plough

1. . . . this ? (COMMON HORSE-DRAWN) PLOUGH (with wheels)
2. . . . these ? HANDLES
3. . . . this ? BEAM
4. . . . this ? COULTER
5. . . . this ? SHARE
6. . . . this ? SHARE-BEAM
7. . . . this ? MOULDBOARD
8. . . . this ? MOULDBOARD-STAY
9. . . . this ? SOLE
10. . . . this ? LAND-WHEEL
11. . . . this ? FURROW-WHEEL
12. How were the horses attached to the plough ?
(SWINGLE-TREES, EVENER, HAKE)
13. What did the hake look like ?
14. How many horses were used when ploughing ?
How were they harnessed ?
15. What was the plough made of ?
Where was it made ?
16. When were horse-ploughs last used round here ?

17. . . . this ? (COMMON) SWING PLOUGH

18. Was this type of plough ever used here ?

19. What was it made of ?

Where was it made ?

20. . . . this ? FOOT

21. Was the type with one wheel ever used here ?

22. Can you give the names of any other parts of the plough ?

23. . . . this ? SOUTH-EASTERN ONE-WAY PLOUGH

24. Have you ever used one yourself ?

If not, can you remember them being used here ?

25. Was a similar one-way plough, but without wheels or with one wheel only ever used here ?

26. . . . this ? POINT

27. . . . this ? BUCK

28. . . . this ? CHEP

29. . . . this ? REEST

30. . . . this ? SHELVE-REEST

or . . . these ? HOGS

Were both used ?

What are they for ?

31. . . . this ? BEAM

32. . . . this ? SHEATH

33. . . . this ? STUMP

34. . . . this ? EAKES

35. . . . this ? TREN

36. . . . this ? ROAD-BAT

37. How do you adjust the depth of ploughing ?

38. . . . this ? PRAIT

39. How were the horses attached to the plough ?

40. How many horses were used ?

How were they harnessed ?

41. Were oxen ever used for ploughing here ?

How many ?

Were they used for anything else ?

42. How were the oxen attached to the implement ?

43. What were the parts of the one-way plough made of ?

44. Who made them ?

45. When was it last used round here ?

46. How efficient was it ?

What were its advantages and disadvantages ?

Why was it given up ?

47. Can you remember the names of any other parts of the one-way plough ?

48. What other types of plough were used here ?

What was each type used for ?

11. Ploughing

1. How did you plough a field, with a common plough and with a one-way plough ?

2. . . . the track made by a plough ? FURROW

3. . . . the raised parts in a ploughed field ? RIDGES

4. . . . the strips of land left unploughed at the end of a field, but afterwards ploughed at right-angles ? HEADLANDS

5. When you use two horses for ploughing, what do you call each one ? FURROW-HORSE, LAND-HORSE

6. When you want your horses to move this way (left), what do you say ? TURN LEFT !

And this way (right) ? TURN RIGHT !

And stop ? STOP !

And start ? GO ON !

7. When you're ploughing, what do you do to make the water drain off the field ?

12. Miscellaneous Words (2)

1. What's the opposite of 'up' ? DOWN
2. If you were asked about something and you were a bit doubtful, you might reply: 'I think so, but I'm not quite . . . SURE'.
3. If two bad-tempered dogs meet, they usually begin to . . . FIGHT.
4. If you want a new suit, you go to a tailor and ask him to . . . MAKE ONE.
5. If you want to get something from a high shelf, you get a stool and (gesture) . . . REACH FOR IT.
6. If you drop a cup on the floor, it will probably. . . BREAK.
7. Our cat saw a mouse but it was too slow to . . . CATCH IT.
8. If something is very funny, I might burst out . . . LAUGHING.
9. If someone is dumb, they are unable to . . . SPEAK.
10. If you had lost something you might say to your wife: 'I can't remember where I've . . . PUT IT'.

13. Transport

1. . . . this ? WAGON
2. . . . a similar vehicle, but without sides ? TROLLEY
3. . . . this ? FARMCART
4. In the winter, if you can't use a vehicle with wheels, what do you use for carrying heavy loads ? SLEDGE
5. For what purposes would you use a wagon, a cart or a trolley ?
6. How many horses were used with each type of vehicle ?
7. How were the horses harnessed with each type of vehicle ?
8. Where were the vehicles kept ? CART-SHED Where was it ?

14. The Wagon

1. . . . this ? WHEEL
2. . . . this ? HUB
3. . . . these ? SPOKES
4. . . . these sections of the wooden rim ? FELLIES
5. . . . this iron thing round it ? TIRE
6. How was the tire put on the wheel ?
7. How wide was the tire ?
8. . . . this, the beam or rod connecting the two wheels ? AXLE
9. . . . the metal lining inside the hub in which the axle works ?
BUSH
10. How is the wheel kept on the axle ? LINC-PIN
11. Was the floor of the wagon boarded from end to end or from
side to side ?
12. How deep were the sides of the wagon ?
13. Did the wagon have a 'waist' for the wheels to turn in, or were
the sides straight ?
14. What were put at the front and back of the wagon to enable
larger loads to be carried ? POLES/LADDERS
What were they like ?
How were they fixed ?
15. . . . these ? SHAFTS And one of them ? SHAFT
Was a central pole ever used here instead of shafts ?
16. What do you use to prevent the wagon going backwards when you
stop on a hill ? PROP/CHOCK
Describe it.
17. What do you put underneath the wheel to stop a wagon going too
fast downhill ? DRAG
Describe it.

18. Could the body of the wagon be removed so that the under-
carriage could be used to carry timber ?
19. Was there a winch at the back of the wagon ?
20. Can you remember the names of any other parts of the wagon ?
21. What colour were the wagons here ?
22. Who made the wagons used here ?

15. The Cart

1. . . . this ? BODY
2. . . . this ? TAILBOARD
3. . . . this piece which you put on top of the tailboard when you
want to carry a bigger load ? END-BOARD
4. . . . the horizontal frame laid on top of the cart and extend-
ing beyond the body and wheels ? CART-FRAME
5. How do you empty a cart the quickest way ? TO TIP
6. How do you keep the cart body fixed to the shafts so as to stop
it tipping up ? And how do you regulate the tip of the cart ?
ROD/PIN
Describe it.
7. . . . the thing that you put under the shaft to support it
when you take the horse out ? STICK
8. What do you use to prevent the cart going backwards when you
stop on a hill ? PROP/CHOCK
Describe it.
9. If you don't want your wheels to squeak, what do you put on ?
CART-GREASE
10. . . . that thinner stuff, used for lubricating moving parts ?
OIL
11. Can you remember the names of any other parts of the cart ?

12. What colour were the carts here ?

13. Who made the carts used here ?

16. 'Time' Words

1. Sixty minutes make one . . . HOUR.

2. Twenty-four hours make one . . . DAY.

3. Seven days make one . . . WEEK.

4. Twelve months make one . . . YEAR.

5. What are the seven days of the week ? SUNDAY, MONDAY, TUESDAY,
WEDNESDAY, THURSDAY, FRIDAY, SATURDAY

6. . . . the various parts of the day ? MORNING, AFTERNOON, EVEN-
ING, NIGHT

7. You get up in the morning and eat your . . . BREAKFAST.

8. Something that happened twenty-four hours ago wouldn't have
happened today but . . . YESTERDAY.

9. . . . the month that comes after March ? APRIL

10. . . . a day when you don't go to work ? HOLIDAY

17. The Land

1. . . . land that you have ploughed but that you leave unsown for
some time ? FALLOW-LAND

2. What is left in a cornfield after harvesting ? STUBBLE

3. . . . the grass-land that the cattle graze on ? PASTURE

4. . . . for getting dung from the dung-heap to the field ?
CARTING DUNG

5. What do you do when you've got the cart of dung to the field ?
TO SPREAD DUNG

6. . . . a lump of dung that a cow leaves in the field ?
CLOT OF COW-DUNG

7. . . . the little balls that sheep leave behind ? SHEEP-DUNG

18. Wild Plants

1. . . . the things that grow in your garden and shouldn't be there ? WEEDS
2. . . . this weed ? THISTLE
3. . . . this ? COUCH-GRASS
4. . . . this ? BINDWEED
5. . . . this ? GOOSE-GRASS
6. . . . this ? CHARLOCK
7. . . . this ? COLT'S-FOOT
8. . . . this ? DOCK
9. . . . a patch of coarse grass in a field ? TUSSOCK
10. . . . this ? COWSLIP
11. . . . this ? DAISY
12. . . . this ? DANDELION
13. . . . these; the sort you can eat ? MUSHROOMS

19. Sowing

1. . . . the container for the seeds used when sowing by hand ?
SOWING-BASKET

Describe it.
2. . . . this ? SEED-BARROW
3. What do you put up in the field to frighten birds away ?
SCARECROWS

20. Root Crops

1. . . . these ? POTATOES
2. . . . these ? TURNIPS
3. At first your young turnip plants are too close together, so what do you do ? TO THIN OUT

4. In gathering swedes, what do you do to each after you have pulled it out of the ground ? TO TOP AND TAIL
5. . . . the stem and leaves of a potato plant ? POTATO-HAULMS
6. When you store the potatoes in the fields for the winter, where do you put them ? CLAMP
7. Where else do you store root crops ?

21. Garden Vegetables

1. . . . these ? BEANS
2. . . . these ? PEAS
3. . . . these ? CARROTS
4. . . . these ? ONIONS
5. . . . this ? CUCUMBER
6. . . . this ? CRESS

22. Cereals

1. . . . this ? WHEAT
2. . . . this ? BARLEY
3. . . . this ? OATS
4. Are any other cereal crops grown around here ?
5. . . . for cereal crops in general ? CORN
6. . . . the parts of the fully-grown plant while still green ?
There's the root, then the . . . STEM, and then the . . . EAR.
7. . . . the bristles of barley ? AWNS
8. What do you use to remove them ? HUMMELER
9. Seeds are planted in the ground so that they will . . . GROW.
10. When we get no rain during the summer and the ground gets very dry, you might say that we've had a long and serious . . .
DROUGHT.

23. Cereals : Harvesting

1. When the crops have done very well, you'd say: 'We've had a good . . . HARVEST.'
2. How was the corn cut in the old days ?
3. After the corn has been cut, what do you do then ? TO BIND
4. What do you bind the corn into ? SHEAF, SHEAVES
5. What do you tie the sheaf up with ? BONDS
6. What sort of knot was used ?
7. Have you ever seen or used a rake like this to hold the sheaf while binding it ?
8. What's its name ? KENTISH BINDING RAKE
9. Were the sheaves set up in rows, one leaning against the other?
10. What were these rows called ? WINDROWS
11. . . . for putting sheaves together in the harvest field for drying ? STOOKING
12. How many sheaves go to make up a stook ?
13. Were the sheaves piled into something larger than a stook as a precaution against bad weather ?
14. What was it called ? STOOK PILE
15. . . . the bottom-end of a sheaf ? BUTT
16. . . . for taking the corn away from the field ? CARTING

24. Cereals : Stacking and Thatching

1. . . . these ? STACKS
2. What shapes were the stacks here ?
3. What was put into each type of stack ?
4. . . . the place where all the stacks stand ? STACKYARD
5. Who is this on the wagon ? FORKER
6. What does this man (in the middle) do ? TO PITCH
7. Who is this ? STACKER

8. What does the stack stand on ? STEDDLE

What's it made of ?

9. . . . this ? BOTTOM

10. . . . this ? BODY

11. . . . this ? EAVES

12. . . . this ? RIDGE

13. . . . this ? THATCH

14. . . . the man who covers the stack with a roof of straw ?

THATCHER

15. What do you fasten the thatch down with ? PEGS, TWINE/ROPES

What are they made of ?

16. . . . the bundles of straw used in thatching ? YEALMS

17. What are the yealms carried up to the roof in ? DOG

18. What tool do you use to make straw rope ? ROPE-TWISTER

Describe it.

19. What other tools would a thatcher use ?

25. Threshing

1. To get the grain out, what do you do with the sheaves ?

TO THRESH

2. . . . this ? FLAIL

3. What are the various parts of the flail called ?

What were they made of ?

4. When you've got the grain out, what's left ? STRAW

5. . . . for separating the grain from the husks ? TO WINNOW

6. . . . the light stuff blown off ? CHAFF

7. . . . the stuff dropped when threshing by machine ? DUST

8. . . . the building in which the grain is stored ? GRANARY

9. Where is it ?

10. The grain is sent to the mill in order to be ground into . . .

. FLOUR.

11. What do you make with flour ? BREAD
12. What do you make brown bread out of ? MEAL
13. When making bread, what do you call the mixture of flour, water and yeast ? DOUGH
14. What do you do to the dough before you roll it ? TO KNEAD
15. Where do you bake the bread ? IN THE OVEN
16. If someone was very hungry, one or two slices of bread might not be enough; they might eat the whole . . . LOAF.

26. Haymaking

1. What do cows feed on in the fields ? GRASS
2. And in the cow-house ? HAY
3. . . . the field where grass is grown for haymaking ? MEADOW
4. In haymaking, what do you do first ? TO MOW
5. . . . a row of mown grass ? SWATH
6. When the grass has been mown for haymaking, what do you do next ? TO TED, TO TURN
7. . . . the lines the hay is raked into to complete the drying ? WINDROWS
8. When you put the drying hay into small heaps, e.g. overnight in case of rain, what do you call them ? COCKS
9. How do you store the hay outside for use over the winter ? HAYSTACK
Describe it.
10. What do you cut hay from the stack with ? HAY-KNIFE
Describe it.
11. . . . the amount of hay you cut off at a time for your own use ? CUTTING
12. If hay is cut too green, what do you say it does in the stack ? TO HEAT

13. When you let the grass grow again in order to cut it again,
you call it . . . AFTERMATH.

27. The Scythe

1. . . . this ? SCYTHE
 2. . . . this ? SHAFT
 3. . . . these ? HANDLES
 4. . . . this ? BLADE
 5. . . . this ? GRASS-NAIL
 6. . . . this ? CRAY-RING
7. What did you attach to the blade so that the crop was laid in neat rows ? CRADLE/BOW
- Describe it.
8. When your scythe gets blunt as you are using it, what instrument do you use on it ? WHETSTONE
- What is it made of ?
- Where do you keep it ready for use ?
9. Have you ever seen or used a tool like this ?
10. . . . it ? HAINAULT SCYTHE
11. What was it used for ?
12. Who made the scythes used locally ?
13. What were the various parts made of ?
14. Was the shaft straight or curved ?

28. Numbers, Measures, etc.

(Ask the informant to count)

1. ONE
2. TWO
3. THREE
4. FOUR

5. FIVE
6. SIX
7. SEVEN
8. EIGHT
9. NINE
10. TEN
11. ELEVEN
12. TWELVE
13. If you wanted to buy twelve eggs, you wouldn't ask for twelve but a . . . DOZEN.
14. THIRTEEN
15. THIRTY
16. FORTY
17. HUNDRED
18. THOUSAND
19. If you had two apples and then ate them both, how many would you have left ? NONE
20. In the old days, twelve pence made one . . . SHILLING.
21. You buy tobacco by the . . . OUNCE.
22. Sixteen ounces make one . . . POUND.

29. Cattle

1. . . . the animals that give milk ? COWS
And one of them ? COW
2. . . . the young animals just born ? CALVES
And one of them ? CALF
3. . . . the female when it stops being a calf ? HEIFER (1)
4. . . . the fully-grown male of the cow, used for breeding ?
BULL

5. If you don't want the male calf to grow into a bull, you have it . . . CASTRATED.
6. Then it's called a . . . BULLOCK.
Does he remain a 'bullock' until he's slaughtered ?
7. . . . a female that is being fattened for beef ? HEIFER (2)
8. At what age are they slaughtered for beef ?
9. . . . cows and calves, male and female, all together ? CATTLE
10. What breed of cattle is/was kept here: for milking; for fattening ?

30. Cattle : Breeding

1. When a cow is ready for service, you say she is . . . ON HEAT.
2. When the cow has been to the bull and has not conceived, you say she . . . HAS NOT HELD.
3. And so you say that the cow at that time is . . . NOT IN CALF.
4. . . . a cow that can have no more calves ? BARREN
5. When you know a calf is on the way, you say the cow . . . IS IN CALF.
6. When the cow calves before her time, you say she . . . SLIPS THE CALF.
7. What are the signs that a cow is about to give birth ? SIGNS OF CALVING
8. . . . the stuff that comes out after the calf ? AFTERBIRTH
9. When you take a calf away from its mother's milk, what do you say you do ? TO WEAN
10. When you put the calf from one cow onto another as well as her own calf, what do you say you do ? TO FOSTER

31. Cattle : Milking

1. . . . this ? UDDER
2. . . . these ? TEATS
3. . . . a teat that gives no milk ? BLIND-TEAT
4. When you milked cows in the old-fashioned way, what did you sit on ? MILKING-STOOL
5. . . . the last drops ? STRIPPINGS
6. What do you say of a cow that has stopped giving milk or has not given any for some time ? (GONE) DRY
7. . . . the first milk of a newly-calved cow ? BEESTINGS
8. . . . for the amount of milk that you get at one time ? YIELD
Does that word apply to the whole herd or just to one cow ?
9. Some people leave a cow unmilked before she goes to market, in order to make her udder look bigger. What do you call this ?
TO STOCK
10. . . . the place where you kept the milk in the old days ?
DAIRY
Where was it ?
11. What can you make from milk ? BUTTER, CHEESE
12. . . . those large metal containers that the milk was sent away in ? CHURNS
13. 'Little Miss Muffet
Sat on a tuffet
Eating her . . . CURDS and WHEY'.
14. Two pints make one . . . QUART.
15. In the afternoon you might sit down and have a cup of . . . TEA.
16. So you put some water in the . . . KETTLE.
17. And heat it until it . . . BOILS.
18. What do you sweeten tea with ? SUGAR

32. Cattle : The Body

1. . . . this ? TAIL
2. . . . this ? SWITCH
3. . . . this ? HIP-BONE
4. . . . this ? HOOF
5. Unlike a horse's hoof it is . . . CLOVEN.
6. When a cow has no horns you say it is . . . HORNLESS.
7. When cows in the field push each other about with their heads,
what do you say they do ? TO BUTT
8. When you see cows lying down and doing this (imitate), what do
you say they do ? TO CHEW THE CUD
9. If the cows don't have plenty to drink they will get . . .
THIRSTY.
10. In the old-fashioned way, when the cows were thirsty the cow-
man had to turn them out to . . . WATER.
11. In a field, what do you call a hollow filled with water where
the cattle go to drink ? POOL

33. The Human Body

1. . . . this ? HEAD
2. . . . this ? HAIR
3. . . . these ? EYES
And one of them ? EYE
4. What do I do with them ? TO SEE
5. . . . these ? EYEBROWS
6. . . . this ? NOSE
7. . . . this ? MOUTH
8. . . . these ? TEETH
And one of them ? TOOTH
9. . . . this, where the roots of the teeth are ? GUMS

10. . . . this ? TONGUE
11. . . . these ? EARS
12. And what do I do with them ? TO HEAR
13. . . . this ? SHOULDER
14. . . . this ? ARM
15. . . . this ? HAND
16. . . . this ? PALM
17. . . . this ? FINGER
18. . . . this ? THUMB
19. . . . this ? NAIL
20. . . . this part of a woman ? BREAST
21. . . . this, that you sit on ? ARSE
22. . . . this ? THIGH
23. . . . this ? CALF
24. . . . this ? FOOT

And both of them ? FEET

25. . . . these, on the end of my foot ? TOES
26. Now, we've discussed a man from head to foot. The distance from
a man's head to his feet you call his . . . HEIGHT.
27. A man with no hair you say is . . . BALD.
28. A man who can't see at all is . . . BLIND.
29. And so you say that he has lost his . . . SIGHT.
30. And someone who can't hear is . . . DEAF.
31. When someone has no shoes or socks on, you say he is . . .
BAREFOOT.
32. And someone who has no clothes on at all is . . . NAKED.
33. If your hands are dirty and you want to get them clean you
must . . . WASH THEM.
34. . . . that very common disease that children get that makes
them come out in spots ? MEASLES

35. . . . those horny growths that appear on some people's hands ?
WARTS
36. Of a man who does everything with this (left) hand, you say he
is . . . LEFT-HANDED

34. Horses

1. . . . the young animal ? FOAL
2. And when a female ? FILLY
3. And when your male foal is older you call it a . . . COLT.
4. And when it is fully-grown ? STALLION
5. . . . the fully-grown female ? MARE
6. What do you say if the mare gives birth before the proper
time ? TO SLIP A FOAL
7. . . . a male horse when only half castrated ? RIDGEL
8. . . . this ? FORELOCK
9. . . . this ? HOOF
- And four of them ? HOOFS
10. . . . for giving horses their food in the stable ? FEEDING
11. . . . for giving horses their food while resting from work in
the field ? BAITING
12. . . . that dry mixed feed that you give to your horses ? CHAFF
What's in it ?
13. What do you carry this feed to the horses in ? BASKET
Describe it.
14. What do you clean your horses up with ? BRUSH, CURRY-COMB
15. A horse that is stubborn and refuses to move, you say is . . .
RESTIVE.
16. . . . that iron thing that the blacksmith puts on a horses's
hoof ? SHOE

35. Sheep

1. . . . the animals that give us wool ? SHEEP
2. . . . the male when newly born ? MALE-LAMB
3. . . . the female when newly born ? EWE-LAMB
4. And then what is it until the first shearing ? EWE-HOG
5. What is it until the second shearing ? GIMMER
6. And after that ? EWE
7. When the male lamb grows up, you call it a . . . RAM
8. And if it has been castrated ? WETHER
Does it remain a 'wether' until slaughtered ?
9. At what age does it become a wether ?
At what age is it slaughtered ?
10. . . . young ewes that have been with the ram but have not conceived ? GUESS-SHEEP
11. When a ewe is going to give birth, you say she is going to . . .
LAMB
12. When does lambing take place here ?
13. Where are the ewes that are about to lamb kept ?
14. How does the newly-born lamb get its milk ? TO SUCK
15. . . . a lamb that has to be brought up in the house because its mother has died ? PET-LAMB
16. Sometimes a sheep gets turned over on its back and can't get up, so you say the sheep is . . . OVERTURNED.
17. And if it is left like that it will soon be . . . DEAD.
18. . . . the hair of the sheep ? WOOL
19. . . . for taking the wool off ? SHEARING
20. And what do you do it with ? SHEARS
21. How are the sheep held still while being shorn ?
22. Where does shearing take place ?

23. How do you mark sheep to tell them from somebody else's ?
TO CUT/PUNCH/BRAND/COLOUR
24. If you want to confine your sheep to only part of a field, how do you do it ? TO PEN/FOLD
Ascertain the existence and meaning of the alternative word.
25. What do you make your 'pen/fold' of ? HURDLES
What are they made of ?
Who made them ?
26. . . . the long staff with a sharply curved top carried by shepherds ? CROOK
Describe the crook.
How long are they ?
Who makes them ?
What are they used for ?
27. What breed of sheep is/was kept here ?
28. About how many sheep are/were there in a flock ?
29. Here are some sheep coming through a gate. This one at the front isn't the sixth or the fourth, but the . . . FIRST.
30. And this ? SECOND
31. And this ? THIRD
32. And this one at the back ? LAST
36. Pigs
1. . . . the animals that are kept in sties ? PIGS
 2. . . . a newly born pig ? PIGLET
 3. And when it's a little older ? WEANER
 4. . . . all the young ones in a family together ? LITTER
 5. . . . the smallest and weakest pig of the litter ? WEAKLING
 6. . . . a female before she has a litter ? YOUNG SOW
 7. . . . the female after she has had her first litter ? SOW

8. . . . the male pig ? BOAR

9. . . . a pig when castrated ? HOG

Does that word apply to the female as well ?

10. When the sow is ready for service, you say she is . . . ON HEAT.

11. And when she is going to have young ones, you say she is going to . . . FARROW.

12. . . . this part of a pig ? SNOUT

13. . . . the things that the piglets suck on a sow to get milk ?
TEATS

14. What do you say the pig does when it uses its snout for digging up the ground ? TO ROOT

15. What does a pig feed out of ? TROUGH

16. . . . the short stiff hairs on the back of a pig ? BRISTLES

17. What breed of pigs is/was generally kept here ?

37. Calls to Animals

1. What do you call to horses to bring them in from the field ?

COME IN !

2. To cows ?

3. To pigs ?

4. To sheep ?

Would a dog be used ?

5. To hens ?

6. To ducks ?

38. Slaughtering

1. . . . the man who buys cattle, kills them and sells the meat ?

BUTCHER

2. . . . for picking sheep out of the flock ? CULLING

Why is it done ?

3. What place does the butcher put the animals in before killing them ? FASTING-CHAMBER
4. And where does he kill them ? SLAUGHTER-HOUSE
5. . . . the lungs of a slaughtered animal ? LIGHTS
6. . . . the lungs, liver and heart all together ? PLUCK
7. . . . the skin of a cow ? HIDE
8. And of a sheep ? SHEEPSKIN
And when the wool is off ? PELT
9. Suppose a cow dies on the farm, who comes to take the carcass away ? KNACKER

39. Slaughtering Pigs

1. What do you dress pigs on after killing them ? BENCH
Describe it.
2. How do you hang the carcass up ? HANGER
Describe it.
3. . . . the small intestines of a pig ? CHITTERLINGS
4. . . . the side of a pig when salted and cured ? FLITCH
5. . . . the meat in a flitch ? BACON
6. . . . the thing you cure bacon in ? SALTING-TROUGH
7. . . . the outer skin of bacon ? RIND
8. . . . the inner layer of fat round the kidneys of a pig ? FAT
9. What do you make from this fat ? LARD
10. How do you make lard out of this fat ? TO RENDER
11. When the hot fat is drawn off, what is left behind ? SCRAPS

40. Markets, etc.

1. Which livestock market did people use to go to here ?
2. Which town do people here shop in ?
3. Are there any special stock fairs in the neighbourhood ?

4.1. Other Domestic Animals

1. . . . this animal ? DOG
2. . . . the female ? BITCH
3. What do dogs like to gnaw and bury in the ground ? BONES
4. . . . this animal ? CAT
5. . . . the male ? TOM-CAT
6. . . . the female ? SHE-CAT
7. . . . the young cat ? KITTEN
8. What do you say dogs and cats have when they lose their hair in patches ? MANGE
9. If you annoy a cat, it will put out its claws and . . . SCRATCH.
10. What animals do you keep in a hutch ? RABBITS
11. . . . this animal ? DONKEY

4.2. The Family

1. Who are the two most important members of a family ? FATHER, MOTHER
2. If they had a little girl, she would be their . . . DAUGHTER .
3. If they had a son as well, he wouldn't be a girl but a . . . BOY .
4. And he will grow up into a youth and then into a . . . MAN .
5. And their daughter will grow up into a . . . WOMAN .
6. The boy is the little girl's . . . BROTHER .
7. My father's sister is my . . . AUNT .
8. And her husband is my . . . UNCLE .
9. And if they had any children, they would be my . . . COUSINS .
10. My aunt and uncle call me their . . . NEPHEW .
11. And if I had a sister, she would be their . . . NEICE .
12. The people who live in the house next to yours are your next-door . . . NEIGHBOURS .

43. Domestic Fowl

1. Some people have a shed and a wire-netting run at the bottom of their garden in which they . . . KEEP HENS.
2. What do hens rest on at night ? PERCH
3. What do you expect hens to do ? TO LAY EGGS
4. . . . the inside of an egg ? YOLK
5. What colour is it ? YELLOW
6. A hen that wants to sit you call a . . . BROODY HEN.
7. . . . the male of the hen ? COCK
8. What does the cock do to the hen ? TO TREAD
9. It's no use a broody hen sitting on eggs unless they have what inside ? TREAD
10. When the young birds show signs of hatching out, you say the eggs are beginning . . . TO CHIP.
11. What comes out of the eggs when they are hatched ? CHICKENS
12. . . . all the chickens you get from one sitting of eggs ? BROOD
13. When hens start to lose their feathers, you say they . . .
MOULT.
14. . . . those birds that you see swimming about the pond of a farmstead ? DUCKS
15. . . . those hissing birds that waddle about in flocks ? GEESE
And one of them ? GOOSE
16. . . . the male ? GANDER
17. . . . the young bird ? GOSLING
18. . . . the thing a bird pecks its food up with ? BEAK
19. . . . the part that hangs down underneath the beak of a chicken?
WATTLES
20. What do you say you do when you strip the feathers off a dead chicken ? TO PLUCK

21. . . . that forked bone of a roast fowl that some people pull
for luck ? WISH-BONE

44. Wild Birds

1. . . . all those things that fly, with feathers ? BIRDS
2. . . . the young wild bird just out of the egg ? NESTLING
3. When the young wild birds have got their feathers and are ready
to go, you say they are . . . FLEDGED.
4. . . . those birds that 'coo' and can be trained to fly
distances ? PIGEONS
5. . . . those very tame birds, just like pigeons, only with
ring markings round their necks ? DOVES
6. . . . the place in the farmstead where pigeons and doves are
kept ? DOVE-COTE
Describe it.
Where is it ?
7. . . . that big greyish-white bird you sometimes see following
the plough ? GULL
8. . . . this bird ? OWL
9. . . . this creature ? BAT
10. . . . those game birds that are shot during the shooting season?
PARTRIDGES, PHEASANTS

45. Wild Animals

1. . . . these ? MICE
And one of them ? MOUSE
2. . . . this ? SHREW-MOUSE
3. . . . this ? RAT
4. . . . the animal that throws up small mounds of earth in the
fields ? MOLE

5. . . . this ? HEDGEHOG
6. . . . this ? WEASEL
7. . . . the larger kind ? STOAT
8. . . . this ? POLE-CAT
9. . . . the similar animal that is white and used for catching rabbits ? FERRET
10. . . . the male ? MALE FERRET
11. . . . the female ? FEMALE FERRET
12. . . . this ? SQUIRREL
13. . . . this ? BADGER
14. . . . this ? HARE
15. . . . this ? FOX
16. Foxes live in holes in the . . . GROUND.

46. Insects

1. When a child scratches its head a lot, what is it likely to have in its hair ? LICE
And one of them ? LOUSE
2. . . . its eggs ? NITS
3. . . . similar insects on sheep ? TICKS
4. . . . those little black insects that jump about and bite you ? FLEAS
5. . . . those insects that come into the house in summer and like to get at the meat if it's left uncovered ? FLIES
6. When the bluebottles get at the meat or fish, you'll soon find it . . . HEAVING WITH MAGGOTS.
7. . . . those yellow insects that get into the jam-pot; they sting you ? WASPS
8. . . . the insects that make honey for you ? BEES
9. Where are they kept ? HIVE

10. What was the word for the old-fashioned straw hives ? SKEPS
11. . . . this ? SPIDER
12. . . . those insects with small thin bodies and thin legs that fly up and down the window-pane ? DADDY-LONG-LEGS
13. . . . those insects, reddish-brown, with feelers and a tail like a pair of pincers ? EARWIGS
14. . . . those fussy little insects that crawl about quickly all over the place and seem to be working hard ? ANTS
15. . . . the heaps where they live ? ANT-HILLS

47. Reptiles, etc.

1. . . . this ? WORM
2. . . . these ? SLUGS
3. . . . these ? SNAILS
4. . . . the small poisonous snake we sometimes find in this country ? ADDER
5. . . . those active little creatures in ponds that have large heads and wriggle their tails ? TADPOLES
6. What do they grow into ? FROGS
7. . . . this ? TOAD
8. . . . this ? NEWT
9. . . . those small fish in rivers that children like to catch with glass jars ? MINNOWS
10. . . . those salt-water fish that kippers are made from ? HERRINGS

48. Miscellaneous Words (3)

1. The opposite of young is . . . OLD.
2. And of strong is . . . WEAK.

3. If, as a boy, you wrote badly, you could say: 'I used to be bad at . . . WRITING'.
4. You might say to somebody who wasn't feeling too well: 'There's the sofa, why not go and . . . LIE DOWN'.
5. If a man has a job, he usually rests on Sundays, but on Monday morning he has to get up early and go to . . . WORK.
6. The opposite of bad is . . . GOOD.
7. And of right is . . . WRONG.
8. Nowadays some men retire at sixty-five, but other men, who have been busy all their lives, still go on . . . WORKING.
9. If you want to leave a bus at a request stop, you ring the bell so that the driver stops and lets you get . . . OFF.
10. If I was musical, I might sit down at the piano and start playing a merry little . . . TUNE.

49. The Countryside

1. . . . any running water smaller than a river ? RIVULET
2. If a river isn't shallow, it must be . . . DEEP.
3. In the winter, when it's very cold, water gets frozen over with a hard surface of . . . ICE.
4. . . . the thing built across a river to help you get from one side to the other ? BRIDGE
5. . . . that shallow place where you can walk across a stream when there is no bridge ? FORD
6. . . . those small hollows in the road, filled with water after rain ? PUDDLES
7. . . . that low-lying flat land in the bend of a river, often very fertile ? LOW-LYING LAND
8. When a patch of land is water-logged, you say it is . . . BOGGY.
9. To get water away from land that is wet and boggy, you must . . .

DRAIN IT.

10. How do you drain the water away ?
11. How are fields separated from each other or from the road ?
HEDGE, FENCE, DITCH
12. How is the hedge made ?
13. Roughly how high are the hedges round here ?
14. Describe the fences used locally
15. When you're clearing the ditches out, what do you say you're doing ? DITCHING
16. What do you mean by dike ?
17. When you take the rough growth off the hedges, what do you say you do to them ? TO TRIM
18. . . . the stuff you trim off ? TRIMMINGS
19. What do you do to the hedge when it is overgrown and there are gaps in the bottom of it ? TO PLASH
20. . . . the long-handled tool you use ? HEDGING-BILL
Describe it.
21. . . . the short-handled tool you use ? BILLHOOK
Describe it.
22. . . . that big round thing which you turn to sharpen your tools on ? GRINDSTONE
23. . . . that thing, sometimes with steps, by which we get across a fence ? STILE

50. The Gate

1. . . . this ? GATE
2. Describe the gates used locally.
Who made them ?
3. . . . these ? GATE-POSTS
4. . . . this, to which the gate is attached ? HANGING-POST

5. . . . the other one ? SHUTTING-POST
6. . . . this ? HIND VERTICAL
7. . . . this ? FORE VERTICAL
8. What does the gate actually hang on ? HINGES
9. What are the two parts of each hinge called ? HOOK, EYE
10. . . . these horizontals ? BARS
11. . . . the top horizontal bar ? TOP BAR
12. . . . these verticals ? UPRIGHTS
13. . . . this ? DIAGONAL BAR
14. How is the gate fastened to the shutting-post ?
Describe the method ?

51. Tracks

1. . . . those lines left by the cartwheels when the ground is soft ? RUTS
2. . . . a track made by cows or sheep or human beings through a field ? PATH
3. To get from this village to the next by car, you wouldn't go across the fields, you'd go by . . . ROAD.
4. If a road is narrow and between hedges, you call it a . . .
LANE.
5. A road that has no bends in it you say is . . . STRAIGHT.
6. . . . that thick white stuff that falls in winter and covers the roads ? SNOW
7. But when it gets warmer and the snow begins to melt you say that it is . . . THAWING.
8. . . . a narrow passageway between two houses or between two walls ? ALLEY
9. Often roads run along a stretch of flat country and then they begin to climb a . . . HILL.

52. Weather

1. What can you see up there ? SKY
2. When you can't see the blue sky, then it must be covered with . . . CLOUDS.
3. What can you see in the sky on a clear night ? STARS, MOON
4. Sometimes the grass in the early morning is very wet. What has there been during the night ? DEW
5. In summer when there has been no rain for a long time, the country roads are covered in . . . DUST.
6. . . . that loud rumbling noise we sometimes hear on very hot summer days ? THUNDER
7. Before we hear the thunder we see . . . LIGHTNING.
8. What shines in the sky on a warm bright day ? SUN
9. What are the four points of the compass ? NORTH, SOUTH, EAST, WEST

53. Soil, Minerals

1. . . . that heavy sticky earth that doesn't let water through easily ? CLAY
2. . . . that dry black stuff that people cut into sods and burn for fuel ? PEAT
3. . . . that black stuff that you burn on the fire ? COAL
4. . . . the metal that is used for cart tires ? IRON
5. . . . the metal that water-pipes used to be made of, used in pencils ? LEAD
6. Rubbish is useless, but coal isn't; coal's very . . . USEFUL.
7. Coal is got out of a mine, but stone out of a . . . QUARRY.
8. And sand comes out of a . . . PIT.
9. What colour is this ? SILVER
10. And what did sovereigns use to be made out of ? GOLD

54. Trees, Bushes, etc.

1. . . . that slender tree with silvery bark ? BIRCH
2. . . . that sturdy tree that gives us our best wood ? OAK
3. . . . the seed of this tree ? ACORN
4. . . . that tree with hard wood which is often used for making coffins and is easily blown over when it's old; there aren't many about now ? ELM
5. . . . that tree, the young wood of which is often used for making tool handles ? ASH
6. Hawthorns and brambles aren't trees but. . . BUSHES
7. . . . that tall bush with the cluster of dark berries from which you can make wine ? ELDER
8. . . . that bush or tree growing near water; it sends out slender stems that easily bend ? WILLOW
9. . . . that bush that bears catkins and then nuts later on ?
HAZEL
10. At Christmas time we decorate our rooms with branches from what bush ? HOLLY
11. . . . that evergreen plant that climbs up walls and trees ?
IVY
12. You don't eat ivy because it is . . . POISONOUS.
13. . . . that prickly bush with bright yellow flowers ? GORSE
14. . . . this plant ? It grows on waste ground and is sometimes cut and dried and used for bedding animals ? BRACKEN
15. . . . this plant ? It grows on moist ground; its leaves are long and feathery. FERN

55. Berries, Fruits

1. What berries do people pick along the hedgerows in early autumn ? BLACKBERRIES
2. . . . those berries with a sharp taste and a hairy skin that grow on prickly bushes in the garden ? GOOSEBERRIES
3. . . . those dark blue berries the size of a pea that grow on a low plant on the moors ? You make pies with them and the juice stains your teeth. BILBERRIES
4. You know that bush which has white flowers in May and red berries in the autumn and winter. What do you call its berries ? HAWS
5. . . . the berries that grow on the wild rose bush ? HIPS
6. . . . the berries of the blackthorn ? SLOES
7. . . . these ? APPLES
8. . . . these ? PEARS

56. Parts of a Tree

1. . . . this ? ROOT
2. . . . these ? BOUGHS
3. . . . this ? BRANCH
4. . . . this ? TRUNK
5. Suppose the tree had blown down and broken off here, what would you call the part left ? STUMP
6. When you are cutting down trees, what do you say you are doing ? TREE-FELLING
7. When you take off the branches of a growing tree, what do you say you do ? TO LOP
8. . . . a small area of trees and bushes between fields ? SHAW

57. Domestic Work

1. . . . for mending socks ? DARNING
2. . . . this ? NEEDLE and THREAD
3. What do you say you do with a needle and thread ? TO SEW
4. . . . this (imitate); you do one at a time ? STITCH
5. . . . this ? THIMBLE
6. . . . these colours ? BLUE, GREEN, RED, WHITE
7. For breakfast some people eat oatmeal boiled in water or milk.
What do you call that when it's thick ? PORRIDGE
8. And when it's very thin ? GRUEL
9. . . . that fat that you make a boiled pudding with ? SUET

58. Miscellaneous Items

1. . . . this ? BARREL
2. In the old days people used to hang their watch on a . . .
CHAIN.
3. . . . the thing that women wear in front to keep their dresses
clean ? APRON
4. . . . the place where children go to learn things ? SCHOOL
5. . . . the things you wear in winter to keep your hands warm ?
GLOVES
6. . . . that thing with teeth that you use to tidy your hair ?
COMB
7. . . . this building ? CHURCH
8. . . . the man who looks after the church building and keeps it
warm and clean ? SEXTON
9. In the churchyard, what do the tombstones cover ? GRAVES
10. How is the coffin taken from the house to the churchyard ?
HEARSE

11. A grave is a place where someone has been . . . BURIED.
12. . . . the relatives and friends who attend a funeral ?
MOURNERS
13. On graves people like to put wreaths of . . . FLOWERS.
14. On some graves, there's not a tombstone, but a (indicate)
. . . CROSS.

59. Miscellaneous Words (4)

1. What will the greedy boy have, pudding or pie ? BOTH
2. I don't think he'd stop at a third of the pie, or even two thirds of it; he'd want the . . . WHOLE OF IT.
3. But a less greedy boy will say: 'It doesn't matter, I'll have . . . EITHER . . .
4. . . . you have one and I'll have the . . . OTHER'.
5. Or if he wasn't very hungry, he might say: 'Cut the pie in two and I'll just have a . . . HALF'.
6. What's a room like on a winter's day without a fire ? COLD
7. But if you stoke the fire up, it will soon get very . . . HOT.
8. I've been told you knocked at my door three or four times, but I'm deaf and can honestly say I never . . . HEARD YOU.
9. Your wife comes back after answering the door, and you, being curious, might ask her: 'WHO WAS IT ?'
10. Jack wants to have Fred's ball and says to him, not: 'Keep it', but (gesture): 'GIVE IT ME'.
11. You want a spade for a short time, and yours is broken, so you ask your neighbour: 'Will you . . . LEND ME YOURS ?'
12. And he would pass it over the fence and you would reach out to . . . TAKE IT.
13. If someone didn't want to be seen, they might get down on their hands and knees and . . . CREEP.

14. Before you have a meal, what do you spread on the table ?

TABLECLOTH

60. Local Customs and Sayings

1. What festivities used to take place around here ?
2. Do you know any sayings about the weather ?
3. Do you know any customs or superstitions connected with farming ?
4. Are there any old sayings connected with the villages near here ?

Index of Key-Words

References in brackets refer to the equivalent questions in the Dieth-Orton Questionnaire. Underlined key-words are words for which the meaning is asked in 'reverse questions'.

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APPENDIX 2Discrepancies between EM and MRs at SED localities

In the following cases it was necessary to base the phonetic analysis on the material recorded on the MRs (see 1.3.1). The nature of the discrepancy between the EM and the MRs is noted.

- 2.1.3.3 (a)
Failure of M.B. to record [a] allophonic type; differences in frequency between [ɛ] and [æ] types.
- 2.1.3.4 (o)
Almost complete failure of SED to record unrounding.
- 2.1.3.8 (aa)
Discrepancies in frequency and distribution of [a:] allophonic type.
- 2.1.3.12 (ai)
Many discrepancies, particularly with respect to diphthongs with back rounded starting points, the existence of which is rarely confirmed by the MRs.¹
- 2.1.3.16 (au)
Frequent failure of SED to record centralization and unrounding of target vowel and monophthongization.²
- 2.1.3.17, 18 (ou, au)
Frequent failure of M.B. to record unrounding and centralization of starting point of (au). Since there tends, therefore, to be no distinction between unconditioned (au) and (au) before (l) or between (au) and (ou) in the EM, the phonetic details for (ou) were also taken from the MRs.³

2.1.3.21 (ar)

Failure of M.B. to record [a:r] allophonic type. Also major discrepancies in the frequency of non-rhotic forms.

2.1.3.22, 23 (or, ar)

Major discrepancies in the frequency of non-rhotic forms.

Notes and References

1. Discrepancy noted by H. Orton and M. F. Wakelin in Survey of English Dialects: The Basic Material - Vol.IV: The Southern Counties (Leeds, 1967), Part 1, pp.35-46, 67-71.
2. Discrepancy noted by Orton and Wakelin, *ibid.*, pp.39-46.
3. Discrepancy noted by Orton and Wakelin, *ibid.*, pp.35-46, 67-71.