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Thesis title:	The Dialect of New mills: Linguistic Change in a North-West Derbyshire Community
Qualification:	PhD
Date awarded:	16 November 2005

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The Dialect of New Mills

Linguistic Change in a North-West Derbyshire Community

Part 2

Phonology

Addenda

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Submitted for the degree of PhD

NATCECT, University of Sheffield

July, 2005

CONTENTS

Part 2 - Phonology

Part 1

Methodology, Grammar, Lexis, Bibliography

Appendix

New Mills: The Historical and Social Background

Part 2 – Phonology

Introduction

Firstly, it is necessary to make some comments concerning the method and presentation of the analysis. Taking into consideration the aims of the present study, the analysis will encompass both a description of the traditional dialect and changes thereto. Although these two aims are inextricably linked, indeed the latter following on from the former, it will be necessary to present them in a different format, depending whether the focus (dictated by the aims) is upon phonemics or phonetics. In this instance, there will be a systematic treatment of the traditional dialect on a phonemic and phonetic level. The analyses concerning sound change will not include a description of phonemic differences, rather differences in phonetic realisations. This is discussed fully below.

The description of the traditional dialect will be a systematic description on both a phonemic and phonetic level. The phonemic method of description – "systemic"- is largely drawn from the structuralist methodology of Saussure, which came to prominence in the 1950s and 1960s. All other issues of methodology aside, the main benefit of this method of description (as far as dialect description is concerned), as opposed to that of a purely phonetic treatment, was that a phonemic analysis avoided the subjectivity of impressionistic phonetic transcriptions.[1] On the other hand, a purely phonemic description is lacking as "different varieties of language may be differentiated at the sub-phonemic [i.e. phonetic] level."[2] Indeed, a purely phonetic approach is traditionally the level at which dialect description has been undertaken (ever since the first systematic analyses[3] during the nineteenth century), and largely remains so today. It is at this level that highly detailed descriptions of a dialect can be made. In addition, the difficulties of constructing a phonemic inventory (see below, pp. 4-6) further add impetus to the inclusion, at the very least, of a phonetic description. Furthermore, while the problems with phonemic analyses largely remain, that associated with phonetic descriptions (i.e. acoustic subjectivity) have been vastly improved by the introduction of mechanical analyses (i.e. using a spectrograph). On the level of phonetic description, mechanical analysis was initially undertaken in the modern period to provide more accurate

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[1] It can be argued that the use of spectrographic analyses (i.e. mechanical) in acoustic phonetics has largely resolved the subjectivity connected with phonetic description.
[2] Shorrocks (1980), p. 226.
[3] One of the first such undertakings in the north-west midlands was Thomas Hallam's systematic description in the introduction to a revised version of *Pegge's Derbycisms*.

definitions of vocalic segments, by focusing on vowel formant patterns[4]. Nevertheless, spectrographs have also proved to be illuminating in other respects; they have been utilised to analyse consonantal realisations, such as those of glottal /t/, which have provided unexpected results,[5] in addition to supra-segmental features, such as voice quality and syllabic stress.[6] Moreover, acoustic analysis has also moved into other areas of linguistic enquiry, outside that of sociolinguistic / variationist studies.[7] While it is obvious that mechanical acoustic analysis is ideal on a descriptive phonetic level, such a method is not necessarily practicable in all instances; it should be noted that no mechanical acoustic analysis has been undertaken in the investigation in New Mills.

 A mixed approach (i.e. phonemic / phonetic) would appear to provide the best solution to a phonological description of a dialect. This is particularly relevant where a detailed description is required as part of a larger study, as is the case with the investigation in New Mills, by providing as much information as economically as possible. Indeed, many modern descriptions, such as Gimson's treatment of RP, in addition to other monographs (e.g., Shorrocks' description of the Farnworth dialect), have adopted such a format, though many contemporary sociolinguistic works have been undertaken from a purely phonetic approach.[8]

 The description of the dialect will be undertaken on three levels: *systemic* (phonemic), *realisational* (phonetic) and *distributional*.[9] The last of these levels will be dealt with mainly on a comparative basis, though references of a "descriptive" basis – the distribution of phonemes within the word in initial, medial and final position - will be made, particularly where this is dialectally significant. "Comparative" distribution forms part of the analysis of phonological change, and, indeed, is a vital part of this analysis (below). The phonological description will include a detailed analysis of a phoneme and its variants. The focus upon variants will be mainly upon those variants that are again dialectally significant, including both allophones and other variants. Considerations, based upon the aims of the present study, dictate that the phonetic description will not focus on those variants, whether they are

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[4] See Labov, W., Yaeger, M., and Steiner, R., 'A quantitative study of sound change in progress', *Report on National Science Foundation Project no. GS-3287*, Philadelphia, US Regional Survey, 1972.

[5] See Docherty, G. J., and Foulkes, P., 'Newcastle upon Tyne and Derby: instrumental phonetics and variationist studies', in Foulkes, P., and Docherty, G. J. (eds), *Urban Voices: Accent Studies in the British Isles*, London, Arnold, 1999, pp. 47 –71.

[6] See Foulkes, P., 'Current trends in British Sociophonetics', *University of Pennsylvania Working Papers in Linguistics, 8.3 – A Selection of Papers from NWAV 30*, 75- 86, 2002.

[7] See Foulkes, P., 'Sociophonetics', in Brown, K. (ed.), *Encyclopedia of Language and Linguistics (2nd Edition)*, Amsterdam, Elsevier Press, 2005.

[8] Many examples of this type may be found in, for example, Foulkes, P., and Docherty, G. (eds), *Urban Voices: Accent Studies in the British Isles*, Arnold, London, 1999; and numerous earlier studies undertaken, for example, by Labov (1966, 1972), and Trudgill (1974).

[9] See Wakelin (1991), p. 84.

positional (allophonic) or otherwise, that are relatively constant – i.e. the same as those in RP and other varieties of English, such as initial aspiration of stop consonants, palatal /k/ (before a front vowel), except where these are dialectally significant (such as fronted /k/ before /l/, fronted /k/ before a non-front /open vowel) - but on those variants that are particular features of the dialect: e.g., morpheme final aspiration of stop consonants, medial consonant gemination and velarised /l/ in initial morpheme position.

Sound change in the present study is discussed and analysed according to phonetic realisations, as it is at this level where change initially occurs and therefore essential in a study whose primary aim is to analyse ongoing linguistic change. It is true to say that changes in phonetic realisations may eventually lead to significant change in the phonemic system (e.g. the changes to the long vowels during and after the great vowel shift of the eModE period), though not always in the *sound system* itself – although the vowel shift eliminated some contrasts in the Standard variety (ME ē1[10] and ME ē2), the phonemic status of the vowels remained relatively stable, as new contrasts were created by the raising of the long vowels and by the diphthongisation of the high long vowels and certain other long vowels, e.g., ME /a:/ Furthermore, the phonemic inventory has also remained relatively stable.[11] Therefore, it may be concluded that changes on a phonemic level, although often complex, are generally insignificant and that they only develop, as a result of phonetic change, after a considerable period of time (indeed, the great vowel shift was a process that continued over more than two or three centuries, during which time many phonetic variants existed side by side – e.g. ME ē2 > /e:/, /ɛɪ/, /i:/). As the present study is concerned with contemporary and ongoing phonological change over a short period of time, an attempt at a phonemic analysis would be inappropriate. Furthermore, in addition to these considerations, the phonemic situation at the dialectal level (i.e. the dialect in New Mills) is far from clear-cut and is extremely complex. Several phonemic systems are apparent, not only at the level of dialect[12] but also at an *idiolectal* level, thus rendering any attempt at an analysis of phonemic change as an impossible and unrealistic task.

The sections dealing with sound change will appear at the end of each phoneme description. These will initially consist of the phonetic realisations of the phoneme, according to the various age bands, thus allowing an analysis of any change to be made in apparent time.

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[10] ME ē1 corresponds to ME /e:/, ME ē2 to /ɛ:/, and ME ē3 to /ɛ:/ (derived from OE /ɛ/ lengthened in open syllables).
[11] See Gimson (1994), pp. 66-68.
[12] The term "dialect" refers to that which is being analysed in the present study – the "traditional dialect" of the area, spoken by those of the same age-group, class, sex etc.

Comparative distribution forms an important part of this analysis. The various realisations and distribution of the phoneme are not compared directly with the identical RP form, rather the RP form and the traditional dialect form (and its realisations) are described as being reflexes of the same ME antecedents (and ordered as such). This is to ensure an accurate comparative analysis, this being the method by which linguistic change is analysed. That such a method is necessary is demonstrated by the fact that, for example, the phoneme /ɤ:/in the traditional dialect is derived from different ME antecedents[13], the reflexes of which in RP are all different, not only to /ɤ:/, but to each other.

Description

In accordance with the aims of the present study, a systematic description of the traditional dialect will be made. This is necessary for two reasons. Firstly, this will provide a thorough description of the traditional dialect. This is based primarily on the speech of the older informants. Additional information is provided to corroborate the data provided by the older informants (see Part 1,'Methodology', pp. 42-43). Secondly, such a thorough description is necessary, as this will form the basis from which sound change will be analysed. The description will be systemic, partially distributional and realisational. Problems associated with a purely systemic approach are discussed above (pp. 1 - 2) and below. A short section dealing with the historical development of each phoneme will follow the description, as a prelude to the section on contemporary phonological change (above). This is an essential component, as it provides a background against which to assess and gauge contemporary change.

Phonemic Description

The minimal pair contrast theory of the structuralists is essentially negative in its description – phoneme *a* is a phoneme because it is not phoneme *b*. Therefore, the plosive consonant "t" may be described as not being "p" or "k".[14] One obvious shortcoming of such a description is that it is somewhat deficient. Phonemes are differentiated by their phonetic qualities. It follows that a far more accurate description would necessarily include the phonetic qualities of a phoneme, describing a phoneme in concrete terms of what it is, rather than what it is not. Thus, it is evident that any phoneme and its phonetic qualities are inextricably and inseparably linked. Any systematic description, therefore, which solely relies on one without

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[13] These are ME /o: /, ME /u:/, ME /o:/ (later shortened in SE), ME /o:/ + final l.
[14] See Gimson (1994), pp. 43- 44.

the other (particularly a purely phonemic approach) would be somewhat lacking. Indeed, many modern analyses of a single variety rely on a mixed methodology approach containing both phonemic and phonetic information.

Despite the usefulness of a phonemic component as part of a thorough analysis, several problems exist, on a dialectal level, both with phonemic description and the compilation of a phonemic inventory. This is on account of the variation that is encountered at both a dialectal and idiolectal level. On a broader level, the speech of any community is not homogenous. Such variation is the focus of many sociolinguistic studies. However, the same is true concerning any stratum of speech within that community. It is apparent from the data of the present investigation, in addition to numerous others both contemporary and previous, that the traditional dialect in any given location will show a certain degree of heterogeneity, for various reasons. It is for this reason that Shorrocks suggests that a phonemic analysis should ideally be based upon the speech of one informant. However, it is also conceded that even this is not beyond reproach, as variation is also evident on an individual level.[15] The speech of an individual will often consist of several concurrently operating phonemic systems,[16] including the traditional dialect and modified varieties thereof (not necessarily towards RP), the use of which may be determined by situation or other extra-linguistic considerations.

The problems arising from this are self-evident. Firstly, the difficulties associated with determining phonemes and compiling an accurate phonemic inventory of an individual or a single dialect variety may be amply demonstrated by the data from the present investigation. The realisations of the reflexes of ME /u/ + /r/ and ME ō1 + /r/,[17] in the traditional dialect are [ʏə], [oə]. The erratic, and admittedly, infrequent occurrence of /ɔ:/ for words such as *poor* and *pore*, removes not only the two way contrast between *poor* ([ʏə]) and *pore* ([oə]), but also the distinction between these and *paw* /ɔ:/.

Secondly, the occurrence or non-occurrence of particular features of the dialect can alter the phonemic status of a segment or group of segments, which may lead to radical differences in the phonemic system. This is more than adequately exemplified by traditional dialect pre-consonantal and morpheme final /r/. This is a regressive feature but its occurrence in the speech of some older and middle-age informants obviously causes problems for a phonemic

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[15] Shorrocks (1980), p. 236.
[16] See Anderson (1987), p. 2, and Gimson (1994), p. 47.
[17] ME ō1 corresponds to ME /o:/, ME ō2 to /ɔ:/, and ME ō3 to /ɔ:/ (derived from OE /ɔ/ lengthened in open syllables).

description. Gimson makes some comments regarding current diphthongs in RP that have resulted from loss of pre-consonantal and final /r/, in addition to comments about the phonemic systems in those varieties of English where /r/ in such positions is retained. It is suggested that the RP diphthongs (/ʊə/, /ɪə/ etc.) are phonemic, while no such phonemes exist in those varieties where /r/ is retained, the phonemes being /o:/ + /r/, /ɪ:/ + /r/ etc.[18] Shorrocks, in his investigation of the dialect of Farnworth, Greater Manchester[19] (in the neighbouring dialect area according to Ellis' classification), encountered a very similar situation relating to /r/ as that in the investigation in New Mills. Shorrocks comments on the problems associated with a phonemic description (/i:r/, /e:r/, /o:r/, /ɔ:r/, /a:r/ with /r/, and /i:/, /e:/, /o:/, /ɔ:/, /a:/ etc., without /r/). Unlike Gimson, however, he suggests that no distinction be made between /r/ less and /r/ forms on a phonemic level, and that the problem be surmounted by the inclusion of the diphthongs (above) as phonemes in both types of speech, as they are the common realisations in the speech of informants who don't use 'r', as well as being a phonetic feature of the realisation of vowel + r (e.g., /o: r/ being [oə⁽ɹ⁾]).[20]

Phonological notation

All phonological transcription of the data, presented in the following descriptions and analyses, has been produced using the aural-imitative technique inherent in linguistic descriptions that are essentially impressionistic (i.e. the data was not subject to any analysis using mechanical acoustic equipment). The advantages and disadvantages of such a technique (vis-à-vis mechanical acoustic analysis) have been well documented.[21] Moreover, not only has impressionistic transcription been used by the vast majority of dialect studies, past and present – it has "proved itself to be efficient and practical over a long period of time"[22]- it still remains the only viable method available to many linguists, on account of the unavailability, or lack of access to, spectrographic analysis. Moreover, the specific aims of a particular investigation may render the use of spectrographic analysis impractical and / or nigh impossible; while mechanical analysis is particularly ideal for quantitative research

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[18] See Gimson, pp. 75, 85, 131-135.
[19] Formerly Lancashire. After the 1974 County Reformation Act, a large area of urban south Lancashire (including Manchester and the satellite towns of Bolton, Bury, Rochdale, Oldham and Ashton) and north-east Cheshire (including Stockport) was placed in the newly created metropolitan county of Greater Manchester. However, it is more convenient (in terms of ascribing dialect areas) to refer to these places as being in Lancashire, Cheshire, or Manchester.
[20] See Shorrocks (1980), pp. 229, 474.
[21] For an overview of these, see Shorrocks (1998), pp. 135-141.
[22] Shorrocks (1998), p. 137.

focusing on one or two variables, its use in an extensive systematic description based on a considerable corpus of data would inevitably be beyond the time constraints imposed by a doctoral length thesis.

The phonological transcription consists of IPA symbols (revised to 1989) which are utilised according to the usual conventions related to transcription – i.e. phonemic and broad transcriptions appear between forward slashes (i.e. /x/), and narrow realisational and / or allophonic transcriptions appear in square brackets (i.e. [x]).

Finally, references to SE in the phonology section refer to the spoken Standard (i.e. RP) and these two terms are used interchangeably. This situation has partially arisen because of the necessity to refer to a historical spoken standard (i.e. before the rise of RP in the modern period), though the term SE here is not used solely to refer to, nor does it necessarily define, the spoken standard before the modern period; it is also used with reference to the contemporary spoken Standard (alongside RP).

<u>The Traditional Dialect Sound System</u>

i:

    ɪ, ʏː

  e: o:

      ə, ə:

   ɛ   ɔ:

       a (a:)   ɒ

Diphthongs: æʊ, aɪ, ɛɪ, ɔɪ, ʏə, oə, ɪə, ɛə (ʊə [wɒ], ɪə [jɛ])

Consonants: p, b, t, d, **k, g** (allophones [t], [d] before /l/)

      ʧ, ʤ

      m, n (allophone [ŋ] before velar consonants)

      l, r

      f, v, θ, ð, s, z, ʃ, ʒ

      j, w

CHAPTER 5

Long Vowels

There are six long vowel phonemes /iː/, /ɣː/, /eː/, /ɔː/, /oː/ and /əː/.

The long vowel /aː/ (< ME a + r) is present in the dialect among those speakers (the majority) where pre-consonantal /r/ or final /r/ is not present, and generally among those other informants whose speech is partially rhotic. This is treated under /a/. The long vowel [aː] (RP /aɪ / < ME /iː/) is treated under /aɪ /.

ME long vowels + /l/ and ME long vowels + /r/ are generally treated under the diphthongs, /xə/, x usually being the long vowel in question. The second element of these diphthongs (which is a centralised and reduced vowel, /ə/ or /ʊ/) may be considered as a breaking element before /l/ or /r/ (where pre-consonantal and final /r/ are pronounced) or a residual breaking element, where /r/ has been lost (see also Part 1, p.74, and /r/, below, pp. 172-183).

The reflex of ME ō1 + /l/ is realised as /ɣː/ in the traditional dialect, and is thus treated under the description of this phoneme, /l/ having been lost. Where /l/ is restored, the realisation is often /ɣəl/, confirming that the second element of the diphthong is on account of breaking before the following liquid, rather than as part of a composite two element diphthong.

The reflexes of ME /ɔː/ in morpheme initial position (/wɒ/ etc.) are treated under the phoneme /ʊə/. The reason for this is, primarily, that /wɒ/ (in-glide + vowel) is essentially a diphthong with a change in stress (i.e. to a rising diphthong – probably on account of its morpheme initial position – resulting in re-stressing of the second element, /ə/ > /ɒ/ - cf. falling /ʊə/); similarly, morpheme initial /jɛ/ is treated under /ɪə/. Nevertheless, as /wɒ/ and /jɛ/ developed from the ME antecedents /ɔː/ and /ɛː/ (becoming initialised after later loss of /h/) respectively, a historical analyses of these will also be summarised under /oː/ and /eː/ (i.e. the dialectal reflexes of ME /ɔː/ and /ɛː/).

<div align="center">/ iː /</div>

This is a close, front, relatively tense, unrounded long vowel.

Variants and distribution

It is occasionally realised as a slightly less close variant [ː], or as a diphthong whose starting point is in the region of [ɪ], thus [ɪi] – e.g., [bɪit], *beat*; [ɪit], *eat* - which appears to occur

medially or initially in items where the vowel is derived from ME /ɛː/ (i.e. orthographically *ea*), and may thus represent a modified realisation of dialectal /eː/, /ɛɪ/ (< ME /ɛː/ > SE /iː/). Gimson states that a similar type of diphthongisation is also noticeable in RP, "especially in final position".[23] This is not the case concerning the dialect of New Mills. Moreover, /iː/ never occurs as a realisation of /ɪ/ (< ME /ɪ/) word finally; the present trend of the use of /iː/ in final position, in RP and other dialects, in words such as *city* etc., is not present in the dialect of New Mills (see also /ɪ/, below, p. 34).

Comparative distribution

/iː/ corresponds to RP /iː/ in words such as *green*, *cheese*, *thief*, *key* and later borrowings from French, such as *machine*. It also corresponds to RP /iː/ in words such as *week*, *seen* and *been*, though the last two, particularly *been* (which is rarely realised as /iː/ in connected speech), are often realised as [ɪ] in the dialect of New Mills. The long vowel /iː/ also occurs a variant form of the reflex of ME /ɛː/ in words such as *peas*, *eat* and *meat*, though these are also realised as [eː] or [ɛɪ] - see below, pp. 18, 65.

In the traditional dialect of New Mills, /iː/ is a common realisation in words such as *right* (/ɹiːt/), /təniːt/ *tonight* (< ME /i/ + /x/ > RP /aɪ/) and *die* (< ME /eː/ + /j/ > RP /aɪ/).

Historical Development

Traditional dialect /iː/ (< ME /eː/) involved a straightforward raising during the so-called "great vowel shift"[24] at the end of the fifteenth century and the beginning of the sixteenth century. The same development is shared by RP and the vast majority of dialects in England. It may be assumed that the stability of this phoneme is at least partially on account of its correspondence to RP /iː/. It is universal throughout the age groups and remains stable.

Traditional dialect /iː/ (< ME /i/ + /x/, /e/ + /x/ < OA /ixt, ext/, OE /yxt/)[25] is present in words such as *right*, *night* and *light* which have /aɪ/ in RP and in *die*, *eye* (< OE /eː/ + /j/ > RP /aɪ/). However, it is apparent that this phoneme does not occur in all words where RP has /aɪ/. It appears to be confined to those words which are very common, and its development seems

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[23] Gimson (1994), pp. 97-98.
[24] It is still a matter of contention as to whether the raising of the long vowels was due to an initial upward movement of the low vowels – so-called "push" effect - or an initial upward movement of the high vowels – so-called "drag" effect – though evidence from some of the northern dialects suggests that it was the former – for the development of Northern ME /oː/, see Tidholm, pp. 93-96, and for /uː/, see pp. 97-98.
[25] Tidholm (1979), p. 50.

to be somewhat irregular, e.g. /ɹiːt/, *right* but /taɪt/, *tight*. The reasons for this have not been satisfactorily explained. The initial process of diphthongisation (affecting long vowels) during the great vowel shift did not occur in those dialects where the velar fricative, /x/, was retained longer during the ME / eModE periods in the north midlands – i.e. the vowel remained short (/ɪx/, cf. southern / SE /iː/). It is only after that eventual loss of the velar fricative that the short vowel lengthened and tensed to /iː/; this process evidently occurred after the diphthongisation process affecting long vowels had taken place. As the loss of the fricative is known to have taken place by about the fourteenth century in the northern dialects[26] (evidently later in some areas of the north midlands),[27] it is also assumed that the onset of the vowel shift must also have taken place earlier than in the southern dialects.

It is probable, therefore, that contemporary /aɪ/ in New Mills (< ME /ɪ/ + /x/) is a modified variant (under the influence of SE/ modified varieties) and that this variant is a relatively recent development. It would appear that this change is progressing via a process of lexical diffusion; evidence for this is supplied by contemporary dialectal realizations of items such as *bright* (/bɹaɪt/), which is recorded in nineteenth century sources (such as Leigh's *Cheshire Glossary*) as *breet* (i.e. /bɹiːt/). This would seem to suggest that the change to /aɪ/ is diffusing slowly through this rather small class of lexical items. However, it is generally held that lexical diffusion affects the most common words first; as all the items which have retained /iː/ realisations appear to fall in this category, alternative explanations are necessary. Arguments have necessarily been put forward to explain anomalies involving common words that have not been affected by a sound change. One such argument is that specific words may be more "homely" or "intimate" [28] and therefore more likely to remain conservative. It could be argued whether the items *right*, *night* and *die* may be classified as such, but this conclusion appears to be reasonable in these instances.

A variant form /ɛɪ/ occurs in these words, in addition to a modified /aɪ/, which is frequently realised as [aː]. A historical description is particularly essential here, as [ɛɪ] realisations do not represent modification towards the standard, but rather a variant form that has developed

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[26] Luick, K., *Historische Grammatik der Englischen Sprache,* Volume 1, Part 1- 2, Oxford, Blackwell, 1964, § 768. 2a.

[27] Data from the *SED* (mid 20th C) shows that /x/ still remains in isolated areas of the north-west midlands – see Wakelin (1991), op. cit, pp. 100-101 – which provides evidence that /x/ was retained longer here than elsewhere.

[28] See Ogura, Mieko, pp. 44, 110, and Samuels, M.L., *Linguistic Evolution,* Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 1972, p. 124, who quotes Bloomfield, L., *Language,* London, George Allen and Unwin, 1933, p. 330 (remarks on the north-east Holland border area) to explain the occurrence of a diphthongised form /eu/ as the reflex of ME /uː/ in some words in Northern English dialects alongside the more usual /uː/.

alongside /iː/. It is assumed that ME /eːx/ developed to /iː/ after the loss of the fricative. Where the fricative was retained longer, a variant form /ɛɪ/ developed.[29] Indeed, textual evidence shows that ME variant e-forms occurred throughout the midlands, while the south-east had predominantly i-forms. For example, with respect to the item *fight*, the eME west midland text *Laȝamons Brut* has both e-forms and i-forms (e.g., *fihte* and *fehte*), while other west midlands texts, such as *Ancrenne Wisse* and *Sawles Warde*, only have e-forms (e.g, *feht*, *fehte*).The texts of the west midlands may be compared to the south-eastern The *Owl and the Nightingale*, which only has i-forms. *Right* (< OE *riht* and *reoht* - OA *reht*) is derived from two separate sources, which resulted in a predominance of i-forms in ME, even in Scotland, where *reght* is recorded alongside *richt*, *rigte* and *righte*. Nevertheless, it is also possible that /ɛɪ/ forms may have resulted from diphthongisation of ME /iː/ (see also /ɛɪ/, p. 67, below), as is suggested by the occurrence of [əɪ] forms in a small area to the north and a larger one in the south-west midlands.[30] Whatever the case may be, it is also apparent that the development of ME /eːx/ has been irregular, in New Mills at any rate; in the present day traditional dialect of New Mills, /liːt/ and /ɹiːt/ correspond to SE /laɪt/ and /ɹaɪt/ respectively, and /fɛɪt/ (*fight*) corrresponds to SE /faɪt/.

In items such as *eye* (< eME /eːɡə/) and *die*, it is assumed that the final *e* (i.e. /ə/) disappeared in the thirteenth century and /eːx/ was levelled with the original /eːx/, which developed to /iː/.[31] In the inflected forms of these words (i.e. the realisation of <g> in *ege* being palatal [j] instead of [x] - eME /eːj/ + V), the development is assumed to be /eːj/ > /eij/ > /ij/ > /iː/.[32]

Contemporary development in apparent time: realisations according to age group

ME	RP	Traditional nwDer/neCh	Contemporary New Mills			
			Old	**Mid**	**Adult**	**Teen**
/eː/	/iː/	/iː/	[iː]	[iː]	[iː]	[iː]
/i/, /e/ + /x/ (+ /j/)	/aɪ/	/iː/, /ɛɪ/	[iː], [ɛɪ] /aɪ/*	[iː], [ɛɪ] /aɪ/*	/aɪ/* [iː], [ɛɪ]	/aɪ/* (/iː/)

* For realizations of /aɪ/, see below, pp. 72 -75

Contemporary linguistic change

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[29] Jordan, R., *Handbuch der Mittelenglischen Grammatik,* Heidelberg, 3rd edition, 1968, §§ 198, 295.
[30] This may be observed for the headword *fight* (III.13.6) in the *SED*.
[31] Luick (1964), op. cit, § 768. 2a.
[32] See Tidholm (1979), p. 82.

/i:/ (<ME /e:/) is universal throughout all the age-groups, with little variation in its realisation. This phoneme shares the same historical development as that in SE. It may be assumed that the stability of this phoneme is at least partially due to its correspondence in RP.

Conversely, it is evident that traditional dialect /i:/ (< ME V + /x/) in certain words (evidently limited in number) is undergoing change. Although, it is prominent in the old and mid age groups, it is a rare occurrence in the adult age-groups.[33] In the old and mid age-groups, it occurs alongside /ɛɪ/ and another variant /aɪ/ (the realisations of which are frequently [aːɪ] and [aː] - see below, pp. 71-76). The first of these has developed alongside /i:/ (see above, p. 11), while the other is evidently a SE (or modified variety) influenced variant – i.e. by analogy with the reflex of ME /i:/ (> SE /aɪ/). However, it appears to be the case that this variant is not replacing /i:/ in those lexical items where /i:/ remains, but merely operating alongside it, the choice of which is decided by extra-linguistic considerations such as formality, addressee etc. The data collected during fieldwork essentially provided evidence that the speech of the youngest informants is limited to /aɪ/. However, on more than one occasion (in situations where field-work was not being conducted, and in which the position of the researcher was as a third party), /i:/ (< ME /ɪ/ + /x/) – e.g., /itl bɪ ɹiːt/ - *it'll be right* (i.e. *it'll be okay*) was observed by the researcher in the free speech of some of the teenage informants, in situations where one of the most natural styles of speech was being conducted (i.e. highly informal conversation with their own peer group). It is evident that this type of data is significant as far as the present investigation is concerned. Moreover, other important implications and considerations, both on a linguistic level and on a methodological level, are necessarily brought to the fore. It must be concluded, therefore, that while /aɪ/ is dominant in the teenage age-group, traditional dialect /i:/ does exist in the speech repertoire of the teenagers. This suggests that different systems, or at least partial systems (traditional dialect / modified variety) coincidentally operate within New Mills generally and within the teenagers' speech domain in particular; these systems represent a choice that is available to the speaker. It is evident that the use (or rejection) of one system, or part of a system, is essentially a conscious process, this being largely determined by situational factors. These include formality, but it appears that other factors are of greater importance in this respect, particularly addressee, presence or otherwise of a wider peer group (as opposed to close

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[33] Most instances of /i:/ (< ME i /e + /x/ etc.) in the adult age-group are accounted for by one informant (CW).

associates / friends) and location in which converstion is taking place (home / public place etc.). In the majority of situations, it is evident that the teenagers choose to use their modified system ('overt'), this being the system that is most often observed, particularly in public situations; in a restricted number of situations, however (highly informal and intimate), an alternative system may be adopted ('covert'). This raises other important points in this respect, the latter of which has wider implications. Firstly, the existence of this traditional feature in the speech of the teenagers suggests that other traditional features (similarly believed to have been eroded) may also be present. Secondly, the continuing presence of traditional dialect features (as part of a 'covert' system) brings into question the validity of apparent-time data. If alternative systems operate, it may not only be the case that such systems continue largely undetected within a speech comunity (during such time that the system, or part of the system, was thought to have been eroded / levelled), but that such 'covert' systems may in fact become 'overt' at a later point in time. Such a model can provide an explanation for age-grading and the phenomenon observed by Ruoff that linguistic features deemed to have been the preserve of old people only, when collected a hundred years before, still existed.[34]

These issues aside, the dominance of a modified variant /aɪ/ in the speech of the younger informants is probably (at least partially) due to the influence of SE (or modified varieties), where the reflex of ME /i/ + /x/ is /aɪ/.[35] Nevertheless, it is difficult to attribute this sound change solely to the influence of SE or other dialect. It is evident that the number of words with /iː/ (as the reflex of ME /ɪ/, /iː/, /eː/ + /x/) in the traditional dialect is growing smaller, which suggests a slow ongoing change may be in progress, via a very gradual process of lexical diffusion. Consequently, it is possible that external influences from SE or elsewhere have merely hastened this process.

/ʏː/

/ʏː/ is a high (between close and mid-close), front, rounded vowel. The quality of the vowel is less fronted, rounded or tense than that of its German and French counterparts /yː/. Whereas /yː/ is the rounded equivalent of /iː/, it may be said that /ʏː/ is the long rounded equivalent of English /ɪ/.

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[34] Ruoff, op. cit, see Shorrocks (1980), pp. 71 –72.
[35] It is evident that the speech of the teenage age-group is particularly influenced by the urban dialect of the nearby Manchester conurbation.

Realisational variants

A few speakers sometimes use less fronted variants, e.g., [ː]; nevertheless, back variants are rarely, if ever, realised as a vowel with a quality approaching RP /uː/. The front variant ([ʏː]) is by far the most common realisation. The reason for such variation is unclear, but the lack of phonemic contrast between front and back variants (i.e. between /ʏː/ and /uː/) may be responsible for allowing a large area of vowel space for the phonetic realisation of this phoneme. Alternatively, modification towards the standard may be responsible for influencing the realisations of this vowel, but the evidence is against this as one or two of the broadest speakers sometimes use [ː].

Distribution

Before final /l/, there are two variants. More often than not /l/ is omitted, [sʏ̙ː] (RP /skuːl/), but when it does occur, a breaking element ([ə] or [ ]) is present, e.g., [sʏ̙ːᵘɫ]. A schwa type element is also present before /r/ (final or pre-consonantal), or as a residual element where /r/ has been lost, e.g. /dʏːə(r)/. /ʏː/ occurs mainly in stressed syallables, but also in syllables with weaker stress. In the case of the latter, a variant [ə] sometimes occurs in the traditional dialect where RP has /j/ + /uː/ in weakly stressed syllables - e.g., dialectal /vɒljʏːm/, *volume*, but / ˈvakəm/, *vacuum* (SE /vakjuːm/); / ˈɹɪdɪkələs/, *ridiculous* (SE /ɹɪdɪkjuːləs/); and /ˈɹɛpəteːʃən/, *reputation* (SE /ɹepjuːteɪʃən/).

Comparative distribution

/ʏː/ occurs in those words which have /uː/ in RP, e.g., *food*, *moon* etc. (< ME /oː/); *two*, (< ME /oː/ < OE /aː/ preceeded by /w/), *rude* (< lME /ɪʊ/); and in those words that contain the sequence /juː/ (< ME /ɪʊ/, /ɛʊ/ or /ʏː/ < OE /ɪ/ + /w/, *Tuesday*; OE /eːə/ + /w/, *you*; or French borrowings with /iu/, /eu/, *juice* etc). Moreover, /ʏː/ is present in some words that have /ʊ/ in RP: e.g., *look*, *book*, *shook*, *hook*, *crook*, *cook*, *soot*, *brook* and *crooked*, all of which occur in free variation with /ʊ/. Additionally, the dialect often has /ʏə(r)/ (< ME /oː/ + /r/, ME /uː/ + /r/) - e.g., /dʏə(r)/, *door*; /sʏə(r)/, *sure*; and /pʏə(r)lɪ/ - where RP has /ʊə/ or more commonly /ɔː/ (see also /ʏə/, below, pp.104-106). Dialectal /ʏː/ also occurs in the item *brow*, /bɹʏː/ (< ME /uː/ > SE /aʊ/). The presence of /ʏː/ in a word such as *took*, /tʏːk/, and *shook*, /ʃʏːk/

(corresponding to SE /eɪ/ - *taken*, *shaken*), does not demonstrate a major difference in phonological development between SE and the dialect. In these cases, the differences are purely on a grammatical level – the past participle being the same as the preterite in the dialect (*shake*, *shook*, *shook*), as opposed to SE (*shake*, *shook*, /ʃʊk/; *shaken*) – see Part 1, p.176.

Historical Development

The precise development of ME /oː/, /uː/ etc. in the dialects of the north-west midlands is uncertain. There are two possibilities. Firstly, ME /oː/ was fronted, sometime before the onset of the vowel shift, to /ʏː/ or, alternatively, fronted to approximately /øː/ and then raised to /ʏː/,. Secondly, that ME /oː/ was raised during the vowel shift to /uː/ and then fronted to /ʏː/. There is some dialectal evidence, in addition to that from SE and many other varities of English, which supports the latter of these possibilities. In those northern dialects where /oː/ was fronted to /øː/ and then unrounded to /ɪː/ or /iː/ during ME period, /uː/ remained unaffected by the vowel shift. This is because the absence of the back vowel /oː/ meant that /uː/ was not subject to the "push" effect of the raising of the long vowels. This is evidently not the case in the dialects of the north-west midlands; /uː/ was diphthongised to /æʊ/, /ɛʊ/ and /aʊ/ etc., so it is reasonable to assume that ME /oː/ was raised to /uː/ before being fronted.

The motivation for fronting is not clear. The fronting of ME /oː/ to /ʏː/ (via /uː/) in the south-west is discussed by Dobson, [36] who supports Luick's view that fronting was instigated under the influence of preceding palatals, either by direct fronting or by an intermediate process involving a glide of the type [ɪ]. However, such a theory does not sit easily with the evidence in the north-west midlands at any rate, as fronting had evidently taken place in many common words where the fronted vowel is either not preceded by a palatal – e.g., *book, brook, hook* – or is preceded by an approximant – e.g., *root, rook, look*. It is highly likely, therefore, that other factors are responsible for the fronting process. One plausible explanation is as follows: in some dialects of the north midlands (notably the north-east midlands), the reflexes of ME /ɔː/ (ō2) and ME /oː/ are realised as diphthongs - /ʊə/ and /ʊu/ respectively.In many of the dialects of the north-west midlands, however, the reflex of ME

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[36] See Dobson, E. J., *English Pronunciation 1500 –1700*, Clarendon Press, Oxford, 1957, Volume ii, pp. 682-683.

/ɔː/ (ō2) is /oː/, which strongly suggests that ME /ɔː/ was simply raised to /oː/. The coincidental raising of lME / eModE /aʊ/ [37] (following the vocalisation of /l/), in words such as *fall*, *law*, and *talk*, to /ɔː/ would inevitably have put pressure on the realisations of /oː/ (cf. the contemporary realisations of dialectal /ɔː/, below) ensuring a somewhat limited vowel space for the open-mid and close-mid back vowels. It is possible that this crowding of the long back mid vowels exerted pressure on the close back vowel /uː/ (< ME /oː/).This could have resulted in fronting of the close back vowel, rather than diphthongisation involving a short back vowel first element (as in the north-east midlands), as dipthongisation could have compromised the distinction between the reflex of ME /uː/, which in the eModE period was probably /əʊ/ (thus the modern reflex of ME /uː/ is a monophthong in the north-east midlands). Therefore, it is possible that the fronting of /uː/ took place to create more vowel space in the mid back area and so maintain a sufficient distinction between the reflexes of ME /aː/ (> /ɔː/) and ME /ɔː/ (> /oː/). Moreover, the dialects of the north-west midlands tend to have a front quality, both historically and on a contemporary level.[38] It is also possible that /uː/ was readily fronted in the north-west midlands on account of the already established presence of /ʏ/ in the eModE period (see below, pp. 79-80). Evidence suggests that the fronting began after the onset of the shortening process which affected some words, such as *good, blood* etc., in the sixteenth century, but early enough to enable certain other words such as *book, look* (which became shortened in SE - /bʊk/, /lʊk/) etc., to be fronted and to retain their length.[39] This suggests that the fronting took place at the end of the sixteenth century / beginning of the seventeenth century. Wakelin has suggested a similar chronology for the fronting of high back vowels in the dialects of the south-west; this being "probably somewhere between 1550 and 1650".[40] Such a time-frame could be open to question, on account of the fact that there are no record of fronted long vowels (in the north-west midlands) in Joseph's Wright's *EDD* (late nineteenth century), which could suggest that the development of fronted vowels had not yet occurred. However, the absence of any reference (in the *EDD*) to fronted vowels is somewhat surprising, in that Wright evidently relied

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[37] Dobson dates the monophthongisation of ME /aʊ/ as occuring sometime at the beginning of the seventeenth century (i.e., in the eModE period) – see Dobson, p. 783. Gimson, however, dates it somewhat earlier, the monophthong occuring as a variant of the diphthong in the ME period – see Gimson (1994), p. 111.

[38] This is very much the case in Farnworth, south Lancashire –see Shorrocks (1980), p. 237.

[39] It is assumed that shortening first occurred before /d/ in the sixteenth century and before /t/, /θ/, /k/ in the first half of the seventeenth century - see Ogura, Mieko, *Historical English Phonology: A Lexical Perspective*, Tokyo, Kenkyusha, 1987, p. 145.

[40] Wakelin (1991), p. 97.

extensively on Thomas Hallam, who was a native of north-west Derbyshire, for phonological[41] and lexical data.[42] In Ellis' general introduction to the Midlands area, and also in the introduction to the D21 area specifically (i.e. that in which New Mills is situated), Ellis comments on this vowel, which evidently caused some difficulty with definition and notation – Ellis transcribed it [œ́u].[43] However, both Ellis' detailed description (and notation) and Hallam's analysis indicate that the vowel had both rounded and front qualities – "TH himself writes [ˌu′u], believing the position of the tongue to be a little more advanced.[44] Examples of the long vowel which appear in the data include [shœ́uɐr] (i.e. approximating [ʃɤ·əɹ]), *sure*; and [œ́u] (i.e. approximating [ɤ:]), *who*.

Contemporary development: realisations according to age group

ME	RP	Traditional nwDer/neCh	**Contemporary New Mills**			
			Old	*Mid*	*Adult*	*Teen*
/oː/, lME /uː/	/uː/	/ɤ:/	[ɤ:]	[ɤ:]	[ɤ:]	[ɤ:]
/oː/ (shortened)*	/ʊ/	/ɤ:/	[ɤ:], [ʊ]	[ɤ:], [ʊ]	[ɤ:], [ʊ]	[ʊ], [ɤ:]
/oː/ + final /l/	/uːl/	/ɤ:/	[ɤ:], /ɤ:l/	[ɤ:], /ɤ:l/	/ɤ:l/	/ɤ:l/

*Not all items in this word-class were affected – see above for examples.

Contemporary linguistic change

/ɤ:/ (RP /uː/) is universal throughout all the age-groups. This phoneme is evidently stable and has resisted influence from RP. Possible reasons for this are as follows. Firstly, there may be no discernible (conscious) difference between /ɤ:/ and RP /uː/ on the part of the speaker. One reason for this is that there is no phonemic contrast in either the traditional dialect of New Mills or in SE. Indeed, /ɤ:/ is sometimes realised as a retracted variant [:] – see above, p.14. However, it is interesting to note that a youngster was told that the pronunciation /ɤ:/ was "wrong" by a teacher;. this does suggest that a difference between dialectal /ɤ:/ and RP /uː/ is noted by at least some members of the community, though evidently with little or no effect. Secondly, the stability of this phoneme may partly be due to

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[41] Hallam's phonological data and comments regarding north-west Derbyshire appeared in the introduction and data for Midlands D21 dialect area in Ellis' dialect survey (1889), op. cit.

[42] Hallam, Thomas, MS *A Collection of north-west Derbyshire Words*, no longer extant.

[43] Ellis (1989), op. cit, pp. 292-293.

[44] Ibid, p. 292.

its common realisation in the nearby urban accents of the Manchester conurbation, which appear to exert considerable influence upon the younger generation.

/ɣ:/ (< ME /o:/, later shortened in RP and other dialects) is overwhelmingly dominant in the old, mid and, to a lesser extent, the adult age-groups, while it appears to be a regressive feature in the speech of the teenagers, the more common realisation being modified [ʊ]. It would appear that this change is due to the influence of SE (or modified varities), though again the possibilities are far from clear-cut. The same situation (i.e. a change from /ɣ:/ to /ʊ/) is apparent in the urban varieties of Manchester, so it is possible that these are, at least, partially responsible for influencing the traditional dialect of New Mills, in tandem with RP.

/ɣ:/ (< ME /o:/ + final /l/) is rarely, if at all, present in the speech of the younger age- groups. Final /l/ has been restored, the common realisation being /ɣ:/ + breaking element + /l/, [ɣ:ʊɫ], e.g., [skɣ:ʊɫ], *school*. Nevertheless, this modified realisation (i.e. < ME /o:/ + final /l/) is also relatively common in the speech of the mid and old age-group, where it operates in free varaition alongside dialectal /ɣ:/.[45].On account of this, it is impossible to attribute the restoration of /l/ solely to RP. Furthermore, in the urban varieties of the Manchester conurbation, modified /ɣ:l/ (<ME /o:/ + final /l/) generally occurs.

/ɣ:/ + /r/ is treated under /ɣə/ - see below, pp.104-106.

/e:/

/e:/ is a mid-close, front, unrounded, long vowel. The quality of the vowel is similar to that of German long /e/. Some realisations vary between a long [e:] and a shorter [e·], particularly during fast, connected speech.

Distribution

/e:/ occurs in all positions in single stressed syllables: e.g., /e:k/, *ache*; /le:t/, *late*; and /pe:/, *pay*. In final position (particularly before a pause), the vowel is often realised as a longer variant. /e:/ also occurs word medially (in polysyllabic words) in syllables with either

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[45] In Farnworth, south Lancashire (neighbouring dialect area), /ɣ:/ and /ɣ:l/ also operate in free variation – see Shorrocks (1980), p. 237.

primary or secondary stress, e.g., /ɹiːpeːmənt/, *repayment*, and word finally in syllables with either secondary or primary stress, e.g., /tədeː/, *today*.[46]

<u>Comparative Distribution</u>

/eː/ corresponds to SE /eɪ/ in words such as *mate* (<ME /aː/) and *play* (< ME ai / ei), /aː/ and /aɪ/ having merged in lME / eModE. The assumed development in SE is /æː/ > /ɛː/ > /eː/ > /eɪ/.

/eː/ also operates alongside numerous variants (< ME /ɛː/ [ē2, ē3] > RP /iː/), including /iː/ (see also below, pp. 65, 90) in words such as *tea* and, particularly, in items such as *eat* (/eːt/) and *meat* (< ME ē3 [< OE /ɛ/ lengthened in open syllables[47]] > SE /iː/).

<u>Historical Development</u>

It has been argued that ME /aː/ had developed to /eː/ (via /æː/ and /ɛː/) by about 1650 in SE,[48] and then later to /eɪ/, but the exact process is by no means clear. Similarly, it is impossible to tell whether ME /aː/ developed in a similar fashion in the north-west midlands – i.e. reaching the /eː/ stage by 1650 but afterwards, unlike SE, remaining undiphthongised - or whether it developed more slowly (and separately) than SE. It also begs the question as to when /eː/ (< ME /aː/) and /eː/ (< ME /ɛː/ [ē3]) became merged – the words *mate* and *meat* are homophonous in the dialect of north-west Derbyshire, often (always in the case of *mate*) being realised as [meːt].

The situation regarding the reflexes of ME ē2 and ME ē3 (< OA /ɛ/, later lengthened in OS) is extremely complex. It is generally supposed that the reflexes, in the dialects of the north-midlands, of ME ē2 and ē3 are generally /ɪə/ and /ɛɪ/ respectively. However, it is evident that any of these variants can apply to either ē2 or ē3.[49] In the north–west midlands, the situation is more complicated still, not least because of the additional phoneme /eː/, which is a common realisation of (but not solely limited to) the reflex of ME ē3.

Apart from /eː/, the reflex of ME ē3 also occurs as /ɛɪ/, e.g. /pɛɪz/, *peas*; while the reflexes of ē2 are either realised as /ɛɪ/, (e.g., /ɹɛɪʧ/, *reach*; /blɛɪʧ/, *bleach*), /eː/ (e.g., /gɹeːt/, *great*), and

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[46] The primary stress in the word *today* falls on the second (final) syllable, the first syllable being unstressed. Conversely, dialectal *Sunday* is /sʊndɹ/, the final syllable being unstressed – cf. RP /sʌndeɪ/.
[47] "Open syllables" hereafter abbreviated to OS.
[48] Dobson (1957), §§ 98, 115.
[49] See Ogura, Mieko, *Historical English Phonology: A Lexical Perspective,* Tokyo, Kenkyusha, 1987, p. 115.

/ɪə/ (generally, but not always, before /r/ – e.g., /nɪə/ *near*; /jɪə/, *year* and /bɪən/, *bean*). In addition to these variants, the reflexes of both ē2 and ē3 can be, and often are, realised as modified /i:/.

It has been argued that "the /ɛ:/ pronunciation was commonly used in ME words derived from OE /æ/ in open syllables of disyllabic words, [and] before s", [50] while many other ME /ɛ:/ words (ME ē2) had "dual pronunciations, a more conservative /ɛ:/ and a more advanced /e:/ in the late fourteenth and fifteenth centuries.[51] It is assumed that most of those with the /e:/ pronunciation developed to /i:/ during the vowel shift, which explains the realisation of /i:/ in SE of many words of ME ē2 origin. This theory is also a satisfactory explanation for the diversity of the reflexes of ME /ɛ:/ that are encountered in the dialects of the north midlands. If indeed /ɛ:/ was the most common realisation of ME ē3 in lME, it can be assumed that this developed to /e:/, and less frequently to /ɛɪ/, sometime in the fifteenth or sixteenth century. Similarly, the dual pronunciations can account for the variant reflexes /ɪə/ (/e:/ > /ɪə/), /ɛɪ/ and /e:/ (< /ɛ:/). The varying effect and rate of change may also be partially responsible for the occurrence of /i:/, the presence of which could be on account of some words being raised along with /e:/ during the vowel shift. It is apparent that (in the case of ME /ɛ:/) the effect and rate of phonological change, in relation to diffusion and the speed at which it operated, differed considerably from that in SE [52] - for a fuller treatment concerning the development of ME /ɛ:/ (ē2, ē3), see /ɪə/, below, pp. 91-96.

Contemporary development: realisations according to age group

ME	RP	Traditional nwDer/neCh	Contemporary New Mills			
			Old	*Mid*	*Adult*	*Teen*
/a:/	/eɪ/	/e:/	[e:]	[e:]	[eɪ], [e:ᴵ], [e:]	[eɪ], [e:ᴵ], [e:]
/ɛ:/ (ē2, ē3)	/i:/	/e:/, /ɛɪ/, /ɪə/, /i:/	[e:], [ɛɪ], [ɪə], [i:]	[e:], [ɛɪ], [ɪə], [i:]	[i:] ([e:] [ɛɪ], [ɪə])	[i:]

[50] Ogura (1987), p. 16.
[51] Ibid.
[52] See Orton, H., "The Isolative Treatment in Living North-Midland Dialects of OE ĕ Lengthened in Open Syllables in Middle English" in *Leeds Studies in English*, nos. 7 and 8, 1952, pp. 97- 128. Orton asserts that ME ē3, in the dialects of the north midlands developed to /e:/ and then to /ɛɪ/ or alternatively raised to /e:/. It is concluded that the dialects of the north midlands [in relation to ME ē] were completely separate in their development and unrelated to the general development of SE.

Contemporary linguistic change

There are a large number of variants for the reflexes of ME ē2 and ME ē3 among the old and mid age-groups. Although many of these correspond to the traditional dialect reflexes, a modified variant (corresponding to SE) is also apparent, operating solely in some words – e.g., /tiːʧ/, *teach* – or in free variation in others - /eːt/ and /iːt/, *eat*. On account of this, it is not possible to determine whether the presence of /iː/ is attributable to a slow ongoing change (or merely indicative of a historical development, where /eː/ in some words in this class was raised to /iː/, while most were not), or the influence of SE. However, the traditional dialect reflexes are almost wholly absent in the speech of the younger age groups (one informant, CW, in the adult age-group, being responsible for the sporadic occurrence of such forms). This strongly suggests that the speech of the younger informants has either been modified solely by the influence of RP or other variety, or the sound change already underway in the traditional dialect has been greatly accelerated by the influence of the standard and / or urban varieties.

/eː/ (< ME /aː/) is ubiquitous among the old and mid age groups. It is also present in the speech of two informants of the adult age-group, but operates in free variation with the modified variants [eɪ], [eːɪ] etc. /eː/ occurs sporadically in the speech of only one of the teenagers (MH), the usual realisations for this informant and the other teenage informants being [eɪ] and sometimes a modified [eːɪ]. Again, it is not possible to attribute these modified forms solely to the influence of SE / modified SE, as these realisations are also common in the speech varieties of the Manchester conurbation.

/ɔː/

/ɔː/ is a back, mid-open, relatively tense, rounded long vowel.

Variants

Raised variants [:] (e.g., with vocalisation of final /l/, [w :], *wall*), and [:] are sometimes encountered (the former sometimes, the latter rarely), these having developed (probably) by analogy with dialectal /oː/ (< ME /ɔː/). Indeed, the realisation of /ɔː/ as [ɔː] is overshadowed by variant realisations. In addition to these relatively rare closer variants, the more general

realisations consist of open variants [ː], [ː], and even [ɒː],[53] these being mainly derived from ME /ɔ/ + /r/ with the resultant loss of /r/. These can also be realised as [oə], [   ] (the first element being variable in length), by analogy with the reflex of ME /ɔː/ + /r/ (> dialectal /oə/ - [oə] and smoothed variants [ː], [ɔː]). It is apparent, therefore, that the considerable variation encountered in the contemporary dialect may be accounted for by the relatively large number of ME antecedents from which this phoneme has developed. It is appropriate at this juncture to explain the inclusion of variants derived from ME vowels (short and long) followed by /r/ under the phoneme /ɔː/, as some of these reflexes have been dealt with elsewhere (i.e. as a diphthong /oə/). Post-vocalic /r/ still occurs as a relic feature in the speech of the older informants, though it is a highly regressive feature; both rhotic and non-rhotic realisations generally consists of a vowel + breaking diphthong (see also /r/, below, pp. 172-183, and p. 74 in Part 1). Nevertheless, realisations of the reflex of ME /ɔ/ + /r/ (rhotic and non-rhotic) do not exhibit diphthongisation and generally occur as long open vowels (e.g., [ː], [ː] etc.). Additionally, more open and smoothed (non-rhotic) realisations (< ME /ɔː/ + /r/ > dialectal /oə/) tending towards /ɔː/ [54] also occur in the dialect. Despite this apparently complex variation, it is the case that /ɔː/ (< ME /aʊ/, /aː/) is generally realised as [ː] (e.g., [s ː], *saw*; [ː], *raw*), as [ɔː] (e.g. [ɔːɹiːt], *alright* - though note lowered variants such as [ːɫ], *all*), or sometimes (rarely) as a raised variant [ː] (e.g., [t ːk], *talk*), while /ɔː/ (< ME /ɔ/ + /r/) is generally realised as lowered variants [ː] or [ː] etc. (see directly below). However, a different situation is apparent in the speech of the young age group, where lowered variants are almost universal.

<u>Distribution</u>

/ɔː/ occurs in stressed syllables (e.g., /pɔː/, *paw*; and /dɹɔː/, *draw*). /ɔː/ rarely occurs, if at all, before /l/ + C in connected speech - e.g., /kɔːd/, *called* (RP /kɔːld/); and /fɔːz/, *falls* (RP /fɔːlz/.[55] However, although word final /l/ is sometimes omitted in the environment /ɔː/ + /l/ (e.g., /bɔː/, *ball*; /wɔː/, *wall* – RP /bɔːl/, /wɔːl/), it is more often present (e.g., /kɔːl/ - [k ːɫ] –

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[53] In some other dialects of the north-west midlands, this is plainly not the case – Shorrocks states that lowered variants "are rare in the residual dialect " (Farnworth, South Lancashire) – see Shorrocks (1980), p. 269.

[54] The same process was apparent in SE during the eModE period - for the lowering effect of /r/ (/oːr/ < ME /ɔː/ + /r/) in the eModE period, see Dobson (1968), pp. 735-737.

[55] See Shorrocks (1980), p. 276 – a similar situation is apparent in Farnworth, South Lancashire, which is in a neighbouring dialect area (according to Ellis' classification).

call; /fɔ:l/, *fall*). [56] Where /l/ occurs, a reduced off-glide (breaking element) is sometimes detectable before /l/, e.g., [f :ᵁɫ], *fall*. One exception to this is *all*, which is frequently realised as /ɔ:/, whether it occurs before a pause (e.g., [nɒtʔ t ət ɔ:], *not at all*) or not (e.g., [ɔ: ðə ta:m],[57] *all the time*; [ɔ: wɪz], *always*; and [ɔ:ɹi:t], *alright*) - however, it often the case that where *all* occurs as a modifier, final /l/ does occur in the environment of a more open vocalic realisation, e.g, [:ɫ], [:ɫ].

/ɔ:/ seldom occurs before /r/ either - the reflexes of ME /ɔ/ + /r/ (> SE /ɔ:/) are generally realised as [:] (e.g., [:s], *horse*; [ʊnf :ʧənətlɪ], *unfortunately*), occasionally as [ɒ] (e.g., [fɒ], *for*), or [ɒ˻], [:˻] in speech where post-vocalic /r/ occurs (e.g., [�·ˈdəz], *orders*; [:˻], [ɒ:˻], *or*), as [:] (e.g., [m :nɪn], *morning*; [θ :nsɪt], *Thornsett* [place-name]), and also, by analogy with the reflexes of ME /ɔ:/ + /r/, occasionally as [oə] (e.g., [oəs], *horse*; and [fo·ə], *for*; [fo·əti:n], *fourteen* – however, cf. dialectal [f :tɪ], *forty*) [58] – see also /r/, below, pp. 172-183.

<u>Comparative Distribution</u>

Dialectal /ɔ:/ corresponds to RP /ɔ:/ in words such as *paw*, *law*, *autumn*, *sauce* and *talk* (i.e. < ME /aʊ/, /a:/). /ɔ:/ also occurs as a (common) modified variant pronunciation corresponding to RP /ɔ:/ (< ME /ɔ/ + /x/, [ɔʊx])[59] in *bought* (dialectal /bæʊt/, /bɒʊt/; modified /bɔ:t/)[60] and *daughter* (dialectal /dɒʊtə(r)/; modified /dɔ:tə/). Nevertheless, it is apparent that the development of ME open /open back vowels + /x/ is complex and not of a uniform nature – for example, it appears that ME /a:/ + /x/ (> RP /ɔ:/), in *taught* (dialectal /tɔ:t/ only) has developed regularly to /ɔ:/ in the dialects of the north-west midlands, (/ɒʊ/, /æʊ/ being unrecorded in these instances in the present investigation).[61] /ɔ:/ corresponds to RP /ɔ:/ in

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[56] See also /l/, below, pp. 166-172.

[57] C. f. dialectal [ɔ: ɫ ʔ ta:m], *all the time* – final /l/ in *all* occurs before the glottal realisation of the definite article.

[58] The existence of roughly the same (and equally complex) set of variants (< ME /u:/, /ɔ:/, /ɔ/ + /r/) in SE during the eModE period and initial stages of the ModE period has been noted by Dobson – see Dobson (1968), pp. 740–742.

[59] Gimson (1994), p. 111.

[60] For the development of ME /ɔ/ + /x/ + /t/ (> /aʊ/) in items such as *bought*, see Tidholm (1979), p. 70.

[61] A similar situation concerning the development of ME /au/ is apparent in some northern dialects – for the development of Northern ME /au/, see Tidholm (1979), p. 102.

items such as *talk*, *walk* and *all*, having followed the same development .[62] /ɔ:/ also occurs as a less common variant in words such as *water* and *warm* (< ME /w/ + /a/ [in OS, or + /r/] > SE /ɔ:/), the traditional dialectal reflexes being /a/ and /a:/, /ar/ respectively. Finally, /ɔ:/ in dialectal /skɹɔ:pɪ/, *scrawpy*, appears to be a highly unusual phonological variant derived from *scrape* (dialectal /skɹe:p/, SE /skɹeɪp/)- see also Part 1, pp. 230-231.

It is evident that the rather complex situation involving /ɔ:/ and its variants is accountable to the various ME antecedents from which /ɔ:/ has arisen. While the reflex of all these antecedents is /ɔ:/ in SE, the dialects of the north-west midlands demonstrate considerable variation - i.e. they have generally retained a distinction (see directly below) between the various ME reflexes of ME ō2 + /r/, ME /ɔ/ + r and ME /a:/, /aʊ/, these usually being /oə(r)/, /ɔ:/ ([ɒ:], [ɒ˔], [ɒ]), /ɔ:/ ([:] etc.) respectively. The situation is made more complex still in that the variant realisations of the reflex of one particular ME antecedent sometimes occurs, by analogy, as a variant form for the reflex of another ME antecedent. This may be exemplified by *for* – generally [f :], [f :], [fɒ], [fɒ˔] (< ME /ɔ/ + /r/), but occasionally [fo· ə] (i.e. by analogy with the reflex of ME /ɔ:/ + /r/). However, whereas dialectal /ɔ:/ (< ME /ɔ/ + /r/), may be realised as /oə/ (< ME /ɔ:/ + /r/), and vice-versa, dialectal /ɔ:/ (< ME /a:/, /aʊ/) is never realised as /oə/, and often (but not always) is realised as [ɔ:], [:], rather than the most open variant [ɒ:] (< ME /ɔ/ + /r/) amongst the older informants. Similarly, whereas dialectal /ɤə/ (< ME /o:/ + /r/) may also be realised as any of the /ɔ:/ variants (often [oə], but also [:], [ɒ:] etc.), those items which usually have /oə/ (< ME /ɔ:/ + /r/) or /ɔ:/ (< ME /ɔ/ + /r/, ME /a:/, /aʊ/) are never realised as /ɤə/. Nevertheless, the interchangeability of many of these variants represents a blurring of the distinctions arising from different ME antecedents. Moreover, while this blurring appears to be a similar development to that which has already taken place in SE, it is evident that the process is somewhat different; the realisations of /ɔ:/ tend towards more open variants, while diphthongised variants (with a mid-close first element) remain common realisations. The apparent preference for more open variants (or closer diphthongised variants), and the consequent relatively uncommon occurrence of [ɔ:] realisations, may be at least partially due to the existence of dialectal /o:/ (i.e. on a phonetic

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[62] /ɔ:/ in *talk* etc., developed from ME /a/+ glide+ /l/ (/aul/) with later vocalisation of /l/. In the north midland dialects, ME /al/ in final position regularly developed to /ɔ:/, e.g., giving /ɔ:/, *all* (probably /aʊ/ > /aʊ/ > /ɒʊ/ > /ɒ:/). However, final /l/ appears to have been largely restored in most other instances of this type.

level, the necessity to maintain sufficient distinction between the long back vowels in the open-mid / close-mid areas).

<u>Historical Development</u>

ME /aʊ/ in *all* (OE /al/ > ME /al/ - [aʊɫ]) *paw* regularly developed to /ɔː/.in the lME / eModE period. [63] However, in some dialects of the north midlands, it is evident that the development of ME open / open back vowels (i.e. /a/ and /ɔ/) + /x/ was complex and irregular – see 'Comparative Distribution', above, p. 23. ME /a/ + /l/ + C in *talk* and *walk* developed in a similar fashion to SE (i.e. probably ([aɫk] > [aʊɫk] > [ɔʊɫk] > [ɔʊk] > [ɔːk]). The development of ME /ɔ/ + /r/ in the north-west midlands was probably /ɔr/ > /ɒr/ [64] > [ɒˈ] and [ː], [ɒ], [ː] (non-rhotic).

<u>Contemporary development: realisations according to age group</u>

ME	RP	Traditional nwDer/neCh	**Contemporary New Mills**			
			Old	*Mid*	*Adult*	*Teen*
/aʊ/	/ɔː/	/ɔː/	[ː], [ɔː], [ː]	[ː], [ɔː], [ː]	[ɔː], [ː], [ː]	[ɔː], [ː], [ː]
/a/ + /l/ + C *called, falls*	/ɔː/	/ɔː/	[ː], [ɔː], [ː]	[ː], [ɔː], [ː]	[ɔː], [ː], [ː]	[ɔː], [ː], [ː]
final /a/ + /l/ *all, ball*	/ɔːl/	/ɔː/	/ɔːl/, /ɔː/ ([ː], [ɔː], [ː] etc.)	/ɔːl/, /ɔː/ ([ː], [ɔː], [ː] etc.)	[ɔːɫ], [ːɫ], [ːɫ]	[ɔːɫ], [ːɫ], [ːɫ]
/ɔ/ + /r/	/ɔː/	/ɒr/	[ˈ], [ː], [ː]	[ˈ], [ː], [ː]	[ː], [ː]	[ː], [ː]

<u>Contemporary linguistic change</u>

It is apparent that this phoneme - although it exhibits a superficial stability, i.e. /ɔː/, and realisational variants thereof, consistent throughout the age groups – is in a state of flux, which probably indicates it is undergoing a major change.[65] One possible reason for the change within the traditional dialect is the pressure exerted by /oː/ and [ɒˈ], [ɒː] (i.e. < ME /ɔ/ + /r/) and the need to maintain a clear distinction between /oː/ and /ɔː/; this has evidently

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[63] Gimson (1994), p. 111.
[64] The lowering effect of /r/ is discussed by Dobson – see Dobson (1968), pp. 735-737.
[65] Two types of variation are evident on two distinct levels – the speech of the old/mid age groups and the speech of the teenage group; the speech of the adult age-group exhibiting features of both.

been resolved by a general (though not entire) lowering of /ɔː/. Indeed, this development has a precedent in SE; during the ME period, /ɔː/ and /oː/ were separate phonemes (as part of a four tier system) – this created inevitable pressure, and, consequently, the contrast between /ɔː/ and /oː/ had disappeared by the eModE period, being replaced by a vowel contrast consisting of /ɒː/ and /oː/ (as part of a three tier system).[66] It may be observed that the current situation in New Mills exhibits remarkable parallels with this earlier development.

Bearing this general development in mind, nevertheless, dialectal /ɔː/ (< ME /aʊ/, /aː/ and /a/ + /l/ etc.) is sometimes realised as [ɔː] or (rarely) higher variants [ː], [ː] [67] by the old and mid age-groups and, to a lesser extent, in the speech of the adult age-group.[68] These higher variants may have developed by analogy with /oː/ (< ME /ɔː/). Nevertheless, lower variants ([ː], [ː], etc.) are becoming increasingly dominant, even in those items derived from ME /aʊ/, /aː/ etc., these having probably developed by analogy with the reflexes of ME /ɔ/ + /r/. It is apparent, therefore, that an opposing force is being exerted by more open variants. This will inevitably gain ground as morpheme-final post-vocalic /r/ [69] continues to regress ([ɒˑ] > [ː], [ː] etc.). In the traditional dialect, therefore, the contrast between /ɔː/ and /oː/ has been largely eradicated by the development of more open variants.

The development towards more open variants has progressed further amongst the younger speakers; lowered variants, including nasalised variants,[70] are the norm in the speech of the teenagers, and, to a lesser extent, in the adult age-group.[71] The open variants ([ː], [ː], [ɒː]) are the usual realisations for /ɔː/ in all instances (i.e. < ME /aʊ/, /aː,/, ME /a/ + /l/, ME /ɔ/ + /r/, ME /ɔː/ + /r/). The presence of nasalised vowels amongst the younger informants [72] - [ː],

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[66] See Gimson (1994), p. 74.

[67] That is tending towards /oː/ - see also Shorrocks (1998), who encountered a similar situation, p. 196.

[68] One informant (CW) is responsible for most of these realisations (which occur alongside other variants), though they are also sporadically present in the speech of other informants in this age group.

[69] For an analysis of this development, see /r/, below, pp.172-183.

[70] Informants JB and MP are largely responsible for the nasalised variants in the teenage and adult age-groups respectively.

[71] One informant (MP) is mainly responsible for the open variants (many of which are nasalised), though low variants (non-nasalised) are also a sporadic feature in the speech of the other informants in this age group.

[72] Nasalised vowels are a common phenomenon in many urban varieties throughout the north midlands – how long this has been the case is uncertain, as urban research was generally not carried out until after the rise of sociolinguistic methodology in the 1960s and 1970s. Furthermore, to date, little research has been carried out in the major urban areas of the north midlands, particularly Manchester, the only published research to date being undertaken by Peter Wright (for a popular publication) - see Wright, Peter, *Lancashire Dialect*, Clapham, The Dalesman Publishing Company Ltd., 1976. However, nasalised vowels are present in the SED data (compiled in the 1950s) for Sheffield (Yorkshire 34), the only major urban area in the survey (the data from which thus predates many of the so-called modern urban studies), and also noted by Peter Wright in Manchester – see Wright, P. (1976), op. cit, p. 34.

[:], [:] - suggests that the influence of the urban varieties of the nearby Manchester conurbation are at least partially responsible for the universal tendency towards lowered variants. Such a change - i.e. on account of a so-called "covert prestige" - [73] could therefore be attributed to solely extra-linguistic mechanisms. Nevertheless, the situation is not so clear-cut; open variants are already present in the traditional dialect ([:], [:] etc. < ME /aʊ/, /aː/, ME /ɔ/ + /r/), and it is possible that the presence of these variants could be at least partially responsible for the tendency towards open variants in the speech of the younger age-groups. Indeed, the dominance of open variants in urban varieties of Manchester may represent the general development of lowering (evident in many of the dialects in the north midlands), which has merely progressed at a greater rate.

Dialectal /ɔː/ (< ME /a/ + /l/ + C) in, for example, *called* and *falls* (SE /ɔːl/) exhibits a similar profile to /ɔː/ (< ME /aʊ/, /aː/). However, although variants with /l/ (which occur in free variation) are relatively rare in all age-groups in connected speech, they are most common amongst the younger speakers. Conversely, morpheme final /ɔː/ (< ME final /a/ + /l/), in items such as *ball*, occurs infrequently in the connected speech of the older informants (in free variation with the more common variant + /l/), and is generally absent in the speech of the younger speakers.

/oː/

/oː/ is a back, mid-close, relatively tense, rounded, long vowel.

Variants
Most realisations are generally [oː], though there is some variation. Slightly lower variants, in the region of [:], are sometimes apparent, particularly in fast, connected speech.

Comparative Distribution
Dialectal /oː/ corresponds to RP /əʊ/ in words such as *both*, *home* (/oːm/),[74] *load*, *loaf no*, *oak*, *only* ([oːnɪ]) and *whole* (< ME ō2); *coal*, *nose*, and *throat* (< ME ō3); *know*, *slow*, and *throw* (< ME /ou/). Dialectal /oː/ + /l/ + C (in, for example, *old* and *cold*) is a relatively

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[73] This term applies to a variety (other than the standard), which is aspired to by certain sections of the community – see Chambers and Trudgill, pp. 98-100 - and is therefore potentially instrumental in linguistic change.

[74] This represents a modified pronunciation; the traditional dialect form is /wɒm/ - see below, pp. 98-102.

uncommon variant, e.g., modified /koːld/, *cold*; the traditional dialectal reflex of ME /a/ + /l/ + C (> SE /əʊ/ + /l/ + C) is /æʊ/ - e.g., /kæʊd/ (mod. /kɒʊd/), *cold* – see also below, p. 81

Historical Development

OE /aː/ was initially rounded and raised to /ɔː/ in the eME period. During the vowel shift (lME / eModeE period), /ɔː/ was raised to /oː/ and then, in SE, diphthongised to /oʊ/ and eventually /əʊ/. In many dialects of the north midlands (particularly the north-east midlands), /ɔː/ was raised to /oː/ and then weakened (i.e. centralised) with an off-glide developing (i.e. as a diphthong /ʊə/ or /ʊɪ/). This development has led some dialectologists to claim that the occurrence of /oː/ (in some dialects of the dialects of the north midlands, particularly north-west midlands) indicates modification of the usual reflex (i.e. /ʊə/) towards the standard.[75] However, there is a substantial amount of evidence that suggests that ME /ɔː/ was simply raised to /oː/ (and then remained undiphthongised) in the dialects of the north-west midlands, /oː/ therefore being the usual reflex of ME /ɔː/. This is amply demonstrated by data from the SED and other dialect monographs.[76] Furthermore, the presence of /oː/ as the reflex of ME /ɔː/ (ME ō2, ō3) is mirrored by the reflex of ME /ɛː/ (ME ē2, ē3) in the long front vowels, which is often /eː/ (above, pp. 18-21). It would not be unreasonable to assume that the reason the reflex of ME /ɔː/ remained undiphthongised was to maintain long vowel symmetry between the back and front vowels.

Nevertheless, it is apparent that ME /ɔː/ did not always develop to /oː/ in north-west Derbyshire (and elsewhere in the north-west midlands. ME /ɔː/ (ō2) in initial position in items such as *one* and *home* (with /h/ loss) developed as a semi-vowel (approximant) + V - probably /ɔː/ > /oː/ > /ʊɔ/ > /ʊə/ > /wɒ/; see below, pp. 98-102.

ME /ɔː/ (ō3) developed in a similar fashion to ō2, although there is some onomastic evidence that suggests there were variant forms in north-west Derbyshire in the eModE period, which corresponded to the usual development of ME ō3 in other parts of the north midlands.[77] In these areas, the reflex of ME ō3 is frequently /ɔɪ/ (e.g., /kɔɪl/, *coal*; /kɔɪt/, *coat*). Such forms are attested in north-west Derbyshire by the place-names *Royche* (< OF *roche*) near Hayfield

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[75] Wakelin (1991), p. 89.
[76] Such as Shorrock's description (1980) of the dialect of Farnworth (Greater Manchester, formerly south Lancashire).
[77] Particularly in the north-west midlands (central / east Lancashire) and north-east midlands (south / west Yorkshire).

(three miles ESE), and (River) *Goyt* (< OE *gota*) in New Mills; the development of the latter was probably /gɔtə/ > /gɔːtə/ > /gɔɪt/. However, such forms (i.e. /ɪː/ < ME ō3) are rarely heard today, outside the domain of these place-names.

Contemporary Development: realisations according to age group

ME	RP	Traditional nwDer/neCh	Contemporary New Mills			
			Old	*Mid*	*Adult*	*Teen*
/ɔː/	/əʊ/	/oː/	[oː]	[oː]	[oʊ], [õ], [oː]	[oʊ], [õ]
/ɔː/ - *one*	/wɒ/	/wɒ/	[wɒ]	[wɒ]	[wɒ]	[wɒ]
/ɔː/ - *open* etc.	/əʊ/	/wɒ/	[wɒ], [oː]	[wɒ], [oː]	[oʊ], [wɒ]	[oʊ]

Contemporary Linguistic Change

/oː/ (< ME ō2, ō3) is constant throughout the old and mid age groups, and, to a lesser extent, in the younger age groups. In the adult age group, most of the occurrences of /oː/ (operating in free variation with /oʊ/) are predominantly those of one informant (CW), though it is sporadically present in the speech of another informant. /oː/ is also a sporadic and infrequent variant in the speech of one teenager (MH), the usual realisation being /oʊ/. A nasalised variant (i.e. [õ]) is common in the speech of one informant in the adult age-group (MP) and one teenager (JB). Nasalised vowels are a feature of the speech of the urban varieties of nearby Manchester, and, indeed, many other major urban areas of the north midlands (see also below, pp. 82-84). The data implies that, in this instance at least, urban varieties (and not SE) are the primary influence upon the speech of the younger age groups. It is also reasonable, therefore, to imply that the non-nasalised variant /oʊ/ has developed under the influence of nearby urban varieties (in these urban varieties, /oʊ/ [<ME /ɔː], however, probably represents a modification towards SE); this implies that modification towards SE has therefore occurred indirectly, rather than directly. Nevertheless, while /õ / and particularly /oʊ/ are considered prestige among the teenagers, RP /əʊ/ is evidently not.[78]

It is highly likely that the universal occurrence of /wɒn/ (< ME ō2 in initial position) in the item *one* is attributable to its correspondence with SE /wɒn/, rather than its presence in the traditional dialect. Evidence for this is demonstrated by the occurrence of other items (< ME

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[78] Two of the teenage informants, being acquainted with informant JB, stated that such speech (i.e. with nasalised vowels – though they were actually unaware of this distinctive feature) was "cool" (it was deemed as such because it approximated the urban speech of Manchester). One of the same informants categorically stated that he would never say /əʊ/, as this was "posh".

ō2, ō3 in initial position) in the traditional dialect, where realisations differ from SE; /wɒm/, *home*; and /wɒpn/, *open* (which occur in free variation with /o:/ - /o:m/, *home*; and /o:pn/, *open*) are common realisations throughout the older age-groups (and in the speech of one informant in the adult age group), but they are extremely rare in the speech of the teenagers, the usual form being /oʊ/ etc. Again it is hard to attribute this change solely as a modification towards SE, as /oʊ/ is the usual realisation (in these items) in the urban varieties of Manchester. It is also notable that initial /h/ is absent in the teenagers' realisation of *home* (RP /həʊm/), this being universally /oʊm/ - see /h/, below, p.188, and Part 1, pp. 80-85.

<p align="center">/ə:/</p>

/ə:/ is a long central (between close-mid and open-mid, and midway between front and back) vowel. The lips are neutrally spread. /ə:/ is generally of the same quality as /ə:/, the main difference being one of length. Gimson asserts that the long vowel in RP "usually occurs in accented syllables, and /ə/ in unaccented syllables" [79] (hence, the transcription used is /ɜ:/, to distinguish it from unaccented /ə/). He further suggests that this may imply that /ɜ:/ and /ə/ are accented and unaccented allophones of the same phoneme, but rejects this on the grounds that /ɜ:/ can occur in unaccented syllables without reduction to /ə/, e.g., /kɒmɜ:s/ and /kɒməz/ (*commerce* and *commas*). Furthermore, it is pointed out that /ɜ:/, in many instances, does not become /ə/ in unaccented positions in connected speech, but remains stressed.[80]

This is plainly not the case in the dialect of New Mills, where unstressed forms are common, whether /ə/ or /ə:/. It is highly likely that this is on account of the historical development of short V + /r/ in the dialects of the north-west midlands, particularly the fact that pre-consonantal / post-vocalic /r/ was retained in these dialects until recently, whereas it was lost in SE during the eighteenth century (see /r/, below, pp.172-183).

<u>Variants</u>

As this is the only central vowel, it is realised with a fair amount of variation, some of which may be accounted for by purely idiolectal factors; slightly higher variants are sometimes

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[79] Gimson (1994), p. 116.
[80] Gimson (1994), p. 216.

encountered, though lower variants are rarely so. The main variation between the younger and older speakers involves one of quantity rather than quality.

Comparative Distribution

Relatively unstressed /ə:/ (consisting of long, half-long and short variants, i.e. [ə], [ə·], [ə:]) frequently corresponds to RP stressed /ɜ:/ in medial position in many monosyllabic items (< ME short V + /r/), e.g., [fəst], [fə:st], *first*; [wəks], [wə:ks], *works*; [bə·ʧ], [bə:ʧ], *Birch* [place-name]; and in the same position in items with suffixes / polysyllables, e.g., *birthday*, /bə:θdɪ/; *thirteen* /θə:ti:n/. All of these items are often realised with short variants (with or without r-colouring – i.e. [ə], [əʼ]), particularly in connected speech - e.g., [fəst maʧ], *first match*; [ä kʊntʔ təʼn], *I couldn't turn*; [bəθdɪ], *birthday*; [θətʔti:n], *thirteen*. Indeed, short variants occur universally in the old and mid age–groups in common items of this class. Nevertheless, long variants, consisting of relatively stressed [ɜ:], occurs in certain circumstances, such as when stress is applied for effect, or when a particular lexical item stands alone and is accordingly stressed (i.e. in one word utterances, typical of replies to a questionnaire – e.g., [fɜ:st], *first*). Relatively unstressed /ə:/ also occurs in initial syllables in polysyllabic words - i.e. those with primary stress, e.g., *birthday* (cf. RP / ˈbɜ:θˌdeɪ/) – and where the short neutral vowel has led to a change in stress – e.g., dialectal [ˌθətʔˈti:n] (cf. RP /ˈθɜːˈti:n/). In initial position in monosyllabic items, the usual realisation consists of a long (though still relatively unstressed) variant, [ə:], e.g., [ə:d], *heard*;[81] [ə:θ], *earth*. In final syllabic position in initial syllable stressed words (i.e. generally onomastic items), the usual dialectal realisation is [ə] - e.g., [ˈo:mfəθ], *Holmfirth*; [ˈɒlɪnwəθ], *Hollingworth* - which, in these instances, corresponds to RP /ɜ:/, /ˈhəʊmˌfɜ:θ/ and /ˈhɒlɪŋˌwɜ:θ/ respectively.

Historical Development

In SE, the short ME vowels /ɪ/, /ɛ/ and /ʊ/, before final /r/, or /r/ + C, all became centralised (under the influence of the following /r/) in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, so that [ər] was the common realisation. It has been argued that the earlier vowel qualities of /ɛ/ and /ʊ/ persisted longer.[82] In particular, this may have been the case in many of the northern

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[81] Also realised as [ɪəd] in the dialect – see /ɪə/ below, pp. 102-104.
[82] Gimson (1994), p. 117.

dialects, as evidenced by the current realisations of /oː/ as the reflex of ME /u/ + /r/ in some of the traditional dialects of the north and lowland Scotland (i.e. in the Scots dialects). It is generally assumed that (after the loss of /r/) in the south-east during the eighteenth century, /ər/ underwent compensatory lengthening and then developed to /ɜː/ in RP - /ər/ > /ə/ > /əː/ > /ɜː/. In the north-west midlands, however, it is apparent that this development is not as advanced as that in SE. It is highly probable that the short vowels followed the same development as those in SE, and reached the /ər/ stage sometime in the seventeenth century. However, it is clear that /ər/ ([əɹ], [əˤ]) remained the general pronunciation in monosyllabic words, on account of the retention of post-vocalic and pre-consonantal /r/, until the recent onset of /r/ loss. Now that /r/ has become a regressive feature, /ər/ has generally become [əˤ], [ə], and [əː]. It remains to be seen whether this phoneme continues to develop in the same way as that in SE.

Contemporary Development: realisations according to age group

ME	RP	Traditional nwDer/neCh	**Contemporary New Mills**			
			Old	*Mid*	*Adult*	*Teen*
/ɪ/, /ɛ/, /ʊ/ + /r/	/ɜː/	/ər/	[ə], [əː], [əˤ]	[ə], [əː], [əˤ]	[əː], [ə]	[əː], [ə]

Contemporary linguistic change

Dialect /əː/ is frequently realised as unaccented short [ə] (with or without r-colouring) in the oldest age-group. A longer variant with no r-colouring (i.e. [ə·]) commonly occurs, in addition to a (infrequently encountered) modified stressed variant /ɜː/.[83] The same situation is apparent in the mid age-group, with the exception that an r-coloured variant (i.e. [əˤ]) occurs relatively rarely. Amongst the younger informants, r-colouring is notably absent (see also /r/, below, p.172-183). However, [əː], and to a lesser degree [ə], are relatively common realisations in the young age group (the latter being accounted for mostly by two informants, CW and PB), alongside stressed /ɜː/. Both [ə·] and [ə] (rare) operate in free variation, alongside [əː], in the youngest age group, though longer variants (i.e. [əː]) appear to be the

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[83] /ɜː/ usually occurs in instances where particular stress is applied, for example, either where a word stands alone (such as questionnaire responses – e.g., /fɜːst/), *first*, or in connected speech (where a particular word is prominent) - this may be exemplified by the following: [θət?   ɛd noː ï sɛd θɜːtɪ], *Thirteen?*, *I said. No he said, **Thirty***.

norm. It is possible that this is merely on account of the continuing development of traditional /ər/ towards a stressed form /ɜ:/, following the regression of post-vocalic /r/ - i.e. developing in the same fashion as SE, though at a slower rate. Moreover, the relatively frequent occurrence of [ə:] in the speech of the teenagers (vis-à-vis the older speakers) suggests that this may indeed be the case.

CHAPTER 6
<u>Short vowels</u>

/ɪ/

/ɪ/ is a close (between close and mid-close), centralised, unrounded, short vowel, being somewhat less tense and less close than the /i/ of German and French.

<u>Variants</u>

Closer variants [ ], [i], operate before voiceless dental plosives in monosyllables (in free variation with /ɪ/), particularly where there is strong stress – e.g., [stɒp it], *stop it*, [ä nɛvə gɒɹ itʰ], *I never got it*; in closed final syllables of disyllabic items - [bʊkit], *bucket*, [ɹ   ], *rabbit*; and medial open syllables of some polysyllabic words – e.g., [vɪzibʊɫ], *visible*; /tɛɹibʊɫ/ *terrible*. It would appear that [i] realisations in medial syllables tend to occur only when the final syllable is closed - e.g., [vɪzibʊɫ] but [vɪzɪbɪlɪtɪ]. Whereas a closer realisation (i.e. [i]) is a prominent feature of the dialects of the west midlands, it is evident that its use is restricted to a low number of phonetic environments in some of the dialects of the north-west midlands.

Before /l/ in non-initial syllables, there is a tendency for /ɪ/ to be centralised, often being realised as [ɪ] or [ə] – e.g., [mɛɹəlɪ], *merrily*.

<u>Distribution</u>

/ɪ/ occurs in all positions.

<u>Comparative Distribution</u>

/ɪ/ corresponds to RP /ɪ/ in monosyllables – e.g., *if, with, fish, this, bit, kick, lip* – and stressed and secondary stressed syllables in polysyllabic words, e.g., [mantʃɪstə], *Manchester*. However, numerous differences between RP and the dialect of New Mills are evident in polysyllables. In RP, realisations differ according to position (and hence, stress) within the word, so that in an item such as *visibility*, /ɪ/ in syllables one and three will be realised as [ɪ], while those in syllables two and four will be realised as a more centralised [ ] or [ə].[1] This is plainly not the case in the dialect of New Mills – all realisations are [ɪ], except in those instances mentioned above, where dialectal [i] operates as a variant

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[1] Gimson (1994), p. 99.

corresponding to RP /ɪ/, /ə/. Similarly, the tendency for RP [ɪ], in non-final accented positions (particularly prefixes, e.g. *begin*), to be realised as [ə], has not occurred in the dialect of New Mills. Furthermore, the current RP trend for word final /ɪ/ to be realised as [iː], has also not occurred in the dialect of New Mills, this being realised as [ɪ] (see also below, pp. 36-37).

Additionally, shortening of the vowel has occurred in some monosyllabic lexical items - dialectal /ɪ/ corresponds to RP /iː/ in *been* and *seen*, e.g., [äv nɒtʔ bɪn ðɛə], *I've not been there*; [äv nɒt sɪn ɪm fəɹ ə waːl], *I've not seen him for a while*. In other instances, differences in stress have resulted in contrasting realizations between RP and the traditional dialect of New Mills. Dialectal /ɪ/ corresponds to RP /eɪ/ in the suffix –*day*, e.g., [mʊndɪ], [tʃyːzdɪ], [satʔdɪ], *Monday*, *Tuesday*, *Saturday* respectively (RP /mʌndeɪ/, /tjuːzdeɪ/, /sætədeɪ/). Dialectal /ɪ/ corresponds to RP /iː/ in relatively unstressed *me* – e.g., [gɪv ɪt mɪ], *give it me* (cf. dialectal [ðatʔ bɪlɒŋgz tə miː], *that belongs to me*) - and *be* (see following). Similarly, dialectal /ɪ/ corresponds to RP /aɪ/ in *by* – e.g., [i·ʊɬ bɪ bakʔ bɪ tɛn] *He'll **be** back **by** ten* (cf. dialectal [baːᵻ təmɒɹə], *by tomorrow*) – and relatively unstressed *my* – e.g., [wɛᵊz mï ʲat], *Where's my hat?*; [wɛᵊz mɪ kiːz], *Where's my keys?* (cf. dialectal [ðats maːᵻ paɪntʰ], *that's my pint*).

<u>Historical Development</u>

While Gimson has put forward the view that /ɪ/ was part of the OE sound system,[2] it has been argued that the difference between long and short vowels in OE was merely one of length and that lax short vowels, such as /ɪ/ and /ʊ/ developed in the ME period, thus producing a qualitative as well as a quantitative difference between the long and short vowels.[3] Such conflicting theories merely reaffirm that it is not possible, with any degree of certainty, to reconstruct the historical phonology of a language from the available evidence. It is possible that the short lax vowels /ɪ/ and /ʊ/ had developed in some varieties of OE, while, in others, short tense vowels such as /i/ had remained. What can be said with certainty is that /i/ is still the usual realisation (corresponding to RP /ɪ/ in monosyllables) in some traditional contemporary varieties of English, specifically some northern English dialects and those in the central part of the West Midlands area. It is possible to assume, therefore,

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[2] Gimson (1994), pp. 72, 100.
[3] See Ogura, op. cit, pp. 112 – 115.

that (in the majority of dialects) short lax /ɪ/ developed from an earlier short tense /i/ in either the late OE or eME periods. In the traditional dialect of New Mills, both /ɪ/ and /i/ occur, though the former is the more prevalent. The ubiquitous occurrence of /i/ in the area to the south - i.e., the central West Midlands - and the dominance of /ɪ/ in the dialects of the north-west midlands to the north of the area in which New Mills is situated (according to Ellis' classification) suggests that the southern boundary of the dialect area (in which the High Peak area is situated) forms the northern limit of /i/ in the main midlands dialect area.

In the eModE period, new instances of /ɪ/ developed from various sources. In unaccented syllables, particularly suffixes (above, p. 34), /ɪ/ developed from /ə/. Changes in stress also produced /ɪ/, in SE, from formerly accented ME vowels and diphthongs – e.g., /ɛ/ (*engage*), /aː/ (*village*), and /aɪ/ (*mountain*) etc. However, it is evident that in the dialect of New Mills, and many other dialects of the north midlands and north, the changes in stress of polysyllabic words did not always correspond to the same pattern as that in SE; the full vowel /ɛ/ - e.g., in initial syllable stressed (secondary) /ˌɛnˈkwaɪə/ *enquire* - in the dialect of New Mills, corresponds to centralised /ɪ/ in the unstressed initial syllable of RP, /ɪnˈkwaɪə/. Furthermore, there are evidently other differences in stress and vocalic realisations in monosyllables, and in the medial and final syllables of polysyllabic words (see also /ə/ below, pp. 59-65).

Contemporary development in apparent time: realisations according to age-group

ME	RP	Traditional nwDer/neCh	**Contemporary New Mills**			
			Old	*Mid*	*Adult*	*Teen*
/ɪ/	/ɪ/	/ɪ/	[ɪ]	[ɪ]	[ɪ]	[ɪ]
West Mercian ? /i/	/i/ (1)	/i/, /ɪ/	[i], [ɪ]	[i], [ɪ]	[i], [ɪ]	[ɪ]
/ɪ/	/ɪ/, /ə/ (2)	/ɪ/	[ɪ]	[ɪ]	[ɪ]	[ɪ]
/ɪ/	/ɪ/, /ə/ (3)	/i/, /ɪ/	[i], [ɪ]	[i], [ɪ]	[i], [ɪ]	[ɪ], [i]
/ɪ/	/iː/ (4)	/ɪ/	[ɪ]	[ɪ]	[ɪ]	[ɪ], [ɛ]
/eː/ *been, seen*	/iː/	/ɪ/, /iː/	[ɪ], [iː]	[ɪ], [iː]	[ɪ], [iː]	[ɪ], [iː]
/eː/ *me* (unstressed)	/iː/	/ɪ/	[ɪ]	[ɪ]	[ɪ]	[ɪ]

continued

ME	RP	Traditional nwDer/neCh	*Old*	*Mid*	*Adult*	*Teen*
/iː/ *my*, *by* (unstressed)	/aɪ/	/ɪ/	[ɪ]	[ɪ]	[ɪ]	[ɪ]
/aɪ/, /aː/, eModE /ɪ/	/eɪ/ suffix *-day*	/ɪ/	[ɪ]	[ɪ]	[ɪ]	[ɪ]

(1) Before voiceless dental plosives in monosyllables or in final closed syllables of disyllabic words.
(2) Unstressed syllables in polysyllabic words with final open syllables.
(3) Unstressed syllables in polysyllabic words with closed final syllables.
(4) Final open syllables.

Contemporary Linguistic Change

/ɪ/ in lexical items consisting of closed monosyllables is universal throughout the age-groups. It evidently demonstrates a considerable degree of stability (it has remained unchanged since the ME period), and, indeed, this is the case in RP and the vast majority of dialects in England.

However, there are some instances in the traditional dialect of New Mills, according to phonetic environment, where the usual realisation of /ɪ/ is a closer /i/ (see above, p. 34). The occurrence of closer (or laxer) variants according to phonetic environment is, nevertheless, subject to some considerable variation amongst the age-groups. The closer dialectal realisation [i] before voiceless dental plosives or final closed syllables of disyllables is noticeably absent in the speech of the teenagers (solely /ɪ/), the closer variant being restricted to the speech of the old and mid age-groups, and to lesser extent, the adult age-group. However, this is not the case in unstressed syllables of polysyllabic words with final closed syllables; in this instance, the closer variant (approximating [i]) occurs in all age-groups, though to a lesser extent in the speech of the teenagers. The reasons for this apparent anomaly are not conclusive; SE may have exerted some influence upon the speech of the teenagers, but this seems unlikely as it is does not account for the occurrence of closer variants in the speech of the teenagers in some environments (i.e. polysyllables with closed final syllable). It may be the case that the occurrence of the closer variant in closed monosyllables is more conspicuous on a phonetic level (as being a feature of the traditional dialect) than that in the unstressed syllables of polysyllables, and has thus been modified. Evidence that determines whether this modification is towards the standard or towards some other variety (covert prestige), where the usual realisation is /ɪ/, is perhaps provided by other data – in final open syllables, /ɪ/ (< ME /ɪ/ > RP /iː/) is universal in all age-groups except

teenagers, where word final /ɪ/ is frequently realised as a more open [ɛ] (recorded largely, though not solely, in the speech of one informant, JB). This more open realisation is common in many urban varieties in the north midlands. Moreover, the informant whose speech largely consists of the more open realization (JB) has work and leisure contacts within the nearby Manchester conurbation; this strongly suggests that this particular sound change has diffused from the nearby urban area of Manchester. Indeed, data from the present investigation suggests that the speech of the nearby urban varieties has a considerable influence on the speech of the youngest informants; it is evidently the case that such speech is deemed prestigious amongst the teenagers (see particularly pp. 26, 29, above), and it reasonable to assume that this is a likely mechanism for disseminating change in this instance.

In other instances, the occurrence of dialectal /ɪ/ is universal throughout all the age-groups - in *been* and *seen* (alongside modified /iː/); in relatively unstressed *me*, in relatively unstressed *by* and *my*; and in the suffix *–day*. The reasons why these particular dialectal features are stable (whereas others are evidently not) again remain inconclusive. The occurrence of most of these non-standard features in nearby urban varieties may have had some influence upon their apparent continuation. Another factor is that these features are not restricted to the local or even regional dialect, but are common throughout many varieties in the north and midlands, both urban and rural. This has a bearing on two fronts: firstly, these particular features are not deemed by the younger speakers to be highly localised (i.e. not markers of the "traditional" speech typical of older informants); secondly, and subsequently, because of their wide provenance throughout the north midlands, they assert an identity of "northernness" and / or working class status, in much the same way as /ʊ/ and /a/ do (see below, pp. 46-48, 58-59).[4]

/ɛ/

/ɛ/ is a mid-open, front, unrounded, short vowel.

Variants

/ɛ/ is invariably realised as [ɛ] or a slightly lower variant [ɛ] in the dialect of New Mills;

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[4] The rise of these type of regional variants and the subsequent phenomenon of "dialect levelling" is discussed by Milroy and Watt (1999); this research focuses on the expansion of supra-local / regional non-standard variants (at the expense of traditional local variants) in Tyneside – see Watt, D., and Milroy, L., 'Patterns of variation and change in three Newcastle vowels: is this dialect levelling?', in Foulkes, Paul, and Docherty, Gerard J. (eds), *Urban Voices: Accent Studies in the British Isles*, London, Arnold, 1999, pp. 25-46.

these more open variants being typical of dialects throughout the north and north midlands, probably on account of the fact there is no contrast between /ɛ/ and /æ/, the latter being realised as solely [a] in the dialect of New Mills (and in dialects throughout the north and north midlands). This contrasts with RP, and other dialects such as Cockney, where realisations are generally of a closer type. In these dialects, the reverse obtains – a contrast exists between /ɛ/ and /æ/, which accounts for the closer realisations of /ɛ/.

Distribution

Dialectal /ɛ/, as in RP, does not occur in final open syllables, a situation, however, which does not obtain in the speech of the teenage age-group – realisations such as [sɪt], *city*, and [andɛ], *Andy* (personal name) occur sporadically in the speech of one informant (JB), such realisations being typical of some of the urban varieties of nearby Manchester. Dialectal /ɛ/ does occur finally, however, as a variant form ([ɛ], [eː]) in some open monosyllables, e.g., [sɛ], *say*.

Comparative Distribution

Dialectal /ɛ/ corresponds to RP /e/ ([ ], [ ] etc.) in words such as *peg, tell, keg, fell, then, sent*, and variant /ɛ/ (which occurs alongside dialectal /eː/, in free variation) to RP /eɪ/ in items such as *make* (e.g. [mɛk]), *made*, *take*, *taking* (e.g., [tɛkʔkɪn]), *say* and *maybe* (e.g. [mɛbbɪ]). It also occurs as a variant form in words such as *bread* ([bɹɛd]), *deaf* ([dɛf]) and *death* ([dɛθ]), from eModE shortening of ME /ɛː/. Dialectal /ɛ/ in /wɛʃ/ corresponds to RP /ɒ/ in *wash*.

Historical Development

Traditional dialect /ɛ/ is derived from ME /ɛ/ (< OE /ɛ/, /eː/; WS /æː/ [< proto OE /ɑː/] etc.) However, the phonetic quality of OE ĕ is not known with certainty. While it is possible that OE ĕ had a quality approaching that of modern German and French /e/, Gimson includes /ɛ/ as part of the OE sound system.[5] What can be said with certainty is that OE ĕ approximated either /e/ or /ɛ/ or was of a quality in between these. Evidence from modern dialects suggests

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[5] Gimson (1994), pp. 71, 100–102.

that it is probable that the quality of OE ĕ also varied dialectally; evidence suggests that /ɛ/ did exist in some of the Anglian dialects of OE, notably on account of the so-called "second fronting" of WGer ă in Mercian (WGer /ɑ/ > OE /æ/ > OM /ɛ/). This raising meant that, in these dialects at least, no contrast existed between /ɛ/ and /æ/, the latter either having been raised to [ɛ] or retracted to [a] (before /l/). If this is the case, the development in Mercian OE predated that of other varieties of English; in most dialects of ME, it is assumed that the OE short vowels ĕ and æ were /ɛ/ and /a/ respectively. Indeed, the re-tensing of /a/ to /æ/ in eModE (if, indeed, [æ] had retracted to [a] in ME) in those dialects, including SE (where a present-day opposition exists between /æ/ and /ɛ/), is probably responsible for the raising of [ɛ] to [ ] or [ ], in order to maintain a sufficient contrast. As has already been discussed, it is highly likely that no such opposition existed in the ME dialects of the north and north midlands, a supposition which is reinforced by the fact that this is the case in the present-day dialects. Furthermore, as it is likely that the phoneme /ɛ/ was already present in the OE dialect of Mercia (the northern part of which contained the High Peak area), it is highly probable that this phoneme has undergone little or no change since the OE period.

The historical development of /ɛ/ (present in some dialects of the north-west midlands), in words such as *make, made* and *take* (SE /eɪ/ < ME /a/ lengthened in OS) is difficult to untangle from the written evidence. In some dialects of the north-east midlands and the north-east, the pronunciations of *take* (< late OE *tacan*) and *make* (< OE *macian)* have remained unchanged since the ME period, being pronounced as /tak/ (ME – *Ormulum*, *tacc*; [6] *Cursor Mundi*, *tak*) and /mak/ respectively. It is possible that these vowels did not undergo lengthening because the syllables remained closed, either because of consonant gemination (e.g., [makkɪs], [makʔkɪs]) or by pre-glottalisation of the medial consonant (e.g., [maʔkɪs]). The former is particularly relevant because consonant gemination was, and remains, a feature of many of the traditional dialects in the north-west midlands today. It is assumed that in SE and other dialects, the short vowels in these words underwent lengthening in OS during the ME period and then raising during the Great Vowel Shift (SE /a:/ > / æ:/ > /ɛ:/> /e:/ > /eɪ/). This necessarily affected the disyllabic inflected forms first – e.g. third person singular, *taketh* (south), *takes, takith* (north, midlands), and then all forms. In those dialects

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[6] This example is an imperative form, preserving the original short vowel. Moreover, it appears that no OS lengthening took place in this dialect (i.e. *Ormulum*), so all instances have a short vowel.

of the north-west midlands, where /ɛ/ is present, there are at least two possibilities. Firstly, that in late OE / eME a possible variant midlands form /æ/ was already (or was later) raised to /ɛ/ in *take*. In support of this are other traditional north-west dialect forms with /ɛ/ (SE /æ/) – e.g. /blɛk/, *black*; and /sɛk/, *sack* – which developed from an OE variant form with /æ/ (OE *blac, blaec*; OE *sacc, saecc*) which was then raised to /ɛ/ in some of the Anglian dialects (blaec > blec). If this is so, these e-forms (as evidently with the a-forms in the north-east) evidently did not undergo lengthening in the ME period (see directly above, p. 40). The first recorded instances of these short e-forms are in Scotland during the lME and eModE period – *mek, mede* and *tekis*.[7]

Another possibility is that the vowel was originally lengthened and then raised during the Great Vowel Shift to the /ɛ:/ or /e:/ stage, and then shortened (and lowered in the case of /e:/) during the eModE period. However, there is some evidence which appears to refute this possibility. Firstly, the short forms recorded in Scotland would appear to contradict this hypothesis (assuming that the development in the north-west midlands was similar to that in Scotland). Furthermore, it has been argued that eModE shortening took place first before voiced dental plosives first (in the sixteenth century), and that shortening before voiceless dental and velar consonants (/t/, /θ/, /k/) did not begin to operate until the first half of the seventeenth century.[8] Therefore, it is improbable that shortening would have taken place before /k/ at such an early date, particularly in view of the fact that the long vowel (before /k/) was often preserved in the dialects of the north-west midlands while it underwent shortening in SE and many other dialects – e.g., /bɤ:k/, *book* (SE /bʊk/); and /tɤ:k/ *took* (SE /tʊk/).

Similarly, dialectal /ɛ/ in /ɛks/ (*ask*) probably developed from ME /ɛ/ (< /æ/), with the word itself (*ex*) having developed from a variant form evidently derived from a process of metathesis – OE æscian / ăscian > æcsian / ăcsian. The methathetical variant developed into *ax* (/aks/) and *ex* (/ɛks/) in some of the dialects of the midlands and north, while SE ask (RP /ɑ:sk/) is ultimately derived from OE ăscian.

A ME variant form *wessche* is responsible for the occurrence of /ɛ/ in *wesh* (SE /wɒʃ/, *wash)* in many of the traditional dialects of the north and north midlands. Nevertheless, a small number of these dialects have /wa/ forms. These are evidently derived from the ME *wassche*

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[7] *OED* (online version – www.oed.com).
[8] See Ogura (1987), pp. 144 – 145.

variant, which regularly developed as /wa/ > /wɒ/ in SE and many of the southern dialects.

The distribution of the /wɛ/ and /wa/ forms in contemporary traditional dialects suggests that the *wessche* variant was dominant in the north and north midlands during the ME period while the *wassche* variant was restricted, though not entirely, to the south and southern midlands.

Contemporary development in apparent time: realisations according to age-group

ME	RP	Traditional nwDer/neCh	Contemporary New Mills			
			Old	*Mid*	*Adult*	*Teen*
/ɛ/	/ɛ/, /e/	/ɛ/	[ɛ]	[ɛ]	[ɛ]	[ɛ]
/a/ /ɛ/ ? *make*	/eɪ/	/ɛ/	[ɛ], [e:]	[ɛ], [e:]	[ɛ], [eɪ], /e:/**	[eɪ], [ɛ], /e:/
/a/ /ɛ/ *sack*	/æ/	/ɛ/, /a/	[a] ([ɛ])	[a]	[a]	[a]
/a/, /ɛ/ *wash*	/ɒ/	/ɛ/	[ɛ], [ɒ]	[ɛ], [ɒ]	[ɛ], [ɒ]	[ɒ]
/a/, /ɛ/ *ask*	/ɑ:/	/ɛ/	[ɛ]*, [a]**	[ɛ]*, [a]**	[ɛ]*, [a]**	[a]**

** For variant realisations of /e:/, see above (pp. 19-20).
* With consonant cluster /ks/ only.
** With consonant cluster /sk/ only.

Contemporary Linguistic Change

Dialectal /ɛ/ (<ME /ɛ/) is universal throughout all age-groups and is evidently stable, having undergone no change since the ME period. However, the same cannot be said for dialectal /ɛ/ (< ME variant / regional forms); at best these exist alongside variant forms and are generally absent from the speech of teenagers. An exception to this is /ɛ/ in *make*, which occurs in all age-groups. The fact that it occurs alongside dialectal [e:] (usual reflex of ME /a/, lengthened in OS) in the speech of the old and mid age-groups may indicate that /ɛ/ has always operated as a (prevalent) variant form in this instance, though it is also possible that [e:] is merely a modified variant (towards SE) by analogy with the usual reflex of ME /a/ (> RP /eɪ/). The occurrence of /ɛ/, in this instance, in the speech of the youngest age-groups may be attributed to the fact of its common occurrence in the speech of traditional dialect speakers. This suggestion is given extra weight by the fact that it also occurs alongside dialectal /e:/ in the

speech of the teenagers (mainly in the speech of one informant, MH) − this feature being usually realized as [eɪ]. Whether or not this is the case, both dialectal [eː] and [ɛ] occur alongside modified [eɪ] (in *make*) in the speech of the teenagers.

Traditional dialect /ɛ/ (< ME /a/ [WM /ɛ/ ?]) in words such as *black* and *sack* has all but vanished. Even the oldest informants state that they cannot remember ever using these forms themselves, though some recall that they sometimes heard their fathers using them (informants JL, F). One of these informants (F) said that he sometimes used this form when he was young, particularly when talking to his father, but he had not used it since then. It may be significant that /ɛ/ in these instances was only recorded at one of the two nearest SED localities, Derbyshire 1 (Charlesworth, four miles NNE). At the other − Cheshire 2 (Rainow, six miles SW) − in addition to all the other Derbyshire and Cheshire localities, /a/ is recorded. This suggests that either this feature was highly localised, occurring in only a small part of the dialect area (i.e. according to Ellis' classification) - south-east Lancashire, extreme north-east Cheshire and only the most northern areas of north-west Derbyshire[9] - or that this feature has been eroding for some considerable time.

Dialectal /ɛ/ in *wesh* (SE *wash*) occurs in all age-groups (in addition to modified /ɒ/) except that of the teenage informants. Again, the absence of the traditional dialect form in the teenagers' speech is difficult to ascribe as being solely attributable to modification towards the standard; such features of traditional local dialect are significantly absent from the nearby urban varieties of the Manchester conurbation. As it is apparent that the teenagers consciously attempt to avoid this traditional type of speech, it is highly likely that modification is, at the very least, partially due to the influence of nearby urban varieties, if not wholly due in this respect.

Dialectal /ɛ/ in *ex* (SE *ask*) is prevalent in the old and mid age-groups (alongside modified /ask/) and, to a lesser extent, the adult age-group (most examples of this being provided by one informant, CW, who stated that he would only use this form when speaking with his father). In this instance, this traditional feature of the dialect operates in addition to modified /a/. It is highly probable that this modified variant is directly attributable to influence from a

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[9] Apart from the data from Derbyshire 1 (Charlesworth), the SED data can shed little light on this matter, as the area under discussion was omitted, being deemed as largely urban in character and therefore unsuitable for the purposes of the survey. This not only highlights one of the shortcomings of the survey − some urban varieties may be as "conservative" as the rural varieties − but a large chunk of data concerning an area that evidently has many unique features has gone unrecorded. Nonetheless, data from a nearby locality (Yorkshire 31), on the border of W. Yorkshire and SE Lancashire, records /blɛgz/ for *blackberries*.

regional standard form, as all instances of the variant form with /a/ occur with the consonant cluster /sk/ (SE /sk/) and not with the metathetical dialectal variant /ks/ (see above, p. 42), thus strongly suggesting that the /a/ forms are not a dialectal variation (dialectal *ax*, /aks/, occurs in other dialects in the north and midlands) in New Mills and elsewhere in the north-west midlands. The traditional dialect form with /ɛ/ is noticeably absent from the speech of the teenagers, who only use the modified form, whether this is due to the influence of SE (or modified varieties thereof) and / or nearby urban varieties.

/a/

/a/ is a low (fully open), unrounded short vowel, being somewhat less tense than RP /æ/.

Variants

A somewhat retracted variant [a̠], slightly forward of the open central position, is the usual realisation; less common variants include a front variant [a] and an open centralised variant [ä]. Open back variants, approaching [ɑ] are very rarely, if ever, present.

Distribution

Dialectal /a/, as with RP /æ/, does not occur in final open syllables or open monosyllables. This situation does not apply to longer variants [a], [aː] which occur both in open monosyllables and final open syllables, these generally being a development of compensatory lengthening of /a/ due to loss of pre-consonantal / final post-vocalic /r/.

Comparative Distribution

Dialectal /a/ corresponds to RP /æ/ in words such as *bat, bad, cap, cab, rack, rag, tack, dab*, in addition to RP /ɑː/ in items with the sequence V + voiceless fricative - e.g., *path, bath, grass, graft, after* - and in those words with the sequence V + nasal + voiceless fricative, such as *dance, chance, France* etc. Dialectal /a/, preceded by /w/, often corresponds to RP /ɒ/ in for example, *wasp* (dialectal /waps/;[10] SE /wɒsp/), and to RP /ɔː/, e.g., /watə/, *water*.

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[10] The dialectal form is evidently derived from the OE metathetical variant wæps (cf. OE wæsp > SE *wasp*).

Historical Development

Traditional dialect /a/ is derived from ME /a/ (< OE /a/, /æ/, and /aː/, /æː/ etc., later shortened in eME). In the traditional dialect, ME /a/ (preceded by bilabial /w/ in a closed syllable) remained /a/ in some lexical items of this type (> SE /ɒ/). In what became open monosyllables in SE (< ME /a/ + /r/, e.g., *war*), and in other instances in closed syllables with the sequence of ME /a/ + /r/ + C (resulting in a long vowel in SE following the loss of /r/) - e.g., *warm, wart, quart* - ME /a/ preceded by /w/ remained /a/ in the traditional dialect (i.e. /wart/); this developing to /aː/ with the loss of pre-consonantal / post-vocalic /r/ (> SE /ɔː/), e.g., dialectal [waˑ'm], [waːm], *warm*. In disyllables such as *water*, dialectal /a/ (< ME /a/) corresponds to RP /ɔː/, which has evidently developed from initial rounding (following /w/) and then lengthening. In this instance, it is apparent that both short vowel and long vowel variants are features of the dialects of the north-west midlands: *SED* data for the lexical item *water* records both forms at all the nearest *SED* localities (Derbyshire 1, 2, 3 and Cheshire 1, 2, 3). It is interesting to note in this case that dialectal /eː/ is a reflex of ME /a/ that has evidently undergone lengthening in OS (/a/ > /aː/ > /æː/ > /ɛː/ >/eː/), while the short vowel variant is descended from a form where the vowel did not undergo lengthening (because the initial syllable was closed or for some other reason) in New Mills and those dialects throughout the north and north midlands where /a/ occurs in this case. Other words of this type include *father* - where a short vowel /a/ ([faðə]) occurs as a variant alongside dialectal /eː/ ([feːðə]) and modified /aː/ ([faːðə] - RP /fɑːðə/). The Short vowel realisations of *half* have developed from the early monophthongisation of ME /aʊ/ (i.e. > /aː/), then shortening before /f/; dialectal /eː/ in *half* derives from the same earlier monophthongisation of ME /aʊ/, but followed by raising as a result of the Great Vowel Shift (i.e. /aʊ/ > /aː/ > /ae:/ > /ɛː/ > /eː/)

Traditional dialect /a/ in *yallow* (SE *yellow*) developed from a ME variant /ɔ/ (ME /ɔ/, /ɛ/ < OE *eo* in <geolu>), which later became unrounded, giving /a/. The /a/ form (i.e. *yallow*) is common throughout many traditional dialects.[11]

 In *wash*, the traditional dialect form in the north midlands is /ɛ/, corresponding to SE /ɒ/ (see above, pp. 39, 41), this having developed from a variant form /ɛ/ in ME (*wassche, wessche*).

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[11] See Orton, H., and Barry, M.V., *SED: The West Midland Counties* (op. cit), IV.6.6.; and Orton, H. and Halliday, M. V., *SED: The Six Northern Counties and the Isle of Man* (op. cit), IV.6.6.

Traditional dialect /ar/ - often [aː] (e.g., [staːtɪd], *started*; [kaː], *car*; [faːm], *farm* [waːm], *warm*), rarely [aˑ] (e.g., [daˑˈbɪʃə], *Derbyshire*) - is derived from ME /a/ + /r/ (>RP /ɑː/)

Contemporary development in apparent time: realisations according to age-group

ME	RP	Traditional nwDer/neCh	Contemporary New Mills			
			Old	**Mid**	**Adult**	**Teen**
/a/	/æ/	/a/	[a]	[a]	[a]	[a]
/a/ (before fricative)	/ɑː/	/a/	[a]	[a]	[a]	[a]
/a/ (in OS) *father*	/ɑː/	/eː/, /a/	[a], [eː], [aː]	[a], [eː], [aː]	[aː], [a]	[aː]
/a/ + /l/ - *half*	/ɑː/	/eː/	[a], [eː], [aː]	[a], [eː], [aː]	[aː], [a]	[aː], [a]
/w/ + /a/ (1) e. g., *wasp*	/ɒ/	/a/	[a], [ɒ]	[a], [ɒ]	[ɒ], [a]	[ɒ]
/w/ + /a/ (2) e. g., *water*	/ɔː/	/eː/, /a/	[a], [eː], /ɔː/*	[a], [eː], /ɔː/*	[a], /ɔː/*	[a], /ɔː/*
/w/+ /a/ + /r/ (3) e. g., *warm*	/ɔː/	/ar/	[aː], [a ˑ], /ɔː/*	[aː], [a ˑ], /ɔː/*	[aː], /ɔː/*	[aː], /ɔː/*
/a/ + /r/	/ɑː/	/ar/	[aː], [a ˑ]	[aː], [a ˑ]	[aː], [ɑː]	[aː], [ɑː]
ME /ɔ/ *yallow*	/ɛ/	/a/	[ɛ]	[ɛ]	[ɛ]	[ɛ]

(1) In closed syllables; (2) In open syllables; (3) In open or closed syllables (in sequence V+ /r/)
For realisation variants of /ɔː/, see above (pp. 24, 25).

Contemporary linguistic change

/a/ (< ME /a/) and /a/ (before fricatives) is universal throughout all the age-groups. This phoneme has remained unchanged since the ME period in many of the dialects of the north and midlands. Alongside /ʊ/, it forms one of the major isoglosses in England (the so-called Severn – Wash isogloss) separating north / midland /a/ and /ʊ/ from southern /ɑː/ and /ʌ/ respectively. The stability of /a/ (and, indeed, /ʊ/ - see below, pp. 58-59) is at least partially due to its ubiquitous occurrence in the dialects of the north and midlands, both urban and rural. This has undoubtedly characterised this feature as being a strong marker of regional identity, particularly a "northern" identity (as opposed to "southern"),[12] and more importantly is strongly perceived as such amongst the general population.

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[12] In the north part of the traditionally defined north-west midlands (north-west Derbyshire, north Cheshire, south and central Lancashire) and the north part of the north-east midlands (north-east Derbyshire, South and West Yorkshire, north Lincolnshire and the south part of East Yorkshire) dialect areas, the inhabitants generally regard themselves and their speech as "northern". It is interesting to note that those who live in the defined northern counties (Cumbria, Durham, Northumberland etc.) generally regard this area as the "midlands", while some in Northumberland even refer to the people of the north midlands dialect area as "southerners"!

Moreover, the presence of RP speakers in northern and midland areas has merely reinforced the status of this phoneme amongst the majority of other speakers - /a/, unlike the majority of dialect features, is not restricted to the lower classes; it is also used by many of those speaking northern regional standard (instead of RP /ɑ:/), the use of the RP equivalent /ɑ:/ being generally restricted to the upper classes – thus adding a prominent class distinction in addition to the notion of a north /south distinction. Indeed, some of the youngest informants readily acknowledged this by stating that they would never use /ɑ:/ (< ME /a/) as only "posh people and southerners say that." It appears that /a/ (and to a lesser extent, /ʊ/ – see below, pp. 58-59) is unusual amongst dialect features in that it carries no negative connotations of correctness / incorrectness (when compared to RP) by the overwhelming majority of speakers in the north and midlands, but that it is perceived as being a positive marker of regional identity. Such a view has been put forward by Wells, who quotes data from a West Midlands study which demonstrates that the use of /a/ (RP /ɑ:/) is found considerably further up the social scale, when compared to the use of /ʊ/ (RP /ʌ/).[13] Nevertheless, the apparent lack of stigmatisation attached to /a/ may be partially explained by the relatively chequered history of contemporary RP /ɑ:/; as late as the nineteenth century, [ɑ:] realisations in items such as *bath* were considered vulgarisms by RP speakers (i.e. at this time, [ɑ:] realisations were generally typical of rustic southern accents).[14] The apparent avoidance of [ɑ:] by RP speakers (until relatively recently) suggests that this SE phoneme may still be fluid in nature.

Whatever the situation is concerning RP [ɑ:], contemporary research points to a strengthening of dialectal /a/, which currently demonstrates consolidation and expansion. Evidence that points to the geographical consolidation of /a/ (southern / RP /ɑ:/) is provided by research undertaken by Britain, which demonstrates that the previously complex area of mixed / fudged lects (operating on the border of the /a/ - /ɑ:/ isogloss), described by Chambers and Trudgill (1980),[15] is being replaced by a considerably more defined boundary, "suggesting that a true or near isogloss may develop"[16] (see also /ʊ/, below, pp. 58-59). Moreover, the research undertaken by Wells (outlined above) also suggests that /a/ (SE /ɑ:/)

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[13] Wells (1982 b), p. 354.

[14] Beal, Joan C., *English Pronunciation in the Eighteenth Century*, Oxford, Oxford University Press, 1999, pp. 107 – 111.

[15] Chambers and Trudgill (1980), op. cit, pp. 137-142.

[16] Britain, David, "Welcome to East Anglia! Two major dialect 'boundaries' in the Fens", in Fisiak, Jacek, and Trudgill, Peter (eds), *East Anglian English*, Cambridge, D. S. Brewer, 2001, p. 239.

appears to have become consolidated on a social level as well as a geographical level.

A stable situation, however, does not exist in relation to many of the other dialect features derived from ME /a/. It is perhaps significant that these features are more localised than /a/ (RP /ɑː/) both geographically and socially; while many of those who speak northern regional standard will use /a/ in a word such as *bath*, it is certainly the case that they will use RP /ɒ/ in *watch* and not dialectal /a/ (< ME /a/ preceded by /w/). This feature is restricted to the speech of the old and middle age-groups (and, to a lesser extent, adult age-group) alongside modified /ɒ/, the use of which is determined by situation. It is, however, totally absent in the data from the speech of the teenagers. Once again, this cannot be attributed solely to the influence of RP or other modified variety. The same feature is also absent from the urban varieties of Manchester, which undoubtedly influence the teenagers' speech. However, a slightly different situation applies to /a/ (< ME /a/ preceded by /w/ in OS > RP /ɔː/, e.g., *water*), and dialectal /a/ (in items < ME /w/ + /a/ + /r/, usually lengthened [aː] in /r/-less realisations, e.g., *warm*). Although these occur mainly in the speech of the old and middle age-groups (alongside modified /ɔː/), they also occur infrequently and sporadically in the free speech of the younger informants (adult / teenage age-groups). The reasons for this are unclear; it is possible that such realisations are deemed to be markers of a regional (rather than a local) identity, thus attracting covert prestige amongst the younger speakers. The alternative modified form (i.e. /ɔː/), being the common realisation in the teenage age-group, is a more open [ː], [ː] or [ɒː] (see above, pp. 24, 25). These more open realisations (corresponding to SE /ɔː/) are also typical of the nearby urban varieties of Manchester (and, indeed, many other urban varieties in the north midlands).[17]

Dialectal /a/ (< ME /a/ + /r/), generally realised as lengthened variants [aː], [a·] (compensatory lengthening due to loss of /r/), is present throughout all the age-groups. In addition to this, an r-coloured variant [aɻ], though infrequent, is present in the speech of the older informants (e.g. [da·ˈbɪʃə], *Derbyshire*), demonstrating the remaining presence of dialectal post-vocalic / pre-consonantal /r/, a regressive feature of the traditional dialect that has all but vanished (see also /r/, below, pp. 173-184). It is perhaps significant to note, in this instance, that r-colouring of /a/ in the speech of the oldest informants does not occur in words such as *wart* and *quart*. This is apparently a local dialectal feature; in the nearby SED

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[17] See Wells, J. C. (1982 b), pp. 360, 364.

locality of Charlesworth (Derbyshire 1), where r-colouring was a strong feature at the time of the survey, the data records a long vowel /aː/ in *wart*, where /aˑ/ would be expected. It is unclear whether this demonstrates that the erosion of r-colouring of vowels began or became more prominent in the environment of /a/, or whether the preceding labial or following dental consonants were influential. The latter seems unlikely as other evidence appears to refute this - [maˑˈʃ], *Marsh [Lane]* (place), is present in the tape-recording of a New Mills man (JC) born at the turn of the century, who died around 1988 – as, indeed, does the presence of realisations such as [daˑˈbɪʃə] (cf. 'older' variant [dəˈbɪʃə]) in the speech of the oldest informants.

A modified retracted variant [ɑː] is present in the speech of the adult age-group and the teenagers. An urban influence in this instance is highly unlikely as more fronted realisations [aː], typical of the traditional dialect of New Mills, are also common in the Manchester varieties and indeed, many dialects, both urban and rural, in the north midlands. In this case, it must be assumed that the retracted variants are as a direct influence of SE or modified varieties thereof.

As is the case with dialectal /ɛ/ in *black, sack* etc. (above, p. 42), dialectal /a/ in *yallow* (SE *yellow*) is noticeably absent in all the age-groups. Moreover, some of the oldest informants stated that, although they were aware of this dialect feature, they had not heard it for some considerable time; they also stated that they themselves had not used it since they were young, and then on rare occasions, this feature being something that was generally only part of their fathers' speech. It must be assumed that this feature underwent rapid erosion during the first and middle parts of the twentieth century. There is no evidence to suggest any reasons or factors (social or linguistic) as to why this may have occurred. Rather surprising is the fact that, unlike dialectal /ɛ/ in *bleck* etc., this feature is not highly localised, but is common throughout the midlands and north; it must be assumed, therefore, that the replacement of dialectal /a/ by /ɛ/ is on account of direct influence by SE or some other modified variety.

/ɒ/

/ɒ/ is a fully open, back, rounded vowel, the quality of which is essentially a rounded C[ɑ].

Distribution

Gimson states that RP /ɒ/ "does not occur in a final, open syllable",[18] a situation which does not obtain in a limited number of instances in the traditional dialect of New Mills, e.g., with the loss of post-vocalic /r/ in word final /fɒ/, *for* (e.g. [f mɪ], *for me*), and in utterance final /wɒt fɒ/, *what for?* In these instances, /ɒ/ is nearly always realised as [ɒ] or a slightly longer [ɒ·], with little or no compensatory lengthening of /ɒ/, as yet, due to loss of post-vocalic /r/.[19] However, this is not always the case – see /ɔ:/, above, pp. 21-27.

Comparative distribution

Dialectal /ɒ/ corresponds to RP /ɒ/ in words such as *pop, bomb, top, dog, cock, got* etc.

Traditional dialect /ɒ/ before nasals corresponds to RP /æ/ in *can* and *man*. Dialectal /ɒ/ in *none* ([nɒn]), *none*; *tongue* ([tɒŋg]); and *won* ([wɒn]); and dialectal variant /ɒ/ (alongside /ʊ/) in *among*, correspond to RP /ʌ/. Dialectal /ɒ/ also corresponds to RP /ɔ:/ in [fɒɹəts] or [fɒɹədz], RP [fɔ:wədz], *forwards* (produced by the dialectal elision of /w/, and subsequent retention of /r/ and preceding short vowel, and, in relation to the former, devoicing of final consonants).

The almost universal occurrence of dialect /ɒ/ in *tongue* (< OE ŭ > ME /ʊ/)[20] in all age-groups, and variant /ɒ/ in *among*,[21] are worthy of comment. Although both forms were recorded in the SED Derbyshire and Cheshire localities, the two nearest localities to New Mills (i.e. Derbyshire 1 [Charlesworth] and Cheshire 2 [Rainow])[22] both have /ʊ/ in these items, which suggests that New Mills is situated within the /ʊ/ area - the /ɒ/ area in *tongue* is situated to the south, east and west of New Mills (i.e. east Derbyshire, central Nottinghamshire, Staffordshire and central Cheshire),[23] and the /ɒ/ areas in *among* are situated to the east (South Yorkshire, north Nottinghamshire and Lincolnshire etc.) and west

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[18] Gimson (1994), p. 108.

[19] The occurrence of non-lengthened (and non r-coloured) /ɒ/ in final (morpheme and utterance) position - e.g., *What for*? – is probably influenced by phono-syntactic factors – prepositions, such as *for*, usually occur as weak forms (with a centralised vowel quality) in an unaccented clause position; in clause final position, however, they often occur as a strong form (with corresponding vowel quality), even though they are unaccented – see Gimson (1994), p. 229.

[20] The /ɒ/ in *tongue* is an example of the north-west midlands development of /ʊ/ (>/ɔ/, /ɒ/) before [ŋg].

[21] The /ɒ/ in *among* is an example of survival of the west midlands OE / ME rounded vowel before nasal.

[22] Four miles NNE, and six miles SW respectively.

[23] See Upton et al (1987), op. cit, p. 186.

(north-west Cheshire, Merseyside and south-west Lancashire).[24] It is probable that both variants have always occurred in New Mills, though the dominance of /ɒ/ (in an otherwise /ʊ/ area) suggests an external influence. One possible explanation may be provided by the relatively substantial number of incomers who relocated to New Mills from central Lancashire in the early twentieth century (see Appendix, p. 60); this area is situated within the small /ɒ/ enclave (*tongue*)[25] and the considerably larger /ɒ/ area (*among*).[26]

Historical Development

As in SE, traditional dialect /ɒ/ is derived from ME /ɔ/ (< OE /ɔ/, /oː/) in words such as *God* and *soft* respectively, from eModE shortening of ME /ɔː/ in words such as *gone* and from monophthongisation and later shortening of ME /ɔʊ/, /aʊ/ in words such as *knowledge*.

Dialectal /ɒ/, which occurs before nasals in words such as *can* and *man*, is derived from the ME variant form /ɔ/ before nasals (< OE allophone of /a/, before nasal – [ɒ] / [ɔ]). During the ME period, this variant form became increasingly confined to the West Midland dialects. Similarly, a-forms became predominant in the northern dialects; most of these a-forms became established in SE by the eModE period.

It is generally assumed that the more open /ɒ/ developed from /ɔ/ during the eModE period,[27] though it is also assumed that the allophone (before a nasal) of OE /a/ was [ɒ],[28] the difference merely being one of rounding. Thus, it is possible that [ɒ] was already well established from the OE period onwards in dialects, such as those in the West Midlands, where o-forms predominated. During the ME period, WM /ɔ/ before /l/ (ME /al/) may also have been realized as a more open [ɒ]. It is not unreasonable, therefore, to assume that the presence of [ɒ] in these dialects could have exerted influence upon the realisations of ME /ɔ/ before the assumed change in the eModE period.

Dialectal /ɒ/ in *for*, *or*, and other lexical items such as *horse* etc., has developed from eModE /ɒ/ + /r/ and has evidently undergone little or no change in the ModE period. In most other instances of this type (< ME /ɔ/ + /r/), the quality of the vowel has also remained essentially

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[24] See Upton and Widdowson (1996), op. cit, p. 12.
[25] Upton et al (1987), p. 186.
[26] Upton and Widdowson (1996), p. 12.
[27] Gimson (1994), p. 109.
[28] Gimson (1994), p. 72.

the same as it was in the eModE period, the vowel being merely lengthened to compensate for the loss of /r/, though contemporary realisations demonstrate considerable variation - see /ɔː/, above, pp. 21-27. This is in contrast to the closer vowel in RP, in which the reflex of ME /ɔ/ + /r/ is /ɔː/. In the case of traditional dialect /ɒ/ in *for*, compensatory lengthening has evidently not occurred – a remnant r-coloured vowel is apparent in the speech of the oldest informants, alongside a more common variant form without r-colouring, both of which occur as a short vowel, whether in unstressed utterance final position (see above, p. 49), or in positions of relative stress, e.g., /fɒɹ əbæʏt twɛntɪ jɪə/, *for about twenty year* (SE *years*).[29] The reasons why this should be so, when there has been compensatory lengthening in all other instances of the reflexes of ME /ɔ/ + /r/, are not clear, but it may be because of the frequent occurrence of the preposition *for* in utterance final position.

Contemporary development in apparent time: realisations according to age-group

ME	RP	Traditional nwDer/neCh	**Contemporary New Mills**			
			Old	*Mid*	*Adult*	*Teen*
/ɔ/, /ɔː/	/ɒ/	/ɒ/	[ɒ]	[ɒ]	[ɒ]	[ɒ]
/ʊ/, /ɔ/ (nwMid)	/ʌ/ *tongue*	/ʊ/, /ɒ/ (?)	[ɒ]	[ɒ]	[ɒ]	[ɒ]
/a/ (before nasal) WM /ɔ/	/æ/ *can, man*	/ɒ/	[ɒ], [a]	[ɒ], [a]	[a] ([ɒ])	[a]
/ɔ/ + /r/ *or*	/ɔː/	/ɒr/ ([ɒɹ], [ɒɻ])	[ː], [ː] [ˡ],[ˡ], ([o ə])*	[ː], [ː] [ˡ] ([o ə])*	[ː], [ː], [ɒː]**	[ː], [ː], [ɒː]**

* For comments regarding [ː], [ː] and [o ə] realisations (< ME /ɔ/ + /r/ > SE /ɔː/), see above, pp. 23, 24.
** For a full description of the younger informants' realisations of /ɔː/, see above, pp. 24, 25.

Contemporary linguistic change

Dialectal /ɒ/ (< ME /ɔ/ > eModE /ɒ/) is universal throughout the age-groups. As in SE, this phoneme has remained stable since the eModE period (perhaps earlier in the dialects of the north-west midlands – see above, p. 51) – though it should be noted that [ɔː] realisations (before fricatives), common in some of the southern dialects and in marked RP, are not present in New Mills. It must be assumed that the stability of this phoneme is either (at least

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[29] In such positions, prepositions are frequently unstressed – e.g., /fəɹ ə wiːk/, *for a week* – but in some instances acquire a degree of stress, particularly before a short pause as the informant hesitates while speaking, in this example while answering the question "how long did you work there for?".

partially) due to the influence of SE / modified SE, or because this phoneme occurs in many dialects throughout the north and midlands; consequently, its supra-regional distribution means it is neither a regional nor a local marker.

Conversely, dialectal /ɒ/ (before nasals), common in many of the traditional dialects of the general West Midlands dialect area, is not only a regional marker, but also a marker of traditional dialects within this area (it is absent in the nearby urban varieties of the Manchester conurbation);[30] it occurs (in New Mills) in the speech of the old and mid age-groups, alongside modified /a/. Despite its continuing use, it appears to be the case that that it is limited to an increasingly restricted number of lexical items: /a/ in *hand* is the sole realisation in the speech of the oldest informants, whereas /ɒ/ is recorded in the SED data for the two nearest localities (Derbyshire 1, Cheshire 2). Dialectal /ɒ/ (before nasals) is uncommon in the adult age-group, being generally present in the speech of only one informant (CW), who stated that he would normally only use such forms when speaking to his father. It is completely absent in the teenagers' speech. Again, it must be assumed that this change is directly due to the influence of SE and / or nearby urban varieties.

Dialectal /ɒ/, occurring finally in *for*, is present (alongside /ɔ:/ and variants thereof) in all age-groups except the teenagers. In the speech of the teenagers, lowered variants of /ɔ:/ are commonplace, which suggests that modification is not solely attributable to SE, being at least partially influenced by urban varieties, in which lowered variants are also common. However, it is possible that the more open variants in the teenagers' speech are merely by analogy, i.e. in all instances corresponding to SE /ɔ:/. A further possibility is that the occurrence of lowered variants may be due (wholly or partially) to development within the dialect of New Mills itself; /ɒ/ (and lengthened variants) - which has developed in certain environments (i.e. before /r/), corresponding to SE [31] - is present in the speech of the older informants. This is evident in *or* (but not *for*), where the usual realisation in the old,[32] mid and adult age-groups are open variants (corresponding to SE /ɔ:/), these having developed

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30 This applies to the inner-city varieties, rather than the extended urban area that is Greater Manchester – Shorrocks recorded /ɔ/ before nasals (corresponding to SE /æ/) in Farnworth, Bolton (Greater Manchester, formerly south Lancashire) – see Shorrocks (1998a), p. 235.

31 The open variants in the traditional dialect of New Mills (i.e. in the speech of the older informants), only occurs in these items (< eModE /ɒ/ + /r/); closer variants / :/, and even / / are common in other instances (corresponding to SE /ɔ:/) not derived from eModE /ɒ/ + /r/ - see above, pp. 24-25.

32 Long variants occur alongside a short r-coloured fully open back vowel in the speech of the oldest informants. It may be significant, in the case of *or*, that the degree of rhoticity is often greater than the usual /ɹ/, sometimes approaching /ɻ/ - see also /r/ below, p. 176.

from the compensatory lengthening of /ɒ/ (< eModE /ɒ/), due to loss of post-vocalic /r/. In this respect, the lexical item *or* differs somewhat from *for* in that the same realisations are apparent in all age-groups (except those realisations with r-colouring, which are restricted to the older informants) – i.e. open long realisations only, quantitatively shorter realisations without r-colouring (evident in *for*)[33] being absent. Such a situation means it is difficult to make any definitive conclusions regarding the change affecting /ɒ/ in this environment; it is evident that the development affecting /ɒ/ in these instances (this change itself being effected by another development in which a highly regressive post-vocalic /r/ is in the process of being eroded completely) is complex and irregular.

/ʊ/

/ʊ/ is a back, close-mid, centralised, rounded vowel. It is often said to be a lax short /u/, though its quality is essentially a slightly raised centralised /o/, i.e. [ ]. /ʊ/ is the symmetrical back equivalent of the front vowel /ɪ/.

Variants

There is little variation in the realisation of /ʊ/. This is probably due to there being restricted vowel space, despite the fact that there are neither short nor long close back vowels, i.e. /u/ or /u:/; any retracted / lowered or fronted variants would necessarily compromise sufficient differentiation between /ʊ/ and /o:/ and /ʏ:/ respectively. Nevertheless, a centralised variant [ ] does sometimes occur in final unstressed syllables, in free variation with /ə/ - e.g. [lɒŋgd n], *Longden* (name), but [o:pən], *open* – and in certain instances in word initial position (and apparently in an utterance intial environment) in lexical items, such as the preposition *at*, where the unstressed form (usually /ə/) may be realised as [ ] – e.g., [t əbäʏt na:ɪn], *at about nine* [o'clock] - cf. [ä wɛnt dæʏn ət twɛlv], *I went down* [there] *at twelve* [o'clock];and [ɪt wɒ ə lɒt dʏ:ɪn at tïtʰ], *it wants a lot doing at it* (*it needs a lot* [*of work*] *doing to it*). Centralised variants / / and /ə/ often occur as a realisation of /ʊ/ before /r/, in both stressed and unstressed positions (in free variation with [ʊ]) - e.g., [k] *curry*; [b], *bury*; [ ], *hurry* (cf. dialectal [ʊɪʲ ʊp], *hurry up*), [l], *lorry*; [makm], *McMurray*

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[33] A short vowel realisation is also apparent in a variant form [ɒs], *horse*, though, as far as can be ascertained, all other items of this class (< eModE /ɒ/ + /r/), e.g., *short*, follow the *or* pattern.

(personal name) - and as a breaking element (in addition to /ə/) before /l/, e. g, [fɤːᵘɫ], *fool*.

Distribution

/ʊ/ occurs in both stressed and unstressed syllables. Its distribution within the word differs markedly from that of SE. Gimson notes that "/ʊ/ [in SE] does not occur in word initial positions, nor before final /ŋ/, and finally only in an unaccented form of *to* /tʊ/."[34] Traditional dialect /ʊ/ occurs in word initial position in words such as /ʊp/, *up* and /ʊndə/, *under*; words with pre-fix *un-*, /ʊnlɛs/, *unless*; and (without initial /h/) items such as /ʊndɹɪd/ *hundred*, /ʊŋgɹɪ/ *hungry* and /ʊmɪn/ *humming*. It also occurs before /ŋ/ in final consonant clusters – unlike RP (and many other dialects), /ŋ/ does not occur word finally in the dialect of New Mills (and, indeed, many other dialects in the general West Midlands dialect area), the voiced velar consonant /g/ having been retained following [ŋ]– e.g., /ɹʊng/, *rung*; and /bʊng/ *bung*. Dialect /ʊ/ only occurs finally (infrequently) as a shortened and centralised variant of /oː/, e.g. /wɛə dɪd jə gʊ/, *where did you go?*

Comparative Distribution

Dialectal /ʊ/ corresponds to RP /ʌ/ in *pub, bun, tub, dug, cut, gut, ton, done*, *tongue* (variant),[35] *sun, courage, nothing* etc. Dialectal /ʊ/ corresponds to RP /ʊ/ in *butcher, pull, put, sugar, would, could, should* etc. It should be noted that the recent RP tendency for /ʊ/ to be realised with less lip rounding (with a lower tongue position (i.e. [ö] or [ɤ],[36] or centralised position, i.e. tending towards [ə]) has not occurred in New Mills. This development in SE has probably occurred because of RP (or modified varieties) speakers' erroneous perception that /ʊ/ is solely regional in all instances – equating to RP /ʌ/ - and /ʊ/ has thus been modified in the direction of /ʌ/. This development is very similar to that which had already occurred in northern English regional standard, where /ʊ/ in words such as *butcher* and *put* has been hypercorrectly modified to [ə] or [ʌ].[37]

Dialectal /ʊ/ also corresponds to RP /ʊ/ in a limited number of words spelt *oo* (< ME ō2 /oː/),

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[34] Gimson (1994), p. 113.

[35] *Tongue* is usually realised with /ɒ/ - see above, pp. 49-50.

[36] Gimson (1994), p. 113.

[37] It should be noted that unrounded variants are not indicative of hypercorrection in all varieties - /ɤ/ realisations occur in some "fudged" lects (midlands / East Anglian varieties) bordering the main /ʊ/ - /ʌ/ isogloss (in the vicinity of the Wash) - see Chambers and Trudgill (1980), op. cit, pp. 132 – 137.

such as *wood* and *wool*. In many other words of this type, eModE shortening has not taken place in the dialect of New Mills, and ME /oː/ has developed regularly to /ɤː/, e.g. /lɤːk/, /ɤːk/, *look* and *hook* respectively (see above, pp. 14, 15-16). A shortened dialectal variant /ʊ/ coresponds to RP /əʊ/ in *goes*, e.g. [gʊz ʊp], *goes up* (cf. dialectal /goːz/).

Additionally, dialectal /ʊ/ corresponds to RP /aʊ/ in a highly restricted number of past participles, e.g., [fʊn], *found* (RP /faʊnd/) – see below, pp. 57-58 and pp. 58-59.

Historical Development

As is the case with /ɪ/ (see above, p. 33), the quality of OE ŭ is not known with certainty. A theory has been forwarded that lax short vowels, such as /ʊ/, developed in the ME period from OE tense short vowels, in this case, /u/.[38] On the other hand, Gimson has dated this development as occurring earlier and includes /ʊ/ as part of the OE sound system.[39] Such chronological discrepancies, though of great relevance in specific historical studies, are of little importance as far as the present study is concerned: it may be said with some certainty that /ʊ/ was the usual realisation of ŭ from the late OE / ME period onwards.

In the midlands and north (roughly north and west of a line running from the Wash [on the east coast of England] to the Severn Estuary [on the west coast], the so-called "Severn -Wash isogloss"), /ʊ/ has not changed, while in the dialects of the south and east (including SE), this sound developed to /ʌ/ (RP), or more open and fronted variations, from the seventeenth century onwards.

Evidence suggests that shortening of ME /oː/ to /ʊ/ in the eModE period was influenced by phonetic environment, with shortening occurring before /d/ and, to a lesser extent, before /v/ first (during the 16th century), and before /t, ð, k/ later (during the 17th century).[40] In the dialect of New Mills, it is apparent that this scenario fits well with the data; shortening has evidently occurred before /d/ in items such as *good, could, blood, hood*, but in other instances, the long vowel (as in SE) developed regularly, e.g., /fɤː d/, *food* (SE - /fuːd/). Nevertheless, unlike SE, eModE shortening was limited in the dialect of New Mills (and many other dialects in the north-west midlands). In many lexical items with /t/ and /k/, such as *soot, cook, book* etc. - where the ME long vowel has evidently undergone shortening in

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[38] See Ogura (1987), op. cit, pp. 112-115.
[39] See Gimson (1994), p. 72.
[40] See Ogura, p. 145.

SE and many other dialects - the long vowel has developed regularly to /ʏ:/ in the dialect of New Mills (see above, p. 14).

Dialectal /ʊ/ in /fʊn/ *found* (SE /faʊnd/) is derived from OE ŭ. During the late OE period, the short vowel generally underwent lengthening in the south and midlands before the consonant cluster /nd/ – i.e. to /u:/- but generally remained short in the north. It is apparent, however, that the isoglosses for northern English /ʊ/ before /nd/ rarely coincide exactly. It is evident that the contemporary provenance of non-lengthened variants varies according to lexical item; in some cases, a long vowel occurs in the southern part of the northern area. Conversely, in a restricted number of lexical items, such as *found*, a short vowel has been retained in the traditional dialects of the north-west midlands, and, indeed (in this instance), in a small number of localities as far south as the south-west midlands. Nevertheless, in the traditional dialects of the north-west midlands today, the usual reflex of OE ŭ before /nd/ - in, for example, items such as *ground* and *pound* - corresponds to that of ME /u:/. Several theories have been put forward concerning the short vowel anomalies in (generally) long vowel areas. Wakelin suggests that this is due to dialect "borrowing" in the border areas between the north midlands and northern dialect areas.[41] Alternatively, short and long vowel variants may have existed side by side since the ME period. Orton, in his 1930s study of South Durham, concluded that the [öʊ] forms in some lexical items (< OE ŭ + /nd/) are descended from a long vowel and that "genuine forms with ū existed in ME" in the north.[42] It is possible, therefore, that both forms also occurred in the north-west midlands, situated as it is on the division between the northern and midland dialect areas - in much the same way that /ʊ/ and /ʌ/ occur in the same locality in some of the so-called "mixed lects" in the south-east midlands today.[43] However, this hypothesis would not explain the occurrence of an apparently northern form - /gɹʊnd/, *ground* - in a small number of localities in the west midlands and the north of the south-west midlands dialect area, unless it is accepted that borrowing from the north-west midlands dialect area, where it is ubiquitous, has occurred. Another possibility is that the apparent recessive nature of the short vowel in the north – previous data suggests that the provenance of the short vowel appears to be migrating northwards[44] – could suggest that the short vowel was once more common in the north

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[41] Wakelin (1977), pp. 7, 90
[42] Orton, H. (1933), p.47.
[43] See Chambers, J.K., and Trudgill, Peter (op. cit.), pp. 129-137.
[44] See Wakelin, M. (1977), pp. 102-104; Tidholm, H., pp. 5-6, and Rohrer, F., "The Border between the

midlands also (and, indeed, elsewhere in the midlands). Subsequently, the short vowel anomalies could be indicative of an uncompleted change (operating by a process of lexical diffusion) in the north-west midlands; the few contemporary examples may merely be the remnants of a recessive feature.

Contemporary development in apparent time: realisations according to age-group

ME	RP	Traditional nwDer/neCh	Contemporary New Mills			
			Old	*Mid*	*Adult*	*Teen*
/ʊ/	/ʌ/	/ʊ/	[ʊ]	[ʊ]	[ʊ]	[ʊ]
/ʊ/ *could, full* etc.	/ʊ/ [ɤ], [ö]	/ʊ/	[ʊ]	[ʊ]	[ʊ]	[ʊ]
/oː/ *good*	/ʊ/ [ɤ], [ö]	/ʊ/	[ʊ]	[ʊ]	[ʊ]	[ʊ]
/ʊ/ north /uː/ south *found*	/aʊ/	/ʊ/	/æʊ/*, [ʊ],	/æʊ/*, [ʊ]	/æʊ/*, [aʊ]	[aʊ]

* For the realisations of /æʊ/, see below, p. 76.

Contemporary linguistic change

Dialectal /ʊ/ (< ME /ʊ/, and some instances of eModE shortening of ME /oː/) is universal throughout all the age-groups. Of significance is the sole use of dialectal /ʊ/ corresponding to RP /ʌ/. The evident stability of this phoneme corresponds to that of /a/ above, and it is highly probable that many of the factors affecting the stability of /ʊ/ (< ME /ʊ/ > RP /ʌ/) are the same as those of /a/. Again the wide provenance of /ʊ/ throughout the north and central and north midlands is a decisive factor. This has led to its common perception as a marker of regional identity; /ʊ/ is perceived as "northern" (despite its widespread occurrence in the midlands – see above, p. 55), while /ʌ/ and open variants are perceived as "southern". Additionally, there is also a distinct social class perception in that the use of /ʌ/ in areas where /ʊ/ is dominant is deemed to be solely the speech of the upper classes. Indeed, many informants openly stated that they would never use RP /ʌ/ on account of its geographical and / or social provenance. More significantly, a general perception concerning modified SE variants (i.e. the somewhat centralised RP forms typical of contemporary SE and "Estuary English", and the hypercorrections typical of regional standard) also exists amongst the

informants. Remarks about these modified variants were often forthcoming without prompt when comments were being made concerning /ʊ/ and /ʌ/. The use of such modified variants were even more strongly dismissed and open to ridicule - particular scorn was aimed at those in the community who used them, such speakers being satirised in a highly unfavourable light. In conclusion, it evidently appears that /ʊ/ is approaching the same level of stability as /a/, and it is highly probable that this stability (as with /a/) is bound up with issues of regional identity (i.e. "northern") and the subsequent perception of /ʊ/ as a prominent marker of this identity. Indeed, contemporary research points to the strengthening of /ʊ/ in some areas bordering the southern /ʌ/ area (see directly below). Previous thinking on this issue dictates that, while /ʊ/ has remained relatively stable, it does not demonstrate the same consolidation exhibited by /a/ (SE /ɑ:/), by dint of the fact that /a/ occurs in the speech of people of a higher social-class. Wells, typical in this respect, states that "there are many educated northerners who would not be caught dead doing something so vulgar as to pronounce STRUT words with [ʊ], but who feel it to be a denial of their identity as northerners to say BATH words with anything other than short [a]." [45] Nevertheless, while it is not possible to confirm whether /ʊ/ is being increasingly adopted (or not) by speakers of a higher social class (due to a lack of further data), contemporary research, which focuses on the Fenland areas bordering the /ʊ/ - /ʌ/ isogloss, points to the strengthening of /ʊ/ in the northern part of this border area. This demonstrates that, firstly, southern /ʌ/ is making no inroads into the areas to the north, and, secondly, the rather complex area of mixed / fudged lects (described by Chambers and Trudgill, 1980)[46] is not being maintained; rather data from the younger inhabitants demonstrates that the boundary separating north / midlands /ʊ/ from southern /ʌ/ is becoming more defined.[47]

The continuing use of dialectal /ʊ/ (< (north) ME /ʊ/ before /nd/ - (south) ME /u:/) in *found* is restricted to the old and mid age-groups (alongside modified /æʊ/). Amongst the younger informants (teenagers and adult age-groups), the sole realisations are /aʊ/, /æʊ/ (SE /aʊ/).[48] This suggests that these modified variants have developed from the direct influence of RP (or modified variety) and / or urban varieties where the realisations (<ME /u:/) are the same.

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[45] Wells (1982 b), p. 354.
[46] Chambers and Trudgill (1980), op. cit, pp. 132-137.
[47] Britain (2001), op. cit, pp. 223-233.
[48] For the differing realizations (according to age) of the reflex of ME /u:/ (> SE /aʊ/), see below, p. 82.

/ə/

/ə/ is a central, mid, neutral (lip rounding / lip spread) short vowel.

Variants

On account of the fact that there is no qualitative contrast in the central vowel area - indeed, it is evident that little quantitative contrast exists either in the traditional dialect of New Mills, as in many instances /ə/ and /ə:/ operate in free variation as the reflex of ME /ɪ/, /ɛ/, /ʊ/ + /r/ (SE /ɜ:/), e.g., [fəst], [fə:st], *first*; [wəks], [wə:ks], *works* – a relatively large amount of realisational variation is apparent. In most cases, the quality of the central vowel is influenced by phonetic environment, e.g., by moving towards the close-mid position, [ ], in the vicinity of velar consonants - [gɛn], *again.* However, unlike RP and some other varieties, position within the morpheme appears to have had little effect upon the realisations of /ə/; the RP tendency for word final /ə/ to be realised as lower (open-mid) variants [ə], [ɐ], or lowered and retracted to [a] (refined RP)[49], has not occurred in the traditional dialect of New Mills.

Distribution

/ə/ occurs in all postions. Medial /ə/ (between a consonant and /r/) is apparently optional in the dialect (e.g. /swɛltərɪn/, *sweltering*; /sɔ:ntrɪn/, *sauntering*); it may be observed that the presence or otherwise of /ə/ in this environment is also significant on a supra-segmental level (syllable).

Comparative Distribution

Dialectal /ə/ corresponds to RP /ə/ in many instances in unstressed syllables, particularly in initial syllables of disyllabic words – e.g., /əˈmʊng/ (RP /əˈmʌŋ/), *among* – or final syllables – e.g., /kɔ:nə/, *corner.* Nevertheless, differences (between the dialect and SE) in the vocalic realisations of unstressed syllables do exist. In contrast to SE, the second syllable in words such as *yellow* and the final syllable in words such as *Calico* (technical term – e.g., [kalɪkə pɹɪntɪn], *Calico printing*, RP /kælɪkəʊ/), *potato*, *tomato* and *tomorrow* remains unstressed [ə] in the dialect, whereas RP has a full vowel (diphthong), in unaccented position– e.g., /ˈjɛlə/, *yellow*; /pəˈte:tə/, *potato*; /təˈmɒɹə/, *tomorrow* (RP /ˈjeləʊ/, /pəˈteɪtəʊ/, /təˈmɒrəʊ/

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respectively). However, differences in stress between the dialect and SE (and hence vocalic realisations) are apparent; these include stress realisations in polysyllabic items that contain a prefix (see directly below). Dialectal /ə/ (in addition to /ə:/) corresponds to RP /ɜ:/ in many monosyllabic words such as *first*, *work* / *works* (dialectal [wək(s)]), *worse* (< ME /ɪ/, /ɛ/, /ʊ/, /ɔ/ + /r/), and also in the suffixes of some disyllabic words, particularly in those relating to onomastics. In these instances, dialectal /ə/ often corresponds to stressed RP /ɜ:/ - e.g., /blakbən/ (SE /blækbɜːn/), *Blackburn*. In other instances of this type, dialectal /ə/ occurs where SE has a full vowel – e.g., /stɒkpət/ (SE /stɒkpɔːt/), *Stockport*. However, in some instances (i.e. containing the suffix *–ford*), dialectal /ə/ corresponds to RP /ə/ (see below, pp. 64-65).

As with the case of /ɪ/ (above), a large number of differences in distribution, according to stress patterns in polysyllabic words, are apparent between the traditional dialect of New Mills and SE. Generally, in many instances of polysyllabic words (particularly those containing prefixes), stress falls upon the first syllable (secondary stress) in the traditional dialect (in disyllabic items, it is often the case that both syllables receive primary stress), whereas the initial syllable is completely unaccented in SE. In many instances, the consequences of this are that the traditional dialect retains a full vowel in the first syllable, in contrast to RP /ə/ - e.g., /ˌkɒnˈtɛmpɹɪ/, *contemporary* (RP /kənˈtɛmpəɹiː/; /ˈɛkˈsɛpt/, *except* (RP /əkˈsɛpt/); /ˈakˈsɛpt/, *accept* (RP /əkˈsɛpt/).

Conversely, in the second syllable of some disyllabic words (particularly those ending in *–ow*), dialectal /ə/ corresponds to a full vowel in SE - /bɒɹə/, *borrow* (RP /bɒɹəʊ/). In other instances, the main stress falls on the first syllable only in the traditional dialect, whereas in SE, the second syllable receives a degree of secondary stress – e.g., /vakəm/, *vacuum* (v.) (RP /vakjuːm/).

Conversely, there are a few instances of polysyllabic words where the stress falls primarily on the initial syllable in SE. This results in a full vowel in the first syllable with /ə/ occurring in the remaining unstressed syllables. This contrasts sharply to the traditional dialect, where secondary stress occurs in following syllables – e.g., /ˈnɛsɪˌsɛɹɪ/, *necessary* (RP /nɛsɪsərɪ/) – or where more consistent secondary stress is applied sequentially - e.g., /ˈnɛˌsɛˌsɛrəlɪ/),[50]

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[50] In some dialects of the north midlands, this type of stress pattern is even more pronounced – for example, realisations such as [nɛsɛsɛɹɛlɛ], *necessarily*, have been recorded in Sheffield.

necessarily (RP /ˈnɛsɪsəɹəlɪ/). Other differences in stress patterns between the dialect and SE are apparent – e.g., dialectal /ˌkɒnˈtamɪˌneːt/, *contaminate* (v.) - though a full discussion here is outside the scope of the present study. This type of variation is one area that has been generally ignored by dialectologists and researchers in variational linguistics in general; a focused study of this type would undoubtedly yield a considerable amount of significant data.

Historical Development

/ə/ is often the realisation of any vowel which becomes reduced in an unstressed position. Gimson asserts that "this reduction of unaccented vowels has been a feature of the English sound system for over a thousand years" and that "such reductions were taking place in unaccented syllables even in OE." [51] The written evidence for this stems from the occurrence of more than one graph for the representation of the same (unstressed) sound, suggesting confusion as to what this sound actually was. The evidence also seems to suggest that the development of reduced vowels may have occurred first in final unstressed syllables during the OE period. During the ME period, the tendency for vowels to be reduced, in any unstressed syllable, continued, so that by the fifteenth century it may be the case that the vowels of unaccented syllables demonstrated the same kind of centralisation (i.e., /ɪ/ or /ə/) as those in ModE.[52]

However, as discussed directly above (pp. 59-61), the correspondence between centralised vowels and unstressed syllables is paramount in the development of the distribution of /ə/. Differences in the stress of polysyllabic words are apparent (and probably were apparent), when comparing SE and regional dialects. It follows from this that the development of the distribution of centralised vowels in many dialects has not corresponded to that in SE and that consequently the pronunciation of many polysyllabic words in regional dialects also differs from the pronunciation of the same items in SE (for examples from New Mills, see above, pp. 60, 61).

It is generally accepted that the development of ME /ɪ/, /ɛ/, /ʊ/ + /r/ to approximately /ər/ had been completed in most dialects by the end of the eModE period.[53] In the contemporary traditional dialect of New Mills, with the general loss of post-vocalic and pre-consonantal /r/, eModE /ər/ has generally developed to /ə/ (in addition to a lengthened variant /əː/) - via /əˈ/,

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[51] Gimson (1994), p. 118.
[52] Wyld, H.C., *A history of modern colloquial English*, Blackwell, Oxford, 1936, p. 258.
[53] See Gimson (1994), pp. 116-117.

still partially evident in the speech of the oldest informants - whether in stressed (closed monosyllables) or secondary stressed (closed final syllables) positions (RP /ɜ:/), or unstressed final positions (RP /ə/).

Contemporary development in apparent time: realisations according to age-group

ME	RP	Traditional nwDer/neCh	Contemporary New Mills			
			Old	*Mid*	*Adult*	*Teen*
Unaccented vowels = /ə/	/ə/	/ə/	[ə]	[ə]	[ə]	[ə]
eModE /ə/ (final syll.) e.g., *yellow*	/əʊ/	/ə/	[ə], [o:]	[ə], [o:]	[ə], [o:] /oʊ/**	[ə], /oʊ/
SVow + /r/ (final syll.) = /ər/ ?	/ə/ [ə], [ɐ]	[əˑ]	[ə], [əˑ]	[ə]	[ə]	[ə]
V (/ɛ/, /ɪ/, /ʊ/) + /r/ closed monosylls. *first*, *worse* etc.	/ɜ:/	[əˑ]	[ə], [ə:], [əˑ]	[ə], [ə:], [əˑ]	[ə], [ə:]	[ə:], [ə],
/ʊ/ + /r/ - closed final syllable	/ɜ:/	[əˑ]	[ə]	[ə]	[ə], [ə:]	[ə], [ə:]
/ɔ/ + /r/ 1) - *ford* 2) - *port*	1) /ə/ 2) /ɔ:/	[əˑ] [əˑ]	[ə] [ə],[o ə], /ɔ:/*	[ə] [ə],[o ə], /ɔ:/*	[ə] /ɔ:/*	[ə] /ɔ:/*
/ɛ/ + /l/ + C (ME *feld*) suffix -*field*	/i:/	/ə/, /ɪ/	[ə], [ɪ], [i:]	[ə], [ɪ], [i:]	[i:]	[i:]

* For realisational variants of /ɔ:/ (< ME /ɔ/ + /r/), see above, p. 25.

** For realisational variants of dialectal /o:/ (< ME /ɔ:/), modified /oʊ/, see above, p. 29.

Contemporary linguistic change

/ə/ in unstressed syllables is universal throughout the age-groups. As already discussed, there are significant differences between the distribution of dialectal /ə/ and SE /ə/ in unstressed syllables – dialectal /ə/ sometimes occurs where RP has a full vowel, and conversely RP /ə/ (or /ɪ/) sometimes corresponds to a full vowel in the dialect of New Mills (examples, above, pp. 60, 61). In this respect, the usual dialectal stress patterns are evident throughout all the age-groups. The factors influencing the stability of dialectal stress patterns are unclear. It may be partially due to the fact that, on a purely linguistic level, differences in stress are not generally perceivable amongst speakers. Consequently, this may have some bearing on a sociolinguistic level in that stress patterns are not perceived to be typical of either SE or

regional dialects, and therefore carry no connotations of correctness or other conscious attribute, such as "cool" or urban speech. It is clear that research needs to be undertaken in this area. Nevertheless, in some instances an obvious contrast does exist between dialectal and SE forms. In the eModE period, the vowel in the second syllable of words such as *yellow* etc., was unstressed, being realised as /ə/ in SE and many other varieties of English. Spelling convention, and subsequent associated ideas of "correctness", led to the re-stressing of the vowel in SE during the eighteenth or nineteenth centuries. Alongside dialectal /ə/ (< eModE /ə/> RP /əʊ/), modified stressed variants occur in all age-groups (by analogy with RP /əʊ/; /oː/, old and mid; /oʊ/, adult and teenagers), though unstressed /ə/ remains universally prominent. In this case, it must be assumed that the modified stressed variants are directly accountable to SE or other modified varieties.

In unstressed final syllables (< ME /ə/ + /r/> RP /ə/) in words such as *farmer*, *summer*, *regular* etc., remnants of an r-coloured schwa do occur sporadically, though very rarely, in the speech of the oldest informants (see /r/, below, p. 176). /ə/ is universal in all other age-groups, and this amply demonstrates the highly regressive nature of post-vocalic /r/ in the traditional dialect of New Mills.

Similarly, apparent time differences are evident in the realisations of traditional dialect /ər/ (< ME /ɪ /, /ɛ/, /ʊ/ + /r/). In closed monosyllables, an r-coloured schwa occurs in the speech of the older informants (old and mid age-groups), alongside a variant /ə/ without r-colouring (which appears to be the most common realisation), and a lengthened variant ([əː]). A similar situation (excluding r-coloured variants) is apparent amongst the adult informants, with /ə/ being the usual realisation alongside a lengthened variant /əː/. Although short /ə/ does occur sometimes in the speech of the teenagers, lengthened /əː/ appears to be general. It is unclear whether lengthened variants are on account of SE (or other modified varieties), by analogy with /ɜː/, or whether the lengthened variants are part of an on-going development due to compensatory lengthening after the loss of pre-consonantal /r/. It is possible that both factors have played a part and that the influence of SE, or other modified variety, has merely hastened the process.

Differences also exist in the realisations of the closed final syllables (i.e. the suffixes) of some onomastic lexical items, such as those containing –*burn* and -*port*. It would appear that these differences are due to stress patterns rather than the contrast between the short vowel / compensatory lengthened vowel development noted above (pp. 62, 63, 64). This may be

inferred by the absence of any r-colouring in the speech of the oldest informants, suggesting that the second syllables in these words receive no stress whatsoever - [ə] in, for example, *Blackburn*, [blakbən] (RP - /blækbɜːn/) occurs in all age-groups, though lengthened variants are common in the speech of the teenagers and adult age-group. In an item such as *Stockport* – [stɒkpət] (SE - /stɒkpɔːt/), [ə] occurs only in the speech of the old and mid age-groups (in addition to modified variants). In the teenagers and adult age-groups, the general realisations are the somewhat lowered variants of /ɔː/ (see above, p. 25), evidently by analogy with SE, where secondary stress is applied to the suffix. In this instance, it is highly likely that the speech of the younger informants has been directly influenced by SE or a modified variety. This also applies to nearby urban varieties, where pronunciation involves secondary stressing. It is probable that these urban varieties have also been modified (towards SE). [54]

This is reinforced by the fact that in another example, the younger informants happily use [ə] when it corresponds to SE. In words containing the suffix *-ford*, the second syllable also remains unaccented in RP. Indeed, in certain cases, e.g., *Stopford* and *Woodford*, the rather unusual situation arises where the dialectal (in instances containing the suffix *–ford,* [ə] is universal in all age-groups) and RP pronunciations are identical - /stɒpfəd/ and /wʊdfəd/ respectively.

Further evidence that distinctive local pronunciations of place-names are generally avoided by the younger informants is provided by names containing the suffix - *field.* Among the old and mid age-groups, the usual realisation of the vowel is /ə/ or /ɪ/ - e.g., (with dialectal devoicing of final consonant) [eːfəlt], *Hayfield* (SE /heɪfiːld/). This dialectal feature is completely absent in the speech of the teenagers and adult age-group, /iː/ being the sole realisation. It would appear that such relatively rapid change is, in this case, due to a purely conscious process and accountable to the influence of SE or modified and / or urban varieties; indeed, one teenage informant (WH) stated that such pronunciations were the preserve of "daft old folk", rather conveniently out of earshot of his father, who happened to be one of those whose speech included this traditional dialect feature!

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[54] In nearby Stockport itself, /stɒkpɔːət/ is traditional while lowered variants of /ɔː/, typical of the speech of urban areas, are common in the speech of the young.

CHAPTER 7
Diphthongs

The following diphthongs - /ɛɪ/, /aɪ/, /æʊ/ and /ɔɪ/- are all falling and closing.

/ɛɪ/

The first element of dialectal /ɛɪ/ is an open-mid vowel, corresponding to, or slightly lower than, C[ɛ]. From this point, the diphthongal glide moves in the direction of dialectal /ɪ/, the closing element of the diphthong often being realised approximately as [ɪ].

Distribution

Dialectal /ɛɪ/ occurs in all positions (see following).

Comparative Distribution

Traditional dialect /ɛɪ/ corresponds to RP /eɪ/ in *eight*, *weight* and *straight* and to RP /ɔɪ/ in *boil* and *poison(ous)*. Dialectal variant /ɛɪ/ corresponds to RP /aɪ/ in *dry* (see also /aɪ/, below, pp.72-77), to RP /aɪ/ in words such as *height* and *fight* (see also /i:/, above, p. 11), and, as a relatively rare variant, to RP /i:/ (< ME   − /ɛ:/) in words such as *bleach* ([blɛɪʃt əm], *bleached them*), *eat*, *meat*, *peas* and *really* ([ɹɛɪlɪ]). It also occurs in other items (< lME ē − i.e. /e:/) such as *people* ([pɛɪpʊɫ]).

Historical Development

Dialectal /ɛɪ/ in words such as *eight* and *weight* is derived from ME /ɛɪ/ + velar fricative /x/ (which was probably, in those words where the fricative was followed by a dental consonant, fronted and realised as a palatal fricative of the type [ç]). In the traditional dialects of the north-west midlands ME *ai / ei* normally became monophthongised at the end of the lME / beginning of the eModE and consequently merged with /ɛ:/ (< ME /a:/). This was later raised to /e:/ (see above, pp. 18-21). A similar situation is apparent in SE, with eModE /ɛ:/ developing to /eɪ/, probably via /e:/. However, unlike SE and the majority of dialects in England where the fricative /x/ disappeared during the lME /eModE period, it is evident that this was not the case in some of the dialects of the north and north-west midlands. Indeed,

[x] or [ç] have even been recorded in a few instances in some of the dialects of the north-west midlands (which does not include the SED localities nearest to New Mills) as late as the twentieth century.[1] The general retention of /x/, however, in the north-west midlands longer than in many other parts of England was responsible for the separate development of /ɛɪ/ in those words such as *eight* and *weight* (i.e. where the vowel was followed by a velar fricative - see also /i:/, above, pp. 9-11). The retention of the velar fricative in the north-west midlands during the eModE period was long enough to ensure that ME /ɛɪ/, when followed by /x/, did not become monophthongised and merged with eModE /ɛ:/. The eventual disappearance of the velar fricative sometime during the late eModE or earlyModE period in, for example, w*eight* resulted in the present pronunciation - i.e., /wɛɪxt/ > /wɛɪt/. Consequently, *weight* and *wait* remain minimal pairs (/ɛɪ/ and /e:/ respectively) in many of the traditional dialects of the north-west midlands, including New Mills (cf. RP, where the vowel in *weight* and *wait* are homophonous, i.e. /eɪ/).

The development of dialectal variant /ɛɪ/ in words such as *dry* (which occurs alongside more common /aɪ/) is complex and problematic, developing initially from OE y + g (i.e. OE *dryge*). It was normally the case that OE g, in the vicinity of a front vowel, would be palatised and realised as the semi-vowel /j/. In the ME period (and, indeed, as early as the lOE period), the vowel in *dryge* demonstrates the usual various reflexes of OE y − /ɪ/, /ɛ/ and /y/. It is to be assumed that where the front vowels (/ɪ/, /ɛ/) were the usual ME reflexes of OE y, in some dialects at least, the realisation of OE V + g was palatal /j/ (< OE y + g) > /ɛ/ + /j/ > /ɛɪ/ (*Cursor Mundi* [c.1300] - *drey*, *drei*;[2] Chaucer's *Knight's Tale* – *dreye*[3]).

It is marginally possible that the modern dialectal variant /ɛɪ/ is merely the retention of the eME diphthong /ɛɪ/ (which became lME /i:/ in many other varieties, including SE). Why this should be the case in only this particular instance is uncertain. Alternatively, and more probable, /ɛɪ/ in *dry* may have developed from the Front V + /x/ variant (which, in all likelihood, occured mainly in uninflected forms). In support of this are the numerous instances in the contemporary traditional dialects of the north-west midlands − evidently descended from a form with V + velar fricative: eME e + /x/ ([x] or [ç]) - *eye, height, die*

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[1] See Wakelin (1991), pp. 100-101.

[2] *Cursor Mundi* (Göttingen MS.)

[3] Harley MS. 7334, Chaucer Society.

etc. - [4] where the modern reflexes are dialectal /ɛɪ/ or /i:/. At Charlesworth (SED locality Derbyshire 1), /i:/ and, to a lesser extent, /ɛɪ/ are recorded in these instances; at Cheshire 2 (Rainow), /i:/, /ɛɪ/ and /æɪ/; and at Derbyshire 3 (Burbage), /ɛɪ/ is the norm (even in those instances < ME /i/ + /x/). Nevertheless, this fails to explain the occurence of /ɛɪ/ in *mice* (< OE /y:/ > ME /i:/) at Charlesworth - the usual reflex of ME /i:/ being /aɪ/ - or the fairly common occurence of /æɪ/ at Rainow (Cheshire 2) in lexical items such as *find* (i.e., not derived from ME e or i + /x/), which contain the reflex of ME /i:/; at this locality, /æɪ/ (<ME /i:/), perhaps significantly, mirroring the reflex of ME /u:/ (>/æʊ/). It may be concluded, therefore, that while it is probable that the dialectal variant /ɛɪ/ in *dry* has developed from variant ME forms - short front V + palatal /j/ or velar /x/ - it is possible that it is merely a rare localised variant reflex of ME /i:/, restricted to a few lexical items (see also /i:/, above, p. 11). What is certain is that this is a localised feature which appears to be largely restricted to the north-west midlands. Evidence of its use in the nineteenth century is provided by Wright's "English Dialect Dictionary" which records *dreigh* (i.e. /dɹɛɪ/), *dry*, in south Lancashire.

No less problematic is the development of ME /ɔɪ/ (< OF oi, ui), in words such as *boil* and *poison(ous)*, in some of the dialects of the north-west midlands, including the dialect area (defined by Ellis) in which New Mills is situated. As with the variant /ɛɪ/ in *dry*, dialectal /ɛɪ/ (< OF oi / ui) is apparently restricted to some of the dialects of the north-west midlands. It is also highly restricted on a lexical level, occurring in only a few words such as *boil* and *poison*. Whether or not this has always been the case is uncertain. It may be that these intances are merely relics, demonstrating the almost complete erosion of this dialectal feature. However, evidence from earlier studies, such as Wright's *EDD* suggests that /ɛɪ/ (< OF oi) has evidently been restricted, in the ModE period at least, to certain lexical items. It may be the case that these few forms are descended from ME variants (see immediately below) or, alternatively, that /ɛɪ/ forms in these cases are indeed relics of a once wider lexical distribution, these items having survived on account of their common everyday use. What is certain is that the diphthong, in the contemporary traditional dialects of the north-west midlands, is realised as /ɔɪ/ in most of the common lexical items in this class (< OF oi), e.g.,

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[4] A similar development evidently occurred in some of the northern dialects – see Tidholm (1979), op. cit, pp. 82-83.

choice, *noise* and *point* (see below, pp. 87-89).

The development of dialectal /ɛɪ/ is complex. ModE /ɔɪ/ is descended from either OF oi or ui. Perhaps significantly, both *boil* and *poison* have variant forms oi and ui in the ME period – the OED lists *boile, boyle, buyle, bulle* (< OF *boillir*), among others, for *boil* (v.), and *puison, poison* (< OF *puison*) for *poison* (n.). Indeed, Dobson classifies words with /ɔɪ/ (< OF oi, ui) in the eModE period into seven categories (depending on their etymology) according to the occurence of ME oi or ui. One of these categories is concerned with those words which occur with both variants, rather than one or the other.[5] In this group as a whole, which contains both *boil* and *poison*, "ME *ui* outnumber those of ME *oi* by roughly five to three." [6] It is perhaps significant, however, in relation to the lexical distribution of dialectal /ɛɪ/ (< OF oi / ui) in the north-west midlands in the ModE period, that in the cases of *boil* and *poison*, the ratio of ui to oi is greater still, being overwhelmingly in favour of the former, particularly in the case of *poison*.[7] It is reasonable to assume, therefore, that the vowel, in these two words at least, had developed from ME ui, rather than ME oi, in most dialects during the eModE period. It is probable that the ui variant forms, in the eME period, were initially pronounced as /ʊɪ/,[8] which probably developed to a naturalised /ʊɪ/. Gimson states that:

a regular development of this diphthong's first element would result in in eModE [ɤɪ] or [əɪ]. Confusion was, therefore, possible, between words containing this glide and those containing [əɪ] < ME [iː], now with /aɪ/. We find, in fact, that some PresE /ɔɪ/ words have /ʊɪ/ in eModE (boil, coin, point, join) and that, in some cases, there is confusion with PresE /aɪ/, e.g. boil rhyming with bile.[9]

Dobson also advances the view that the first element became unrounded, resulting in /ʌɪ/, and this then became merged with /əɪ/ (< ME /iː/).[10] The above description of the development of SE /ɔɪ/ may provide some clues as to the development of dialectal /ɛɪ/. If it is assumed that the modern forms, in *boil* and *poison*, are derived from the variant ME /ʊɪ/, then the following development is probable. Initial unrounding of the first element of the diphthong (i.e. > /ɤ/) in the eModE period would have been highly unlikely in the north-west

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[5] See Dobson (1968), pp. 813 – 815.

[6] Ibid., p. 815.

[7] See Dobson (1968), pp. 813 – 814.

[8] See Gimson (1994), p. 124

[9] Ibid.

[10] Dobson (1968), p. 823.

midlands (such unrounding and retraction of /ʊ/ being restricted to the southern dialects), though direct centralisation (i.e. > /ə/) was probable (/ʊɪ/>/əɪ/). Indeed, evidence for eModE /əɪ/ pronunciations of *boil* and *poison*, among others, consists of rhymes cited by Wyld.[11] It is possible that the first centralised element of the diphthong (/əɪ/ < /ʊɪ/) was then lowered (/əɪ/ > /aɪ/) before being fronted (>/ɛɪ/) – even if no other factors are considered, fronting was a common process in the north-west midland dialects – perhaps in order to maintain a sufficient distinction between those words (< ME /ʊɪ/ < OF ui) and other lexical items (< ME /iː/ > /aɪ/), thus avoiding the situation which arose in eighteenth-century SE. Further evidence for this development is provided by a variant form /aɪ/ (alongisde /ɛɪ/) recorded at the SED locality Derbyshire1 (Charlesworth) - /baɪl/ - and as the sole realisation at localities Cheshire 2 (Rainow) and Cheshire 6 - /paɪzn/ - in addition to /æɪ/ at Cheshire 2 - /bæɪl/. Such realisations support the development outlined above. It is also very much apparent that this development – i.e., to /ɛɪ/ - is relatively localised, occurring in some of the dialects in the north-west midlands only (i.e, in south Lancashire, Cheshire and north-west Derbyshire): fronted first elements in *poison* were only recorded at SED localities Lancashire 12, Cheshire 1,3,4,5 (Cheshire 2, 6 - /aɪ/) and Derbyshire 1 (Derbyshire 2,3,5,6 - /ɒɪ/); and in *boil* at Lancashire 12, Cheshire 2,3,4,5,6 and at Derbyshire 1 and 3. Earlier ModE evidence of the occurence of dialectal /ɛɪ/ forms in the north-west midlands is provided by the data in the EDD – *peighson* (i.e. /pɛɪzən/) is recorded in Lancashire and *beil*, *beyld* in south Cheshire.

<u>Contemporary development in apparent time: realisations according to age-group</u>

ME	RP	Traditional nwDer/neCh	**Contemporary New Mills**			
			Old	*Mid*	*Adult*	*Teen*
/ɛɪ/, /aɪ/ + /x/ *weight*, *eight* etc.	/eɪ/	/ɛɪ/	[ɛɪ]	[ɛɪ]	[ɛɪ]	[ɛɪ]
/ɛɪ/, /iː/ + /x/ *height*, *fight*	/aɪ/	/ɛɪ/	[ɛɪ], /aɪ/*	[ɛɪ], /aɪ/*	/aɪ/*, [ɛɪ]	/aɪ/*

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[11] See Wyld, H. C., *A History of Modern Colloquial English*, Blackwell, Oxford, Third Edition, 1936, p. 224; and Dobson (1968), pp. 815, 825.

continued						
ME	RP	Traditional nwDer/neCh	*Old*	*Mid*	*Adult*	*Teen*
/ɛ/,/ɪ/,/ʊ/ + /j/ or /x/ (OE y + g) *dry*	/aɪ/	/ɛɪ/, /aɪ/	/aɪ/*, [ɛɪ]	/aɪ/*, [ɛɪ]	/aɪ/*	/aɪ/*
/ɔɪ/, /ʊɪ/ < OF ui, oi *boil, poison*	/ɔɪ/	/ɛɪ/	[ɛɪ], /ɔɪ/ +	[ɛɪ], /ɔɪ/ +	/ɔɪ/ +, [ɛɪ]	/ɔɪ/ +
/ɛ:/ (< OE ĕ) *eat*, *meat* etc.	/i:/	Variant /ɛɪ/ often /e:/	[e:], [i:], [ɛɪ]	[e:], [i:], [ɛɪ]	[i:], [e:], [ɛɪ]	[i:]
people, lME /e:/ *real*, lME /ɛ:/	/i:/ /ɪə/	/ɛɪ/ /ɛɪ/, /ɪə/ ?	[i:], [ɛɪ] [ɪə], [ɛɪ]	[i:], [ɪə]	[i:], [ɪə]	[i:], [ɪə]

*For realisational variants of /aɪ/, see below, pp. 72-76.

+ For realisational variants of /ɔɪ/, see below, p. 87.

<u>Contemporary Linguistic Change</u>

It is evident that many of the more specific and highly localised (so-called "marked") dialectal forms are generally resricted to the middle and old age-groups, and in the instances of [ɛɪ] in *people* and *really*, to the oldest informants only. One notable exception to this is the universal presence of dialectal /ɛɪ/ (< ME /ɛɪ/ + /x/ > SE /eɪ/) in words such as *eight*. One possible reason for this is the apparent similarity to SE (or modified variety) /eɪ/. Nevertheless, it seems unlikely that this small difference (on a phonetic level) is generally indiscernible per se on the part of the younger informants, some of whom (including at least one of the teenagers) have dialectal /e:/ (in addition to other variants) corresponding to SE /eɪ/. It is more likely that its similarity (to modified or urban varieties) is consciously noted and thus not rejected as a significant marker of traditional local dialect. It is possible, of course, that this exact feature – i.e., /ɛɪ/ rather than modified /eɪ/ - is present in nearby urban varieties (no data exists to confirm this), thus reinforcing its use by the younger informants. The stability of this vowel (in this particular context – i.e. in words such as *eight*) in other urban areas of the north midlands is demonstrated by a 1997 survey undertaken in Sheffield where the universal use of /ɛɪ/ in *eight* is recorded in all age-groups.[12]

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[12] Stoddart, J., Upton, C., and Widdowson, J.D.A., "Sheffield dialect in the 1990s: revisiting the concept of NORMs", in Foulkes, P., and Docherty, G. (eds), *Urban Voices: Accent Studies in the British Isles*, Arnold,

 However, the same situation does not apply to the other marked dialect features. Dialectal /ɛɪ/ in *height*, *fight* and *dry* is generally restricted to the old and mid age-groups (alongside modified /aɪ/, the use of which is situationally determined), while it is generally absent in the speech of the adults (the occasional use of /ɛɪ/ being highly restricted on a situational level), and, apparently, completely absent in the speech of the teenagers, where modified /aɪ/ is the norm. Exactly the same situation is evident concerning dialectal /ɛɪ/ in *boil* and *poison* - /ɛɪ/ being generally restricted to the old and mid age-groups (alongside modified /ɔɪ/ in this instance) while being absent in the speech of the teenagers – and dialectal variant /ɛɪ/ in *eat* and *meat* (< ME /ɛ:/) – again generally restricted to the speech of the old and mid age-groups (in these instances alongside more common dialectal /e:/ and modified /i:/). It is to be assumed that the absence of these highly localised dialectal features amongst the younger informants is due to the influence of nearby urban varieties and / or a modified regional variety.

 Nevertheless, two highly relevant points need to be addressed concerning this type of innovation. Firstly, the apparent absence of these features in the speech of the younger informants, according to the data, does not necessarily imply definitively that these features do not exist in the speech of the younger community per se; other highly localised dialectal features absent in the data were later heard, by the field-worker, in the speech of teenage informants in informal, non field-work situations - i.e., when they were not being recorded for field work purposes - see also above, pp.12-13. Secondly, the avoidance and / or rejection of highly localised features by the younger community is necessarily a highly conscious decision on the part of the speakers; the results of such a mechanism of linguistic change need to be examined carefully to assess the extent (on a spatial level) of diffusion throughout the community and also, more importantly, on a temporal level, the permanancy (or not) of this type of change.

/aɪ/

The first element of dialectal /aɪ/ generally equates to that of dialectal /a/ (above, p.43) - i.e. [a] or [ɑ]. From the position of the first element, the diphthongal glide moves in the direction of dialectal /ɪ/, though the second element will rarely be as close as /ɪ/, being realised somwhere in the region of close / open mid [ë] or [ ] etc.

London, 1999, p. 74.

<u>Variants</u>

The variants concerning the realisations of the second (closing) element of the diphthongal glide are noted immediately above. The main variant, however, is one where the second element is omitted, and the diphthong is realised as a "smoothed" and compensatory lengthened monophthongal [a·] or [a:] – e.g., [ba:k], *bike*; [la:k], *like*; [ɹa:t], *right*; [ta:m], *time*. Additionally, there are long (and half-long) monophthongal variants with weak off-glides – i.e. of the types [a:ɪ], [a·ɪ] etc. – e.g., [pa:ɪ], *pie*; [ta:ɪt], *tight*; [ba·ɪt], *bite*. These smoothed variants are, indeed, the most common realisations of /aɪ/ in connected speech, and as such, may be considered as the "norm" variants. Such a situation obviously brings into question the inclusion of /aɪ/ as part of the dialectal sound system. Indeed, this same problem was also confronted and commented upon in recent dialect studies of nearby localities within the north-west midlands dialect area (following). In the present study, /aɪ/ has been included as part of the dialectal sound system on account of the fact that realisations such as [aɪ] do occur relatively frequently, and, more importantly, because data from previous studies (such as the SED) suggest that /aɪ/ is the usual reflex of ME /i:/ in many areas of the north-west midlands. Shorrocks, in his study of Farnworth, Greater Manchester, formerly south Lancashire (approx. seventeen miles NW) includes /aɪ/ as part of his description, but comments that it subsumed, and includes, a relic monophthongal /ɑ:/ realisation.[13] This suggests that the usual two element diphthong is a relatively recent innovation, and that the monophthongal variant is the traditional reflex of ME /i:/ in south Lancashire, as indeed is suggested by the SED data from the nearby locality of Harwood (Lancashire12). If this is contrasted to other data from the SED, it suggests that monophthong reflexes of ME /i:/ are restricted to the more northerly areas of the north-west midlands.

More relevant to the present study, however, is Lodge's 1972 phonemic-based study in nearby Stockport, Greater Manchester (formerly north-east Cheshire) – seven miles (11 kms) WNW. The usual realisation of SE /aɪ/ (< ME /i:/) was [ä:], and Lodge included /a:/ as part of his phonemic inventory, though it was conceded there were problems with this analysis, some of which could be explained by the fact that such realisations indicate "northern (i.e. to the north of Stockport: S. Lancs. and S.W. Yorks.) influence."[14] Lodge reinforces his theory

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[13] Shorrocks (1980), pp. 346–349.

[14] Lodge, K. R., "Stockport Revisited", *Journal of the International Phonetic Association* 3/2 (December),

that monophthong variants in Stockport were indeed borrowings from more northerly areas of the north-west midlands by using SED data to demonstrate phonemic contrasts. In two localities to the north – Harwood (Lancashire 12) and Holmbridge (Yorkshire 30) - he demonstrates that there was no pressure on their respective phonemic systems concerning the distinction between such words as *arse* and *ice* – [aːɹs] / [aːst] and [aːs] / [ɑːs] respectively. Similarly, at two localities to the south-east and south - Charlesworth (Derbyshire 1) and Rainow (Cheshire 2) – any problems were avoided by the respective realisations [aːʻs] / [aɪs] and [aːs] / [aɪst]. Lodge further suggests that the "anomaly" of the monophthong within the Stockport dialect is obviously problematic and "is resolved, not necessarily under the influence of RP, but by resorting to the realisation of the phoneme of the 'southerly' dialects".[15]

Nevertheless, the data from New Mills clearly demonstrates that monophthong variants do occur in some of the areas to the south of Stockport. The SED data for the two nearest SED localities – Charlesworth (four miles NNW) and Rainow (six miles SW)[16] – quoted above, is clearly at odds with this, and demonstrates that diphthong realisations are the norm in the dialect area in which New Mills is situated. From this, it would be reasonable to assume, as Lodge concluded in his study of Stockport, that the monophthong variants in New Mills can be attributed to influence from the more northerly dialects of the north-west midlands. However, research undertaken by the author of the present study suggests otherwise. This research concerned the audio recording of an SED informant at Charlesworth, which consisted of casual conversation.[17] The data from this audio recording clearly revealed that instances of monophthong variants – e.g. /aː/ - did exist in Charlesworth at the time of the SED surveys. This raises some issues, both on a linguistic and methodological level. The data from this recording suggests that the sole occurence of diphthong variants in the SED questionaire responses for Charlesworth may have more to do with the formality engendered

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1973, 86-87.

[15] Ibid.

[16] Nevertheless, monophthong variants (with weak off-glides) of the type [aᴵ] - e.g., [ɡɪvɪnoʊətaᴵm], *giving-over time* - were recorded in the incidental material at Cheshire 2; this suggests that not only do monophthong variants exist within this dialect area, but the occurrence of such variants is significant in that Cheshire 2 (Rainow) lies some six miles SW of New Mills – i.e. even further to the south than previously hypothesised (see also following).

[17] Charlesworth was one of the SED localities in which one or more of the informants were recorded using audio equipment. These recordings consisted of casual conversation, mainly about aspects of the village and village life in which the informant lived. The recordings themselves were produced as records rather than tapes and were put into the archives at the School of English at Leeds University. A tape copy of the original record was obtained by the author of the present study during a visit to the archives in 1997.

by the questionnaire and the format of the responses – i.e. single word answers instead of connected speech – rather than demonstrating that diphthongs were the only realisations. This highlights one of the methodological shortcomings of the SED, which has been commented on by various linguists many times before, concerning the way in which the data was gathered – i.e. by questionnaire – and the type of data that was recorded. Issues of the degree of formality aside, it is clear that data gathered by the sole means of a questionnaire is incomplete, as far as systematic phonological studies are concerned.

When the data from New Mills and Charlesworth is considered, it suggests that monophthongs (in addition to the diphthong /aɪ/) are a natural – i.e not borrowed – feature of the dialect of this area and, secondly, therefore, that the provenance of monophthong variants as reflexes of ME /iː/ is larger, and more southerly, than previously thought. Moreover, there is some historical evidence which points to monophthongisation as a feature of the north midland dialects, and the smoothing of the reflexes of ME /iː/ in the north-west midlands corresponds to the smoothing of the reflexes of ME /uː/ in the north-east midlands. The historical evidence suggests that diphthongisation of earlier ME /uː/ and /iː/ took place earlier in the north midlands than elsewhere, and that subsequent monophthongisation (the beginning of which occurred during the sixteenth century and by 1600 respectively)[18] was merely a further stage of development; such a situation would also account for the occurrence of diphthong variants, either as relics of the earlier diphthongs, as more common variants in bordering / mixed lect areas – i.e. bordering those areas where only diphthongs occur – or as reintroduced standardised variants.

Furthermore, it is interesting to note that the occurrence of monophthongs in the traditional dialects of New Mills and Charlesworth would present no problems on a phonemic level. If the lexical items used by Lodge (above) – i.e. *arse* and *ice* - are considered, the realisations would be [aːˈs] and [aːs] respectively. However, the highly regressive nature of post-vocalic /r/ in the dialect of New Mills has largely resulted in the loss of distinction previously noted. Nevertheless, if it is first assumed that monophthong variants have coincidentally existed alongside diphthong variants, the continuing (and almost complete) loss of post-vocalic /r/ apppears to have had little effect on the use of monophthong realisations (as yet), and a similar situation now exists in New Mills as that which Lodge commented on in Stockport in 1972. Whether or not this will result in significant change remains to be seen, but in the

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[18] See Dobson (1968), pp. 662, 685; and Wakelin (1991), p. 108.

contemporary traditional dialect of New Mills, the realisations of lexical items such as *cart* and *kite* may be homophonous – i.e. [kɑːt] (RP /kɑːt/ and /kaɪt/ respectively). It is evident that certain common items are usually realised as monophthongal variants – e.g., [aː], *aye*; and in stressed examples of the first person pronoun, e.g., [aː kʊd], *I could* – while it also appears that the second syllables of disyllabic items may be more frequently realised as [aː] - e.g., [ɛnɪtaːm], *anytime*; [lʊntʃtaːm], *lunchtime*. Nevertheless, monophthongisation may also be observed in initial syllables – e.g., [nantiːnː], *nineteen*, and in other monosyllabic examples – e.g., [dɹaː], *dry*; [dɹvaː], *drive*; [faːn], *fine*; [faːv], *five*; [laːn], *line*; [naːt], *night*; [ɹaːt], *right*; [taːm], *time*. Other examples with weak off-glides are: [brʲaːɪnd], *behind*; [dɹaːɪz ʊp], *dries up*; [faːɪn], *fine*; [faːɪv], *five*; [ɹaːɪt], *right* etc.

Distribution

/aɪ/ occurs initially in, for example, words such as *ice*; medially in *bite* and *tight*; and finally in *tie*, *pie* and *bye*.

Comparative Distribution

Dialectal /aɪ/ corresponds to RP /aɪ/ in, for example, words such as *icicle*, *bike*, *kite*, *might*, *pint*, *pipe*, *type*, *lie* and *my*.

Historical Development

ME /iː/ developed regularly to /aɪ/ in the north-west midlands (and, indeed, many other varieties, including SE) during the eModE period, via a process of diphthongisation invovlving an initial central element – i.e. > /əɪ/ - followed by progressive lowering of the first element – i.e. /əɪ/ > /aɪ/. There is some evidence to suggest that the diphthongisation of ME /iː/ took place earlier in the north midlands than elsewhere, with the /aɪ/ stage being reached by about 1600 (see also below, p. 80), consequently allowing further development involving the monophthongisation of /aɪ/ - i.e. > /aː/.

Contemporary development in apparent time: realisations according to age-group

ME	SE	Traditional nwDer/neCh	Contemporary New Mills			
			Old	*Mid*	*Adult*	*Teen*
/iː/	/aɪ/	/aɪ/, /aː/	[aɪ] [aː], [aːɪ]	[aɪ] [aː], [aːɪ]	[aɪ] [aː], [aːɪ]	[aɪ] [aː], [aːɪ]

Contemporary Linguistic Change

Both diphthong and monophthong variants are present throughout all age-groups, such variants evidently being part of the traditional dialect sound system. The fact that none of these variant realisations has become prominent at the expense of one or all of the others demonstrates a considerable degree of stability, which at first glance does not appear to be the case. The continued use of what is an evidently non-standard monophthong variant may be partially explained by the fact that it is not discerned as such (on a phonetic level) by the speakers. Nevertheless, it is far more probable that the continued use of smoothed variants by the younger speakers has more to do with its widespread use in nearby urban varieties (above, pp. 72-75) and other areas to the north (i.e. in the northernmost part of the north-west midlands area), and, indeed, its provenance elsewhere in the north midlands. It would thus be considered a regional marker – i.e "northern" or "north-western"- rather than a specific local marker by the youngest speakers.

/æʊ/

The first element of the diphthong - /æ/ - is an open front vowel, being somewhat closer and more fronted than dialectal /a/. The second element of the diphthong roughly equates to dialectal /ʊ/ - i.e., a back, close-mid, centralised, rounded vowel - though it is not often realised as such; there is considerable variation in the realisations of the second element in dialectal /æʊ/ (see following), and to a lesser degree, in the realisations of the first element. Variation of the first element is perhaps influenced by the fact that [æ] does not occur as a short vowel in the dialect sound system, whereas [ɛ] and [a] do, and also because of the influence of the realisations of the second element of this diphthong.

Variants

The first element of the diphthong is often realised as more open and / or retracted variants -
[æ], [a] – or sometimes as a raised (closer) variant, [ɛ], e.g., [d], *old*. Under the influence
of the second element, which is frequently fronted (see following), /æ/ can be realised as
slightly raised, retracted and /or centralised variants − e.g., [ ], [ ], [ä] etc. The second
element is only infrequently realised as a back vowel [ʊ]; the usual realisations, in free
variation, are a centralised variant [ʊ], and fronted variants [ʏ], e.g., [ʏs], *house*; and
(rarely) [ʏ], e.g., [ʏʷɪz], *Towers* (personal name). It appears to be the case that the degree
and frequency of the fronting of the second element differs not only from informant to
informant, but also on an intra-personal level as well; it is highly likely that both phonetic
(e.g. environment) and non-linguistic (e.g., formality / situation) factors are influential
agents as far as the fronting (or otherwise) of the second element is concerned. On a phonetic
level, it is possible that the presence of fronted variants may be influenced, on a general
level, by the front quality of the first element of the diphthong, and, possibly, in a
conditioned environment, by front (alveolar / dental) articulated consonants, as is suggested
by the data – e.g., [æʏt], *aught*; [əbæʏt], *about*; [ɹæʏnd], *round*; [bakgɹæʏn], *background*;
[dæʏt], *doubt* – although, conversely, less fronted variants also occur in similar environments
- e.g., [əbæʊt], *about*; [æʊd], *old*; [t ʊd], *told* [19] – while fronted variants may occur in other
environments, e.g., (utterance final) [næʏ], *now*. The fronted realisations are typical of the
dialects of the south Lancashire area,[20] though no such realisations are recorded for the SED
localities nearest to New Mills - i.e. Derbyshire 1 – Charlesworth (four miles NNW) and
Cheshire 2 – Rainow (seven miles SW). From this it can be ascertained that either the SED
transcriptions are relatively broad, or that such fronted realisations are restricted to certain
areas (within the dialect area defined by Ellis), the boundaries of which are evidently
complex and hard to define; as this feature evidently occurs in south-east Lancashire, it is
difficult to explain why it occurs in New Mills and not in Charlesworth, the latter locality
being further north – i.e. bordering south-east Lancashire (pre-1974). Thus, the provenance
of fronted variants cannot be attributed solely to more northerly and / or westerly areas
within the area defined by Ellis. There is a possibility that external factors may have been

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[19] For the dialectal development of ME /a/ + /l/, see /æ/ 'Historical Development', and /l/ (below), pp. 166-172.
[20] In Shorrocks' study of Farnworth, south Lancashire, a fronted variant [ʏ] is recorded as the usual second
element of a variant diphthong corresponding to SE /aʊ/ - see Shorrocks (1998), pp. 278-283.

influential in this respect; substantial immigration from Stalybridge and Ashton (i.e. the northernmost part of the dialect area [defined by Ellis] in which New Mills is situated) occurred in the nineteenth century, following relocation of a mill's entire workforce (see Appendix, p. 58). What can be said with certainty is that it is a feature of some of the dialects of the north-west midlands, including some areas (whether in south-east Lancashire, north-east Cheshire and north-west Derbyshire) within the dialect area (defined by Ellis) in which New Mills is situated. No doubt, more focused research in this direction would be revealing.

Distribution

Dialectal /æʊ/ occurs initially in words such as *out* and (with /h/ loss) *house*; medially in, for example, *town* and *mouse*; and finally in monosyllabic lexical items such as *cow* and *now*.

Historical Development

Dialectal /æʊ/ developed regularly from ME /uː/ (< OE ū, OE ŭ or ō + g and OE ŭ lengthened, except in *found* - see above, p. 55). The exact chronology of the diphthongisation of the high vowels in English (and, indeed, of the 'Great Vowel Shift' as a whole) is still a matter of contention. Dobson provides early evidence of the diphthongisation of ME ū (in the south and midlands), though he suggests that the orthoepists were more forthcoming in this respect because "the *ou* spelling [in ME] suggested the analysis of the sound as a diphthong". [21] Indeed, it is apparent that the diphthong was "recognised even by those [orthoepists] who fail to observe that of ME ī." [22] Dobson also includes evidence for the probable development of ME ū, [23] hypothesising that the diphthongisation progressed from [ʊu] > [ʌʊ] and eventually [aʊ]. [24] Of more importance as far as the new Mills research is concerned, is the evidence that the [aʊ] stage had been reached in the north earlier than it had elsewhere.[25] Indeed, the dating of the process of the diphthongisation of /uː/, and the Vowel Shift as a whole, is undoubtedly made more complex by the fact that there were considerable differences between the dialects. Like Dobson, Gimson suggests that the process of diphthongisation first began by the laxing of the long vowel – > [ʊu] – and then the progressive centralisation and lowering of the first element –

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[21] Dobson (1968), p. 684.
[22] Ibid.
[23] Dobson (1968), pp. 683-685.
[24] Dobson (1968), p. 685.
[25] Dobson (1968), pp. 684, 685.

[ʊu] > [əʊ] or [ʌʊ]. [26] Gimson dates the beginning of the process in the fifteenth century and suggests that the [aʊ] stage, in SE, "must have become established during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries".[27] Nonetheless, there is evidence (cited above, p. 78) that [aʊ] already existed in the north midlands in the sixteenth century. It is highly likely then, that the [aʊ] stage had been reached in the north-west midlands by, or before, 1600 (probably [ʊu] > [əʊ] > [aʊ]). It is unsurprising, therefore, that there was further development of this diphthong (i.e. further fronting of the first element or monophthongisation). Indeed, Wakelin suggests the fact that the Vowel Shift in the north of England (i.e. north midlands) was chronologically in front of the rest of the country is significant in the development of the long vowels in these dialects.[28] He attributes the process of fronting in the north and far west to the fact that the "ME long vowels proceeded more quickly", thus allowing time for ME ū to "progress to a fronted diphthong".[29] All evidence considered, it is reasonable to suggest that the fronting process in the north-west midlands took place during the seventeenth century – i.e. after 1600. Such a date corresponds to the fronting of dialectal /u:/ (> [ʏ:]) in the eModE period (see above, pp. 15-17), and it is possible that both processes are intrinsically linked. The motivation for the fronting of /aʊ/ in the north-west midlands is unclear – what is certain is that, in New Mills at any rate, both the first and second elements (to a lesser degree) have become fronted. Why the second element also became fronted in some of the dialects of the north-west midlands is equally unclear, though it is possible that fronting (of one or both elements) may have been to maintain differentiation with the dialectal reflexes ([aʊ] or [oʊ]) of ME [aʊ], [ɔʊ], [ɑ:] + [x] (> RP /ɔ:/) in words such as *bought*, *thought* and *daughter* (in a few cases, however – e.g., *nought* – dialectal [aʊ] has evidently merged with the reflex of ME /u:/ - below, p. 81). Nevertheless, the fronting of one or both elements, as stated above, may merely have been a progression of the diphthongisation process or part of the general fronting process that is evidently typical of some of the dialects of the north-west midlands. Whatever the case may be, the following devlopment is probable: [aʊ] > [æʊ] / [ɛʊ] > [æʏ] etc.

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[26] Gimson (1994), p. 128.
[27] Ibid.
[28] See Wakelin (1991), pp. 107- 108.
[29] Ibid., p. 108.

At this juncture, as the development described above contrasts somewhat with modern sociolinguistic theories on sound change, such as the development of ME ū during the Great Vowel Shift, it is appropriate to discuss these here. A main component of this model is based on the sociolinguistic diffusion model, which puts forward the belief that major developments are usually instigated in the south-east of England and then diffuse outwards via major urban centres. Indeed, it has been suggested that Labov's analysis of ME /u:/ as a Neogrammarian model of change nevertheless demonstrates a movement from "south to north, with the South-East clearly leading",[30] on account of the apparent phonetic continuum ranging through a variety of diphthongs to the monophthong evident in the most northerly areas. However, such an analysis merely highlights the extent to which this model of change (i.e., diffusion from the largest urban centre outwards via the other major urban centres, based on the geographical hierarchy model originally put forward by Kristaller in the field of social geography) has become ingrained within current linguistic thinking; so much so that other possibilities are often overlooked on the premise that the evidence, so far, is incontrovertible, despite anomalies in the data. Moreover, if the current tendency to apply such a model to instances of contemporary change is open to question, then to apply it historically (e.g., as in the development of ME /u:/ in the eModE period), is not only risky but, in this instance at least, ultimately untenable in light of the historical evidence. The evidence described above indicates that the vowel shift was more advanced in the north and north midlands than elsewhere in the eModE period, suggesting that this shift first began in the north.[31] Moreover, the evidence clearly shows earlier diphthongisation (of ME /u:/ and /i:/) in the north midlands than elsewhere, allowing further development either as monophthongs or otherwise (see /aɪ/, above, p. 75, and development of /æʊ/, directly above). It may be concluded, therefore, that the direction of diffusion which occurred during the vowel shifts of the eModE period, in all likelihood, was in fact the reverse (i.e., the changes spread from the north to the south). Indeed, there is some evidence that considerable migration from the north (including Lancashire and Yorkshire) into London occurred at this time.[32]

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[30] Kerswill, P., "Models of linguistic change and diffusion: new evidence from dialect levelling in British English, *Reading Working Papers in Linguistics 6*, 2002, 192.

[31] See Dobson (1968), pp. 594, 685; and Wakelin, pp. 107-108.

[32] This evidence consists of documentation concerning apprentices in some of the London guilds. These demonstrate that 61% of the apprentices had originated from the north during the period 1485-1500. Immigration continued after this date, "gradually decreasing towards the end of the early modern era (11% in 1654-1674)" – see Nevalainen and Raumolin-Brunberg (2003), op. cit, p. 39.

In a few cases, it is apparent that /aʊ/ (< ME [aʊ] + [x]) in dialectal *nought* and *aught* (often represented as *nowt* and *owt* respectively) has developed to /æʊ/ in either the eModE or ModE periods, almost certainly by analogy (i.e., with the reflex < ME /uː/). It must be assumed that this development has occurred in these instances because of the high frequency of use of these lexical items. Similarly, dialectal eModE /aʊ/ in items such as *cold* and *old* (these having developed from the vocalisation of /l/ in the sequence open / back V + C) has merged with the reflex of ME /uː/ (see also above, Volume 1, p. 79).

Contemporary development in apparent time: realisations according to age-group

ME	RP	Traditional nwDer/neCh	Contemporary New Mills			
			Old	*Mid*	*Adult*	*Teen*
/uː/	/aʊ/	/æʊ/, /ɛʊ/	/æʊ/*	/æʊ/*	/æʊ/*, [aʊ],[aʊ]	[aʊ], [aʊ]
/aʊ/ + /x/ *augh,t nought*	/ɔː/	/æʊ/, /ɛʊ/	/æʊ/*	/æʊ/*	/æʊ/*, [aʊ],[aʊ]	[aʊ], [aʊ]
/a/ + /l/ + C *old*, *cold* etc.	/əʊl/	/æʊ/	/æʊ/*, [oʊ]	/æʊ/*, [oʊ]	[oʊ], /æʊ/*	[oʊ]

* For the various realisations of /æʊ/, see above, pp. 78-79, 82.

Contemporary Linguistic Change

Dialectal /æʊ/ (< ME /uː/) is usual throughout the old and mid–age groups, and to a lesser extent in the speech of the informants in the adult age-group. In addition to dialectal /æʊ/, what appear to be modified variants - i.e. [aʊ] – are common amongst the adult informants. These modified variants are also the norm amongst the teenagers, where dialectal /æʊ/ is noticeably absent.

It is tempting to attribute such change to modification (towards RP or regional standard) or to interpret it as dialect levelling (under the influence of a regional modified dialect). Such change in the case of the latter model results in the erosion of particular localised features; these are replaced by modified regional dialect features that are not highly localised but still demonstrate a regional (albeit looser) identity on the part of the speaker.[33] Nevertheless, it is

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[33] For many regional examples and comments concerning dialect levelling, see Foulkes, P., and Docherty, G. (eds), *Urban Voices: Accent Studies in the British Isles*, Arnold, London, 1999.

difficult to draw definite conclusions about the occurrence of modified variants in the speech of the teenagers and adults. At first glance, a variant such as [aʊ] would appear to be a straightforward modification (towards SE or a modified regional variety), though the presence of a nasalised variant – [aʊ̃] - suggests otherwise. It is certainly the case that nasalised vowels occur in the nearby urban varieties of the Manchester conurbation (see also above, pp. 26-27), which appear to be deemed prestigious by the teenagers. Despite this prestige status, nasalised variants are somewhat limited in New Mills, generally occurring in the speech of one of the teenagers and one informant in the adult age-group only. Nevertheless, the presence of these variants clearly demonstrates the influence of dynamic urban varieties upon the speech of the younger informants. Unlike the presence of nasalised realisations in SE, the nasalised variants (outlined directly above) are not restricted according to phonetic environment, occurring both in the vicinity of a nasal consonant (e.g., [naʊ̃], *now*) and otherwise - [aʊ̃z ðatʔ ðɛn], *how's that then?* – though they appear to be restricted phonemically, occuring only in diphthongs with back second elements – i.e., /aʊ/ and variant /oʊ/ (< ME /ɔː/ > dialectal /oː/), e.g., [goʊ̃], *go* – and the long back vowel /ɔː/, e.g., /fɔ̃ː/, *for*. To assess the reasons governing the development of this innovation, it is useful to analyse contemporary conclusions concerning vocalic "dialect levelling". It is generally accepted that contemporary vocalic change is restricted geographically - on a local or regional level[34] (though geographical diffusion models have been proposed for earlier periods of vocalic change – see above, p. 81). It has been suggested, in a recent study of vocalic change in Newcastle, that this is because young speakers (in an attempt to be 'modern'), adopt a few non-local features which, importantly, are not specific features of another variety.[35] Thus, it is suggested, non-localised regional or modified regional features are the major source of innovation which lead to dialect levelling. If we examine the contemporary change in New Mills, this model would appear to provide an explanation for the change from /æʊ/ to /aʊ/ amongst the young adults and teenagers. Nevertheless, such a model does not fit so easily with nasalised variants. These variants occur in certain areas only of the nearby urban conurbation of Manchester, and are very much associated specifically with a "Manchester" accent, rather than merely being associated with urban

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34 Kerswill, P. (2002), op. cit, p. 207.
35 Foulkes, P., and Docherty, G., "Urban Voices – Overview" in Foulkes, P., and Docherty, G. (eds), *Urban Voices: Accent Studies in the British Isles*, Arnold, London, 1999, pp. 13-14.

varieties - in, this case, it is evident that a specific localised feature of another variety has been adopted, though it is worth noting that nasalised vowels only occur amongst two informants from the adult and teenagers groups; they are generally avoided by the other informants in these age-groups. As such, this type of "rejection" fits in with the theory regarding highly localised features (just mentioned), whether or not these are local in origin or an innovation (from a neighbouring variety) – i.e. nasalisation is a strong indicator of a Manchester accent and is deemed as such by those most likely to adopt the innovation (i.e.young people). Consequently, use of this particular feature is regarded as too affected (though this is evidently not the case with all younger speakers), whereas other more general urban features are apparently not. Further evidence of this type of conscious adoption / rejection is demonstrated by other specific "Manchester" features – such as the retraction and lowering of final /ə/ to approximately /ɒ/ - which are similarly avoided, in this case, by all infomants. Nevertheless, while the teenage informant (JB) is fully aware both of the presence and of the significance of nasalised variants, the adult informant (MP), in whose speech nasalised variants occur, is apparently unaware that his speech contains these variants, or indeed of the significance of the presence of these variants. This suggests that conscious mechanisms are not wholly responsible in all cases of change involving so-called "covert prestige" features. It is interesting to note that both informants, in whose speech nasalised variants occur, have loose but regular contact within the Manchester area; one on a daily basis at work and the other more than once a week for leisure and socialising. This provides some evidence to support Milroy's conclusion that linguistic change comes about by increased mobility (resulting in looser community ties and increased contact with other varieties) amongst an increasing proportion of the population who act as the vehicles of innovation.[36] However, it is unlikely that this feature will become a widespread innovation, on account of its general (and conscious) avoidance by most informants, though, as is suggested above, conscious change is not the only mechanism by which this innovation may spread.

It can be concluded that a change is underway, involving a move from a diphthong consisting of front elements to those consisting of retracted first and second elements, including a less common nasalised variant of the latter. This does suggest an adoption of a modifed regional feature, the presence of urban nasalised variants strongly suggesting that urban varieties (/aʊ/ < ME /uː/ being the norm) are the driving force behind this change,

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[36] See Milroy, J., *Linguistic Variation and Change*, Oxford, Blackwell, 1992.

rather than SE (or modified variety) exerting any influence. It is impossible to state whether SE itself had any influence upon the devlopement of /aʊ/ in the Manchester conurbation, though the evidence suggests that it probably has not. Surrounding Manchester is an area consisting of urban and rural dialects displaying a multitude of varying reflexes (< ME /uː/), ranging from diphthongs consisting of one or more fronted elements (e.g., /ɛʊ/, /æʏ/, /ʌʏ/ etc.), /aʊ/ and monophthongs such as /aː/ and /ɛː/. Such wide variation is more than likely responsible for the development of /aʊ/; some kind of levelling must necessarily have taken place as people flooded into Manchester from the surrounding areas during the industrial revolution. It is probable, therefore, that /aʊ/ was a local innovation – i.e. inspired by the need to level a wide variety of highly localised forms (such as the reflexes of ME /uː/). Moreover, nasalised variants display a local urban provenance, in the north-west at any rate, but it is not possible (on account of the lack of any historical or, indeed, contemporary linguistic studies of Manchester)[37] to offer any conclusive theories as to where this innovation began, its current provenance or even if it is a recent innovation as is generally supposed.[38] Indeed, the only evidence points to this feature being neither restricted to Manchester nor of it being a recent innovation; the *SED* recorded nasalised variants at Sheffield (one of the few urban localities recorded as part of the survey) in the 1950s, though data from a 1997 survey contains no record of them.[39] What can be said with some degree of certainty, therefore, is that nasalised vowels appear to be a feature of some of the urban dialects of the north midlands and have been for at least half a century. It now has a presence, albeit limited, in New Mills, though the present situation indicates that nasalised vowels will not become widespread in the community, let alone permanent.

Dialectal /æʊ/ in *aught* and *naught* (< ME /aʊ/ + /x/) displays an identical age distribution to that of dialectal /æʊ/ (< ME /uː/), though the process of development is entirely different. In these cases, /æʊ/ has developed by analogy with the reflex of ME /uː/ (the traditional dialectal reflexes being /aʊ/, /ɔʊ/ for words of this class). Amongst the older informants,

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[37] The apparent dearth of data for Manchester may be compared to Sheffield in the North-East Midlands dialect area, where the opposite is the case: Sheffield has been the subject of numerous surveys spanning more than two hundred years. If the lack of older studies for most urban areas is taken for granted, it still begs the question as to how such a major urban area (which Manchester undoubtedly is - being not only one of the majorly important, but also most populous, conurbations) has escaped the attention of any formal modern linguistic research.

[38] Wright attributes nasalisation in Manchester to influence from Liverpool speech – see Wright (1976), p. 30.

[39] Stoddart, J., Upton, C., and Widdowson, J. D. A., "Sheffield dialect in the 1990s: revisiting the concept of NORMs", in Foulkes, P., and Docherty, G. (eds), *Urban Voices: Accent Studies in the British Isles*, Arnold, London, 1999, p. 77.

realisations such as /aʊ/, /ɔʊ/ (< ME /aʊ/ + /x/) are less common than modified /ɔ:/, and it is evident that this traditional dialect feature is very much in decline. This does not apply to items such as *nought* and *aught*, which, because of their high frequency of use, have developed by analogy with the reflex of ME /u:/ - i.e. /aʊt/, /ɒʊt/ > /æʊt/ etc. This strongly suggests that lexical items of this class are becoming "lexicalised" amongst the traditional speakers - fewer and fewer items retain the vowel qualities of the traditional dialect reflexes as the new variant (i.e. modified /ɔ:/) becomes prominent by means of lexical diffusion.[40] It is apparent, in this instance at least, that the items which are resistant to such change are those with the highest frequency of use. Amongst the younger speakers, it is evident that lexicalisation has already occurred, as these informants make a clear distinction between *nought* (/naʊt/) with the definition as *nothing*, and *nought* (/nɔ:t/), being defined as the numerical value, *zero*. The same cannot be said for the older informants, however, who make no such distinction - *nought* in both instances is /næʊt/. The lexicalisation of these items amongst the younger speakers is further evidenced by orthographic representation, which they regard as *owt* and *nowt* (SE *aught* and *nought* respectively) with the definition "anything" and "nothing", and *nought* for the numerical value. It is also apparent that they consider these items as being part of the lexical set *aught*, *nought* and *summit* (SE *anything*, *nothing* and *something* respectively). Nevertheless, regardless of lexicalisation, it is plainly evident that this decidely non-standard dialectal feature remains stable and shows no signs of erosion. If an apparent process of lexicalisation is assumed to be at least partially responsible for its resistance to change amongst the older speakers, it still begs the question as to why this is so amongst the younger speakers, who consciously reject similar dialectal features - such as /i:/ (< ME /i:/ + /x/) [41] - which also demonstrate the characteristics of lexicalisation. The answer may lie with the fact that items such as *aught* and *naught* are not only present in many dialects throughout the north and north midlands (thus acting as a marker of "northern" identity), but, more importantly, these items also occur in contemporary urban varieties of the north-west midlands, whereas marked traditional features such as /i:/ (< ME /i:/ + /x/) in words such as *night* (although, in this case, not highly localised, occurring in

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[40] A similar situation is apparent with the dialectal reflexes of ME /i:/ + /x/ - an ever decreasing number of items now retain dialectal /i:,/ and it is likely that, in the near future, these words will assume a lexical status.

[41] This is evidently not so in all instances, see above, pp. 11-13.

many dialects throughout the north and north midlands) are generally deemed to be the speech of older people, and thus avoided.[42]

/ɔɪ/

The first element of dialectal /ɔɪ/ is a mid-open back vowel, the realisations of which are somewhat lower than C[ɔ] (see following). The closing (second) element of the diphthong approximates [ɪ], though the realisations maybe somewhat more centralised and / or lowered – e.g., [ ] or [ë].

Variants

The first element of the dipthong is rarely realised as [ɔ]; lower variants [ɔ], [ɒ] and even [ɒ] being the norm, e.g., [bɒɪ], *boy*; [ʤɒɪnɪn], *joining*; [nɒɪsɪ], *noisy*; [ɒɪl], *oil*; [   ], *Roy* (personal name). As with the other dialectal vocalic phonemes, which display similar variation, phonetic realisations (in this case, the degree of openness of the first element of the diphthong) appear to vary from informant to informant and also on a personal level.

Such open variants occur elsewhere in the dialect, such as in the dialectal reflexes of ME ŏ + r, the SE reflex of which is also a closer back vowel – i.e., RP /ɔ:/. These instances would seem to suggest that an open-mid vowel realisation of the type /ɔ/ does not exist as part of the dialect sound system, and it is possible that this has been the case since at least the eModE period, if not longer (see /ɔ:/, above, pp. 21-25; and /ɒ/, above, pp. 49-52).

Distribution

/ɔɪ/ occurs in all positions; e.g., initially in words such as *oil*, medially in *soil* and finally in *boy*.

Comparative Distribution

Dialectal /ɔɪ/ ([ɔɪ], [ɒɪ], [ɒɪ] etc.) corresponds to RP /ɔɪ/ ([ɔɪ]).

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[42] The Sheffield survey of 1997 shows that /i:/ and /eɪ/ (< ME /i:/ + /x/) are generally typical of older speakers only – see Stoddart et al (1999), op. cit, p. 75.

Historical Development

It is apparent that dialectal /ɔɪ/ (< OF ɔi, OE o + g[43]) has changed little since the ME period. Indeed, as far as SE is concerned, Dobson asserts that /ɔɪ/ was not "at any stage from ME onwards ... essentially different from the PresE sound".[44] Nevertheless, Dobson equates the first element of the diphthong with ME ŏ (i.e. C[ɔ]) and states that this consequently "underwent some lowering during the sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries when ME ŏ itself was simlarly lowered."[45] – i.e. towards C[ɒ]. This strongly suggests, therefore, that whereas the first element of the eModE diphthong has necessarily been re-raised in SE, giving present RP /ɔɪ/, there has been no development since the eModE period in many of the dialects of the north and north midlands, including New Mills. As only /ɔɪ/ is recorded in many of the SED localities in the north-west midlands, including north-west Derbyshire and north-east Cheshire (suggesting a first element that is the same as that in RP – i.e. somewhat closer), it is to be assumed that the SED data, in this instance at least, consists of a broader transcription, and that the realisations actually reflect a lower first element – i.e., probably [ɔɪ] or [ɒɪ].

ME /ɔː/ (< OE ŏ, ME ŏ < OF ŏ, lengthened in OS) also developed to /ɔɪ/ in some of the dialects of the north midlands. While this feature is typical of those dialects in the more northern areas of the north midlands – i.e. central Lancashire, West Yorkshire – there is some extant written evidence to suggest that the provenance of this feature in previous times was greater than at present. The existence of place-names in the vicinity of New Mills - [river] *Goyt* (< OE *gota*) in the High Peak, and *The Royche* (< OF *roche*), near Hayfield - is evidence that this feature must have once occured in the dialect area in which New Mills is situated. The paucity of historical examples (in the place-names) and the fact that it is now very uncommon would seem to suggest that /ɔɪ/, in this instance, was a lesser variant (occuring naturally as part of the mixing of dialects in border areas) alongside the more usual /oː/, before being ousted by it, rather than it suggesting a significant decrease in the provenance of /ɔɪ/ in the modern period.

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[43] For the relatively rare development of OE o+g > ME ɔi, see Dobson (1968), pp. 818, 819.

[44] Dobson (1968), p. 821.

[45] Ibid.

Contemporary development in apparent time: realisations according to age-group

ME	RP	Traditional nwDer/neCh	Contemporary New Mills			
			Old	*Mid*	*Adult*	*Teen*
/ɔɪ/	/ɔɪ/	/ɔɪ/	[ɔɪ], [ɒɪ], [ʋɪ]	[ɔɪ], [ɒɪ], [ʋɪ]	[ɔɪ], [ɒɪ], [ʋɪ]	[ɔɪ], [ɒɪ], [ʋɪ]

Contemporary Linguistic Change

Dialectal /ɔɪ/ - the realisations of which consist of more open first elements, i.e., [ɔɪ], [ɒɪ], [ʋɪ] – corresponding to RP /ɔɪ/, is universal throughout the age-groups. It is tempting to attribute such stablity to its correspondence in SE (and, indeed, the majority of dialects in England) and to the fact that this phoneme has evidently undergone little change since the ME period. Nevertheless, the occurrence of variants with more open first elements as the norm suggests that the present situation has little to do with influence from RP or modified varieties thereof. Historically, the first element became more open during the lME /eModE period when /ɔ/ itself was lowered. It is evident that the lower variants of the eModE period were re-raised in some varieties (notably in SE) during the ModE period, while the more open variants remained unchanged in many of the dialects of the north midlands. More open variants – of the type [ɒ:], corresponding to RP /ɔ:/ - are also common in the New Mills dialect in other lexical classes – e.g., ME /ɔ/ + /r/ (> SE /ɔ:/) and ME /aʊ/ (> SE /ɔ:/) – as well as occurring as increasingly common variants in classes of words where /ɔ:/ is not the traditional reflex – e.g., ME /ɔ:/ + /r/ (> dialectal /oə(r)/, SE /ɔ:/), and, to a lesser extent, ME /o:/ + /r/ (> dialectal /ɤə(r)/, SE /ɔ:/, /ʊə/) – see above, pp. 21-25. It is evident from this that open variants are part of the traditional dialect sound system of New Mills (and, indeed, many other dialects in the north midlands). Wells comments on the occurrence of such open variants in many urban varieties in the north midlands and attributes this to a recent innovation, though the evidence outlined above suggests otherwise. The apparent stability of these variants may be partially due to the fact that there is no phonemic contrast, either dialectally or in SE. A greater influence on the continued use of these variants by the younger speakers, however, is more probably to do with their contemporary provenance in many of the dialects of the north midlands, both rural, and, more importantly, urban; consequently, such variants are not regarded as exhibiting either marked or specifically

localised dialectal features, rather a general "northern" origin.

Centring Diphthongs

The following diphthongs - /ɪə/ and /ʊə/ - are both centring diphthongs; the former is realised as both a falling and rising diphthong, while the latter is realised solely as a rising diphthong.

/ɪə/

Dialectal /ɪə/ is a falling, centring diphthong. The first element is often closer and less centralised than C[ɪ] – see following. The second element of the diphthong approximates C[ə], the resultant glide, therefore, from the first element to the second element being relatively minimal.

Variants

The first element of the diphthong is often realised as closer variants [ ] or [ï].This variant occurs in both disyllables and polysyllables (see following). However, greater variation of the diphthong as a whole occurs in polysyllables, where phono-morphemic factors (i.e. syllabic stress) dictate realisations. In some polysyllabic lexical items, /ɪə/ does not occur as a true diphthong as such, but represents vowel elements at a syllabic boundary, whether or not such a boundary is indicative of morphemic status. Both syllables, in which the elements /ɪ/ and /ə/ occur in these instances, do not carry primary stress. Consequently /ɪə/, when it occurs at the boundary of two unstressed syllables, is often realised as a rising diphthong, with the result that /ɪə/ is realised as a semi-vowel approximant + V – i.e., [jə], e.g., [ti:djəs], *tedious*; [ʊnjən] (also [ʊnɪən]), *onion* – or as a V + off-glide + V - i.e. [ɪʲə]; e.g. [da:ɪʲ   ʲə], *diarrhoea* – and V + semi-vowel + V sequence – i.e., [ɪjə] (e.g., [ɪlɛ·əɹïjəs], *hilarious*; [ti:dijəs], *tedious*; and [ɪlïjə], *hillier*, in [wɛl ɪts ɪlïjə nəˈɹ ïʲə], *well, it's hillier nor* [*than*] *here*. The last example is typical of those lexical items that consist of morpheme + suffix, particularly those where the suffix is a sequence of historical V + /r/, i.e., a residual breaking element + Ø, < -er > − where /j/ occurs not only at the syllabic boundary, but also at the morpheme boundary. It can be said that all the above examples are instances of a centring diphthong. This also applies to single morpheme lexical items that consist of historical V + /r/ (see also below, pp. 175-176) - dialectal [ï·jə] *here*; [bï·ʲəd], *beard* (which may, in some

varieties be realised as a monophthongised long vowel rather than a centring diphthong – e.g., RP [hjɜ:], *here*; [bɪ:d], *beard*) and single morpheme disyllables with final unstressed syllable – dialectal [a:ᴵdɪʲə], *idea*. Nevertheless, in some instances, dialectal /ɪə/ has not developed from V + /r/ or from V + reduced V at syllable / morpheme boundary, but from a previous ME long vowel. In word initial position, /ɪə/ (< ME long vowel) is realised as a rising diphthong (see following).

Distribution

By its very nature, /ɪə/ does not occur in monosyllables. This is because the second element usually represents a reduced vowel in a separate unstressed syllable which follows that in which the first element – i.e., /ɪ/ - occurs. Thus, /ɪə/ often occurs at morpheme and / or syllable boundaries. Often, the central second element represents a breaking element before historical /r/ or /l/ (see "Centring Diphthongs (< V + /r/, V + /l/)", below, pp. 103-107) or merely the reduced vowel in a morpheme final unstressed syllable (above). Nevertheless, dialectal /ɪə/ has also developed from ME ę̣ (/ɛ:/) as a relatively rare variant form (alongside another diphthong, /ɛɪ/, and the long vowels /e:/ and /i:/). It is apparent, in this instance, that its development is unrelated to /ɪə/ which occurs at syllable / morpheme boundaries: although it too does not occur in monosyllables, it has evidently developed from an original long vowel, the various reflexes of which are its contemporary coexistent variants, which are realised as monosyllables – e.g. dialectal [bɪən] and [bi:n] *bean*; [bɪək] and [bɪ:k], [be:k] *beak* (for an account of the dialectal reflexes of ME /ɛ:/, see below, pp. 92-97). Additionally, in morpheme initial position, on account of the consequent change of stress, a rising diphthong occurs with subsequent shortening of the first element (which becomes realised as a palatal semi-vowel) and lengthening and re-tensing of the second element – i.e. /jɛ/. In such cases, this diphthong does occur in monosyllables – cf. monosyllable dialectal (north-west midlands) /jɛd/, *head*, with disyllable north-east midlands dialect /ɪəd/, *head* (see also /ʊə/, below, p. 99).

/ɪə/ occurs word initially in [ïən] *Ian* (personal name); [ïʲəd], *heard* and, with a change from a falling diphthong to a rising one, in [jɛd] *head* (e.g., [ïz ə ɹi:tʔ tʊbjɛd], *he's a right tub-head*); medially in [dɪəf] *deaf* (RP [dɛf]), [dɪəθ], *death*; and [ɹïəlɪ], *really* (cf. dialectal variant [ɹɛɪlɪ]); and finally in unstressed syllables / historical V + /r/ sequence (e.g., [ðïə], *there*; [wɪə], *where* and examples above).

Historical Development

/ɪə/ has developed, due to changes in syllabic stress during the ME and eModE periods, from V + V at syllable and /or morpheme boundaries, or V + /r/ in former monosyllables and polysyllables (see immediately above).

Dialectal /ɪə/ (< ME /ɛ:/) occurs alongside variants /e:/, /ɛɪ/ and /i:/ in other words of this class (usually spelt *ea* - < ME /ɛ:/ > SE /i:/) and / or alongside one or more of these variants in the same word. The development of ME ẹ and the inter-related devlopment of ME ā (> SE /eɪ/) have long caused difficulties for historical linguists with the result that numerous differing theories have been put forward, many of which have yet to explain satisfactorily the anomalies surrounding the different present-day SE reflexes of ME ẹ and ME ā and the exceptions noted in words such as *great* and *break* etc. Dobson assumes that the merger of ME ẹ, ā and ai took place in SE during the early eighteenth century, though both Wyld and Kökeritz place this somewhat earlier in the sixteenth century. [46] Dobson, among others, advances the view that, in the eModE period, ẹ (merged with ā) was displaced by a late ME variant ē (i.e., /e:/) of ẹ. Nevertheless, such a theory fails to explain why only /i:/ (< lME variant /e:/) occurs in present-day SE – apart from the few anomalies noted above – or, on account of the fact that this theory assumes the merger of ME ā with ME ẹ, why the present–day SE reflex of ME ā is not /i:/, and / or why there are not many more words with the reflex /eɪ/ (< ME /ɛ:/) in SE today. Dobson surmounted this problem by proposing that the ME /e:/ variant was a dialectal class borrowing. Nonetheless, Ogura has opposed this idea by demonstrating Cheng and Wang's argument that borrowing is neither phonetically selective nor restricted, and also by highlighting Wolfe's objections that different explanations are required for foreign loanwords adopted into English in the eModE period.[47] Indeed, Ogura has demonstrated that the development of ME ẹ and ā was a long drawn out process that can best be explained by the process of lexical diffusion. Indeed, rhyming evidence strongly suggests that ME /ɛ:/ had already begun to merge with ME /e:/ in the late fourteenth and early fifteenth centuries. It has often been assumed that these rhymes are likely to be inexact rather than demonstrating an identity of ME ẹ and ē. Nevertheless, as is pointed out by both

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[46] For an extensive discussion of Dobson's theories (and those of Wyld, etc.) surrounding the development of ME ẹ and ā, see Dobson (1968), pp. 606 – 651.

[47] See Ogura (1987), op. cit, pp. 14 – 15.

Dobson[48] and Ogura, [49] a poet such as Chaucer is unlikely to have attempted rhymes between the phonetically different /ɛ:/ and /e:/.

However, whereas Dobson believes that /ɛ:/ and /e:/ rhymes in Chaucer and elsewhere demonstrate an /e:/ variant which "had already begun to come into the language of London from that of Essex",[50] Ogura puts forward the view that /ɛ:/ had progressed to /e:/ in certain positions in some lexical items with the result that ME ę sometimes rhymed with both ME ę and ē, sometimes with ē, and sometimes only with ę. [51] Thus, many words had dual pronunciations in the late fourteenth and fifteenth centuries – i.e. /ɛ:/ and /e:/ - both of which "must have been well known to most Londoners".[52] Indeed, Ogura suggests that the progressive increase in the frequency of rhymes during the fifteenth century suggests that diffusion continued across the lexicon with the consequence that Londoners were using the /e:/ variant more.[53] There is evidence to suggest that /e:/, in some instances, advanced to /i:/ during the course of the sixteenth century,[54] so that a dual pronunciation still existed – i.e. a small number of words with /i:/ and a far larger amount with /e:/ (< /ɛ:/). Over the next two centuries, it is evident that /i:/ became increasingly more common until, by the early eighteenth century, it became the usual pronunciation (in SE at any rate) in all but a handful of words.[55]

However, it is evident from the reflexes of the present-day dialects, that this development model cannot be translated to the north midlands. Indeed, the apparent variation concerning the reflexes of ME ę in the north midlands, being limited as such to the dialects of the north midlands, prompted Dobson to comment that these dialects must have been entirely separate in their development and unrelated to the general development of SE.[56] The evidence suggests, however, that such a view is not entirely accurate. The unusual variation in the north midlands is accounted for by the differing reflexes of ME ę (often referred to as ME ē2) and ME ę (OE ĕ lengthened in OS – often referred to as ē3) which are generally, but not

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[48] See Dobson (1957), pp. 614 – 615.

[49] Ogura (1987), p. 14.

[50] Dobson (1968), p. 615.

[51] See Ogura (1987), pp. 14 – 18.

[52] Ogura (1987), p. 16.

[53] Ogura (1987), p. 19.

[54] See Dobson (1968), p. 615

[55] For the written evidence of the development of /i:/ (< /e:/ < ME ę), see Dobson (1968), pp. 608 – 611 and 614 –616.

[56] See Dobson, E. J., "Middle English Lengthening in Open Syllables", *Transactions of the Philological Society*, 1962, 124 –148.

always, /ɪə/ and /ɛɪ/ respectively. In addition to these /eː/, and, to a lesser extent /iː/, occur in some of the local dialects of the north-west midlands as variant reflexes of ME ē3 and, less commonly, ME ē2.

The reasons as to why the reflexes of ME ē3 should differ in the north midlands have not, as yet, been satisfactorily explained. However, the process behind the development of the reflexes of ME ē2 and ē3 may not, contrary to what Dobson assumes, be completely separate from and unrelated to that of SE, though the result is necessarily different. Ogura's research demonstrates that while many ę words rhymed with ē in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, ME ē3 words tended to rhyme with ę only.[57] It can be assumed from this, that in the fourteenth century many of the words of ME ē3 origin were realised as solely /ɛː/ - i.e. they did not have variant raised /eː/ pronunciations – probably on account of the fact that such words had only relatively recently been (or in some cases, had yet to be) pronounced as /ɛː/, the lengthening having only just taken place, or having been in the process of taking place. Consequently, it is reasonable to assume that ME ē3 was not raised in many cases, as the process of the raising of ę may have already begun and was thus too early to affect many of the newly lengthened and all of the yet to be lengthened lexical items. Furthermore, it is possible that lengthening of OE ĕ was even more protracted in the north midlands, although there is insufficient evidence to make any definite claims. Nevertheless, particular present-day dialectal features, typical of some of the contemporary dialects of the north midlands, could suggest that this is so. Dialectal variants with short vowels - e.g. *mek* /mɛk/, *make* [north-west midlands] and *mak* /mak/ [north-east midlands and north-east]; see above, /ɛ/, pp. 38-41 – suggest that lengthening did not always take place. Additionally, consonant gemination (see below, pp. 114-116) is a typical feature of some of the contemporary dialects of the north-west midlands; the existence of this feature during the ME period would have had a considerable effect on the lengthening of OS. Nonetheless, what is probable is that ME ē3 generally remained as /ɛː/ in the fourteenth century, and possibly later in the north midlands, with the result that the reflex usually differed from that of ME ē2 in the dialects of the north midlands.

If the theory of lexical diffusion is applied to the development of ME ę in the dialect area in which New Mills is situated, the following development is likely: ME ē2 was raised to /eː/

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[57] See Ogura (1987), p. 16.

during the fifteenth, sixteenth and possibly seventeenth centuries via a process of lexical diffusion. It is possible that some of the lexical items that were among the first to be raised - i.e during the fourteenth century – may subsequently have been further raised to /i:/, which could explain why /i:/ appears in some lexical items (such as *easter* - /i:stə/) where /ɪə/ would be expected. Other lexical items (< ME ē2) and those which developed later – i.e. during the fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries – would necessarily develop from /e:/ to /ɪə/. Other items in this class only developed to /e:/ (e.g., /we:k/ *weak* and /te:/ *tea*); it is evident that diffusion necessarily affected these lexical items relatively late – as is strongly suggested by the presence of the loan-word *tea* (< Dutch) - probably during the sixteenth century. It is apparent, therefore, that some of these lexical items either merged with ME ē3 or, alternatively, only developed to /e:/, being too late to develop to /ɪə/.

Modern dialectal reflexes suggest that ME ē3 did not develop for some considerable time after the raising of ME ē2 (in the north-west midlands). Indeed, it highly probable that ME ē3 merged with ME ā (earlier merged with ai) sometime in the fifteenth or early sixteenth century.[58] If this is so, the development of some lexical items (<ME ē3) to /ɛɪ/ in (possibly) the sixteenth century may be on account of the need to differentiate beween the newly raised /ɛ:/ (< /æ:/< /a:/) and /ɛ:/ (ME ē3 < OE ĕ). It is also apparent that some of the lexical items in this class (ME ē3) - in the dialect area in which New Mills is situated at any rate (and evidently, elsewhere in north-east Cheshire and south Lancashire) - did not become diphthongised but were raised to /e:/, either independently of /ɛ:/ (< ME ā), or with it – resulting in the dialectal homophones /me:t/ *meat* (< ME ē3) and /me:t/ *mate* (< ME ā) - sometime during or after the sixteenth century. Again, it is possible that the raising of /ɛ:/ (< ME ā and / or ę) may have been responsible for the development of /e:/ (< ME ē2) to dialectal /ɪə/ (rarely /i:/), and to /i:/ in SE, in many (but by no means all) of the words in this class. Additionally, it is evident, in two cases at least, that eME ai (> ME /a:/) did not always develop to /e:/, but developed instead to /ɪə/. This suggests that these lexical items (e.g. *chain* - see below, pp. 98) developed and merged with those < ME ē2.

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[58] Dobson assumes that ME /a:/ reached the /ɛ:/ stage about 1650 and, although it existed in SE at the start of the seventeenth century, /e:/ did not become common currency in SE until the beginning of the eighteenth century – see Dobson (1968), p. 594. Nevertheless, Dobson also suggests that /a:/ had become /ɛ:/ as early as the beginning of the fifteenth century in the north - see Dobson (1968), p. 519.

In conclusion, it is highly probable, therefore, that the process of diffusion and the consequently staggered development of ME ē2 and ME ē3 led to the situation where, from the eModE period onwards, a large number of variants (< ME ę) – i.e. /ɪə/, /e:/, /ɛɪ/, /i:/ - became coincidental in the dialects of the north-west midlands, all of which still exist today.

Dobson has suggested that late ME ē before /r/ became /i:/, while late ME ę before /r/ (including ę < lowering of ME ē before /r/) remained /ɛ:/ (> RP /ɛə/), the latter chiefly occurring in lexical items derived from ME ē3.[59] Nevertheless, Dobson readily accepts that this theory does not account for those instances (<ME ē3), such as *gear*, *shear* and *spear*, which have /ɪə/ in SE,[60] nor does it account for those northern dialectal forms (<ME ē3) which also have /ɪə/, e.g., /wɪə/ *wear*, or for those lexical items (not derived from ME ē3 + /r/) in SE which also have /ɛə/, e.g., *there* and *where* (<ME ē2) – cf. north midlands dialect /ðɪə/ and /wɪə/ respectively. Rather, the evidence from SE and contemporary dialects suggests that the influence of /r/ had little effect on the raising or lowering of ME ę and ē, but that both ME ē2 and ME ē3 + /r/ were subject to the same process of lexical diffusion that affected all lexical items with ME ę. Thus, some items developed to /i:/ + /r/ (> /ɪə/), e.g. SE and dialectal *rear*, *shear*, *beard* and the dialectal variants noted immediately above, while others developed only as far as /e:/ + /r/ (>/ɛə/), e.g. SE and dialectal *bear* and *wear*. Where /r/ has been instrumental is in the shortening effect the breaking element has had upon the preceding long vowel, these then developing by analogy to the quality of the short vowels. The probable development is as follows: [i:ər] > [iər]> [ɪər] > [ɪə] and [e:ər] > [eər] > [ɛər] > [ɛə]. It can be seen from this that the diphthongs /ɪə/ (< ME ę + /r/ > /i:/ + /r/) and /ɛə/ (< ME ę + /r/ > /e:/ + /r/) have not developed in the same way as dialectal /ɪə/ (generally< ME ē2), being mainly brought about by the influence of the following /r/ and, consequently, can be said to be centring diphthongs which have developed under the influence of the following liquid. The influence of /r/ upon these diphthongs may also be observed by a further smoothing process which has produced variant forms in SE and other dialects (evidently before the loss of final or pre-consonantal /r/ in those varieties where this has occurred) – e.g., /jɪə/ and /jə:/, *year*; and /(h)ɪə/ and /(h)ə:d/, *hear*, *heard* (cf. dialectal [i̯əd], *heard*).

Dialectal [jɛ] in *head* resulted from a change in stress to [ɪə] (i.e. from a falling diphthong to

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[59] Dobson (1968), pp. 637-639.
[60] Ibid., p. 638.

a rising diphthong) which occurred in initial position; in this instance, this evidently arose after the loss of initial /h/. The probable development is as follows: [ɛ:] > [e:] > [ɪə] > [jɛ].

Contemporary development in apparent time: realisations according to age-group

ME	RP	Traditional nwDer/neCh	Contemporary New Mills			
			Old	*Mid*	*Adult*	*Teen*
/ɪ/ + V	/ɪə/	/ɪə/	[ɪə]	[ɪə]	[ɪə]	[ɪə]
/ɛ:/ (ē2) *bean, heat*	/i:/	/ɪə/	[ɪə], [i:]	[ɪə], [i:]	[i:], [ɪə]	[i:]
/ɛ:/ (ē2) *deaf, dead*	/ɛ/	/ɪə/	[ɛ], [ɪə]	[ɛ], [ɪə]	[ɛ]	[ɛ]
ME /a:/ <eME /aɪ/ *chain*	/eɪ/ /e:/	/ɪə/	[e:] [ɪə]	[e:]	[eɪ], [e:]	[eɪ]
lME /ɛ:/ *head*	/ɛ/ (/hɛ/)	/jɛ/	[jɛ], [ɛ]	[jɛ], [ɛ]	[ɛ], [jɛ]	[ɛ]

Contemporary Linguistic Change

Dialectal /ɪə/ (< ME /ɛ:/ [ē2]) in words such as *bean* and *heat* is common amongst the old and middle age-groups (alongside modified /i:/). It also occurs sporadically in the speech of the young adults, where /i:/ is usual, but is apparently absent from the speech of the teenagers. Again, it would be difficult to attribute this development solely to the influence of RP (or modified variety), as modified /i:/ is the norm in nearby urban varieties, where it probably developed under dialect levelling. As dialectal /ɪə/ in this instance is not a highly localised feature, occurring in many other dialects in the north midlands, it must be assumed that it has been rejected by the younger speakers as being indicative of the traditional dialect of the older speakers (as, indeed, are the other dialectal reflexes of ME /ɛ:/), and therefore has been replaced by the more "modern" form evident in the nearby urban varieties.

A similar situation is apparent concerning dialectal /ɪə/ in *deaf* and *dead*. However, in this case, dialectal /ɪə/ is less common than modified /ɛ/ in the lexcial item *deaf* (RP /ɛ/) amongst the old and mid-age group informants, whereas it appears that dialectal /ɪə/ is still prominent in *dead* (RP /ɛ/). This suggests that erosion is already underway, with the more common lexical items being resistant to change. It is also evident that SE, or another variety where /ɛ/

occurs in these instances, is influential in this change: dialectal /ɪə/, corresponding to RP i:/, in *bean* etc.(immediately above), has not undergone the same erosion, possibly because of the (more) phonetically similar dialectal /ɪə/ and RP or other influential regional variety) /i:/. As only /ɛ/ occurs in the speech of the teenagers in both these instances (i.e. *deaf* and *dead*), there are two possibilities concerning the mechanisms behind this change: firstly, this development is merely a direct continuation of the change that has evidently been taking place in the traditional dialect, or, secondly, this has occurred mainly because of the influence of urban varieties (and / or modified SE), in which case the initial process of change has merely been hastened along.

A rising diphthong realisation in dialectal [jɛd] *head* (RP [hɛd]), which is typical of many of the traditional dialects of the north-west midlands, is generally confined to the older informants; modified realisations without the in-gliding element (i.e. [ɛd]) are usual among the younger speakers. Although the traditional dialect variant is a regional rather than a local dialect feature, it is generally perceived by the younger informants as being typical of older people's speech and thus avoided; this suggests that modifed regional and / or urban variants are largely responsible for the apparent levelling of this dialectal feature.

Dialectal /ɪə/ in *chain* is an isolated anomaly: the usual dialectal reflex of eME /aɪ/ is /e:/ (eME having merged with ME /a:/ during the ME period and then raised during the vowel shift). In this instance, it appears that either eME /aɪ/ merged with those items (< ME /ɛ:/ [ē2]) that developed to /ɪə/ (either by merging directly or having merged already with ME /a:/), or the provenance of the usual northern reflex of ME /a:/ (> northern /ɪə/) extends far beyond the usual southern boundary of the general northern area isogloss,[61] though why this should have occurred in this particular instance only is unclear. If this is the case, it is possible that it may have been borrowed from neighbouring north midland dialect areas that border the northern area.Whatever the reasons are for the occurrence of /ɪə/ in this instance in some of the north midland dialects, however, it is apparent, on account of its isolated occurence, that it is not only a marked feature but also a fairly localised feature. It is perhaps for this reason that it appears to have been eroding already for some time: this feature is apparent in the speech of only one informant in the old age-group, the usual reflex of ME /a:/ (> traditional dialect /e:/) occurring in the speech of the other old informants. The same

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[61] For historical and contemporary ModE evidence concerning the boundary between the north midland and northern areas, see Tidholm (1979), op. cit, pp. 5-6.

pattern is observable in the all the other age-groups; /eː/, or modified /eɪ/ (teenagers) is present throughout. Therefore, it must be assumed that the effect of standardised or urban forms in this instance is minimal, any influence merely reinforcing a levelling process that was evidently already underway.

/ʊə/ ([wɒ])

Unlike SE, dialectal /ʊə/ does not occur as a falling diphthong (except in the isolated case noted below). The realisation is as a rising diphthong, consisting of a semi-vowel + re-tensed second element, [wɒ] in those words derived from ME ō2 and ME ō3 (/ɔː/). As with the rising diphthong realisation of /ɪə/ - i.e., /jɛ/ (above, p. 90) - /ʊə/ ([wɒ]) only occurs word initially; e.g., [wɒpᵊn] *open*; (with /h/ loss) [wɒm] *home* (the usual dialect reflex of ME /ɔː/ is /oː/ - see above, pp. 27-30), and [wɒn] *one*. In those words corresponding to SE /ʊə/, the usual dialectal realisation differs according to origin. In those lexical items derived from ME /ɔː/ + /r/ (> RP /ʊə/ or /ɔː/), the usual dialectal reflex is /oə/ ([o·ə], see below, pp. 109-112; or [ː], [ː] etc. - see above, /ɔː/, pp. 21-25); and in those derived from ME /oː/ + /r/, the usual dialectal reflex is /ɤə/ (see below, pp. 105-106).

Comparative Distribution

Dialectal [wɒ] (alongside variant [oː]) corresponds to RP /əʊ/ in *open* (< ME ō < OE ŏ [ō3]) and to RP /həʊ/ in *home* (< ME [ō2] /ɔː/ < OE ā). Dialectal [wɒ] corresponds to RP /wʌ/ in *one* (< ME ō2) and *once*. Dialectal /ʊə/ ([ʊəˑ], [ʊə]) only occurs in the anomaly of *hair* (< ME /aː/ + /r/ > SE /ɛə/, dialectal /ɛə/) – [jʊ·ə].

Historical Development

Dialectal /wɒ/ has developed from ME /ɔː/ (< OE ā and OE ŏ, lengthened in OS) in word initial position only. ME /ɔː/ was possibly raised sometime in the lME or eModE period before being diphthongised. It is unlikely that ME /ɔː/ was diphthongised without being raised first – though in some dialects of the north midlands, diphthongisation of ME /ɔː/ (< ME ō3) occurred without apparent raising, producing /ɔɪ/ (see above, p. 88). Thus, the likely development is as follows: /ɔː/ > /oː/ > /ʊɔ/ > /ʊə/ > /wɔ/ and /wɒ/ (the second element was

lowered, probably at the same time as the general lowering of eModE /ɔ:/ and /ɔ/ to /ɒ:/, /ɒ/ respectively). Why the raising and diphthongisation of ME /ɔ:/ occurred in initial position only is unclear. It is evident that the usual reflex of ME /ɔ:/ is /o:/ in the dialect of New Mills (and, indeed, in many other, though not all, dialects of the north-west midlands), although /ʊə/ occurs elsewhere in the north midlands (particularly the north-east midlands) as the usual reflex of ME /ɔ:/. In these dialects, however, /ʊə/ is realised as a falling diphthong, even in word initial position – cf. north-west midlands [wɒm], *home*, and north-east midlands [ʊəm], *home*. It is also worth comparing north-west midlands /wɒm/, /wɒn/ and northern /jam/, /jan/ (*home*, *one* respectively) where the same process of development is evident, except that in the northern dialects the reflexes of OE /ɑ:/ developed as front vowels (i.e. /a:/ > /ɛ:/ > /e:/ > /ɪɛ/ > /ɪə/ > /ja/), rather than back vowels as in the midlands and south.

What is certain is that rising diphthong realisations, i.e., /wɒ/ (< ME /ɔ:/), are a fairly localised feature, except in the instance of *one* (where such realisations are apparent in SE and many other varieties), being generally restricted to the north-west midlands. Futhermore, it is also evident that [wɒ] is highly restricted on a lexical level, occuring in initial position in only a few items. Additionally, in these few items, [wɒ] occurs alongside [o:] in free variation - e.g., [wɒpᵊn] and [o:pᵊn] *open*; and [wɒm] and [o:m] *home* - while in other words of this class (i.e., reflex of ME /ɔ:/ in word initial position), only [o:] occurs (e.g., [o:k] *oak*; [o:ts], *oats* etc.). A clue to this unusual feature may lie with the various reflexes of ME /ɔ:/, which display a greater variation in the north midlands than elsewhere, mirroring (to a minor extent) the reflexes of ME /ɛ:/. In addition to /o:/ and /ʊə/, variants /ɔɪ/ (north-west and north-east midlands, e.g., [kɒɪl] / [kɔɪl], *coal*) and /ʏ:/ (north-west midlands only, e.g., [smʏ:k], *smoke*) occur as the reflexes of ME ō3, the latter developing from the straightforward raising and then final fronting of ME /ɔ:/ (in this case evidently merging with the reflex of ME ō1) – i.e., /o:/ > /u:/ >/ʏ:/ (c. f. the merging of some items (< ME ē2) with others (< ME ē1). Moreover, dialectal [wɒ] occurs in those items (e.g. *home*, *open* etc.) which are comparatively common (i.e. frequently used) words; this may suggest that dialectal [wɒ] was once more widely distributed in items of this class (i.e. in initial position), and the current situation consists of a relic feature where the most common items have resisted a change where [wɒ] is levelled with /o:/.

The development of /ʊə/ in *hair* appears complex (and, indeed, may be so!), although it is perhaps more straightforward than it would seem; needless to say, without sufficient evidence, it is not possible to provide a definitive development. It is possible that lME /eModE /ɛ:/ + /r/ (< ME /a:/) in this particular instance developed regularly to /e:r/ (evidence for which is provided by data from the nearby SED locality Derbyshire 3 – Burbage [twelve miles SSE]- where /e:ə/ is recorded), before developing further to /ɪər/, either by having merged with ME /ɛ:/ (ē2), or by analogy with it. Without initial /h/, /ɪə/ (in this particular instance) either developed an in-glide or became a rising diphthong – i.e. [jɪə] or [jɛə] respectively. The next development concerning the retraction of the front vowel may have been due to the influence of the following /r/ and / or possibly because of the apparent need to differentiate between what would have been new homophones – i.e. /jɪəɹ/ in this instance and /jɪəɹ/, *year* (< ME /e:/ + /r/). The possible devlopment of ME /a:/ + /r/ (in *hair*), therefore, is as follows: /(h)ɛ:ɹ/ > /(h)e:ɹ/ > /ɪeɹ/ > /jɪeɹ/ > /jʊəɹ/.[62] More probable is a derivation from ON *jár* (/jɔ:r/), involving a straighforward development, /jɔ:r/ > /jo:r/ > (/ju:r/) > /jʊər/.

Contemporary development in apparent time: realisations according to age-group

ME	RP	Traditional nwDer/neCh	**Contemporary New Mills**			
			Old	*Mid*	*Adult*	*Teen*
/ɔ:/ < OE ŏ (ō3) *open*	/əʊ/	/wɒ/ (word initial)	[wɒ], [o:]	[wɒ], [o:]	[o:], [oʊ], [wɒ]	[oʊ], [o:]
/ɔ:/ < OE ā (ō2) *home*, *oak*	/həʊ/, /əʊ/	/wɒ/ (word initial) /o:/	[wɒ], [o:]*	[wɒ], [o:]*	[o:],[oʊ],* [wɒ]	[oʊ], [o:]*
/ɔ:/ < OE ā (ō2) *one*, *once*	/wʌ/	/wɒ/ (word initial)	[wɒ]	[wɒ]	[wɒ]	[wɒ]
/a:/ + /r/ < eME ai *hair*	/ɛə/	/uər/	[ɛə(ɹ)], [ʊ·ə(ɹ)]	[ɛə]	[ɛə]	[ɛə]

* Realisations with initial /h/, in *home*, are very rare in connected speech.

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[62] This item was recorded with a rounded front variant (i.e. /jʏ:əˈ/) at the nearest *SED* locality (Charlesworth – four miles NNW).

Contemporary Linguistic Change

Dialectal [wɒ] in initial position in words such as *open* (< ME /ɔ:/ [ō3]) and *home* (< ME /ɔ:/ [ō2]) is common amongst informants in the old and mid age-groups (alongside /o:/). It occurs rarely in the speech of the young adults (the use thereof being highly restricted and situationally conditioned) and is completely absent in the speech of the teenagers. The erosion of this feature in these instances is probably attributable to a conscious rejection by the teenage informants. Despite the fact that it is not a highly localised feature - it occurs in some of the other dialects of the north-west midlands, both rural and urban[63] - it is evidently deemed to be a marked feature by many of the younger informants. This feature is not restricted to the traditional rural dialects, so the likely factor for rejection is not the urban / rural model, but rather that it is deemed to be the provenance of older speakers and therefore not associated with a modern image, it is perhaps significant that this feature is also absent in nearby urban varieties, particularly the "Manchester accent" (this being associated with the inner-city areas of the conurbation), which is evidently influential upon the speech of the teenagers. The usual teenagers' realisation (< ME /ɔ:/ > dialectal /wɒ/) is [oʊ] – e.g., [ɪts nɒtʔ oʊpᵊn], *it's not open* – though the usual traditional reflex (< ME /ɔ:/, non-initial > dialectal /o:/) is evident in the speech of one of the teenagers (MH). The occurrence of [oʊ] cannot be attributed solely to the influence of SE - i.e., by analogy (ME /ɔ:/ > RP /əʊ/) – as [oʊ] itself is the usual realisation in some of the nearby urban varieties; the presence of an urban nasalised variant [õũ] – e.g., [äm go·ɪn õũm], *I'm going home* – in the speech of one of the teenage informants testifies to the influence of the neighbouring urban varieties of the Manchester conurbation.

Traditional dialect /wɒ/ in *one* and *once* is universal throughout all the age-groups. It must be assumed that its stability is at least partially on account of the presence of in-glides in these lexical items in SE (and, indeed, most other varieties) – this feature evidently spreading to the south-east from the midlands[64] - and / or urban or regional varieties in the north midlands. Nevertheless, it is perhaps significant that the realisations in New Mills all correspond to the local dialect form [wɒ], rather than to /wʊ/ (corresponding to RP /wʌ/), which occurs in some dialects in the north midlands and midlands. So while it is evident that

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[63] For example, initial [w] has also been recorded (in items such as *home*) in Farnworth, Bolton (Greater Manchester) - see Shorrocks (1998), pp. 385-387.

[64] Forms with in-glides (which emerged in the south–east, and hence SE, during the seventeenth century) were originally considered as vulgarisms – see Gimson (1994), p. 106.

other modified regional and / or urban varieties have influenced the stability of dialectal /wɒ/ in these instances, it is also evident that the traditional dialect reflex (< ME /ɔ:/ in initial position) has defined the teenagers' realisations in *one* and *once*.

Traditional dialect /uə/ in the lexical item *hair* has evidently been undergoing levelling for some considerable time, as it is only present in the speech of one of the old informants (F) - [jʊ·ə]. A form corresponding to the usual reflex of ME /ɛ:/ + /r/ - i.e., [ɛə(r)] – is present in the speech of the other old informants, and, indeed, the other informants in all age-groups. The apparent levelling of [uə] in *hair* is probably on account of its highly unusual and isolated (on a lexical level) development - above, p. 100.

Centring Diphthongs (< ME V + /r/, V + /l/)

/ɪə/

For a description, see above, pp. 89-90.

Variants

In morpheme initial position, the first element is usually realised as a closer / and or more tense variant – i.e., [ï], [i]or [ɪ] – for example, [ïə'ɹ ɪt ɪz], *here it is*. Before /l/, the second centralised (breaking) element is often a slightly retracted and closer [ ] - e.g., [m ɫ], *meal* (see also below, pp. 167-169).

Historical Devlopment

For a historical analysis of /ɪə/ (< ME V + /r/), see above, pp. 90-91, 96. In addition to the development from ME /ɛ:/ + /r/, dialectal /ɪə/ has developed regularly from ME /e:/ + /r/.

Contemporary development in apparent time: realisations according to age-group

ME	RP	Traditional nwDer/neCh	Contemporary New Mills			
			Old	*Mid*	*Adult*	*Teen*
/e:r/ (ē1 + r) *beer*, *here*	/ɪə/	/ɪər/	[ɪə], [ɪə˺]	[ɪə]	[ɪə]	[ɪə]
/ɛ:r/ (ē2 + r) *ear*, *fear*	/ɪə/	/ɪər/	[ɪə], [ɪə˺]	[ɪə]	[ɪə]	[ɪə]

continued						
ME	RP	Traditional nwDer/neCh	*Old*	*Mid*	*Adult*	*Teen*
/ɛ:r/ (ē2 + r) *there,where*	/ɛə/	/ɪər/	[ɛə], [ɛəˀ] [ɪə], [ɪəˀ], [ɛ:]	[ɛə], [ɪə] [ɛ:]	[ɛə], [ɛ:], [ɪə]	[ɛə], [ɛ:]
/ɛ:r/ (ē3 + r) *gear*	/ɪə/	/ɪəɹ/	[ɪə], [ɪəˀ]	[ɪə]	[ɪə]	[ɪə]
/ɛ:l/ *meal*, *steal*	/i:l/	/ɪəl/	/ɪəl/ [ɪ ɬ] etc.	/ɪəl/ [ɪ ɬ] etc.	/ɪəl/ [ɪ ɬ] etc.	/ɪəl/ [ɪ ɬ] etc.

Contemporary Linguistic Change

Apart from the obvious erosion of dialectal post-vocalic (word final) and pre-consonantal /r/, which has become a highly regressive feature (see also below, pp. 173-184), dialectal /ɪər/ (< ME /ɛ:/ + /r/ [ē2 + r, ē3 + r]) remains stable throughout the age-groups. Such stability is probably due to its direct correspondence in SE and other modified / regional / urban varieties. Nevertheless, it is evident that in certain lexical items, dialectal /ɪə/ differs from the reflex of ME /ɛ:/ + /r/ in SE and other varieties (> /ɛə/). In these instances (e.g., *there*, *where*), /ɪə(r)/ is a regional feature of some of the dialects of the north midlands (including New Mills and other dialects in the north-west midlands), having developed regularly (i.e. < ME /ɛ:/ + /r/). Dialectal /ɪə/, in *there* and *where*, is generally restricted to the speech of the old and middle-age informants (alongside modified /ɛə/), while it is apparently absent in the teenagers' speech (/ɛə/ only). On account of its correspondence in SE, it is easy to attribute this levelling directly to influence from RP, but again it is impossible to make direct claims as /ɛə/ occurs in these instances in not only the modified regional standard but also in non-standard varieties of the nearby urban conurbation. It is probable that /ɪə/ in these instances is deemed a marked dialect feature – i.e., because of its provenance among the older speakers and its subsequent association with the traditional dialects of the area – and, importantly, one that does not exist in neighbouring modern urban varieties.

/ɤə/

The quality of the first element of this diphthong equates to that of the long vowel /ɤː/ (above, p. 13) – i.e. lax C[ɤ]. The second centralised element occurs on account of so-called "breaking" before /r/ and /l/, the exact quality of which is influenced by the following liquid – usually [ə] before (historical) /r/ and [ə], [ ] or [ʊ] before /l/. In the traditional dialect, the central second element sometimes exhibits r-colouring when it occurs before historical /r/ – i.e., [əˡ] – see /r/ below, pp. 173-177.

<u>Variants</u>

Variants of this diphthong (apart from the differences in quality of the second element noted immediately above) are not ones of quality, but rather of quantity of the first element. Although this diphthong is generally descended from ME ō1 (/oː/) or ME *eu* / *iu* (>dialectal /ɤː/) + /r/ or /l/, rarely is the first element realised as a fully long vowel [ɤː]; rather it is realised as semi-long [ɤ·] (e.g., [wɒpᵊn ʔ dɤ·ə], *open the door*); [kɤ·ʊɫ], *cool*) or short [ɤ] (e.g., [jə ʃɤə], *[are] you sure?*).

<u>Comparative Distribution</u>

Dialectal /ɤə/ corresponds to RP /ʊə/, /ɔː/ in words such as *door*, *floor*, *moor*, *poor*(*ly*) [pɤ·əlɪ]; and *cure*, *pure*, *sure*, *tour* [tɤ·ə]etc. (i.e. words derived from ME /oː/, lME /ɪʊ/ + /r/); and in medial position in polysyllabic items, e.g., [sʊɫfjɤ·əɹɪk], *sulphuric*; and as variants, in words consisting of V + breaking element (before /l/) such as *cruel* and *usual* - e.g., [ɪts nɒt jɤːʃɤ· ɫ], *it's not usual* (cf. dialectal [jɤːʃʊɫ]) – or long V + /l/ , e.g., [fɤ·ʊɫ], *fool* (cf. dialectal /fɤː/).

<u>Historical Development</u>

Dialectal /ɤə/ developed from ME /oː/ and lME /ɪʊ/, the second element occuring as a breaking element before /r/ and /l/. For a historical analysis concerning the development and fronting of eModE /uː/ (< ME /oː/, lME /ɪʊ/), see /ɤː/, above, pp. 15-17.

Contemporary development in apparent time: realisations according to age-group

ME	SE	Traditional nwDer/neCh	Contemporary New Mills			
			Old	*Mid*	*Adult*	*Teen*
/oː/, lME /ɪʊ/ + /r/ *door, sure*	/ʊə/, /ɔː/	/ɣə/ + /r/	[ɣə(ˈ)], [oə], /ɔː/*	[ɣə], [oə], /ɔː/*	[ɣə], [oə], /ɔː/*	/ɔː/,* [oə]
lME /ɪʊ/ + /l/ *usual*	/ʊə/	/ɣə/, /ə/ + /l/	[ ], [ ] + [ɫ]	[ ], [ ] + [ɫ]	[ ], [ ] + [ɫ]	[ ], [ ] + [ɫ]
/oː/, lME /ɪʊ/ + /l/	/uːl/	/ɣː/	[ɣː], [ɣə] + /l/	[ɣː], [ɣə] + /l/	[ɣə] + /l/, [ɣː]	[ɣə] + /l/

* For realisational variants, see above, pp. 21-22, 25-27.

Contemporary Linguistic Change

Dialectal /ɣə/ (< ME /oː/, /uː/ + /r/), is frequent in the speech of the old and middle-age informants (alongside /oə/, and, rarely, /ɔː/), and, to a lesser extent, the adults. However, [ɣə] very rarely occurs in the speech of the teenagers, being replaced instead by the more open realisations of /ɔː/ (and occasionally /oə/). Conversely, /ɔː/ ([ː], [ː] etc.) is comparatively rare for the realisations of reflexes of ME /oː/, /uː/ + /r/ in the speech of the oldest informants, such realisations − i.e. [ː], [ː] − being the norm for the reflexes of ME ŏ + r and, by analogy, ME au (see above, pp. 21-25). Nevertheless, the fairly common occurrence of /oə/ (the dialectal reflex of ME /ɔː/ + /r/) as the realisation for the reflex of ME /oː/, /uː/ + /r/, in the speech of both the old and middle-age informants, suggests that some degree of levelling is already in process in the traditional dialect (see also /ɔː/, above, pp. 25-27). Therefore, the general absence of traditional dialect [ɣə] (<ME /oː/, /uː/ + /r/) in the speech of the teenagers may not necessarily be attributed solely to the influence of SE (> /ɔː/) or some other modified regional or nearby urban variety (where, incidentally, more open variants of /ɔː/, corresponding to RP [ɔː], are also present). If these varieties are exerting any influence, as appears to be the case, the data suggests that it (they) is (are) merely reinforcing and / or hastening a development that was already underway.

/ɛə/

The first element of this diphthong corresponds to dialectal [ɛ] (above, pp. 37-38). The second element occurs as a residual breaking element before historical /r/ and is usually realised as /ə/ (e.g., [ðɛə], *there*). In the contemporary traditional dialect, historical post-vocalic /r/ still occurs, although highly regressive, and the centralised second element sometimes exhibits r-colouring - [əˑ] (e.g., [ä wʊnə dɛəˑ], *I wouldna [wouldn't] dare*).

Variants

The contemporary process of the smoothing of diphthongs (< V + /r/) and subsequent lengthening in SE has led to the development of variant forms which are now more common than the diphthongs from which they originated. Such monophthongisation is also evident in the traditional dialect of New Mills, though apparently with far less frequency: unlike SE, such realisations are generally restricted to /ɛə/ (and also /oə/), where the loss of the breaking element and the subsequent lenghthening of the first element has resulted in a variant form [ɛ:] - e.g., [äv bɪn ðɛ: twaɪs], *I've been there twice.*

Historical Development

/ɛə/ developed from lME / eModE /ɛ:/ + /r/ (< eME ā, aɪ / ɛɪ, these having merged during the ME period, + /r/; ME /ɛ:/ + /r/). Nevertheless, it is apparent that ME aɪ / ɛɪ did not always develop as such in all cases, evidently developing alongside those lexical items (<ME ē2 and ē1) which developed to /ɪə/ - see *chain* and *hair* (above, pp. 98, 96, 101).

The probable development of ME /ɛ:/ + /r/ was as follows: [ɛ:əɹ] > [e:əɹ] > [eəɹ] > [ɛəɹ] > [ɛəˑ] / [ɛə].

Contemporary development in apparent time: realisations according to age-group

ME	SE	Traditional nwDer/neCh	**Contemporary New Mills**			
			Old	*Mid*	*Adult*	*Teen*
/aː/ + /r/ *care*, *stare*, *stair*	/ɛə/	/ɛər/	[ɛə(ˑ)], [ɛ:]	[ɛə], [ɛ:]	[ɛə], [ɛ:]	[ɛə], [ɛ:]

continued						
ME	RP	Traditional nwDer/neCh	*Old*	*Mid*	*Adult*	*Teen*
/ɛ:/ + /r/ *swear* ē2 *tear* (vb) ē3	/ɛə/	/ɛər/	[ɛə(ˑ)], [ɛ:]	[ɛə], [ɛ:]	[ɛə], [ɛ:]	[ɛə], [ɛ:]

<u>Contemporary Linguistic Change</u>

As is the case with the other centring diphthongs, originally consisting of historical /r/ (i.e., < ME V + /r/), r-coloured variants only occur in the speech of the oldest informants, operating in free variation with non r-coloured variants, though apparently to a lesser degree (see below, pp. 174-176, 180-184). Dialectal /ɛə/, however, occurs in all age-groups and consequently appears to demonstrate a degree of stability. Nevertheless, in addition to a diphthongal realisation [ɛə], a smoothed long monophthong variant [ɛ:] occurs throughout all age-groups, though the latter appears to be more frequent amongst the adults and, particularly, the teenagers. Such a development has also occurred in SE, where monophthongal variants are now more common than the diphthongs from which they originated. Although it appears that the same process is underway in New Mills, it would be unwise to accord this development as standardisation, either as direct influence from SE or indirectly from a modified variety. It is possible that monophthongisation is an internal phonetic development (resulting from the continuing process of /r/ loss), and this is the primary driving force behind the change; alternatively, internal phoenetic development may be operating in tandem with influence exerted from an external variety such as SE, the latter reinforcing the former. Smoothed variants occur in all age-groups, though it appears to be the case that there is greater occurrence of smoothed variants among the younger informants. This does suggest that the development of monophthongal variants could be part of a continuing process resulting from the erosion of post-vocalic /r/, involving the loss of the residual breaking element (/ə/) and consequent lengthening of the first element – i.e. /ɛə/ > /ɛ:/.[65]

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[65] This process may also have been responsible for the development of monophthongs in RP (where rhoticity was lost during the late eModE period), where monophthongisation is apparently advanced, affecting not only the centring diphthongs (to various degrees, but particularly /ɛə/ and /ʊə/), but also some triphthongs - for a description of the smoothing of diphthongs in RP, see Gimson (1994), pp. 128 –135.

/oə/

The first element of this diphthong approximately equates C[o] and the second element is of the same quality as that of the breaking element (before /r/) of the diphthongs described immediately above.

<u>Variants</u>

On account of its development from an original ME long vowel (i.e., /ɔ:/ or /o:/ + /r/), the first element is frequently realised as a semi-long [o·]. As with the other centring vowels immediately above (i.e., those which have developed from a ME vowel + /r/), the second centralised element is sometimes realised with r-colouring in the speech of those (older) speakers in which this remains a (albeit regressive) feature, e.g., [ko:ɫ bo·əˈd], *coal board.*

Those lexical items which contain [oə] as their norm variant are sometimes realised with lowered and smoothed variants of the type [ ], [:] - e.g., [k :s] and [ko·əs], *course*; [f :s] and [fo·əsɪs], *force, forces*; [f :ti:n] and [fo·əti:n], *fourteen*; [p :ɹɪn] and [po·əɹɪn], *pouring.* Such realisations are by analogy with the reflex of ME ŏ + /r/ (> eModE /ɒr/) – see /ɔ:/, above, pp. 21-25). Conversely, many lexical items with other norm variants are sometimes realised with a variant form [oə]: dialectal /ɤə/ (< ME /o:/ + /r/) may also be realised as [oə] and, to a lesser degree, /ɔ:/; those items derived from ME ŏ + /r/ (> /ɔ:/) are sometimes realised as a variant [oə] - e.g., [bɪf :] and [bɪfo·ə], *before*; [:s] (additional variant – [ɒs]) and [o·əs], *horse*; [m :] and [mo·ə], [mo·əˈ] *more*. Therefore *moor* (often [mɤ·ə]) and *more* (often [m :]) are sometimes homophonous – i.e., [mo·ə].

<u>Historical Development</u>

Dobson puts forward the view that during the eModE period ME ō2 (i.e., /ɔ:/) remained /ɔ:/ before /r/ and was not raised.[66] However, Jespersen's argument that /ɔ:/ before /r/ was raised in some instances, an assertion that is supported by both sixteenth and seventeenth century and modern dialectal evidence, is readily acknowleged as a possibility.[67] Whatever the case with SE, it is a probability, therefore, that ME /ɔ:/ + /r/ developed regularly to /o:r/ by the

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[66] Dobson (1968), p. 737.
[67] Ibid.

eModE period in the north-west midlands. The modern evidence suggests that /oːr/ would have been realised with a breaking element before the liquid (probably a more retroflex realisation – [ɻ]), with consequent shortening of the preceding vocalic element – probably [o·əɻ]. During the ModE period, it is evident that final post-vocalic (and medial pre-consonantal) /r/ became somewhat weakened with the result that, by the middle of the twentieth century, the centralised breaking element was merely r-coloured and of a less retroflex nature (i.e., [o·əʵ]). The continued weakening of this regressive feature has resulted in the loss of /r/ in such positions among younger speakers of the contemporary dialect, leaving a vowel and residual breaking element – i.e., [o·ə] – for example, [fo·əs] in [ïj ad ʔ dɤː ɪt baɪ fo·əs], *he had to do it by force*.

In the contemporary traditional dialect of New Mills, it is also evident that /oə/ has developed from sources other than ME ō2 + /r/: < ME ō1 (/oː/) in [fo·ə], *four*; and (< ME ū) in words such as [po·ə], *pour* and [koəs], *course*. It is tempting to attribute these forms as variants of other more common realisations (indeed, /oə/ operates as a variant form in many instances – see following). In the case of *four* (< ME /oː/ +/r/), /ɤə/, being the normal reflex of ME /oː/, would be expected. However, it is evident that ME /oː/ + /r/ in this instance has developed as /oə/ (the usual realisation being [o·ə], alongside variant [ɔ]; the latter occurring by analogy with the reflex of ME ŏ + /r/) and not /ɤə/. Dobson argues that eModE /uː/ (< ME /oː/) before final /r/ was lowered.[68] It is evident that in many other words of this type (< ME /oː/ + /r/), such lowering did not occur in the north-west midlands, and these developed regularly to /ɤːr/ (> /ɤə/). Dobson concludes his argument by asserting that lowering was "most common in frequently used words". [69] Such a theory fits the lexical diffusion model of change, and, indeed, provides an answer as to why *four* should have been subject to the process of lowering. Nevertheless, it doesn't explain why other everyday common words (in these cases, "household") such as *door* and *floor*, and more significantly, *your* (dialectal [jɤ·ə], variants [jo·ə], [j ːl]) did not. The last example may be explained by the fact that it is "liable to the analogical influence of *you*".[70] It is possible, therefore, that in the case of *four*,

[68] Dobson (1968), pp. 738-739.
[69] Dobson (1968), p. 741.
[70] Ibid.

other factors, such as analogy with *for* (< ME ŏ + /r/ > eModE /ɒr/), may have been at least partially responsible for lowering in this instance. The development of ME /u:/ + /r/ in words such as *pour* and *course* is similar to that of *four*. Dobson also advances the view that /u:/ (< ME /u:/) often remained undiphthongised before /r/ and that during the eModE period (c. 1600) it was lowered. [71] If this view is accepted, the lowering must have taken place in between the diphthongisation of ME /u:/ (> eModE /əʊ/) and the fronting of dialectal eModE /u:/ (< ME /o:/) with which it must have merged; certainly, with respect to the dialects of the north-west midlands, the date of the lowering according to Dobson is more or less during this period. It is probable, therefore, that at some time at the beginning of the seventeenth century, eModE /u:/ (< ME /o:/, /u:/) before /r/, in certain highly restricted instances, was "lowered.... until it became identical with the sound developed before *r* from ME ǭ". [72] In the north-west midlands, therefore, such a development would entail a lowering from /u:r/ to /o:r/ in these instances.

Contemporary development in apparent time: realisations according to age-group

ME	RP	Traditional nwDer/neCh	Contemporary New Mills			
			Old	*Mid*	*Adult*	*Teen*
/ɔ:/ + /r/ *board*	/ɔ:/	/oər/	[oə(ᵻ)], /ɔ:/*	[oə], /ɔ:/*	[oə], /ɔ:/*	/ɔ:/,* [oə]
/o:/ + /r/ *four*, *your*	/ɔ:/	/oər/	[oə(ᵻ)], /ɔ:/*	[oə], /ɔ:/*	[oə], /ɔ:/*	/ɔ:/,* [oə]
/u:/ + /r/ *pour*, *course*	/ɔ:/	/oər/	[oə(ᵻ)], /ɔ:/*	[oə], /ɔ:/*	[oə], /ɔ:/*	/ɔ:/,*

    * For realisational variants, see above, pp. 21-25.

Contemporary Linguistic Change

Dialectal /oə/ is present throughout all the age-groups. Long monophthong variants - [:], [:] - also occur in the speech of informants in all age-groups, but they appear to be more

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[71] Dobson (1968), p. 737.

[72] Ibid.

common in the speech of the younger informants. It is evident that the monophthong realisations (corresponding to the reflex of ME /ɔ:/ + /r/, and in certain lexical items < ME /o:/ + /r/ and /u:/ + /r/), in the traditional dialect (i.e., the speech of the older informants) at any rate, occur by direct analogy with the reflex of ME ŏ + r (> dialectal /ɔ:/) and is part of the contemporary levelling process that is evidently underway concerning the various reflexes of certain ME back vowels + historical /r/ (see also /ɔ:/ and /ɣə/). The traditional dialect realisation - [oə] (< ME /ɔ:/ + /r/) – is far less common in the speech of the younger informants, particularly the teenagers, where monophthong variants are the norm. Indeed, in some instances - namely those items derived from ME /u:/ + /r/ (> dialectal /oə/ in *pour*, *course*) – only a monophthong variant is apparent in the speech of the teenagers. This suggests that the levelling process evident in the traditional dialect is far more advanced in the younger age-groups (as is the case with /ɣə/, above) and it is probable that influence from an external variety (such as the nearby urban varieties, where monophthong variants such as [:], [:], corresponding to dialectal /ɣə/, /oə/ and /ɔ:/ [SE /ɔ:/] are the norm) has contributed to the continuation and apparent increase in speed of this development.

Triphthongs (diphthong + centring element /ə/ - < ME long vowel + /r/)

Unlike RP, particularly marked RP, the smoothing of triphthongs has not occurred in the dialect of New Mills, where generally both the diphthong and centring element (< ME /u:/ + /r/, ME /i:/ + /r/ > dialectal /æʊə/, /aɪə/ respectively) occur as the norm – e.g., [ɣʷə], *sour* - except in those instances where a monophthong variant [a:] occurs as the reflex of ME /i:/ - see above, pp. 72-76 - e.g. [fa:ə], *fire*). However, there is one notable exception to this – *our* is sometimes realised as [a:] (cf. RP /ɑ:/), amongst informants from all age-groups, exhibiting not only the deletion of the centring element but also the smoothing of the diphthong /æʊ/. It must be assumed that this process has occurred in this one example because of the high frequency of use of this lexical item.

CHAPTER 7

Consonants

<u>General Remarks</u>

It is apparent that the English consonants have remained relatively stable over the last thousand years, and, consequently, such change that has occurred is relatively minor compared to the changes in the English vocalic sound system. Furthermore, these changes usually involved the loss of a particular consonant in a specific environment, rather than a change in the realisations of certain consonants (i.e., the latter being the type of contemporary change affecting many varieties of British English). Some aspects of historical consonantal change are highly relevant, as far as contemporary dialectology is concerned (including the present study) – e.g.

- the loss of double (i.e. geminated) consonants within words during the ME period.
- the loss of post-vocalic /r/ in some areas of the south-east and the south-east midlands during the eModE period.
- the loss of the velar fricative in words such as *night* etc. during the ME / eModE period - the later loss of which, in some dialects of the north midlands and north, resulted in the retention of the quality of the preceding vowel.
- the vocalisation of /l/ in *talk* and *palm* etc., during the ME period, and the later vocalisation of /l/, in words such as *old* etc., during the lME and eModE periods in the north midlands and elsewhere.
- the loss of initial /h/ in words such as *it* during the ME period and, conversely, the emergence of initial /h/ (during the eModE period) in SE in certain lexical items, such as *herb* and *habit*, where /h/ did not historically occur.

Other aspects, although highly relevant to the English language as a whole, on a diachronic level, are less important – e.g., the loss of initial /h/ before /l/, /r/ and /n/ during the ME period; the loss of initial velar plosives before /n/ in the eModE period; and the loss of initial /w/ before /r/ in the eModE period.[1]

Nevertheless, it has been recently suggested that, as far as modern English is concerned, vowels play only a minor role in contemporary phonological change, being locally restricted (on a spatial level), while consonants, conversely, appear to be the driving force behind change that is disseminating throughout many varieties of British English:

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[1] For a general summary of change to the English sound system since the OE period, see Gimson (1994), pp. 75-76.

There appear to be no reports of vowel changes spreading throughout the whole country: local 'resolutions' of dialect contact are the order of the day. The same can, however, not be said of consonants. A feature that has spread through much of England is the use of labiodental [ʋ] for /r/ in place of [ɹ] ………the use of the glottal stop [ʔ] for intervocalic /t/…the merger of /θ/ and /f / as [f]… and the merger of /ð/ and /v/ as [v] medially and finally.[2]

This hypothesis, outlined immediately above, is relevant as far as the present investigation is concerned, though only one of these features of apparently disseminating change – i.e., glottal stop for intervocalic /t/ - is present in the New Mills dialect, while others are either completely absent – i.e., labiodental [ʋ] for /r/ - or very rare – i.e., the merger of /θ/ and /f/ as [f], and the merger of /ð/ and /v/ as [v]. Comments on these features and their relevance to aspects of contemporary phonological change can be found in the appropriate section (below).

<u>The consonants of the traditional dialect of New Mills: general synopsis</u>

<u>Liquids</u>

The vocalisation of the lateral approximant /l/, in medial position - in the environment of open / back vowel + /l/ + C (e.g., in the lexical item *cold*) – and in final position - following the close front rounded long vowel /ɤː/ (e.g., in *school*) is a traditional feature of the dialect of New Mills (and many other dialects in the north-west midlands).

The frictionless continuant /r/ occurs in post–vocalic (final) and pre-consonantal (medial) positions, usually in the form of colouring the preceding vowel - i.e. the traditional dialect of New Mills (in common with other dialects in the north part of the north-west midlands area) is rhotic, though this feature is highly regressive. /r/ is also present in those positions where /r/ normally occurs in non-rhotic dialects, i.e., inter-vocalic and 'linking'.

<u>Fricatives</u>

Initial /h/ is rarely articulated in normal everyday connected speech, exceptions being where strong stress is applied or where speech is influenced by situationally conditioned factors (i.e. in formal situations).

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[2] Kerswill (2002), op. cit, p. 207.

Plosives

The realisations of plosives are subject to a considerable amount of variation in both medial and final positions. Medially, the most significant feature is the gemination of both voiced and unvoiced plosives /p/, /b/, /t/, /d/, /k/, /g/ and the nasals /m/, /n/ (gemination is not restricted to plosives – the liquids /r/, /l/ and the fricatives /s/, /ʃ/ and /f/ [rare] are also subject to gemination). Medial plosives may also be glotally reinforced. Unlike RP, an initial plosive occurring in clusters consisting of two consonants is sometimes audibly released. Conversely, a medial plosive in a cluster of three plosives is usually omitted completely (e.g., [bɒg   n], *bogged down*). In final position, plosives are often aspirated, though they may also be reinforced, being either realised with pre-glottalisation (e.g., [ʔt]) or with synchronous glottalisation, i.e. the plosive is unreleased (e.g., [tʔ]). Final plosives may also be realised as [ʔ] (uncommon) or as ejectives (rare). Thomas Hallam (1896), who provided the data and description for Ellis' dialect area D 21, southern North Midland (i.e. the dialect area in which New Mills is situated), this being "his native district", [3] noted what are apparently aspirated, unreleased and / or ejective final consonant variants. Ellis, however, when commenting on what are evidently final aspirated / ejective plosives (rather ironically, in the light of modern day dialectal evidence) dismisses the dialectal status of these features– "in the case of mutes as (p, t, k)…. the configuration may be suspended and released on flatus, thus (n*oo*t` t') note, for which (n*oo*t`) would be written [the French release on voice as (not')]" - [4] claiming that such articulations are merely "elocutionary, not permanent, and its more or less frequent use does not belong to any special dialect." [5]

Final voiced plosives may be realised with an off-glide (of the schwa type - /ə/), indicating voicing during the compression and release stages. On the other hand, however, 'voiced' plosives are sometimes devoiced in final position, indicating reduced voicing in the compression stage and absence of voicing in the release stage. Conversely, 'voiceless' plosives may sometimes be realised with voicing. Gemination may also occur word–finally.

Gemination

Gemination occurs both medially and word-finally before a following homorganic consonant (see immediately above) or following initial vowel (i.e. in inter-vocalic position). On a

[3] Ellis (1896), op. cit., p. 316.
[4] Ellis (1896), pp. 316 – 317.
[5] Ellis (1896), p. 317.

phonetic level, it is apparent that gemination involving plosives occurs as two distinct types. In the first type, there is no audible separate release of apparently "double" consonants; rather there is one closing stage and one audible release stage either side of a lengthened (approximately double-length) compression stage.[6] This has led some phonologists to regard this type of geminated consonant as a lengthened consonant and consequently have represented it as such in phonetic notation (e.g., /d:/ rather than /dd/). Nevertheless, the more conventional notation consisting of two consonants (i.e., the latter of the previous examples) is used in the present study. The second type of gemination consists of two separately released plosives, involving a sequence of a plosive preceded by a homorganic glottally reinforced consonant (audibly released or non audibly released) - e.g., [apʔpɪ], *happy*; and [θətʔtiːn], *thirteen*. It would appear that the former type of gemination generally applies to voiced plosives and the second type to unvoiced plosives – phonemic transcriptions will utilise the notation described above (i.e. double consonants), although the actual realisations may be those consisting of glotally reinforced plosives.

Consonant gemination within the word has evidently been a feature of English since at least the OE period, though in many dialects double consonants were reduced by the end of the ME period. Nevertheless, the retention of geminated consonants in some dialects during the ME period may have been responsible for the presence of lexical items in some modern dialects which occur with short vowels, rather than the long vowels evident in SE - i.e. the gemination of consonants prevented the lengthening of vowels in OS during the ME period (e.g., modern dialectal /watə/ and /mɛk/, /mak/, *water* and *make*; SE /wɔːtə/ and /meɪk/ respectively). As far as the modern period is concerned, gemination has been remarked upon by dialectologists since the beginning of the twentieth century, though with apparent controversy and / or uncertainty. Thomas Hallam (1896) lists "prolongation of final consonants" as a feature of the dialect in Ellis' southern North Midland area (i.e. that in which New Mills is situated), which, in all probability, refers to the presence of final geminated consonants, these occurring "(1) in the pause after short and sometimes medial vowels, and diphthongs having both elements short, and (2) occasionally in connected speech." [7] Ellis, however, has interpreted this as the prolonged voicing of final consonants, even in the case of those consonants which are usually unvoiced – "in the case of (f v, th dh, s z, sh zh, r, l, m, n, q) of course they can be prolonged and often are prolonged even in

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[6] See Gimson (1994), p. 145.
[7] Ellis (1896), p. 316.

received speech… as (l*oo*dh`, l*oo*dh`th`), loathe" - [8] and consequently dismisses this feature as "elocutionary and not dialectal or permanent, that is, the consonant is not invariably so prolonged whenever the word is used."[9]

Both Wright (1905) and Hargreaves (1904) comment that gemination occurs principally in present participles and in words with the terminations -ə(r), -əl and –in.[10] While this may be applied to the contemporary traditional dialect of New Mills, it is also apparent that gemination occurs regularly outside these environments. Furthermore, both Wright and Hargreaves noted that gemination only occurs following a short syllable or preceding a short vowel,[11] though as Shorrocks contested in his study of Farnworth (south Lancashire), this is not always the case.[12] Exceptions to this are also evident in New Mills – e.g., [mɒ:nnɪn], *[good] morning*; [dɔ:nnɪn],[13] *dawning* in *"it were [was] dawning on me that.."*; and [jɤ:ʒɤʊɫ], *usual*.

Analyses of gemination have, unsurprisingly, focused on the phenomenon at the segmental level; no research has been undertaken into the influence that supra-segmental factors (syllabic / morphemic stress, syntax) may have upon segmental realisations. Detailed research of this type is beyond the scope of the present investigation, though no doubt any investigation would be highly illuminating in this respect.

Although gemination is common in the traditional dialect of New Mills, it appears to occur less amongst the younger speakers, particularly the teenagers.

Description

The description of the consonants of the traditional dialect will not be totally comprehensive as such, rather it will necessarily focus on those aspects which are dialectal features. Therefore, a description will generally not concentrate on those features / realisations which are either phonemically insignificant and /or which occur in most varieties - such as initial aspiration of plosives or the de-aspiration of voiceless consonants following /s/, the partial devoicing of voiced consonants in final and initial position, the palatisation of velar

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[8] Ibid.

[9] Ibid.

[10] Hargreaves, Alexander, *A Grammar of the Dialect of Adlington (Lancashire)*, Anglistische Forschungen 13, Carl Winter, Heidelberg, 1904, p. 74; and Wright, Joseph, 1905 (op. cit), p.7.

[11] Hargreaves, A. (1904), p. 74; and Wright, J (1905), p. 7.

[12] Shorrocks (1998), p. 307.

[13] It is possible in these two examples that the preceding vowel may be nasalised, and a truer notation would be [̃:n], rather than [̃:nn].

consonants before front vowels, the velarisation of /l/ in certain environments etc. - except where these demonstrate a dialectal aspect – e.g., voicing / devoicing of final consonants, palatisation of velar consonants before non-front vowels, and the velarisation of /l/ in non-final positions.

Notation

Both broad (phonemic) and narrow (realisational) transcriptions will utilise the IPA (revised 1997). However, the following remarks concerning the use of some diacritics is important and highly relevant (re: the present investigation), as far as the perceived representation of these symbols on a phonetic level is concerned. The current IPA symbol [Cʰ] is used to denote word final aspiration, a feature of the traditional dialect. However, during the course of the investigation, it became apparent to the researcher (after considerable observation – i.e. on an impressionistic phonetic level - in both fieldwork and non fieldwork situations) that the degree of word final aspiration (i.e. slight, moderate, strong) varies not only from informant to informant but also on an intra-personal level as well. The precise reasons for this are unclear, though the considerable number of variants (realisations of word final plosives) used by dialect speakers and extra-linguistic factors (such as situation) are probably instrumental in this respect; an in-depth study of this phenomenon utilising acoustic ananlysis would undoubtedly yield some telling data, though such focused research is beyond the scope of the present investigation. Subsequently, although this symbol will be used to denote word final aspiration (whether slight, moderate or strong), it must be borne in mind that considerable differences in the degree of aspiration may exist between the actual realisations of one example and another, although no such difference will be apparent in the notation. Shorrocks also noted similar differences in word final aspiration in the dialect of Farnworth, Bolton, and opted to use the old IPA symbol - [C'] - to denote moderate aspiration and the present symbol (noted above) to denote strong aspiration. The researcher of the investigation in New Mills decided against this option, not least because the task of quantifying the degree of aspiration, particularly in those instances where aspiration appears to be neither slight nor strong, would be more subjective than objective without the use of mechanical acoustic measurement.

Obstruents

/p/

/p/ is an unvoiced bilabial plosive.

Distribution

/p/ occurs in all positions. Accented /p/ (i.e., in initial position) is often strongly aspirated. It is also apparent that /p/ is often moderately, and sometimes strongly, aspirated in positions of weak stress (i.e. word finally).

Variants

Medial –

a) Gemination of /p/ in medial position is common – e.g., /sʊppɪn/, *supping* (SE – *drinking*); /kappɪn/, *capping (stone)*; /mɒppɪn/, *mopping*; /slɪppɪ/, *slippy* (SE - *slippery*); [apʔpɪ], *happy*; [ʃɒpʔpɪn], *shopping*.

b) Medial /p/ usually occurs in the environment of /m/ (bilabial nasal plosive) + C – e.g., [ɛmpʔtɪ], *empty* (also [ɛmtɪ]) – and intrusive /p/ occurs in the same environment – e.g., [klɛmptʰ], *clemmed (hungry)*, with devoicing of final /d/ (cf. dialectal [klɛmd]).

Final –

a) It is rarely released audibly before an initial consonant – e.g., [ʊpʔ ðɛə], *up there*. Such variants also occur, in free variation (see b, c below), in utterance final position or before a pause – e.g., [wɒts ʊpʔ], *What's up?* (i.e., *What's the matter?*).

b) Final /p/ is sometimes pre-glotally reinforced – e.g., [its ʊpʔ tɒʔpʰ], *it's up top* (SE – *it's on the top [shelf]*) – which on rare occasions may be realised as an ejective – e.g. [ɪt wə oːnɪ ə pʊʔp'], *it were* [SE – *was*] *only a pup*.

c) Final /p/ is often aspirated – e.g., [av ə kɪpʰ], *have a kip*; [gɪv ʊpʰ], *give up*; [ɪt wəˑɹ ə flɒpʰ], *it were* [SE – *was*] *a flop*.

d) Final /p/ is sometimes geminated before an initial vowel – e.g. /kap pɪn and/, *cap in hand*; [ətʔ tɒpʔ pə ʔ ɪl], *at the top of the hill*; [θʊmpʔ pəm], *thump them*; [lap pïtʔ t ʊpʰ], *lap [wrap] it up*; [ɒpʔ pɪtʰ], *Hop it!* (i.e. *Go away!*).

Historical Development

There has been no significant development of this consonant in the north-west midlands or, indeed, any other variety of English[14] - ModE /p/ is derived from the same OE phoneme. Nevertheless, geminated /p/, which was clearly evident in many ME varieties, has only survived in a few ModE dialects, including those in the north-west midlands. Furthermore, in some instances – e.g., in *pudding*, *purse* and *gossip* - ModE /p/ has developed from the devoicing of an earlier /b/.[15]

Contemporary development in apparent time: realisations according to age-group

	ME	RP	Traditional nwDer/neCh	**Contemporary New Mills**			
				Old	*Mid*	*Adult*	*Teen*
Medial /p/	/p/ [p] [pp]	/p/	/p/ ([p], [pp] etc.)	[p] /pp/ ([pʔp],[pp])	[p] [pʔp],[pp]	[p], [pʔp],[pp]	[p], [pʔp], [pp]
Final /p/	/p/	/p/	/p/ ([pʰ] etc.)?	[p] [pʔ], [ʔp], [pʰ], [ʔp']	[p] [pʔ], [ʔp], [pʰ], [ʔp']	[p] [pʔ], [ʔp], [pʰ]	[p] [pʔ], [ʔp], [pʰ]
Final /p/ + V	/p/	/p/	/p/	[p], [pp]	[p], [pp]	[p], [pp]	[p]

Contemporary Linguistic Change

Little apparent-time change is evident. Nevertheless, dialectal features such as medial gemination are less common in the speech of the younger informants, while final gemination appears to be rarer still. Similarly, final aspiration, although not absent, is not as marked in the speech of the adults and, particularly, the teenagers. However, final pre-glottalised and unreleased variants are present throughout all age-groups, suggesting an established lenition of final /p/. It is difficult, therefore, to attribute the apparent weakening of features such as final aspiration and gemination either as an innovation or as influence from some other variety. There is some evidence to suggest that the glottalisation of voiceless plosives, particularly /t/ (below, pp. 129-130), is an established feature of many of the north midland

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[14] That is on a phonemic level – realisational variants / developments, such as glottalisation, are discussed in the relevant section (above).
[15] See Gimson (1994), p. 149.

dialects.[16] Nonetheless, both /p/ and /k/ do not demonstrate the same degree of glottalisation as /t/ – i.e. no medial or final glottal replacement – though the apparent decline of features such as final aspiration may suggest a continuing, but slow, process towards glottalisation. It remains to be seen if /p/ follows /t/ in this respect.

/b/

/b/ is a voiced bilabial plosive.

Distribution

/b/ occurs initially, medially and finally.

Comparative Distribution

Apart from the realisational variants noted below, dialectal /b/ corresponds to SE in all instances. However, it should be noted that in a very few instances, dialectal /b/ occurs intrusively (being absent in RP) in the environment of bilabial /m/ - e.g., [tʃɪmblɪ], *chimney*.

Variants

Medial –

  a) Gemination is relatively common in medial position - e.g., [dɹʊbbɪn], *drubbing*; [kɒbbɪn], *cobbing* (*throwing*); [gɒbbɪn]; *gobbing* (*spitting, verbally aggressive - "gobbing off"*); [ɹʊbbɪn], *rubbing*; [dɒbbə], *dobber* (*large marble*).

  b) Unlike RP, medial /b/ in consonant clusters is sometimes released – e.g., [ɒbdʒɛkt], *object*; [   ], *robbed*.

  c) Medial /b/ (intervocalically) is sometimes devoiced – e.g. [   ], *cabbage*.

Final –

  a) /b/ is sometimes fully voiced in final position (i.e., before a pause) resulting in an off-glide of the schwa type – e.g., [ʔ pʊbᵊ], *He's down [at] the pub*; [gɒbᵊ], *gob* (i.e. *mouth*).

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[16] For example, Bolton (see Shorrocks (1998), pp. 316-326), Manchester and urban Lancashire (see Wright, Peter (1976), op. cit, pp. 10, 34), Sheffield (see Stoddart et al (1999), pp. 75-76) and Bradford (see Hughes and Trudgill (1987), op. cit, p. 63).

b) /b/ may be (rarely) devoiced in final position, with accompanied slight aspiration –
e.g., [   ], *that's a fib*.

c) Final /b/ is sometimes realised with (post) glottal reinforcement – e.g., [ʃɪz ʊp ʔ
tʊbʔ], *she's up the tub (pregnant)*.

d) Gemination may occur in final position in the same environment as final /p/ (above,
p. 118), i.e. before homorganic consonants or before a following vowel e.g., [kɒb
bɪt], *cob it* (*throw it*); [dab band], *[he's a] dab hand*.

Historical Development

/b/ is derived from the same OE phoneme. However, in some instances, ModE /b/ has
developed from an earlier unvoiced /p/ - e.g., *lobster* and *pebble*.[17]

Contemporary development in apparent time: realisations according to age-group

	ME	RP	Traditional nwDer/neCh	Contemporary New Mills			
				Old	*Mid*	*Adult*	*Teen*
Medial /b/	/b/ [b] [bb]	/b/	/b/ ([b], [bb])	[bb], [b]	[bb] [b]	[b] [bb]	[b], [bb]
(devoi.)			[b]	[b]	[b]		
Final /b/	/b/	/b/	/b/	[b], [bʔ]	[b], [bʔ]	[b], [bʔ]	[b], [bʔ]
(f.v.)			[bə]	[bə]	[bə]	[bə]	[bə]
(devoi.)			?	[b]	[b]		

Abbreviations : f. v. (fully voiced), devoi. (devoiced).

Contemporary Linguistic Change

Medial devoiced variants are generally restricted to the older speakers. Similarly, other
traditional features of the dialect, such as final fully voiced plosives with an off-glide
(uncommon amongst the younger informants) and, conversely, final devoiced variants
(generally absent amongst the younger informants) demonstrate a similar age distribution.
One likely explanation for this is the conscious avoidance of features that are seen as being

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[17] See Gimson (1994), p. 149.

typical of the traditional dialect, the domain of older speakers. Such forms, therefore, would be avoided by younger members of the community who wish to portray a modern image. It is perhaps significant that features such as these do not occur in the urban varieties of Manchester, which appear to exert a considerable influence on younger speakers, not least because of their modern cultural appeal. It is possible that local modified varieties may also have played a part in this process. The influence of SE, via the medium of education, also cannot be ruled out in this instance, though this is less likely as modern teaching practice no longer considers 'correcting' pronunciation as important.

The continuing presence of other traditional features, such as medial gemination, among the younger speakers may be due, at least partly, to the fact that there is no conscious perception of these types of articulations (this is probably because double consonants have no phonemic significance in English) and consequently no perception as to their dialectal significance. Indeed, when this feature was pointed out to the informants, no speakers were either aware of the presence of geminated consonants, or that they themselves used them. This is in marked contrast to a Slovakian student who, completely unprompted, made comments to the author on the presence of such features in Sheffield speech. As medial /b/ (and /p/) is evidently not subject to glottalisation elsewhere in the north midlands, including the urban varieties of Manchester, attention would, consequently, not focus upon these realisations – i.e. it is probable that they are perceived as being the same.

/t/

/t/ is a voiceless (fortis) alveolar plosive.

A particular feature of the production of alveolar stops is that they are "particularly sensitive to the influence of the place of articulation of a following consonant. Thus, … followed by a /θ, ð/.., the contact will be dental [   ].[18] Movements of this type sometimes may cause the assimilation of the alveolar plosive with a following bilabial or velar plosive, which has led some phonologists to transcribe the realisations of /t/ in such environments as /p/ or /k/ etc. Nevertheless, such transcriptions do not account for the phonetic reality, a situation which was remarked upon by Nolan:

For instance in the phrase "mad cow", ...the alveolar at the end of "mad" is susceptible in less careful pronunciation to assimilation to the place of articulation of the following velar. Traditionally this might be transcribed as [mæg kʰaʊ]*, indicating complete loss of the*

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[18] Gimson (1994), p. 150.

alveolar. Instrumental records of articulation, however, show that sometimes in forms where the alveolar sound cannot be heard the speaker is nonetheless making a reduced tongue movement towards the alveolar ridge.[19]

On account of the speaker's articulation, therefore, final or medial /t/ followed by a bilabial or velar plosive consonant will be transcribed as [t] in the present investigation (unless assimilation is undoubtedly and clearly the case), not least because realisations with [p] or [k] have no phonemic bearing or dialectal significance (i.e., such realisations apply to all varieties of English).

<u>Distribution</u>
/t/ occurs in all positions.

<u>Variants</u>
Medial-

a) Gemination is common in intervocalic medial position - e.g., /bɛttɪn/, *betting*; /gɛttɪn/, *getting*; /flɪttɪn/, *flitting (moving house)*; /bɛttə/, *better*; /bʊttə/, *butter*; /fɪttə/, *fitter*; /əəttɪ/, *thirty*; [sɛtʔtɪn], *setting*; [spɪtʔtɪn], *spitting*; [θətʔtiːn], *thirteen*; [wɪtʔtlɪn], *whittling (talking noisily, nagging)*.

b) Morpheme medial intervocalic /t/ is (rarely) realised as a post-alveolar approximant [ɹ], one example being recorded (on a few occasions) – [ï{t} dʊnt maɹə], *it doesn't matter*. However, it is more frequent in participle forms of certain verbs – e.g., [gɛɹɪn], *[I'm not] getting [it]* – or in other verbal forms when they are followed by a vowel – e.g., [lɛɹ ɪm ɪn], *let him in*; [ä nɛvə gɒɹ itʰ], *I never got it* (*I didn't get it*).

c) Followed by a plosive, word medial /t/ often occurs with no audible release – e.g., [fʊtʔ ːɫ], *football*; before a vowel it is often geminated (see immediately above). It also appears that medial /t/ is not released before /ʃ/, possibly in order to avoid confusion with the affricate /tʃ/ (see also /tʃ/, below) – e.g., [wɪltʔʃə], *Wiltshire*. Furthermore, in the environment preceding /tʃ/, medial /t/ may occur where SE has a velar plosive, i.e. corresponding to the orthographical representation of the lexical item – e.g., [atʔtʃəlɪ], *actually* (SE /aktʃəlɪ/).

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[19] Nolan, Francis, "Handbook of the International Phonetic Association: A Guide to the Use of the International Phonetic Alphabet", *Journal of the International Phonetic Association* 25/1 (June), 1995, p. 32.

d) Word medial /t/ (often morpheme final) is often elided when it occurs in consonant clusters, usually after /s/– e.g., [laslɪ], *lastly*; [moːslɪ], *mostly*; [poːsmən], *postman*. However, in certain environments (for instance, following /k/ - see also below, pp.137-138), /t/ remains (where it is elided in most varieties of English, including SE) at the expense of the preceding velar plosive - e.g., dialectal [ɛgzatlɪ], *exactly* (informal RP and modified standards - [ɪgzaklіː]). Following an alveolar nasal, /t/ may be subject to elision – e.g., [plɛnɪ], *plenty* – which may result in the gemination of the preceding /n/ - [plɛnnɪ ə ðatʰ], *plenty of that*.

Final –

In utterance final position (i.e. before a pause):

a) final /t/ can occur with aspiration, sometimes heavily so – e.g., [atʰ], *at*; [aʊtʰ], *aught* (*anything*); [fʊtʰ], *foot*; [itʰ], [ɪtʰ], *it*; [spɪtʰ], *spit*; [təniːtʰ], *tonight*; [wɛtʰ], *wet*; [əmeːzɪn ðatʰ], *amazing that*; [ä gɒtʔ bɪtʰ], *I got bit(ten)*; [ä nɛvə gɒɹ itʰ], *I never got it* (*I didn't get it*); [oː noː a wʊntʰ], *Oh, no I wouldn't*; [nɒt ə lɒtʰ], *not a lot*

b) final /t/ is sometimes glotally reinforced (either audibly or non-audibly) – e.g., [stɒkʔpətʔ], *Stockport* (place-name); [kɪktʔ tïtʔ], *kicked it*; [ðatʔ], *that*.

c) final /t/ is sometimes pre-glottalised - e.g., [ɪtʔ wəˈ ɹʊpʔtʰ], *it were (was) upped* - which (rarely) may be realised as an ejective – e.g., [wɛəɹ ɪz ɪʔtʼ], *where is it?*

d) final /t/ is sometimes (rare) elided – e.g., [bɹɛkfəs], *breakfast*.

In word final position:

a) Before a following vowel, final /t/ is sometimes geminated – e.g., [atʔ toːm], *at home*; [bʊtʔ təː], *but er…*; [eːt tɪtʔ tʊpʰ], *eat it up*; [meːtʔ tə tʏː], *mate or two*; [wə k ɪtʔ tæʏt], *work it out*. Additionally, final /t/ before a following vowel is sometimes realised as post-alveolar [ɹ] – e.g., [wɒˈɹ ə loːd ə kɹapʰ], *What a load of crap!* ; [ï gɒɹ ɪtʔ las wiːk], *he got it last week* – or (rarely) as a tap [ɾ] – e.g., [gɛɾɒf], *get off*. These types of realisation – i.e., post alveolar and tap - usually only occur intervocalically and across morpheme boundaries, very rarely medially (i.e., within the word).

b) Before a following consonant, word final /t/, when it occurs in a consonant cluster, is often elided – e.g., [fəs taːm], *first time*; [hɛlp mɪ], *helped me*; [dʒʊs lɛftʰ], *just left*;

[las ni:tʰ], *last night*; [lʏ:k la:ᴵk], *looked like*; [wəs ple·ʲə], *worst player*. However, final /t/ remains when it occurs as part of a three consonant cluster before a following vowel, at the expense of the preceding plosive – e.g., [ast ɪm], *asked him*. Both final /t/ and the preceding consonant is often lost if an initial consonant follows – e.g. [ïj as pi:t], *he asked Pete*. Before a following homorganic consonant, final /t/ often remains – e.g., [wɛnt tə], *went to..* ; [spɛntʔ twɛntɪ jɪə], *spent twenty years*; [antʔ tɪ]; *hasn't he?* – except in the speech of the teenagers, where /t/ may be subject to glottal replacement, e.g., [gɛʔ ðatʔ], *get that*; [ðaʔ ðɛə], *that there*. Before a following /j/, final /t/ is rarely elided, though it is frequently unreleased – [a lɛntʔ jə], *I lent you…*; [äl ɪtʔ jə], *I'll hit you*.

Historical Development

ModE /t/ has developed unchanged from the same OE phoneme. Nevertheless, it is evident that there is considerable variation in the realisation of /t/ (and, indeed, other consonants) in the dialects and varieties of ModE. Whether or not this was the case in earlier periods (or whether such variation is a feature of ModE only) is impossible to determine, as the writing system did not (and does not) account for allophonic variation of this type. However, the writing system does provide evidence of historic elision of /t/ - in *castle*, *Christmas*, *fasten*, *hasten*, *often* and *soften* etc. - which probably occurred sometime in the eModE period.[20] The ModE past tense and participle suffix (realised as /t/) ending of weak verbs developed from an earlier [əd] when following voiceless consonants (except /t/).

Contemporary development in apparent time: realisations according to age-group

	ME	RP	Traditional nwDer/neCh	**Contemporary New Mills**			
				Old	*Mid*	*Adult*	*Teen*
Medial /t/ + C	/t/	/t/	/t/	[tʔ]	[tʔ]	[tʔ]	[tʔ]
Word Medial /t/ (cc) e.g., *mostly*	/t/	/t/	/t/	[t], [Ø]	[t], [Ø]	[t], [Ø]	[t], [Ø]

[20] See Gimson (1994), p. 151

continued							
	ME	RP	Traditional nwDer/neCh	*Old*	*Mid*	*Adult*	*Teen*
Medial /t/ + syll. /l/, /m/, /n/	/t/	/t/	/t/	[t], [tʔ], [tʔt]	[t], [tʔ], [tʔt]	[t], [tʔ], [tʔt], [ʔ]	[tʔ], [ʔ], [t]
Final /t/ (u. f.)	/t/	/t/	/t/	[t], [tʰ], [tʔ], [ʔt], [ʔt'],	[t], [tʰ], [tʔ], [ʔt], [ʔt']	[t], [tʰ], [tʔ],[ʔt], [ʔ]	[t], [tʔ], [ʔt], [ʔ]
Final /t/ (w. b.) /t/ + V	/t/	/t/	/t/	[t], [tt]	[t], [tt]	[tʔ], [ʔ], [t], [tt]	[tʔ], [ʔ], [t]
/t/ (i. v.) e.g., *got it*	/t/	/t/	/t/	[t], [tt], [ɹ], [ɾ]	[t], [tt] [ɹ], [ɾ]	[t], [tt], [ɹ], [ɾ], [tʔ], [ʔ]	[ʔ],[tʔ], [ɹ], [ɾ]
/t/ (cc) + c /t/ (ccc) + v /t/ (ccc) + c	/t/	/t/	/t/	[∅] [t] [∅]	[∅] [t] [∅]	[∅] [t] [∅]	[∅] [t] [∅]

Abbreviations: iv – intervocalically; u. f. – utterance final; w. b. – word boundary;
(cc) + c - two consonant cluster + consonant;   (ccc) + v - three consonant cluster + vowel

Contemporary Linguistic Change

It is apparent that there are major apparent-time differences in the realisations of /t/ in certain contexts, specifically in medial intervocalic, pre-pausal final and intervocalic final positions. In medial intervocalic position, gemination is common in the speech of the older and middle-age speakers, and, to a lesser degree, amongst the adult age-group, where such realisations exist alongside unreleased variants of the type [tʔ] and variants displaying complete glottal replacement – i.e. [ʔ]. These variants - i.e. [tʔ], [ʔ] - are usual amongst the teenagers, the traditional dialect features – i.e. gemination – being generally absent. An almost identical situation exists concerning final /t/ before a following vowel; gemination is restricted to the older speakers and, less commonly, the adults, while unreleased variants and glottal stops are general amongst the teenagers, and, to a lesser degree, in the speech of the adults. Similarly, before final sonorants /l/, /m/ and /n/, glottal stops are common in the speech of the teenagers and, to a lesser extent, in the speech of the adults, while released and geminated variants – i.e. [t], [tʔt] – are usual amongst the older speakers (except before /l/, where geminated variants rarely occur – e.g., dialectal [bɒtl], *bottle*), though [tʔ] does occur occasionally.

A similar situation exists with the distribution of variants of utterance final /t/: aspirated variants – i.e. [tʰ] – frequently occur in the speech of the old and middle-age informants. In

addition to these traditional features of the dialect, ejectives – i.e. [t'] – occasionally occur and, more commonly, pre-glottalised and unreleased variants – i.e. [ʔt] [tʔ] – amongst the older speakers. Pre-glottalised and unreleased variants are usual amongst informants in the adult age-group, though glottal replacement and traditional aspirated variants also occur. Aspirated variants are generally absent amongst the teenagers; the usual realisations consist of pre-glottalised and unreleased variants.

The realisation of final /t/ as post-alveolar /ɹ/ in certain common lexical items, such as *what* and *got* (when followed by a vowel) and the present participles of certain verbs, occurs in all age groups. This is a feature which occurs in many of the dialects of the north midlands.[21] It is appears that its use in New Mills is not determined or influenced by the presence or otherwise of other traditional realisations of intervocalic /t/, such as gemination.

It is apparent from the data that a change is underway - subject to the limitations of apparent-time data – affecting intervocalic and final /t/. This change involves the substitution of intervocalic geminated and final aspirated variants by pre-glottalised, unreleased and glottal replacement allophones. According to the data, it is also apparent that this change is a fairly recent and ongoing phenomenon: pre-glottalised and glottally replaced variants (intervocalic) are common in the speech of the youngest informants, though generally absent amongst the old and middle-age speakers, while both traditional and innovative forms are present in the speech of the adult age-group. The precise chronology and the factors behind the motivation for this change are complex; consequently it is extremely difficult to determine conclusively whether this has come about via external influence or by internal mechanisms. What is certain is that similar apparent-time development has been noted contemporarily in many localities throughout England, some of which are in the north midlands / west midlands area – e.g., Derby,[22] Sandwell,[23] West Wirral,[24] and Sheffield.[25] In all these localities, an increase in glottalised forms, particularly glottal stops, amongst younger speakers has been noted, sometimes at the expense of traditional features. Much

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[21] For example, Bolton (see Shorrocks (1998), pp. 318-319, 325), Manchester (see Wright, P. (1976), op. cit, p. 34), Liverpool (see Hughes and Trudgill (1987), p. 67) and Sheffield (see Stoddart et al (1999), p. 76.

[22] See Docherty, Gerard J., and Foulkes, Paul, 'Derby and Newcastle: instrumental phonetics and variationist studies', in Docherty, Gerard J., and Foulkes, Paul (eds), *Urban Voices: Accent Studies in the British Isles*, London, Arnold, pp. 50 – 51.

[23] See Mathisen, Anne Grethe, 'Sandwell, West Midlands: ambiguous perspectives on gender patterns and models of change', in Docherty, Gerard J., and Foulkes, Paul (eds), *Urban Voices: Accent Studies in the British Isles*, London, Arnold, 1999, p.110.

[24] See Newbrook, Mark, 'West Wirral: norms, self reports and usage', in Docherty, Gerard J., and Foulkes, Paul (eds), *Urban Voices: Accent Studies in the British Isles*, London, Arnold, p. 97.

[25] See Stoddart et al (1999), pp. 75 – 76.

research into glottalisation has been undertaken in the London area, this being assumed to be a feature of typical Cockney speech. Indeed, while it has been accepted that glottalisation began in southern Scotland and initially spread to the northernmost parts of England, before arriving in London in the early years of the twentieth century (based on the evidence of Andresen – immediately below), it is suggested that it then spread out from London to other parts of England. [26]

It is further posited that by the "middle of the twentieth century, glottal replacement and glottal reinforcement of intervocalic /t/ was a feature of rural dialects in most of eastern England, but not the South West, the Midlands or northern England, including Yorkshire (Trudgill, 1974: 81)";[27] Indeed, the only available data from the middle of the twentieth century (i.e. SED), supports this – though the overwhelming rural focus of the SED must be taken into consideration. Thus, the "phenomenon is therefore considerably older in the southern towns than it is in Hull [East Yorkshire]".[28] The contemporary presence of this feature in places such as Hull, therefore, can best be explained by the geographical hierarchy model, i.e. this type of consonantal change (intervocalic glottalisation of /t/) has been disseminating outwards from London via the major urban centres, since the beginning of the twentieth century, and has recently extended to the major urban centres in the north midlands. It is probably Wells' statement that "the glottal stop is widely regarded as a sound particularly characteristic of Cockney",[29] and his assertion that the "very widespread dissemination of [ʔ] for /t/ at the present day suggests, therefore, that Glottalling must have spread very fast in the course of the present century",[30] which has contributed to the commonly held assumption that glottalisation diffused out of the south-east to those areas where it is generally held to be a present-day innovation. Indeed, Wells himself advances the view that this is probably the case: "it is certainly plausible to suppose that one of the principal factors contributing to the apparently recent geographical spread of T Glotalling is the influence of London English, where it is indeed very common".[31] Despite its widespread acceptance among many contemporary linguists, nevertheless, there is some evidence that suggests that the hierarchy diffusion model previously outlined may not necessarily be

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[26] Kerswill, P. (2002), op. cit, p. 207.
[27] Ibid.
[28] Ibid.
[29] Wells, J.C. (1982b), p. 323.
[30] Wells, J.C. (1982a), p. 261.
[31] Wells, J.C. (1982b), p. 323.

responsible for the development of glottalisation in the north midlands, and this will now be discussed.[32]

Andresen has produced compelling evidence, based on nineteenth and early twentieth century research by such notable linguists as A. Bell, A. J. Ellis and H. Sweet, among others, which demonstrates that glottalisation of /t/ first occurred in the urban areas of west southern Scotland (i.e. Glasgow) in about 1860 before spreading eastwards and then southwards to northern England, before finally arriving in London in the early part of the twentieth century.[33] Indeed, contemporary studies of urban lowland Scots and northern English (i.e. Tyneside) varieties show that glottalisation is an established and salient feature of these varieties. The first problem with the hierarchal dissemination model is one of geography – as it is accepted that this development was moving southwards from Scotland, why did it apparently leap-frog the north midlands area before reaching London? As it is accepted that major urban areas are affected first (as evidently Tyneside was), why did this innovation not affect major conurbations such as Leeds/ Bradford, Manchester and Sheffield etc.? The available early twentieth century evidence, however, suggests that it did. Andresen cites Jespersen's description in 1909, who "until then .. gives the fullest treatment of the phenomenon."[34] Jespersen states that:

After a vowel it is found pretty often in the North of England and in Scotland, especially among the uneducated….. it seems to be instrumental in giving emphasis to a word. It is only found immediately before [p, t, k], the onglide to which it makes inaudible. I have heard it in the following words: in Sheffield tha't *(very often),* can't, thin'k, po'pe, boo'k; *in Lincoln* i'ts, migh't….. *in Glasgow* don't, wan't o'pen…*in Edinburgh in a great many similar words. Sometimes we have the further development that the mouth stop is omitted, as in [wɔ'ər]* [35] *for* water *(Edinburgh).*[36]

In relation to the above, certain highly significant points may be observed: "the north of England", in this instance at least, covers urban areas and towns within the north midlands region, such as Sheffield and Lincoln; Jespersen is referring to the occurrence of pre-glottalised final /t/, /p/ and /k/ in Sheffield, Lincoln and Glasgow [37] (this chronology and distribution provides particularly strong evidence that glottalisation in the north midlands

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[32] The development of glottalised intervocalic /t/ is also discussed in Part 1, 'Contemporary sound change', above, pp. 84-86.

[33] Andresen, Bjørn Stålhane, *Pre-glottalisation in English Standard Pronunciation*, Oslo, Norwegian Universities Press, 1968, pp. 12-24.

[34] Andresen (1968), p. 16.

[35] The symbol ['] is used by Jespersen to denote the glottal stop.

[36] Jespersen, Otto, *A modern English Grammar*, Part 1, London, 1909, § 14.93.

[37] Bell refers to intervocalic glottal replacement in Glasgow at this time - Bell, Alexander Graham, *Lectures upon the mechanism of speech*, New York, 1906, p. 61.

was initiated under the influence of external variety(ies) that had disseminated southwards from southern Scotland, via major urban areas, in a converse fashion to the accepted hierarchy model, i.e. from north to south). Jespersen recorded the further development of intervocalic glottal replacement in Edinburgh, suggesting that the phenomenon begins as glottal reinforcement and then proceeds to glottal replacement in intervocalic position; no mention is made of the occurrence of this phenomenon in London,[38] suggesting that, at this time, it is considered to be a mainly Scottish and northern English feature.[39] During this same period, other linguists, such as Sweet, refer to intervocalic glottalisation as being a typical feature of the dialects of the north – "in some North English and Scotch dialects, the glottal stop occurs as a substitute for the mouth-stops".[40] In addition to this, Hirst noted (in 1914) the occurrence of intervocalic glottal stops for /t/ and occasionally /k/ in Lancaster, and significantly, the presence of pre-consonantal glottal replacement (/t/ and /k/) in some of the urban areas of the north midlands (Liverpool, Wigan, Ormskirk). [41] All this evidence suggests that the phenomenon of glottalisation begins with glottal reinforcement, then progresses to the glottal replacement of final /t/, and eventually occurs as a glottal stop in intervocalic position. Furthermore, the definite article was, and still is, often pre-glottalised or glotally replaced in the north midlands, this having developed from /t/, the reduced form of 'the' – probably /ðə/ > /tə/ > /t/ > /ʔt/, /tʔ/, /ʔ/. The occurrence of glottal stops as a realisation of the definite article suggests that glottalisation was already well established and had been progressing for some time: its dominance in the speech of older members of a community (it also occurs frequently in the speech of younger people), suggests that this is a long established feature of the dialect [42] - see Part 1, 'Grammar', pp. 136-143.

To conclude, the evidence discussed above strongly suggests that glottalisation was firmly established in the north midlands by the early years of the twentieth century: it is evident that pre-consonantal glottal replacement was present in the urban areas of the north-west midlands, and, as it is assumed that glottalisation affected /t/ first before spreading to /p/ and

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[38] Wells also refers to affricated realisations of /p/, /t/ and /k/ and an intervocalic tap variant of /t/ ([ɾ]) as being typical of Cockney speech – see Wells J.C. (1982b), op. cit, pp. 323-328.

[39] One of the earliest references to glottalisation in London is made by Daniel Jones in 1909 who cites the glottal replacement of final (intervocalic) /t/ - Jones, Daniel, *Pronunciation of English*, Cambridge, 1909, § 35, 47.

[40] Sweet, Henry, *Sounds of English*, Oxford, 1908, § 138.

[41] Hirst, T.O., 'Popular English of Lancaster and District, *Maitre phonetique*, 1914, pp. 26 – 29.

[42] Both Wright (1905) and Hallam (1896) refer to the presence of glottalised forms of the definite article in the north midlands, including glottal stops – "after an explodent makes suspension of the organs of speech for a sensible time as [t'] for the definite article in the north" (Hallam [1896], op. cit, p. lxi) - while Hallam makes direct reference to its occurrence in Derbyshire - ibid.

/k/, it is probable that pre-glottalisation was also well established in other urban areas of the north midlands, such as Sheffield, by the early years of the century. Research in the 1990s demonstrated that intervocalic glottal replacement was more common amongst the younger speakers in Sheffield, though morpheme final /t/ (and, to a lesser degree, /p/ and /k/) were subject to glottal reinforcement and / or replacement by older as well as younger speakers. The situation in the 1990s, consisting of a further development towards glottal replacement, reinforces the evidence that glottalisation was merely progressing as an established feature of the dialect.[43] A similar situation is apparent in Farnworth (south Lancashire),[44] and, indeed, New Mills, where a progression from final pre-glottalised and / or unreleased variants (common in the speech of the older informants) to glotally replaced variants (uncommon amongst the older informants, but frequent in the speech of the youngest speakers) has occurred, in addition to glottal replacement of medial intervocalic /t/ (younger speakers only). The fact that the glottal stop (but evidently not glottalisation) appears to be a relatively recent phenomenon in the north midlands may have given rise to the assumption that glottal replacement was therefore part of a process whereby the development has disseminated from the south, as intervocalic glottalisation was already an established feature of London and other south-eastern / east England varieties. Nevertheless, the evidence outlined above amply demonstrates that glottalisation was already present, and its further development had already begun in the north midlands – i.e. pre-glottalisation of medial, final /t/. The prime factors behind increasing glottal replacement in the north midlands, therefore, are not necessarily as a result of modern distribution patterns and 'accepted' dissemination models. The evidence suggests that chronological factors are of greater importance: the process of glottalisation evidently affected many of the varieties of the north first, then the north midlands and finally the south, though the process was merely more advanced and / or progressed more quickly in the northern dialects primarily, and, additionally, has apparently since advanced at a greater rate in the south-east (cf. the 'Great Vowel Shift' which affected varieties in a differing fashion and at a varying rate of change). If the diffusion / development hypothesis just outlined is accepted (north–south direction with varying (i.e. slower) rates of development in the north midlands) then, with reference to New Mills, it must be assumed that the development towards glottal replacement is not as a result of diffusion from the south-east,

[43] See Stoddart, J., Upton, Clive, and Widdowson, J.D.A., 'Sheffield dialect in the 1990s: revisiting the concept of NORMs', in Docherty, Gerard J., and Foulkes, Paul (eds), *Urban Voices: Accent Studies in the British Isles*, London, Arnold, pp. 75-76.
[44] See Shorrocks (1998), pp. 319-321.

either directly or indirectly via modified / urban varieties in the north-west midlands; consequently other, more local, factors must be considered.

As intervocalic glottal replacement typically occurs in the urban varieties of the Manchester conurbation, it is probable that these are instrumental in the contemporary development towards an increase in glottal replacement (i.e. morpheme intervocalic) in New Mills. However, despite its likelihood, such an assumption may not be totally conclusive – it may simply be that the development towards an increase in glottal replacement is merely by means of local development, as glottalisation (i.e. mainly pre-glottalisation and, to a lesser degree, morpheme final glottal replacement) evidently already existed in New Mills (and other non-urban dialects in the north midlands). If this is so, then the apparent progressive implementation of glottal replacement of /t/ in New Mills may solely be due to a process of continued linguistic development.[45] Nevertheless, the chronological distribution of glottal replacement in the north midlands does suggest that this development was first initiated in urban areas, and is subsequently more advanced in urban areas than elsewhere; to what degree these urban varieties have exerted an influence on surrounding dialects is, however, impossible to determine. Consequently, even though glottal replacement frequently occurs for intervocalic and final /t/ in the speech varieties of the nearby conurbation of Manchester, it is not possible to disentangle any influence from this quarter from the process that was already evidently established in the local dialect. Therefore, no definitive conclusions can be made as to whether these urban varieties have had a significant bearing on the increase of glottalisation amongst the younger speakers in New Mills. What may be concluded, however, is that glottalisation of final and medial /t/ has increasingly progressed to glottal replacement, and the influence of nearby urban varieties may be mainly responsible for and / or have hastened a process that was already underway. What is also conclusive is that southern urban varieties have, as all the available evidence demonstrates, had little or no influence in this process.[46]

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[45] The process of glottalisation in English was a development that was also evident in other Germanic languages, such as Danish and German, during the nineteenth century – see Andresen (1968), pp. 21-23. This suggests that glottalisation was due to internal linguistic factors rather than social or sociolinguistic factors.

[46] Evidence of the type highlighted above has led some sociolinguists, who previously advocated the geographical hierarchy dissemination model for many contemporary innovations (including /t/ glottaling), to re-evaluate their findings. Peter Trudgill, who previously assigned /t/ glottaling and "almost all linguistic innovation" in Norwich to dissemination from London - see Chambers and Trudgill (1980), op. cit, p. 198, and Trudgill, P., 'Linguistic change and diffusion: description and explanation in sociolinguistic dialect geography', *Language in Society* 3 (1974), 215-46 - now asserts, after examining local historical data, that the glotalling of intervocalic /t/ may indeed have spread from Norwich to London (Trudgill, P., 'Norwich: endogenous and exogenous linguistic change', in Foulkes, P., and Docherty, G. J. (eds), *Urban Voices – Accent Studies in the British Isles*, London, Arnold, 1999, p. 136).

/d/

/d/ is a voiced (lenis) alveolar plosive.

Distribution

/d/ occurs initially, medially and finally. Initial /d/ occurs with devoicing to various degrees, this being the case with most, if not all, varieties of British English.[47] Additionally, final /d/ may also be subject to devoicing. Historical elision of medial /d/ is evident in SE and most, if not all, ModE dialects in England – e.g., in *handsome* and *Wednesday*.[48] Conversely, dialectal /d/ is often geminated in medial position.

Comparative Distribution

Dialectal /d/ corresponds to SE /d/ in *dog*, *dock*, *dip*, *dab*, *debt* and *dead* etc. The differences in medial and word final realisations are noted below. Additionally, initial consonant clusters with /d/ + /j/ - e.g., in *dew* and *duke* - are realised as [ʤ] in the dialect of New Mills (RP [dj]). Conversely, where the sequence occurs across word boundaries, /d/ + /j/ is often realised as [dj] in the dialect of New Mills - e.g., [tʊd jə soː], *told you so* – whereas it is often realised as [ʤ] in many other varieties.

Variants

Medial –

a) Medial /d/ is sometimes geminated – e.g., /kɪddɪn/, *kidding*; /bɛddɪn/, *bedding*; /wɛddɪn/, *wedding*.

b) Word medial /d/ is often unreleased before consonants – e.g., [wɪndʔbag], *windbag* (i.e. *vociferous person*).

c) Medial /d/ may be devoiced - e.g., [bakəts], *backwards* (cf. dialectal [bakədz]).

d) In medial position, /d/ is sometimes elided, particularly in the vicinity of an alveolar nasal – [dɪnt], *didn't*; [kʊnt], *couldn't*; [ʃʊnt], *shouldn't*; [wʊnt], *wouldn't*; [fɹɛnlɪ], *friendly*; [ːd], *landlord*; [θʊnə], *thunder*.[49] Additionally, it may be elided

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[47] See Gimson (1994), p. 141
[48] Gimson (1994), p. 151.
[49] In all likelihood, it is probably the case that this example is not a true case of elision, as the dialectal pronunciation of "thunder" is probably directly descended from OE "thunor" with no subsequent change – i. e,

following /l/ in consonant clusters – e.g., [fi·   ], *fields* (see immediately below also).

Final –

a) Utterance final /d/ may occur with devoicing in final position, sometimes with slight aspiration – [   ], *that's good*; [   ], *starved*; [ʤɪgɪdʰ], *jiggered* (*exhausted*); [   ], *Hayfield* (place-name), [ʊndɹət], *hundred*.

b) Final /d/ can occur fully voiced, with a slight off-glide – [pɒgdᵊ], *pogged* (*full after eating*); [ɪtʔ tɪtʔ kɒlɪn ɒn ʔ jɛdᵊ], *it hit Colin on the head*.

c) Final /d/ is not usually released before a following consonant, except before homorganic consonants – [ä kʊd dɤː ït], *I could do it*.

d) Final /d/ may be geminated before a following vowel – e.g., [siːd dɪm], *seed him* (SE *saw him*).

e) Final /d/ in consonant clusters is often elided when followed by an initial consonant – e.g., [ɒl man] (see following), [ʤɒg baːᴵ], *jogged by*; [wɪn faːm], *wind farm*; [:], *First World War*. In some instances, however, /d/ remains where there has already been dialectal elision of a preceding consonant (in this case, /l/ vocalisation) – [ɤd mɒn], *old man*.

f) Following an alveolar nasal (/n/), final /d/ (utterance final or before following consonant) is sometimes elided – e.g.,   ʊn tə biː], *it's bound to be*; [bakgɹævn], *background*; [fʊn], *found*. Furthermore, /d/ elision (following /n/) frequently occurs in the lexical item *and*, even before a following vowel – [miː ən ïjən], *me and Ian*; - sometimes resulting in gemination of the alveolar – [miː ən nɪm], *me and him*.

Historical Development

ModE /d/ has developed from the same OE phoneme. Any significant change has involved the loss or addition of this phoneme in specific environments. There is historical evidence of

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epenthetic /d/, evident in SE (and many other varieties), did not occur during the eModE period. This is a more feasible explanation than the alternative involving first the acquisition then the subsequent elision of /d/.

the elision of /d/ in consonant clusters from the ME period onwards in many varieties of English (see directly above – 'Distribution').

Conversely, historical epenthetic /d/ is evident in SE and many other varieties (see footnote 19, above) – on a local level, there is some onomastic evidence of earlier additions of /d/ (see Appendix, pp. 22)

<u>Contemporary development in apparent time: realisations according to age-group</u>

	ME	RP	Traditional nwDer/neCh	**Contemporary New Mills**			
				Old	*Mid*	*Adult*	*Teen*
Medial i. v.	/d/	/d/	/d/ [d], [dd]	[d], [dd]	[d], [dd]	[d], [dd]	[d],[dd]
vic. /n/			[d], [∅]	[d], [∅]	[d], [∅]	[d], [∅]	[d], [∅]
Final u. f.			/d/ [t], [də]	[d], [də] [t], [d]	[d], [də] [t], [d]	[d], [də] [t], [d]	[d]
/d/ + V cc + c *'and'* +c *'and'* +v				[d], [dd] [∅], [d] [∅], [d] [∅], [d]	[d], [dd] [∅], [d] [∅], [d] [∅], [d]	[d], [dd] [∅], [d] [∅], [d] [∅], [d]	[d],[dd] [∅], [d] [∅], [d] [∅], [d]

Abbreviations: : iv – intervocalically; u. f. – utterance final; vic. /n/ - preceded by or following /n/; cc + c – /d/ in final consonant cluster followed by initial consonant; +V – final /d/ followed by initial vowel.

<u>Contemporary Linguistic Change</u>

Little apparent-time change is evident – traditional features, such as medial and final gemination and elision of /d/ in the vicinity of /n/ occur in all age-groups, though, as with other geminated consonants, gemination occurs less frequently amongst the younger speakers – i.e. adult and, particularly, teenage age-groups – for comments regarding age-graded differences in the gemination of voiced plosives, see /b/ above, p. 123 (for fortis plosives, see /p/, above, p. 120, and /t/ above, p. 127). The elision of /d/ in the vicinity of /n/ is a common feature of many dialects throughout England, and therefore has no specific connotations of a localised feature. Whether or not this has had any bearing on the apparent stability of this feature is difficult to gauge, though it is also possible that speakers may just be unaware of its existence on an articulatory and perceived auditory level – i.e. they are not conscious of this feature whilst either speaking or listening to connected speech. Other traditional features of dialect, such as the final full devoicing of /d/ (i.e. [t]), evidently do not fall into this category. There appears to be a conscious avoidance of such variants by the

younger speakers and, again, this may be due to its connotations as being a feature of the traditional dialect. It is not highly localised as such, as devoiced variants occur in many other dialects in the north midlands,[50] though it is significantly absent in nearby urban varieties (i.e. Manchester). It is probable, therefore, that urban varieties and / or SE or modified regional varieties have played a significant role in this development.

/k/

/k/ is a voiceless (fortis) velar plosive.

Distribution

/k/ occurs in all positions. As with the other unvoiced plosives, initial stressed /k/ is aspirated, sometimes strongly; the extent of aspiration varies according to syllabic prominence. As with /t/, realisations of /k/ are subject to environment:

the velar stop contact is particularly sensitive to the nature of an adjacent vowel (especially a following vowel). Thus, when a front vowel follows, the contact will be made on the most forward part of the soft palate and may even overlap onto the hard palate; when a back vowel follows, the contact on the back palate will be correspondingly retracted; a contact in the central region of the soft palate is made when a vowel of the central type follows.[51]

However, it is evident that there is some dialectal variation concerning these environmentally conditioned realisations. In the traditional dialect of New Mills (and, indeed, elsewhere in the north-west midlands), a fronted variant of /k/ occurs in environments other than close front vowels (see directly below). A following approximant – i.e. /l/ - exerts a similar influence as front vowels (see following) in all positions within the word.

Comparative Distribution

Word initial, medial and final /k/ corresponds to SE /k/; the differences in the realisations of which are noted immediately above and below. Dialectal allophone [t] before [l] (i.e., [tl]) corresponds to SE [kl] in initial, medial and final positions – e.g., in *clean*, *tickled* and *circle*. These types of fronted allophones have been noted in other north-west midlands dialects (and elsewhere). Shorrocks, in his study of Farnworth, Greater Manchester (formerly south

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[50] Devoiced variants were noted in Sheffield - see Stoddart et al (op. cit), p. 76 – and in Bolton – see Shorrocks (1998), p. 329.

[51] Gimson (1994), p. 153.

Lancashire), found that initial [tl] and [kl] occurred in free variation in initial, medial and final positions. However, while it was found that dialectal initial [tl], [kl] corresponded only to SE [kl] (there being no initial [tl] in RP), medial and final [tl], [kl] corresponded to both RP [tl] and [kl].[52] Therefore, it is possible to have [tl] for RP [kl] – [pɪtlɪn], *pickling* - and [kl] for RP [tl] – [manklpiːs], *mantlepiece* – in the dialect of Farnworth.[53] While it is evident that a similar situation operates in the traditional dialect of New Mills – i.e., both [tl] and [kl] operate in free variation in initial, medial and final positions – there is an essential difference on a comparative level; dialectal [tl] may correspond to RP [kl] in medial and final position, but the obverse does not obtain – i.e., dialectal [kl] never corresponds to RP [tl] (only RP /kl/) – a situation, nevertheless, that does not apply to the speech of the teenagers.

<u>Variants</u>

Initial –

    a) A fronted variant of /k/ (towards [c]) sometimes occurs before a centralised open vowel [a] (this being somewhat more retracted than C[a] in the dialects of the north midlands – see [a], above, p. 44) – e.g., [kjat] / [cjat], *cat* – thus differing little from the fronted variants (before close front vowels) in [kiːp] *keep*; and [kjʏː], *queue*. Such fronted variants are evidently a typical feature of some of the traditional dialects in the north-west midlands: fronted /k/ before non-front vowels in the north midlands, specifically Derbyshire, was also commented on by Hallam (1896), who stated that "fronted /k/, [ky], occurs before **a** short, in *cab*" etc., and gives "**kyaard**" as an example from Whttington (north-east Derbyshire).[54] This phenomenon evidently existed in other varieties, and, indeed may have been a feature of SE in the 18th century.[55]

    b) Before /l/, initial /k/ is fronted, sometimes [k], often [t] – e.g., [tlaɪm], *climb*; [sɪks ə tlɒk], *six o' clock*; [tliːn], *clean*;[tlʊmzɪ], *clumsy*.

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[52] Shorrocks (1998), pp. 333-337.
[53] Shorrocks (1998), p. 332.
[54] Hallam (1896), op. cit, p. lxv.
[55] The researcher was informed by Dr. Joan Beal that the 18th century orthoepist Joseph Walker remarked on this, in his pronouncing dictionary (1791), as a feature of "good" pronunciation in London.

c) initial /k/ before /w/ was lost historically in a limited number of words, a few of which have now become lexicalised in the traditional dialect of New Mills (and others in the north midlands) – e.g., [wɪk], *quick* (SE [kwɪk]).[56]

Medial-

a) Word medial /k/ is not usually released before a following syllable beginning with a consonant – e.g., [blakʔpɤ·ᵁɬ], *Blackpool* (place-name); [blakʔbo·əd], *blackboard*.

b) Medial /k/, in intervocalic position, is sometimes geminated – e.g., /pakkɪn/, *packing*; [ʧʊkʔkɪn], *chucking*; [ɪkʔkʊpɪn], *hiccuping*; [tɛkʔkɪn], *taking*; [wəkʔkɪn], *working*; [bɪkʔkɪ], *bikky* (*biscuit)*; [lʊkʔkɪlɪ ɪnʊf], *luckily enough*.

c) Allophone [t] before [l] occurs in medial position – e.g., [fɹɛtlz], *freckles*; [matlzfɪld], *Macclesfield* [place-name] (cf. dialectal variant [makkəsfɪld]); [stɪtlbak], *stickleback*; [tatʔtləz] *tacklers* (cotton mill terminology); [ɪtʔ tɪtld mi:], *it tickled me*.

Final-

a) There is frequently no audible release before an initial consonant or (infrequently) before a pause – e.g., [a wə kʊvəd ɪn mʊkʔ], *I were (was) covered in muck*.

b) Final /k/ is often aspirated – [baŋkʰ], *bank*; [bɤ:kʰ], *book*; [kakʰ], *cack*; [ʧʊkʰ], *chuck*; [tlɒkʰ], *clock*; [stɪkʰ], *stick*; [taŋkʰ], *tank*; [wɪkʰ], *wick (quick, lively)*; [wi:kʰ], *week*.

c) Final /k/ is sometimes pre-glottalised – e.g., [nɛɤ lɤ·ʔkʰ], *Now look!*

d) Final /k/ is sometimes (rare) realised as an ejective – e.g., [sɪʔk'], *sick*.

e) Before a following initial vowel, final /k/ is sometimes geminated – e.g., [bɹɛkʔ kɪt], *break it*; /kɪk kɪm/, *kick him!*

f) Word-final /k/ before /l/ is realised as palatised [k] or [t] – e.g., [tatl], *tackle*; [aɪsɪtl], *icicle*; [sə:tl], *circle*; [saɪtl], *cycle*; [ʊntl], *uncle*.

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[56] For an explanation of the historical development of initial /k/ before /w/, see Orton (1933), op. cit, pp. 130-133.

Historical Development

ModE /k/ has developed from the same OE phoneme. The most significant development, on a dialectal level, has been in the realisations of /k/ in specific environments, most notably before /l/. This involved the fronting of velar /k/, so that an allophone [t] developed before /l/, in some of the dialects of the north midlands (and elsewhere). Normally, it is difficult to ascertain when these developments took place, as historical graphic representation did not usually account for allophonic representation, especially when there was no apparent difference on a phonemic level. Similarly, such allophonic variation was rarely perceived and / or commented upon by some of the early linguists in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. Nevertheless, Pegge, in his late eighteenth century description of Derbyshire dialect,[57] includes [tl] as an allophonic variation of /kl/ (corresponding to SE /kl/), as does Hallam approximately one hundred years later, who also includes corresponding [dl] for /gl/.[58] If it is to be assumed that this feature of dialect was already well established, it is reasonable to conclude that this development had taken place sometime during the eModE period, if not before.

Contemporary development in apparent time: realisations according to age-group

	ME	SE	Traditional nwDer/neCh	Contemporary New Mills			
				Old	*Mid*	*Adult*	*Teen*
Initial ante n. f. V *(cat)*	/k/	/k/	/kj/	[kj], [k]	[kj], [k]	[k],	[k]
/k/ + /l/	/kl/	/kl/	[tl]	[tl], [kl]	[tl], [kl]	[kl],[tl]	[kl]
Medial /k/ + C	/k/	/k/	/k/	[kʔ]	[kʔ]	[kʔ]	[kʔ]
/k/ + /l/	/kl/	/kl/	[tl]	[tl], [kl]	[tl], [kl]	[kl], [tl]	[kl]
Medial i. v.	/k/ [kk],[k]	/k/	/k/ [kk], [k]	/kk/, [k] ([kʔk], [kk])	/kk/, [k]	/kk/, [k]	/kk/,[k]
Final	/k/	/k/	/k/	[kʔ], [ʔk] [k'], [kʰ] [k]	[kʔ], [ʔk] [k'], [kʰ] [k]	[kʔ], [ʔk] [kʰ], [k]	[kʔ], [ʔ] [kʰ], [k]
/k/ + V	/k/	/k/	/k/	/kk/, [k]	/kk/, [k]	/kk/, [k]	/kk/, [k]

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[57] *Two Collections of Derbicisms* (op. cit).
[58] Hallam (1896), op. cit, p. 1xix.

continued							
/k/ + /l/	/kl/	/kl/	[tl]	[tl], [kl]	[tl], [kl]	[kl], [tl]	[kl]

Abbreviations: ante n. f. V – before non-front vowel; i. v. – intervocalically.

<u>Contemporary Linguistic Change</u>

Several apparent-time differences exist, notably concerning fronted variants which are traditional features of the dialect. Initial fronted /k/ before an open central vowel, resulting in a glide between it and the following vowel (i.e. [kj]), is restricted to the speech of the older informants, particularly the oldest age-group. Similarly, fully fronted initial, medial and final /k/ variants before /l/ - i.e. [tl] - are generally absent among the younger (particularly the teenagers) informants (the presence of this feature in the adult age-group is largely accountable to one informant, CW). One possible reason for the absence of these variants is that they are not only relatively localised features of the traditional dialect - [tl] occurs in many dialects throughout the north midlands as the SED and other data demonstrates; [59] this feature was also recorded in Derbyshire by Pegge (more than 200 years ago) and Hallam (1896); the SED shows [kj], being more restricted in distribution, occurring in north-east Cheshire and elsewhere in the north-west midlands – but perceived as such. Additionally, fronted variants of the type [tl] are more salient, on a phonetic level, than fronted variants of the type [kl] and thus recognisable as a particular dialectal feature on the part of the speaker and listener. Although this feature is not highly localised (it occurs elsewhere in the north midlands), it is apparently absent from neighbouring influential urban varieties and also from modified regional varieties. It must be assumed that one or all of these have exerted a significant influence in the erosion of this feature.

Other traditional features, such as medial and final gemination and final aspiration, occur in all age-groups, though with apparently less frequency amongst the younger speakers – for comments regarding gemination, see /p/, /b/ and /t/ above, pp. 120, 123, 127. Final pre-glottalised and unreleased variants occur in all age-groups, and it is evident that these are an established feature; unlike /t/, however, there is no medial or final (inter-vocalic) glottal replacement of /k/ - see /p/ and /t/ above, pp. 120-121, 127.

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[59] [tl] is also recorded in Bolton - see Shorrocks (1998), pp. 316-324 ; and Sheffield – see Stoddart et al (op. cit), p. 76.

/g/

/g/ is a voiced (lenis) velar plosive.

<u>Distribution</u>

/g/ occurs in all positions. /g/ occurs after /n/ (i.e. [ŋ]) in word medial (both morpheme final and non morpheme final) and final positions. Medial /g/ may be subject to gemination. The realisations of /g/ in all positions are similarly conditioned as those of /k/ (above) – i.e. by a following /l/.

<u>Comparative Distribution</u>

Dialectal /g/ corresponds to SE /g/ in all positions, the allophones of which are noted above and below. Dialectal allophone [dl] - < /g/ preceding /l/ (see also /k/ before /l/ above, pp. 137-138) - corresponds to RP [gl] in all positions, in words such as *glove*, *straggling* ([stɹadlɪn]) and *giggle* ([gɪdl]). As is the case with the distribution of /kl/ ([tl]), dialectal [dl] and [gl] occur in free variation; though dialectal [dl] may correspond to RP /gl/, dialectal [gl] never corresponds to RP [dl] (only RP [gl]).

Unlike RP, dialectal /g/ occurs after [ŋ] in both medial position – in, for example, *finger* and *singing* – and final position – *among* ([əmɒŋg]), *bang, dung*, *ring*, *sing* and *wrong* etc.

<u>Variants</u>

 a) Fronted allophones [d] and [g] occur before /l/ in initial position – e.g., [dlʊvz], *gloves*; [dlad], *glad*; [dlɒsəpʰ], *Glossop* (place-name).

Medial –

  a) /g/ usually remains unreleased when preceding a consonant in the next syllable – e.g., [bɒgʔ　ɤn], *bogged down*.

  b) Medial /g/ is often geminated in intervocalic position – e.g., [baggɪn], *baggin (elevenses)*; [dɪggɪn], *digging*; [ʤɪggɪd], *jiggered (exhausted)*; [ʤɒggɪn], *jogging*; [lɛggɪn ïtʰ], *legging it (running)*, [naggɪn], *nagging*; [ɒgglɪn], *ogling*; [bʊggəɹɪn əbæʊt], *buggering about*; [waggɪnz], *wagons (lorries)*.

  c) Medial [gl] occurs in free variation with [dl] (corresponding to RP /gl/) – e.g., [ɹɪdlɪn], *wriggling*; [gɪddlɪn], *giggling*; [stɹaddlɪn], *straggling*; [stɹʊdlz], *struggles*.

d) /g/ after /n/ occurs medially, sometimes geminated – e.g., [fɪŋggə], *finger*; [sɪŋggɪn], *singing*.

Final-

a) /g/ is not usually released when followed by a consonant – except when followed by /g/, in which case gemination may occur – or (occasionally) before a pause – e.g., [ʤɒgʔ], *jog*; [fagʔ], *fag (cigarette)*.

b) Final /g/ is subject to varying amounts of devoicing, sometimes accompanied with slight aspiration – [bɒgʔ tɹɒg], *bog trog (strenuous moorland hike)*; [pɪgʰ], *pig*.

c) Final /g/ is sometimes voiced to a greater degree than is usual for final position plosives, with a slight accompanying off-glide of the schwa type – e.g., [bɪgə]; *big*; [bɒgə], *bog*; [dɪgə]; *dig*; [fɒgə], *fog*.

d) Before a following initial vowel, final /g/ is sometimes geminated - e.g., [bɪg gən] *big 'un*; [aᶦj at ʔ gɛtʔ mɪ kag gɒn], *I had to get (put) my cag(oule) on*.

e) Final /g/ after /n/ occurs in word final position (sometimes geminated before a vowel) and utterance final / pre-pausal position – e.g., [ɹɪŋg], *ring*; [   ], *(stick thy) tongue out*.

Historical Development

ModE /g/ has developed from the same OE phoneme. Any significant differences between the realisations of dialectal and RP are noted immediately above and below. /g/ following /n/ ([ŋ]) was lost in the seventeenth century in SE and many other dialects in the south and east of England,[60] though it remained in the north-west midlands and other dialects in the west midlands area; consequently these dialects have one less phoneme (i.e., /ŋ/) than SE and many southern dialects, the velarised nasal remaining as an allophone of /n/ (before /g/, /k/) – see below, pp.1655-166. For the development of the allophone [d] before [l], see [k] before /l/ (above, pp. 137-140) – [dl] is merely the voiced equivalent of [tl] and has developed in a corresponding fashion.

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[60] Gimson (1994), p. 154.

Contemporary development in apparent time: realisations according to age-group

	ME	RP	Traditional nwDer/neCh	Contemporary New Mills			
				Old	*Mid*	*Adult*	*Teen*
Initial	/gl/	/gl/	[dl]	[dl], [gl]	[dl], [gl]	[gl],[dl]	[gl]
Medial /g/ + C				[gʔ]	[gʔ]	[gʔ]	[gʔ]
i. v.	[gg], [g]	/g/	/g/ - [gg],[g]	[gg], [g]	[gg], [g]	[gg],[g]	[gg],[g]
/g/ + /l/	/gl/	/gl/	[dl]	[dl], [gl]	[dl], [gl]	[gl], [dl]	[gl]
/n/ + /g/	/ng/	/ŋ/	/ng/ - [ŋg]	[ŋg]	[ŋg]	[ŋg]	[ŋg]
Final (u. f.)	/g/	/g/	/g/	[gʔ], [g] [g], [gə]	[gʔ], [g] [g], [gə]	[gʔ], [g] [g], [gə]	[gʔ], [g] [gə]
/n/ + /g/	/ng/	/ŋ/	/ng/ - [ŋg]	[ŋg]	[ŋg]	[ŋg]	[ŋg]
Final /g/ + C /g/ + V	/g/	/g/	/g/	[gʔ] [g], [gg]	[gʔ] [g], [gg]	[gʔ] [g], [gg]	[gʔ] [g], [gg]

Abbreviations: : iv – intervocalically; u. f. – utterance final.

Contemporary Linguistic Change

The same situation is evident concerning initial and medial fronted /g/ before /l/ as that with fronted /k/ before /l/ (above, pp. 136-137) − i.e. a fully fronted variant [dl] is generally present in the speech of the older informants only. The occurrence of medial and final gemination of /g/ is the same as that which exists with the other voiced plosives (see /b/ - above, pp. 121-122) – i.e. geminated variants occur in all age-groups, though their frequency is greater amongst the older speakers, with a relatively low frequency in the speech of the teenagers. Fully voiced final variants, with a slight off-glide, (i.e. [gə]), are also present in all age-groups. In this respect, /g/ differs from the other voiced plosives - where fully voiced variants are apparently absent in the speech of the teenagers - in that it appears to have resisted the erosion of this dialect feature (i.e. full voicing in final position). A possible reason for this may be the status of /g/ in other contexts within the dialect, where /g/ has been lost in SE and many other varieties, specifically after /n/. Medial and final /g/ (after /n/) occurs throughout all age-groups, and is evidently stable, demonstrating little sign of erosion or development. This is a feature of many of the dialects of the west midlands area, and

while Mathisen reported some contemporary variation in Sandwell (West Midlands),[61] Newbrook noted stability in the West Wirral (Merseyside)[62] in the same context[63] as those in New Mills.

/ʧ/

/ʧ/ is a voiceless (fortis) palato-alveolar affricate.

Various viewpoints concerning the phonemic status of affricates (such as /ʧ/) are discussed by Gimson.[64] He identifies several factors surrounding the distribution of the sound complex as decisive in this issue, and puts forward the view that any sound complex "which has a general distribution and shows an opposition between close-knit and disjunct (i.e. with the elements in separate syllables or morphemes) realizations may be treated as a complex phonemic entity".[65] /ʧ/ and /ʤ/ are identified as such, and, as is the case with SE, /ʧ/ (meeting the criteria outlined above) is treated as a phoneme in the dialect of New Mills. Nevertheless, dialectal variants in the north midlands have prompted alternative analyses. Higginbottam, in her study of East Lancashire, treats /ʧ/ as a sequence of two unit phonemes, in order to accommodate realisations containing glottal reinforcement [66]– i.e., she noted that the realisations of /ʧ/ in *Wiltshire* and *pilchard* were phonetically identical - thus strengthening her analysis of /ʧ/ as two single unit phonemes. However, as Shorrocks pointed out in his study of Farnworth (south Lancashire), such an analysis cannot be applied to other areas in the north-west midlands (specifically the Bolton area described in his research) as "/ʧ/ is phonetically distinct from /t/ + /ʃ/ across morpheme and word boundaries.[67] It is apparent that a similar situation exists in New Mills – i.e. medial /ʧ/ differs from morpheme / word final /t/ + morpheme / word initial /ʃ/, in, for example, [wɪlt?ʃə], *Wiltshire*.

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[61] Mathisen, A.G. (op. cit), pp. 119-121.

[62] Newbrook, Mark (op. cit), pp. 97- 98.

[63] It should be noted that SE [ŋ] does not always correspond to New Mills dialect [ŋg]; specifically, for example, in the present participle suffix – New Mills [n]. This is probably because the present participle is derived from a different source - i.e. OE *-inde* - in those dialects where [n] occurs; this is discussed at length in Part 1, pp. 203-204. It is probably the occurrence of [n] in such positions that has led to the belief that a change is underway in those dialects where [ŋg] normally corresponds to SE [ŋ].

[64] Gimson (1994), pp. 157 –160.

[65] Ibid., p. 157.

[66] Ibid.

[67] Ibid.

Distribution

/ʧ/ occurs in all positions:

Initial - e.g., [ʧi:p]; *cheap*; [ʧi:z]; *cheese*; [ʧɪn]; *chin*; [ʧɪldə]; *childer (children)*; [ʧɒmpɪn]; *chomping*; [ʧɒpʰ]; *chop*; [ʧɒ:tlɪn]; *chortling*; [ʧʊkʰ]; *chuck (throw)*; [ʧə:ʧ]; *church*; [ʧʏ:zdɪ]; *Tuesday*.

Medial – e.g., [pɪnʧɪn], *pinching*; [ɹɛnʧtʰ], *wrenched*.

Variants - medial /ʧ/ is often realised as [tʔʧ] – e.g., [bʊtʔʧə], *butcher*; [dɪtʔʧɪn], *ditching* (v.); [ɪtʔʧɪn], *itching*; [katʔʧtɪn], *catching* (SE – adj. *infectious*).

 Shorrocks analyses this type of variant as pre-glottalisation, the glottal stricture taking "the form of [tʔ]".[68] Nevertheless, such realisations are indicative of gemination of the first element of the phoneme. An analysis of the realisation [tʔʧ] as a type of geminate poses an obvious problem concerning the validity of treating /ʧ/ as a unit phoneme. This issue is also commented on by Gimson, who acknowledges that realisations with glottal reinforcement (and, additionally, the glottal replacement of the element [t], in RP and other varieties) suggest "that the element /ʃ/ is in some sense the 'following consonant' which allows glottalisation of the preceding [t]", and, consequently, contrary to other criteria, this factor "argues for an analysis of /ʧ/ as always a sequence of [t] + [ʃ].[69] Such an analysis is undoubtedly valid on a phonetic level. Nevertheless, it is still possible, after considering both phonetic and phonemic factors, to treat [tʔʧ] as a geminated variant of the phoneme /ʧ/ (at least as far as some of the dialects of the north-west midlands are concerned, including New Mills); morpheme / word distribution points to the classification of /ʧ/ as a single unit phoneme, while, on a phonetic level, glottalised variants can be attributed to a process of gemination (see following).

There is certainly historical evidence of the dialectal elision of the element /ʃ/ (in /ʧ/) in medial position, possibly as a result of gemination – e.g., dialectal [skɹatʔtɪn], *scratting (scratching)*. One reason for the omission or elision of [ʃ] may simply be that the sheer length of a geminate affricate (on an articulatory and phonetic level), where both elements are geminated (an affricate itself being in essence a double consonant), prevents the gemination of both elements. As noted by Gimson, /t/ is usually glottally reinforced only

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[68] Shorrocks (1998), p. 342.
[69] Gimson (1994), p. 159.

when followed by a consonant.[70] If the same factors relating to the dialectal elision of /ʃ/ (i.e. articulatory length) are applied to glottalised variants of /ʧ/, it is possible, therefore, to analyse this type of realisation (i.e. [tˀʧ]) as being a type of geminate, the result being that gemination only affects the initial plosive element of the affricate, rather than eliding the second fricative element (i.e. [ʃ]) completely.

Final – e.g., [bɛnʧ], *bench*; [koːʧ], *coach*; [ɪnʧ], *inch*; [mʊʧ], *much*; [wɛnʧ], *wench*; [ɹɛnʧ], *wrench*.

Variants - Final /ʧ/ also occurs with pre-glottalisation of the geminate type outlined above – [dɪtˀʧ], *ditch*; [katˀʧ], *catch*; [matˀʧ], *match*; [pʊntˀʧ], *punch*; [sɪtˀʧ], *sitch (natural drainage channel)*; [sʊtˀʧ], *such*. However, as pre-glottalisation also occurs in utterance final position, it is difficult to analyse it as gemination at all, as gemination usually occurs intervocalically within the word or word–finally before a following vowel or homorganic consonant. Nevertheless, utterance final variant types demonstrate an identical realisation to those where it is possible to postulate the type of gemination described above – i.e., word-final + V – [mʊtˀʧ ə ðat], *much of that*; [katˀʧ ɪtˀ]; *catch it*; [sʊtˀʧ ə lɒŋg weː əweː], *such a long way away*. This problem is not satisfactorily solved by the alternative analysis - i.e., as being merely pre-glottalised - as this does not account for the presence of the preceding plosive [t].

Following /n/, /ʧ/ is often realised as [ʧ] – e.g., [pʊnʧ], *punch* - though sometimes the [t] element may be elided – e.g., [pʊnʃ].

Comparative Distribution

Initial /ʧ/ corresponds to RP /tj/ in, for example, *Tuesday* - [ʧɤːzdɪ] (RP [tjuːzdeɪ]) - and *tune* – [ʧɤːn] (RP [tjuːn]). Similarly, in initial consonant clusters /ʧ/ corresponds to RP /tj/ in *stupid* – [ʃʧɤːpɪd] (RP [stjuːpɪd]).   Medial /ʧ/ corresponds to RP /tj/ *misfortune* – [mɪsfɔːʧɤːn] (RP [mɪsfɔːtjuːn]) - and *virtue* – [vəːʧɤː]; *statue* – [statˀʧɤː], etc.

Historical Development

ModE /ʧ/ is derived from OE /ʧ/. It is generally accepted that OE /ʧ/ developed from an early OE palatal plosive – [c] – this itself being an allophone of /k/ in the vicinity of front

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[70] Ibid.

vowels. Medial /t/ + /j/ frequently coalesced to /tʃ/ in words such as *nature* and *creature* during the eModE period in SE and many other varieties. In the north-west midlands, it is apparent that this process was more widespread (than in RP) on a lexical level and on a distributional level – word initial /tʃ/ often corresponds to RP word initial /t/ + /j/ - above, p. 144.

Spellings with –*tch* (e.g., *ditch* [OE *dic*]) suggest that realisations such as [tʔtʃ] have been present in English since at least the eModE period, if not before (e.g., ME *dycche*).

<div align="center">Contemporary development in apparent time: realisations according to age-group</div>

	ME	RP	Traditional nwDer/neCh	**Contemporary New Mills**			
				Old	*Mid*	*Adult*	*Teen*
Initial *Tuesday*	/t/ +/j/	/t/ + /j/	/tʃ/	[tʃ]	[tʃ]	[tʃ]	[tʃ]
Medial	/tʃ/	/tʃ/	/tʃ/	[tʔtʃ]	[tʔtʃ]	[tʔtʃ]	[tʔtʃ],[ʔtʃ]
Medial *virtue* etc.	/t/ +/j/	/t/ + /j/	/tʃ/	[tʔtʃ]	[tʔtʃ]	[tʔtʃ]	[tʔtʃ],[ʔtʃ]
Final	/tʃ/	/tʃ/	/tʃ/	[tʃ] [tʔtʃ]	[tʃ] [tʔtʃ]	[tʃ] [tʔtʃ]	[tʃ], [tʔtʃ]

Contemporary Linguistic Development

Initial dialectal /tʃ/ (corresponding to RP /t/ + /j/, as in *Tuesday*)[71] occurs throughout all age-groups. The stability of this phoneme in this context may be on account of its wide distribution amongst many dialects, both urban and rural, throughout the north-west midlands. Such a distribution means that this dialectal characteristic is marked as a regional rather than a localised or specifically rural feature; it is apparent that the teenagers consciously reject many of the more traditional localised forms.

As with the other geminated consonants, it appears that geminated /tʃ/ occurs less amongst the younger speakers than the older informants. An added dimension to this is the fairly common presence of word medial (inter-vocalic) glottal stop in the speech of the teenagers – e.g., [kaʔtʃɪn], *catching* - which corresponds to the geminated (though often unreleased) first element of /tʃ/ of the older informants. The occurrence of a glottal stop in such positions suggests an underlying analysis of /tʃ/ as /t/ + /tʃ/ on the part of the teenagers, probably on

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[71] This type of assimilation (i.e. /t/ + /j/ > /tʃ/) was noted by orthoepists as early as the 17th century, which suggests that it may have occurred (and possibly still does) in informal spoken SE. Nevertheless, data from the *SED* points to initial /tʃ/ as having a dialectal distribution (in ModE varieties at least), occurring in the north-west midlands and some areas of the West Country – see Upton et al (1987), op. cit, p. 189.

account of the frequency of realisations such as [tˀʧ] in the traditional dialect (for an analysis of the glottal replacement of /t/, see above, p.127).

/ʤ/

/ʤ/ is a voiced (lenis) palato-alveolar affricate. The criteria determining the phonemic status of /ʤ/ is the same as that of /ʧ/ - above, pp. 144-145.

<u>Distribution</u>

/ʤ/ occurs in all positions:

Initial – e.g., [ʤam ʤaː], *jam jar*; [ʤɛsstɪn], *jesting (joking)*; [ʤoːkɪn], *joking*; [ʤɪgəd], *jiggered (tired, exhausted)* - see also 'Comparative Distribution', following.

Medial – e.g., /baʤɪs/, *badges*; /deːnʤə/, *danger*; /dɪtəːʤənt/, *detergent*; [sɒʊʤə], *soldier*.

Medial /ʤ/ is the voiced parallel of medial /ʧ/ (above). As with medial /ʧ/, medial /ʤ/ is often realised with the type of gemination / pre-glottalisation outlined above – i.e. [dˀʤ] – though the glottalisation, occurring as it does in the vicinity of at least partially voiced consonants, appears to be of a less forceful nature as that which occurs with /ʧ/ - e.g., [adˀʤaɪʊɬ], *agile*, *badger* [badˀʤə], *badger* (cf. *badges*); [dəːwɛnt ɛdˀʤɪs], *Derwent Edges* (place-name); [ɪndɪvɪdˀʤʏʊɬ], *individual* (also [ɪndɪvɪdˀʤəɬ]); [mɪdˀʤɪs], *midges* (also [mɪʤɪs]).

Final – e.g., [bagɪʤ], *baggage*; [kabɪʤ], *cabbage*; [gaɹɪʤ], *garage*; [ɒɹɪʤ], *Orridge*, (personal name); [stɔˀɹɪʤ], *storage*. Final /ʤ/ may be pre-glottalised with accompanying devoicing – e.g., [bɹɪdˀʤ], *bridge*; [məːdˀʤ], *merge*; [stanɪʤ ɛdˀʤ], *Stanage Edge* (place-name) - sometimes complete devoicing - e.g., [kabɪtˀʧ], *cabbage*.

<u>Comparative Distribution</u>

Dialectal /ʤ/ corresponds to RP /d/ + /j/ in initial position – e.g., [ʤʏ·ʊɬ], *dual*; [ʤʏːbïjəs], *dubious*; [ʤʏːk ə dɛvənʃə], *Duke of Devonshire*; [ʤʏəɹɪn], *during* – and in medial position, in words such as *education* – [ɛdˀʤəkeːʃən] (RP /ɛdjuːkeɪʃn/). Final /ʤ/ corresponds to RP /ʒ/ in words such as *beige*, *camouflage* ([kaməflaːʤ]) and *garage* ([gaɹɪʤ]).

Historical Development

Initial ModE /ʤ/, in words such as *judge* and *change*, is derived from OF /ʤ/ in initial position;[72] in those rare instances where initial /ʤ/ occurs in a word of OE origin (e.g., *jerk*), /ʤ/ has probably developed by analogy. ModE medial and final /ʤ/ is derived from OE medial and final /ʤ/, this having developed from early OE /ʝ/ - an allophone of /g/ in the vicinity of front vowels (initial OE ɡ was realised as /j/ before front vowels). Medial /ʤ/, in words such as *gradual*, developed from /d/ + /j/ during the eModE period. In some dialects, such as those of the north-west midlands, initial /ʤ/, in words such as *dubious* and *dune* etc., also developed from earlier /d/ + /j/ (see immediately above).

As is the case with the graphic representation of /ʧ/ (above), spellings with –*dge* (e.g., *bridge* [OE *brycg*]) could be indicative of historical realisations of the type [dˀʤ], evident since the eModE period or earlier (e.g., ME *brygge*).

Contemporary development in apparent time: realisations according to age-group

	ME	RP	Traditional nwDer/neCh	Contemporary New Mills			
				Old	*Mid*	*Adult*	*Teen*
Initial	/ʤ/	/ʤ/	/ʤ/	[ʤ]	[ʤ]	[ʤ]	[ʤ]
Initial	/d/ + /j/	/d/ +/j/	/ʤ/	[ʤ]	[ʤ]	[ʤ]	[ʤ]
Medial	/ʤ/	/ʤ/	/ʤ/	[ʤ], [dˀʤ]	[ʤ], [dˀʤ]	[ʤ], [dˀʤ]	[ʤ], [dˀʤ]
Medial	/d/ + /j/	/d/ +/j/	/ʤ/	[ʤ]	[ʤ]	[ʤ]	[ʤ]
Final	/ʤ/	/ʤ/	/ʤ/ [ʤ], [ʧ]	[ʤ], [dˀʤ],[tˀʧ]	[ʤ], [dˀʤ],[tˀʧ]	[ʤ], [dˀʤ]	[ʤ], [dˀʤ]
Final *Beige* etc.	/ʒ/	/ʒ/	/ʤ/ ?	[ʤ]	[ʤ]	[ʤ]	[ʤ]

Contemporary Linguistic Change

Initial /ʤ/ - corresponding to RP /d/ + /j/ in, for example, *during* – occurs throughout all age-groups. The same situation is evident concerning initial /ʤ/ as initial /ʧ/; for comments regarding the stability of this dialectal feature, see /ʧ/, above, pp. 148-149. Similarly, geminated medial and final variants - i.e. as is the case with /ʧ/, with a geminated first element only, [dˀʤ] – are present in all age-groups.

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[72] Gimson (1994), p. 161.

/f/

/f/ is an unvoiced (fortis) labio-dental fricative.

Distribution

/f/ occurs in all positions:

Initial – e.g., /fag/, *fag (cigarette)*; /fɒg/, *fog*; /fʏ:l/, *fool*; /faɪn/, *fine*; /fɪət/, *feared (frightened)*; /fɛɪt/, *fight*; /flaɪz/, *flies*; /flɪt/, *flit (go away, move)*; /fʊt/, *foot*; /fɔ:tnɪt/ *fortnight*; /fɹɛkl/, *freckle* etc.

Word medial – e.g., /kɒfɪn/, *coughing*; /lafɪn/, *laughing*; /mʊfɪn/, *muffin* (*bread roll*); /pʊfɪn/, *puffing*; /rʊfɪn ɪt/, *roughing it*; /sʊfə/, *suffer*; /tɒfɪ/, *toffee* etc.

Final – e.g., /af pas/, *half past*; /kɒf/, *cough*; /dʊf/, *duff* (< *dough*); /e:f/, *half*; /hʊf/, *huff (bad mood)*; /laf/; *laugh*; /pʊf/, *puff (effeminate man)*; /rʊf/, *rough*; /tʊf/, *tough* etc.

Variants

Final /f/ is usually omitted in [mɪsɛl], *myself*; [ɪsɛl], *himself*; [jəsɛl], *yourself*; [ðɪsɛl], *thyself (yourself)* etc. Medial and final /f/ are sometimes (rarely) subject to gemination – [kɒffɪn], *coughing*; [ɹʊffɪn ɪt], *roughing it*; [laf fət], *[don't] laugh at [him]*.

Comparative Distribution

Dialectal /f/ corresponds to RP /f/ in all positions, except in those instances outlined immediately above. In a highly restricted number of lexical items, such as dialectal *duff*, which exhibit the traditional reflex of ME [x] preceded by a rounded vowel (i.e. > /f/), /f/ corresponds to SE [∅]. Nevertheless, it is apparent in this instance that dialectal reflexes of this type have become lexicalised (occurring as it does alongside the standardised form with [∅]), the dialectal form *duff* (as indicated by the orthographic representation) differing from SE *dough* on a semantic level, having several different meanings. Other traditional dialectal forms with /f/, corresponding to SE [∅], are evident in neighbouring north-west midland dialect areas to the north – dialectal /plʏ:f/, *plough* (SE /plaʊ/) was recorded at Farnworth (south Lancashire), and several other SED localities in south Lancashire, though it was not recorded in the data of the present investigation.

Historical Development

ModE /f/ is derived from OE /f/ in initial and final position. ME final /x/ preceded by a rounded vowel – in words such as *rough* and *cough* – developed to /f/ during the late ME period.[73] In some dialects, such as those of the north-west midlands, the retention of final /x/ after the ME period had a significant effect on vocalic and consonantal elements; one such effect was the continuing development of final /f/ (< ME final /x/ preceded by a rounded vowel) in lexical items such as *dough*, which, conversely, developed to [∅] in SE and many other dialects, from an inflected form in which [x] had been lost.

Contemporary development in apparent time: realisations according to age-group

	ME	RP	Traditional nwDer/neCh	**Contemporary New Mills**			
				Old	*Mid*	*Adult*	*Teen*
Initial	/f/	/f/	/f/	[f]	[f]	[f]	[f]
Medial	/f/	/f/	/f/	[f]	[f]	[f]	[f]
Final	/f/	/f/	/f/	[f]	[f]	[f]	[f]
Reflexive Pronoun	*self(en)*	/f/ - *self*	[∅] - *sel*	[∅], [f]	[∅], [f]	[f], [∅]	[f], [∅]
dough	[∅], [f]	[∅]	[f]	[∅], [f]	[∅]	[∅]	[∅]

Contemporary Linguistic Change

As with the other geminate consonants, it appears that gemination occurs less in the speech of the younger informants. The dialectal elision of final /f/ in reflexive pronouns also occurs less frequently amongst the younger speakers. It must be assumed in this case that the increase of realisations consisting of final [f] is attributable to the influence of SE, modified standard or other modified regional / local or urban varieties.

/v/

/v/ is an unvoiced (lenis) labio-dental fricative.

Distribution

/v/ occurs in all positions:

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[73] Gimson (1994), p. 166.

Initial – e.g., /vat/, *v.a.t.*; /vast/, *vast*; /valɪ/, *valley*; /vɛɹɪ/, *very*; /vjʏ:/, *view*; /vɔɪs/, *voice*.

Medial – e.g., /bɪvɪ/, *bivvy (bivouac)*; /bɛvɪ/, *bevvy (alcoholic drink)*, /dɪvɪl/, *devil*; /ɛvə/, *ever*; /nɛvə/, *never*; /o:və/, *over*; /pi:vd/, *peeved*; /ɹɪvə/, *river*; /wi:vɪn/, *weaving*.

Final – e.g., /gɪv/, *give*; /av/, *have*; /azl gɹo:v/, *Hazel Grove* (place-name); /i:v/, *heave*; /mʏ:v/, *move*; /wo:v/, *wove*.

Variants

Initial - /v/ is sometimes devoiced in initial position, particularly when preceded by a voiceless consonant – e.g., [ɪts vɛɹɪ gʊd], *it's very good*.

Medial – medial /v/ is sometimes (rare) devoiced – e.g., [we:vz], *waves*. It is also omitted sometimes in intervocalic position in certain lexical items denoting time or space – e.g., [nɛəɹ əgɛn], *never again*; [o·ə ðɛə], *over there* (see also 'Historical Development', following) – and in the auxiliary verb *have* with negative particle suffix, in both stressed and unstressed positions – e.g., [äʲ 'ant bɪn ðɛə], *I haven't been there*; [äʲ anə], *I haven't* (with –*na* negative particle suffix – see also Part 1, p. 205).

Final - /v/ is sometimes subject to devoicing in final position when followed by a fortis obstruent – e.g., [mʏ:v tə], *move to*; and [av tə], *have to* – and also when it occurs in utterance final position – e.g., [aktɪf], *active*; [masɪf], *massive*; [ɹɛlatɪf], *relative*. Additionally, final /v/ is frequently omitted in the following lexical items:

unstressed *of* - [ə], usually before a following consonant but also sometimes omitted when it is followed by a vowel – e.g., [ə lɒtt ə æʊəz], *a lot of hours* (cf. [ɪts wɒn əv ɪz], *it's one of his*); there is one recorded instance of a intervening glide, [əʷɪt], *of it* – or realised with epenthetic /n/ when followed by a vowel – [æʊt ən ɪt] *out of it*;[74] unstressed *have* (auxiliary) – [ä kʊd ə dʊn], *I could have done*; *give* – [gɪ] – this usually occurs with /v/ before a following vowel, but not always – [gɪʲ ɪt ʊz bak], *give it us (me) back*; and the reflexive pronouns – e.g., [ʊssɛl], *ourselves*; [æɤəsɛl], *ourselves*; [ðɛəsɛl], *theirselves*.

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[74] The development of /ən/ corresponding to SE *of* is uncertain; one widely held view is that /ən/ represents a dialectal difference in the use of prepositions, *on* corresponding to SE *of*. Nevertheless, the occurrence of /ə/ (before a following vowel) for *of* in some dialects of the south-west suggests that /ən/ realisations may have developed from a previous /ə/ (preceding a vowel), as does the data from this investigation - /ən/ was only recorded in this environment (i.e. before a vowel).

Comparative Distribution

Dialectal /v/ corresponds to RP /v/, except in those instances outlined immediately above.

Historical Development

Initial ModE /v/ derives from ME /v/ (< OF /v/ in initial position, and south-west dialect initial /v/ (<OE initial /f/) in words such as *vixen* etc.). Medial /v/ is derived from OE /f/ in intervocalic position. ModE final /v/ is often derived from the same source, originally occurring in intervocalic position – e.g., *love*. The loss of medial /v/ in words such as *over* and *never* occurred in many varieties of English during the lME and eModE periods, including the north-west midlands, though the phoneme has since been restored in most varieties, including SE, under the influence of orthography. In certain (unstressed) place-name elements, /v/ became elided in the north-west midlands sometime during the ME /eModE periods – e.g., [bə:tʔtʃə], *Birchover*; [mɛlə], *Mellor* (< ME *melover/ melnover* – see Appendix, p. 24).

Contemporary development in apparent time: realisations according to age-group

	ME	RP	Traditional nwDer/neCh	**Contemporary New Mills**			
				Old	**Mid**	**Adult**	**Teen**
Initial	/v/	/v/ [v], [v]	/v/	[v], [v]	[v], [v]	[v], [v]	[v], [v]
Medial	/v/	/v/	/v/ [v], [v]	[v], [v]	[v], [v]	[v], [v]	[v]
never, over etc.	/v/	/v/	[∅]	[∅], [v]	[∅], [v]	[v], [∅]	[v], [∅]
haven't		/v/	[∅] - *hanna*	[∅]*, [v]	[∅]*, [v]	[∅]*, [v]	[∅]+, [v]
Final + fortis C	/v/	/v/ [v], [v]	/v/	[v] [v], [v]	[v] [v], [v]	[v] [v], [v]	[v] [v], [v]
Utterance final	/v/	/v/	/v/, /f/	[v], [v], [f]	[v], [v] [f]	[v], [v], [f]	[v], [v], [f]
of, have (unaccented)	/v/	[əv], [ə]	[ə]	[ə] [əv]	[ə] [əv]	[ə] [əv]	[ə] [əv]
give	/v/	/v/	[∅] – *gi'*	[∅], [v]	[∅], [v]	[v], [∅]	[v], [∅]
Reflexive Pronouns	*self(en)*	/v/ (+ /z/)	[∅] - *sel*	[∅], [v] [∅]+[z]	[∅], [v] [∅]+[z]	[v] [∅]+[z]	[v] [∅]+[z]

* realised with both –*n't* [ant] and –*na* [anə] negative particle suffixes.

+ realised with –*n't* [ant] negative particle suffix only.

Contemporary Linguistic Change

Devoicing of /v/ is present in all age-groups, though it appears to occur less frequently in the speech of the younger informants. In medial position, however, it was not recorded in the speech of the teenagers, and whether this is due to purely internal mechanisms – i.e. lenis voiced consonants such as /v/ naturally occur between vocalic elements – or an external influence is unclear. The dialectal elision of medial /v/ in words such as *over* and *haven't* is also present in all age-groups. Nevertheless, whereas it occurs amongst all informants in words such as *haven't*, it appears to be relatively rare in items such as *over* among younger speakers. This may be explained by external factors: the elision of /v/ in *over* etc., although being a common feature of many varieties in the north midlands, is generally deemed to be a traditional / archaic feature and, therefore, typical of the speech of older people. This view may be reinforced by the fact it does not occur amongst the younger speakers of the nearby urban varieties. Conversely, however, realisations such as [ant] for *haven't* also occur in the urban varieties, marking this as both a general regional and modern urban feature.

/θ/

/θ/ is an unvoiced (fortis) dental fricative.

Distribution

/θ/ occurs in all positions:

Initial – e.g., /θank/, *thank*; /θɪk/, *thick*; /θaɪ/, *thigh*; /θɪnk/, *think*; /θɪng/, *thing*; /θɔ:t/, *thought*; /θrɪlɪn/, *thrilling*; /θʊm/, *thumb*. /θ/ also occurs as a variant form of the reduced definite article – i.e. [θ] , e.g., [ʊp ˀθɪl], *up th' hill*.

Medial – e.g., /aθli:t/, *athlete*; /li:θl/, *lethal*.

Final – e.g., /bə:θ/, *birth*; /brɛθ/, *breath*; /klɒθ/, *cloth*; /ə:θ/, *earth*; /fɹɒθ/, *froth*; /paθ/, *path*; /ti:θ/, *teeth*; /trɤ:θ/, *truth*.

Variants

/θ/, in the environment of an alveolar fricative (/s/) in final consonant clusters is usually elided – e.g. [mʊns], *months*; [lɛŋks], *lengths*. /θ/, in the environment of labiodental and / or

alveolar fricatives (/f/, /s/) in final consonant clusters is either elided – e.g., [fɪfs], *fifths* - or remains at the expense of the preceding fricative in the cluster, e.g., [fɪθs], *fifths*.

Comparative Distribution

Dialectal /θ/ corresponds to RP /θ/, except in those instances outlined above.

Historical Development

ModE initial and final /θ/ is derived from OE /θ/ in initial and final position. Dialectal /θ/, as a reduced form of the definite article, is derived from OE ᵽe ([θə]) - see Part 1, pp. 136-140.

Contemporary development in apparent time: realisations according to age-group

	ME	RP	Traditional nwDer/neCh	Contemporary New Mills			
				Old	**Mid**	**Adult**	**Teen**
Initial	/θ/	/θ/	/θ/	[θ]	[θ]	[θ]	[θ], ([f])
Def. Art. +V	/θə/, /ðə/	/ðə/	/θ/ (variant)	[θ], [ðə]	[θ], [ðə]	[ðə]	[ðə]
Medial	/θ/	/θ/	/θ/	[θ]	[θ]	[θ]	[θ]
Final	/θ/	/θ/	/θ/	[θ]	[θ]	[θ]	[θ]
Final Cl. C+/θ/+/s/	/θ/	/θ/	[∅] ?	[∅]	[∅]	[∅]	[∅]

Contemporary Linguistic Change

Initial, medial and final /θ/ is generally realised as [θ] in all age-groups. Nevertheless, a realisation consisting of [f] was observed on one occassion (this being the only example that was either recorded or noted by the researcher) in the speech of one of the teenage informants (JB) - [ːtʔ], *[I] thought [so]*. The realisation of /θ/ as [f] is a common occurrence in some of the (mainly urban, but also non-urban) present-day dialects throughout England, and this feature has been the focus of considerable research in contemporary variationist and sociolinguistic studies. It is generally held that this feature developed first in London and then diffused outwards via the major urban centres – i.e. the classic hierarchy diffusion model.[75] There is some evidence to suggest that this may not be the case, though as this feature is not entirely relevant to the present investigation, such a discussion is beyond the scope of this research. The minimal presence of [f] realisations in

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[75] See Kerswill (2002), *op. cit*, pp. 207-212.

New Mills may be attributed to neighbouring urban varieties where this is a typical realisation; the informant, in whose speech this feature occurs, has particularly strong social ties with the Manchester conurbation. Whatever factors are at work here, it is apparent that this feature has not gained general currency amongst the teenagers. As their speech is evidently influenced by many other urban forms, it begs the question as to why this particular feature has failed to do so. In this respect, the realisation of /θ/ as [f] is not alone; other typical features associated with Manchester, such as [ ] for final [ə], have also been rejected by the teenagers in New Mills. In this instance, it is probably due to the fact that such retracted and lowered variants are highly localised, being typical of inner-city Manchester, and deemed as such. In the case of [f], similar connotations may exist, though it is also probable that education may have exerted some considerable influence.

One of the traditional dialect variants for the definite article - [θ] – is confined largely to the older speakers. This is a prominent (though relatively minor) feature of the traditional dialect and a comparatively localised form, and there is no doubt that it is regarded as such by the younger informants. Features such as these are generally deemed to be the preserve of older members of the community, and thus avoided by younger speakers. Nevertheless, the same situation does not exist with other dialectal realisations of the definite article – see Part 1, pp. 144-145.

/ð/

/ð/ is a voiced (lenis) dental fricative.

Distribution

/ð/ occurs in all positions:

Initial – e.g., /ðə/, *the*; /ðɛə/, *there*; /ðɛm/, *them* (demonstrative and pronoun [stressed]); /ðɪs/, *this*; [ðeː], [ðɪ], *they* (stressed / unstressed); [ði:], [ðɪ], *thee* (stressed / unstressed); [ðaɪn], *thine*; [ðoː], *though*; [ðɛn], *then*.

Medial – e.g., [faːðə], *father*; [mʊðə], *mother*; [maɪðəɹɪn], *mithering* (SE *annoying*); [ːðən], *northern*; [sʊðənə], *southerner*; [iːðə], *either*; [tɛðəd], *tethered*.

Final – e.g., [bɹiːð], *breathe*; [leːð], *lathe*; [saːᵻð], *scythe*; [wɪð], *with*.

Variants

Final /ð/ may be subject to devoicing in various degrees, sometimes completely – e.g., [ɤːz iː
go·ɪn wɪθ], *Who's he going with*? Initial /ð/ is sometimes partially devoiced – e.g., [ɪs wɒn],
this one. Similarly, intervocalic medial (morpheme / word) /ð/, on rare occasions, may also
be partially devoiced - e.g., [iːðə], *either*; [wɪːðɛʊt], *without*. Final /ð/ is sometimes omitted
in the preposition *with*, which generally occurs in unaccented position within the clause –
e.g., [wɪ ɹeːn], *with rain*; [wɪ ʔ tɹeːn fɛə], (*the same thing*) *with the train fare*.

Historical Development

ModE /ð/ is derived from OE /θ/ ([ð]) in intervocalic position. In those common lexical
items where ModE initial /ð/ occurs – e.g., definite article, demonstratives and pronouns – it
is probably the case that /ð/, in these instances, is also derived from OE /θ/; the modern form
having developed from the lenition of /θ/ in those lexical items, such as the definite article
etc., which most commonly occur in unaccented positions within an utterance.

Contemporary development in apparent time: realisations according to age-group

	ME	RP	Traditional nwDer/neCh	Contemporary New Mills			
				Old	**Mid**	**Adult**	**Teen**
Initial	/ð/	/ð/	/ð/	[ð]	[ð]	[ð]	[ð]
Medial	/ð/	/ð/	/ð/	[ð]	[ð]	[ð]	[ð]
Final	/ð/	/ð/	/ð/	[ð]	[ð]	[ð]	[ð]

Contemporary Linguistic Change

[ð] was ubiquitous throughout all age-groups. No instances were recorded of [v] as a medial
or final realisation of /ð/, including the teenage informant whose speech sporadically (rarely)
had [f] for /θ/. Considerable research into so-called "th-fronting", especially in medial
position, has recently been undertaken, and it is widely held that this phenomenon is
currently disseminating throughout many varieties (both urban and rural) in England
according to the hierarchy model (i.e. from London via major cities to urban hinterland);
whether or not this is the case, it certainly does not apply to contemporary New Mills. With
respect to the view concerning the dissemination of "th-fronting", this is somewhat
surprising; New Mills is situated in close proximity to Manchester (geographically – see
Appendix, p.1), this factor being partially responsible on a linguistic level for the fact that

many of the features typical of neighbouring Manchester varieties have evidently influenced the teenagers' speech. Therefore, it would be reasonable to assume the presence of this phenomenon; nevertheless, as stated above, the data from the present research indicates that "th-fronting" is completely absent in contemporary New Mills.

/s/

/s/ is an unvoiced (fortis) alveolar fricative.

Distribution

/s/ occurs in all positions within the word:

Initially - /sat/, *sat*; /sɛd/, *said*; /sɪlɪ/, *silly*; /sɪtɪn/, *sitting*; /skɹatɪn/, *scratting (scratching)*; /slɪpɪ/, *slippy (slippery)*; /smoːk/, *smoke*; /snɪkɪt/, *snicket (small alleyway)*; /spoːk/, *spoke*; /spɔːt/, *sport*; /sʊmət/, *summat (something)*; /sʊn/, *sun*.

Medially - /feːsɪn/, *facing*; /piːsɪz/, *pieces*; /poːstmən/, *postman*; /reːsɪn/, *racing*.

Finally - /ɛks/, *ask*; /æʊs/, *house*; /pas/, *pass*; /piːs/, *piece*; /kʊs/, *curse*; /gɛs/, *guess*; /næʊs/, *nous (common sense)*; /waps/, *wasp*.

Variants

The RP consonant cluster /sj/ does not occur in the traditional dialect – the usual realisation, corresponding to RP /sj/, is /s/ (e.g., [sʏːt], *suit*).

Initial /s/, when it occurs before /tʃ/, is sometimes realised as /ʃ/ - e.g., [ʃtʃʏː], *Stew* (personal name); [ʃtʃʏːɪn], *stewing*; [ʃtʃʏːpɪd], *stupid*. Word final /s/, following an alveolar stop, is generally affricated – e.g., [sɪnts], *since*. Similarly, initial /s/, following a final /t/, may occur with slight affrication - e.g., [ï kʊnt ᵗsiː], *He couldn't see*.

Medial /s/ is subject to gemination – e.g., [mɛssɪn], *messing*; [passɪn], *passing*; [pɪssɪn], *pissing* [*about*] (*messing around*). Medial /s/, particularly following /n/, may be subject to pre-glottalisation and / or slight affrication – e.g., [bæʊnʔᵗsɪn], *bouncing*.

Final /s/ is sometimes (uncommon) realised as a lenis, partially voiced variant [z] – e.g., [bʊz], *bus*. Final /s/, when preceding an initial vowel, is sometimes geminated – e.g., [dʊnə ɛks sɪm], *Don't ask him*.

Historical Development

ModE /s/ is derived from the same OE phoneme – /s/ ([s], [ss]).

Contemporary development in apparent time: realisations according to age-group

	ME	RP	Traditional nwDer/neCh	**Contemporary New Mills**			
				Old	*Mid*	*Adult*	*Teen*
Medial	/s/	/s/	/s/	[s], [ss]	[s], [ss]	[s], [ss]	[s], [ss]
Final	/s/	/s/	/s/	[s]	[s]	[s]	[s]

Contemporary Linguistic Change

As is the case with the other geminated consonants, it appears that gemination occurs less in the speech of the younger informants.

/z/

/z/ is a lenis (voiced) alveolar fricative.

Distribution

/z/ occurs in all positions within the word:

Initially – e.g., /zɛbɹə kɹɒsɪn/, *zebra crossing*; /ziːɹoː/, *zero*; /zɒnkt æʊt/, *zonked out* (v. – *fell into a deep sleep*).

Medially – e.g., /bɪzɪ/, *busy*; /iːzɪ/, *easy*; /fɪzɪ/, *fizzy*; /θæʊznd/, *thousand*.

Finally – e.g., /az/, *as*, *has* (stressed); /dʊz/, *does*; /ɪz/, *is*; /wɒz/, *was* etc. In addition, grammatical suffixes which are represented orthographically as *–s* - for example, those denoting plurals, third person verbal forms and genitival forms – are generally realised as [z] (in environments other than following a voiceless plosive).

Variants

In medial position, /z/ is sometimes geminated – e.g., [ɛzzɪteːt], *hesitate* – and is also subject to devoicing, such devoicing occurring in free variation with voiced variants – e.g., [dɪzlɪ], [dɪslɪ], *Disley* (place-name); [ɹiːzᵊn], [ɹiːzᵊn], *reason*. Similarly, final /z/ may also occur in free variation with unvoiced variants – e.g., [bɪkɒz], [bɪkɒs], *because*.

Historical Development

ModE /z/ is derived from OE /s/ when it occurred between voiced sounds (i.e. [z]). In lexemes with grammatical suffixes (denoted orthographically by –s), ModE /z/ developed from an earlier /s/, as such suffixes became weakly stressed. A similar situation is apparent with auxiliary verb forms and pronouns, such as *is*, *has*, *his*, *was* etc., which occur most frequently in weakly stressed / unaccented positions.

Contemporary development in apparent time: realisations according to age-group

	ME	RP	Traditional nwDer/neCh	Contemporary New Mills			
				Old	*Mid*	*Adult*	*Teen*
Medial	/z/	/z/	/z/ ([z], [zz])	[z], [zz]	[z], [zz]	[z], [zz]	[z],[zz]
Medial	/z/	/z/	/z/ ([z], [s])	[z], [s]	[z], [s]	[z], [s]	[z],[s]
Final	/z/	/z/	/z/ ([z], [s])	[z], [s]	[z], [s]	[z], [s]	[z], [s]

Contemporary Linguistic Change

Both gemination and medial and final devoicing occur in all age-groups; in both instances, however, it appears that they occur more in the speech of the older informants.

/ʃ/

/ʃ/ is an unvoiced (fortis) palato-alveolar fricative.

Distribution

/ʃ/ occurs in all positions within the word:

Initially – e.g., /ʃagd/, *shagged* (adj. – *exhausted*); /ʃa:p/, *sharp*; /ʃɛd/, *shed*; /ʃe:kin/, *shaking*; /ʃɒp/, *shop*; /ʃæʊt/, *shout*; /ʃɪt/, *shit*; /ʃɹɛds/, *shreds*; /ʃʊgə/, *sugar*; /ʃʏːz/, *shoes*.

Medially – e.g., /ankʃəs/, *anxious*; /   n/, *cushion*; /   n/, *fashion*; /fɪnɪʃt/, *finished*; /ɪʃʏː/, *issue*; /wɛʃt/, *washed*.

Finally - /dɪʃ/, *dish*; /fɪʃ/; *fish*; /wɛʃ/, *wash*; /wɪʃ/, *wish.*

Variants

/ʃ/ may be geminated in medial intervocalic position – e.g., [fɪʃʃɪn], *fishing*; [ɪʃʃʏː], *issue*; [ɹʊʃʃɪn ʊp ïʲə], *rushing up here*; [wɛʃʃɪn], *washing* – and in final position before a following vowel - e.g., [fɪʃ ʃɪn], *fish in* [*the canal*].

Contemporary development in apparent time: realisations according to age-group

	ME	RP	Traditional nwDer/neCh	Contemporary New Mills			
				Old	*Mid*	*Adult*	*Teen*
Medial	/ʃ/	/ʃ/	/ʃ/ ([ʃ], [ʃʃ])	[ʃ], [ʃʃ]	[ʃ], [ʃʃ]	[ʃ], [ʃʃ]	[ʃ], [ʃʃ]
Final	/ʃ/	/ʃ/	/ʃ/	[ʃ]	[ʃ]	[ʃ]	[ʃ]

Contemporary Linguistic Change

There is little modification in apparent time – gemination is less among younger speakers.

/ʒ/

/ʒ/ is a voiced (lenis) palato-alveolar fricative.

Distribution

/ʒ/ occurs only medially within the word. Word initial /ʒ/, in words such as *genre*, is potentially possible, but no such recordings were made during the extensive research undertaken for the present study. Similarly, there is a potential possibility that /ʒ/ could occur in final position - i.e., in a word such as, for example, *rouge* – but, again, no such examples were recorded during fieldwork. Moreover, any such possibility is, at the best, very low as the usual dialectal realisation, corresponding to RP final /ʒ/, is [ʤ] – e.g., [gaɹɪʤ], *garage* (RP [gəɹɑːʒ]); [beːʤ], *beige* (RP [beɪʒ]).

Examples of medial /ʒ/ are: /kaʒʏːl/, *casual*; /kɒnfjʏːʒn/, *confusion*; /fɹiːʒnz/,

Frisians (cattle); /jʏːʒl/, *usual*.

Comparative Distribution

RP word final /ʒ/ corresponds to dialectal /dʒ/ in words such as (with change of syllabic stress) *garage* (['gaɹɪʤ]) and *camouflage*. Word medial /ʒ/, in words such as *casual*, is the

only possible realisation in the traditional dialect of New Mills - the RP variant /zj/ [76] does not occur in the dialect.

<u>Variants</u>

Medial /ʒ/ is sometimes geminated: [kaʒʒᵘɫ], *casual*; [kaʒʒjɤːʊɫz], *casuals* (n.); [jɤːʒʒᵘɫ], [jɤːʒʒɤʊɫ], *usual*.

<u>Historical Development</u>

ModE /ʒ/ (in words such as *measure* and *occasio*n)[77] developed from an earlier /z/ + /j/ or /ɪ/ during the eModE period. Word final /ʒ/ is derived from ME /ʒ/ in French borrowings (OF /ʤ/) and later borrowings from French (French /ʒ/).[78]

<u>Contemporary development in apparent time: realisations according to age-group</u>

	ME	RP	Traditional nwDer/neCh	**Contemporary New Mills**			
				Old	*Mid*	*Adult*	*Teen*
Medial	/ʒ/	/ʒ/	/ʒ/ [ʒ], [ʒʒ] ?	[ʒ], [ʒʒ]	[ʒ], [ʒʒ]	[ʒ], [ʒʒ]	[ʒ], [ʒʒ]

<u>Contemporary Linguistic Change</u>

There is minimal modification in apparent time – gemination occurs less among younger speakers.

<u>Sonorants</u>

<div align="center">

/m/

</div>

/m/ is a voiced (lenis) bilabial nasal.

<u>Distribution</u>

/m/ occurs in all positions within the word:

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[76] See Gimson (1994), p. 192.
[77] Gimson (1994), p. 173.
[78] Ibid.

Initially – e.g., /meːt/, *meat*, *mate*; /mɛk/, *make*; /maːpl/, *Marple* (place-name); /mæʊs/, *mouse*; /mʏːn/, *moon*; /mʏːv/, *move*; /mʊnθ/, *months*; /mʊðə/, *mother*; /maɪðəɹɪn/, *mithering (bothering, annoying)*.

Medially – e.g., /əmɒng/, *among*; /kəmɪtɪd/, *committed*; /ɛmtɪ/, *empty*; /mɛməɹɪ/, *memory*; /ɹamz/, *rams*; /sʊmə/, *summer*; /sʊmət/, *summat (something)*.

Finally – e.g., /bɒm/, *bomb*; /bʊm/, *bum*; /kʊm/, *come*; /dɪm/, *dim*; /lʏːm/, *loom*; /mʊm/, *mum*; /nʊm/, *numb*; /ɹʏːm/, *room*; /sʊm/, *some*; /waːm/, *warm*; /taɪm/, *time*.

Variants

Medial /m/ may be geminated – e.g., [kʊmmɪn], *coming*; [kɒmmən sɛns], *common sense*; [   ], *summat (something)*. Morpheme final /m/ is also subject to gemination (uncommon) before a following nasal – e.g., [am məntə], *amn't I (aren't I)*. Similarly, word-final /m/ may be geminated before a following initial vowel - [kʊm mɪn], *come in*.

Historical Development

ModE /m/ is derived from OE /m/ ([m], [mm]). ModE word-final /m/ in lexical items such as *climb* and *thumb* developed from OE /mb/, the final bilabial plosive being lost during the ME period.

Contemporary development in apparent time: realisations according to age-group

	ME	RP	Traditional nwDer/neCh	**Contemporary New Mills**			
				Old	*Mid*	*Adult*	*Teen*
Medial	/m/	/m/	/m/ ([mm]?)	[m], [mm]	[m], [mm]	[m], [mm]	[m], [mm]

Contemporary Linguistic Change

Gemination of /m/, infrequent as it is amongst the older speakers, occurs even less in the speech of the younger informants.

/n/

/n/ is a voiced (lenis) alveolar nasal.

Distribution

/n/ occurs in all positions within the word:

Initial - /neːm/, *name*; /nat/, *gnat*; /natʃəɹəl/, *natural*; /nɛvə/, *never*; /naɪs/, *nice*; /niːt/, *night*; /nɒn/, *none*; /næʊ/, *now*; /nəːs/, *nurse*.

Medial - /ənɔɪ/, *annoy*; /ansə/, *answer*; /bɒlɪntən/, *Bollington* (place-name); /wɒɹɪntən/, *Warrington* (place-name); /dɪnə/, *dinner* (midday meal); /gɛnl/, *gennel* (alleyway between houses); /maɪnd/, *mind*; /sɛnd/, *send*; /wɒndəɹɪn/, *wondering*.

Finally - /bɪn/, *bin*; /tʃɪn/, *chin*; /fʊn/, *fun*, *found*; /iːn/, *eyes*; /mɛn/, *men*; /nɒn/, *none*; /pɛn/, *pen*; /sʊn/, *sun*; /wɒn/, *one*, *won*. Final syllabic /n/ (generally [ᵊn]) occurs in, for example, /kɒtn/, *cotton*; /dʊzn/, *dozen*; /ɛtn/, *eaten*; /ɒfn/, *often*. All present participles, gerunds and polysyllabic nouns ending in *-thing* have final /n/ (SE *–ng* /ŋ/).

Variants

/n/ may be realised as [m] before a following bilabial – e.g., [wɒm mʊnθ], *one month* – and as [m] or [ɱ] before a following labio-dental – e.g., [bɒmfaˑʲə], *bonfire*. Medial /n/ is often geminated, particularly before the *–in* suffix of present participles and gerunds – e.g., [dɔːnnɪn], *dawning*; [mʊːnnɪn], *[good] morning*; [ɹʊnnɪn], *running*; [skɛnnɪn], *skenning (staring)*; [wɪnnɪn], *winning*.

/n/ has an allophone [ŋ] before the velars /k/, /g/, in both medial and final position [79] – e.g., [əmɒŋg], [əmʊŋg], *among*; [bɹɪŋg], *bring*; [fɪŋggə], *finger*; [mɪŋgᵁɫd], *mingled*; [sɪŋggɪn], *singing*; [θɪŋk], *think*; [θɪŋg], *thing*; [tɒŋg], *tongue*; [ɹɒŋg], *wrong*. This contrasts with SE (and the majority of English dialects), where /ŋ/ (< /ng/) has phonemic status.

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[79] This is a feature of many of the dialects in the general West Midland area, and, in particular, the north-west midlands; it has been recorded elsewhere in the north-west midlands in Shorrocks' Farnworth (south Lancashire) study and in Lodge's research undertaken in nearby Stockport, as well as numerous SED localities.

<u>Comparative Distribution.</u>

Morpheme final /n/ is the usual dialectal realisation for the present participle suffix, gerunds and other terminations with -*ing* in unstressed positions, corresponding to SE –*ing* ([ŋ]). Realisations with [n], in the contexts just mentioned – i.e. corresponding to SE [ŋ] - are common throughout dialects in the north midlands and, indeed, elsewhere in England, and are evidently a long established dialectal feature. Hallam (1896) made a direct reference to this feature in Derbyshire, stating that: "[n] is substituted for nasal [ŋg] ….its usage is very extensive, occurring mostly in unaccented syllables… in a) verbal nouns; b) present participles; c) participle adjectives; d) adjectives." [80] It is apparent that this corresponds to the present-day situation, demonstrating not only the established nature of this dialectal feature, but also its continuing stability - see also Part 1, pp. 203-205.

<u>Historical Development</u>

ModE /n/ is derived from OE /n/ ([n], [nn]). Initial /n/ has also developed from OE [hn], [xn] (the initial fricatives being lost during the twelfth century), and from OE [kn], [gn] (in, for example, *know* and *gnat*), the initial velars being lost during the seventeenth century.[81] In a limited number of instances – e.g., *newt* - the initial /n/ of a noun (formerly beginning with a vowel) has developed from the transference of the preceding /n/ of the indefinite article, by a process of metanalysis.

It is possible that the velar consonant in the sequence [ŋg] was being lost in some dialects as early as the ME period. Nevertheless, it was not before the late sixteenth / early seventeenth centuries that /g/ became elided before consonants in SE, and only during the seventeenth century that /g/ was finally lost before vowels or a pause.[82] However, in the north-west midlands particularly, and in a few other areas of England, the voiced velar remained in all environments in final position, and before vowels and consonants in word medial position. In these dialects today, therefore, [ŋ] remains an allophone of /n/ before velars.

[80] Hallam (1896), op. cit, p. lxvi.
[81] Gimson (1994), p. 179.
[82] Gimson (1994), p. 181.

Contemporary development in apparent time: realisations according to age-group

	ME	RP	Traditional nwDer/neCh	Contemporary New Mills			
				Old	*Mid*	*Adult*	*Teen*
Medial	/n/	/n/	/n/ ([n], [nn]?)	[n], [nn]	[n], [nn]	[n], [nn]	[n], [nn]
Medial /n/ + /g/	/ng/ ([ŋg])	/ŋ/	/ng/ ([ŋg])	[ŋg]	[ŋg]	[ŋg]	[ŋg]
Final /n/ + /g/	/ng/ ([ŋg])	/ŋ/	/ng/ ([ŋg])	[ŋg]	[ŋg]	[ŋg]	[ŋg]
u. f. /n/ + /g/	/ng/ ([ŋg])	/ŋ/	/ng/ ([ŋg])	[ŋg]	[ŋg]	[ŋg]	[ŋg]

Abbreviations: u. f. – utterance final

Contemporary Linguistic Change

Gemination occurs less among younger speakers. The consonant cluster [ŋg] in medial and final positions occurs in all age-groups – for comments and analysis of the apparent stability of [ŋg], see /g/, above, pp. 144-145.

Approximants

All the following consonants are approximants (frictionless continuants). These consonants are sometimes labelled as 'semi-vowels', on account of their phonetic qualities - i.e. voiced quality and, as the term 'frictionless continuant' suggests, lack of obstruction during articulation – though their syllabic distribution corresponds to that of consonants, hence their general classification as such. In addition to such terminology, /l/ and /r/ are frequently referred to as 'liquids', while common linguistic terms for /j/ and /w/ are 'approximants' or 'glides'.

/l/

/l/ is a voiced alveolar lateral approximant. Unlike RP (and many other varieties of English), however, the dialectal realisations of /l/ are not primarily conditioned by morpheme position; initial /l/ (and /l/ before vowels) is generally of a darker (i.e. velarised) quality, so that often there is little difference in the dialectal realisations of initial and final / syllabic /l/.[83] Such

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[83] The distinction between clear and dark variants, on the part of the researcher, is made on impressionistic grounds – no mechanical acoustic measurement was used. Nevertheless, the acoustic distinction between clear and dark variants is readily perceptible on an impressionistic level, on account of the greater vocalic resonance (approximating [ʊ]) of velarised variants.

realisations have been noted elsewhere in the north-west midlands; initial velarised /l/ was recorded in Shorrocks' study of the Bolton area,[84] and in Lodge's description of nearby Stockport,[85] while Gimson gives this as a feature of Manchester speech.[86] As the data for the nearest SED localities [87] have only clear /l/ in initial position, it is tempting to attribute initial velarised /l/ as being a feature of the major urban varieties (i.e. Bolton, Stockport, Manchester) of the north-west midlands. Nevertheless, such an assumption cannot be upheld entirely, in light of the data from the present investigation, and the fact that initial velarised /l/ was not recorded in the nearby SED localities may not be definitive evidence to the contrary: this rests on the extent to which broad or narrow transcriptions were used. As final /l/ is also recorded as 'clear', it is possible that the transcriptions were comparatively broad; thus any occurrence of initial velarised /l/ may not have been recorded as such – see following. In the introductions to the West Midland and Northern Volumes, the editors provide comments on the phonology of each locality, some of which are relevant here; at Cheshire 1 and Derbyshire 7, /l/ is described as being "of medium quality" [88] (i.e. of a more velarised quality). Similarly, at Lancashire 12, /l/ is noted as having "medium thickness", and is "often marked thick"; at Lancashire 9, final and preconsonantal /l/ has "medium thickness"; and at Lancashire 9, "post consonantal /l/ has medium thickness, and is thicker than *l-*." [89] Additionally, at Cheshire 4, /l/ is noted as being "[ɫ] post vocalically"; at Cheshire 6 also, "post-vocalic *l* is [ɫ]." [90] Two conclusions may be drawn from this: firstly, these comments confirm that a somewhat more velarised /l/ (i.e. medium / thick) is a feature of some of the dialects of the north-west midlands, and that fully velarised variants occur in some environments; secondly, while the former variants are not represented by any IPA symbol, the latter certainly is (i.e. [ɫ]), though this symbol does not appear in the data for either Cheshire 4 or 6 – this suggests that the transcription is not as narrow as it could be.

The degree of velarisation of initial and final /l/ is determined more by environment rather than morpheme position: initial /l/ is of a darker quality when followed by a mid and close back vowel and of a slightly lighter quality when followed by a front vowel. While final /l/ is

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[84] Shorrocks (1998), pp. 378-384.
[85] Lodge (1966), p. 26.
[86] Gimson (1994), p. 184.
[87] Derbyshire 1 – Charlesworth (four miles NNW) and Cheshire 2 – Rainow (six miles SW).
[88] Orton and Barry (1969), op. cit, pp. 13 –17.
[89] Orton and Halliday (1962), op. cit, pp. 20-25.
[90] Orton and Barry (1969), pp. 13 - 17.

generally of a darker quality than initial /l/, the degree of velarisation is decreased slightly if preceded by a front vowel – however, it is evident that velarised variants do occur in these environments, e.g. [tɪɫ], *til*. Thus, there may be little or no difference between the quality of initial and final /l/ in /lʊv/, *love* and /fɛl/, *fell*, or between initial and final /l/ in /lʊl/ ([ɫʊɫ]), *lull*.

As well as being conditioned by preceding / following vowels, final /l/, conversely, has a marked influence on preceding vowels, specifically mid and close front vowels and certain diphthongs. Off-glides frequently occur after long vowels – e.g., [eˑʊɫ], *ale*, [ɹeˑʊɫ], *rail*.

Indeed, the occurrence of a vocalic element [ʊ] before final /l/ - so-called 'breaking' element - [91] sometimes results in the diphthongisation of a long front vowel, the second element of the diphthong assuming the quality of [ʊ] – e.g., [fɤˑʊɫ], *fool* (cf. dialectal [fɤː]); [pïʊɫ], *peel*. Indeed, the tendency for long front vowels to break before /l/ resulted in the historic elision (complete vocalisation) of final /l/ when preceded by /ɤː/ (< ME ō1) – e.g., [skɤː], *school*; [fɤː], *fool*. Variant forms with final /l/ invariably occur with a vocalic breaking element – [fɤˑʊɫ], [skɤˑʊɫ]. Final /l/, when preceded by a long, mid or close back vowel may be similarly vocalised (uncommon) – e.g., [gæʊ oˑʊ], *Gow Hole* (place-name).

The sequence of V + /l/ + C in single syllabic words has resulted in the vocalisation of /l/ in the traditional dialect. This only occurs when /l/ is preceded by open or back vowels - e.g., [æʊd], *old*; [   ], *sold*; [tæʊd], *told* etc. (RP /əʊld/, /səʊld/, /təʊld/ respectively); [kæʊbən], *Colborn*e (place-name). Vowel modified variants also frequently occur with vocalised /l/ - e.g., [ɒʊd], *hold*; [ɒʊd], *old*; [tɒʊd], *told*. Before front vowels, /l/ is not vocalised – e.g., [ɛld], *held*; [mɪlk], *milk*. Nevertheless, examples such as [mɪʁk] were recorded by Shorrocks in the Bolton area, though it is conceded that these are not typical of the dialect.[92] Similarly, the vocalisation of final /l/ preceded by a consonant – e.g., [apʊu], *apple* - examples of which were also recorded by Shorrocks in Farnworth, do not occur in New Mills; the vocalisation of final /l/ (preceded by consonants) and /l/ + C (preceded by front vowels) are more typical of the dialects of the south-east of England.

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[91] This has been a feature of English since at least the OE period.
[92] Shorrocks (1998), p. 380.

Distribution

/l/ occurs in all positions within the word:

Initial − initial [l] has a more velar quality than that encountered in RP and many other varieties of English. Lodge, in his description of the dialect of Stockport, transcribes initial /l/ as [ɫ], but, as it appears that the degree of velarisation differs according to environment, such a transcription would not be wholly accurate in the present investigation; indeed, in this respect, the IPA is found wanting. Thus, the notation [l] in this study does not necessarily represent a clear /l/ as such, but /l/ with varying degrees of velarisation. Before a back (particularly mid / close) vowel, /l/ approaches the quality of [ɫ]. Examples of initial /l/ are: [lag], *lag [behind]*; [lap], *lap (wrap)*; [lɛg], *leg*; [lɪvvɪn], *living* (participle); [lɒŋg], *long*; [ɫʊɫ], *lull*; [ɫʊg], *lug (ear)*.

Medial − as with initial /l/, intervocalic /l/ may be of a darker quality than is the case with RP. Medial /l/, when it precedes a consonant, is usually [ɫ], or, in some cases (see directly above), vocalised completely. Examples of /l/ are: [bɛlɪ], *belly*; [ɪŋglʊnd], *England*; [gʊɫɪ], *gully*; [sɪlɪ], *silly*; [ʊglɪ], *ugly*; [wɛlɪ], *welly (very)*; [we:lɪ], *Whaley* (place-name); [jɛlə], *yellow*; [bɔ:ɫd], *bald*; [bo:ɫʔn], *Bolton* (place-name); [ko:ɫd], *called*; [kæʊd], *cold*.

Final − [ɫ] is general for final /l/. [ɫ] has a back vowel resonance, approximating [ʊ]. However, final /l/ (and final /l/ in consonant clusters) is subject to conditioning by environment, and may be of a less velarised nature in the vicinity of front vowels or alveolar plosives − e.g., [e:fɪlt], *Hayfield* (place-name). Syllabic [ɫ] may occur after consonants, but as this is accompanied by the same vowel resonance, it is often difficult to distinguish from non-syllabic [ɫ] − i.e. [ʊɫ]. Examples of final /l/ are: [ɫ] [bɛɪᵁɫ], *boil*; [kɔ:ɫ], *call*; [kʏ·ʊɫ], *cool*; [dʊɫ], *dull*; [fɛɫ], *fell*; [gɛnɫ], *gennel (alleyway)*; [kɛtl], *kettle*; [nɒɫ], *knoll*; [ɫʊɫ], *lull*; [mɪɫ], *mill*; [ɒɪᵁɫ]; *oil*.

Variants

In addition to the major allophones noted above, the following variants also occur: /l/ preceded by voiceless plosives in initial clusters (i.e. stressed syllables) frequently occurs as a devoiced, relatively clear allophone, sometimes with a considerable fricative quality (particularly following /t/) − e.g., [tɫi:n], *clean* ; [tɫaɪm], *climb*. In medial position, /l/ is

sometimes preceded by a centralised vowel – i.e., /ə/, /ʊ/ - following bilabial or velar plosives – e.g., [ɹambəlɪn], *rambling*; [takəlɪn], *tackling*.

Medial intervocalic /l/ may be geminated – e.g., [lɒllɪz], *lollies*; [mi: tɛllɪn ɪm], (*waste of time*) *me telling him* – while final /l/ is sometimes geminated before a following vowel – e.g., [fɛl loːvə], *fell over*.

/l/ in the vicinity of nasals may be subject to elision / vocalisation: in the sequence /n/ + /l/ + V – e.g., [oːnɪ], *only* (RP /əʊnlɪ/); and in the sequence V + /l/ + /n/, where historical vocalisation has occurred, particularly in place-names – e.g., [kæʊʷən ɛdʒ], *Cowan Edge* (< OE *colenne*); and [kɒʊn], *Colne*. Similarly, before /m/ (in place-names), dialectal (and SE) /l/ has been vocalised – e.g., /oːm/, /jʏːm/, *holme* and *hulme* respectively (RP /həʊm/, /hjuːm/); [kɛtlzjʏːm], *Kettleshulme*; [ʧɛdɫ ʏːm], *Cheadle Hulme*; [ɹʊʃoːm], *Rusholme* (place-names).

Historical vocalisation of /l/ has also occurred in a number of varying environments. ME al + C developed to /ɔː/ in *talk* and *walk*, and in certain words with a past particle suffix (*-d*) - e.g., /kɔːd/, *called* (RP /kɔːld/); and to /aː/ (RP /aː/) in words ending in labial consonants- e.g., *calm*, *half* etc. In addition to this, syllable / morpheme final /l/ (< ME al) has also been vocalised in certain instances – e.g., [ɔːɹiːt], *alright* (RP /ɔːlɹaɪt/); [ɔːmoːst], *almost* (RP /ɔːlməʊst/), [ɔːwɪz], *always* - though the development of final ME /al/ to /ɔː/ is not as extensive as in the more southerly dialects of the north-west midlands area, being generally restricted to a few instances, e.g., [ən ɔː], *and all*; [w ː], *wall*.

Historical Development[93]

Initial /l/ is derived from OE /l/ and (with the later loss of the initial fricatives) /hl/, /xl/ (in *loaf* and *ladder*).[94] It is highly likely that OE final /l/ (preceded by vowels) was also velarised (i.e., [ɫ])[95] ME pre-consonantal /l/ ([ɫ]) - in words such as *talk* and *half* - often became vocalised, particularly following open or back vowels during the late ME period, first becoming diphthongised to [aʊ] (> [ɔʊ]) before becoming monophthongised and lengthened during the eModE period ([ɔː]). In the north-west midlands, this process was more extensive,

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[93] The historical development of /l/ is also discussed extensively above – see Part 1, 'Contemporary Sound Change', pp. 76-80.
[94] Gimson (1994), p. 185.
[95] Ibid.

on a lexical level, than in SE and many other dialects – in words such as *old* and *cold* (OM /al/), ME /al/ developed to /ɔʊ/ during the eModE period, and remained as such without becoming monophthongised. The precise evolution of the modern form (often [æʊ]) is obscure (see also above, Volume 1, p. 79), though it could have developed by analogy with the dialectal reflex of ME /uː/ (> /æʊ/). In a restricted number of instances (e.g., in *all*), final ME /al/ developed to /ɔː/ (SE /ɔːl/). In the more southerly dialects of the north-west midlands and the northern areas of the west midlands, this development is lexically more extensive than in the more northerly areas of the north-west midlands (i.e., that in which New Mills is situated), occurring regularly in words such as *ball* and *call* (for a detailed analysis of /l/ vocalisation, see also Part 1, above, pp. 76-81). Final /l/ preceded by the long front rounded vowel /ʏː/ (in items such as *school*), became vocalised during the eModE period in some of the dialects of the north-west midlands, evidently after the raising and fronting of ME ō1 (/oː/). /l/ also became frequently elided in the final unstressed syllables of place-names – e.g., [bɹaddə], *Bradwell*; [tɪdzə], *Tideswell*.

<u>Contemporary development in apparent time: realisations according to age-group</u>

	ME	RP	Traditional nwDer/neCh	**Contemporary New Mills**			
				Old	*Mid*	*Adult*	*Teen*
Initial	/l/	/l/ ([l])	/l/ ([l], [ɫ]?)	[l], [ɫ]	[l], [ɫ]	[l], [ɫ]	[l], [ɫ]
Medial i. v.	/l/	/l/ ([l])	/l/ ([l], [ɫ]?)	[l], [ɫ]	[l], [ɫ]	[l], [ɫ]	[l], [ɫ]
Medial /l/ + C	/l/	/l/	/l/ ([ɫ])	[ɫ]	[ɫ]	[ɫ]	[ɫ]
Medial V + /l/ + C *old*, *cold* etc.	/a/+/l/	/l/	/ʊ/	/ʊ/,* [ɫ]	/ʊ/,* [ɫ]	/ʊ/,* [ɫ]	/ʊ/+, [ɫ]
Medial V + /l/ + C *talk*, *walk* etc.	eME /a/+/l/	/ɔː/	/ɔː/	/ɔː/ 1	/ɔː/ 1	/ɔː/ 1	/ɔː/ 1
Medial V + /l/ + C *calm* etc.	eME /a/+/l/	/ɑː/	/ɑː/	[ɑː]	[ɑː]	[ɑː]	[ɑː]
Medial /n/ + /l/ *only*	/l/	/l/	/l/ ([∅]?)	[∅], [l]	[∅], [l]	[∅], [l]	[∅], [l]

continued							
	ME	RP	Traditional nwDer/neC	*Old*	*Mid*	*Adult*	*Teen*
Final syllabic	/l/	/l/ ([ɫ])	/l/ ([ɫ])	[ɫ]	[ɫ]	[ɫ]	[ɫ]
Final V + /l/	/l/	/l/ ([ɫ])	/l/ ([ɫ])	[ʊɫ]	[ʊɫ]	[ʊɫ]	[ʊɫ]
Final /ʏ:/ + /l/ *fool* etc.	/l/	/l/ ([ɫ])	[∅]	[∅], [ʊɫ]	[∅], [ʊɫ]	[ʊɫ], [∅]	[ʊɫ]
Final *all*	eME /a/+/l/	/ɔ:ɫ/	/ɔ:/	/ɔ:/ [1], /ɔ:ɫ/	/ɔ:/ [1], /ɔ:ɫ/	/ɔ:ɫ/, /ɔ:/[1]	/ɔ:ɫ/, /ɔ:/ [1]

* Traditional [æʊ] and modified [ɒʊ] variants; + [ɒʊ] variant generally.
1 For realisations of /ɔ:/, see above pp. 24-25. Abbreviations: i. v. – intervocalic.

Contemporary Linguistic Change

The lack of phonemic distinction in English between dark and clear /l/ is probably responsible for the fact that speakers and listeners are insensitive to any difference in clear or velar realisations – indeed, when pointed out that this was the case, none of the informants, unsurprisingly, were aware of any qualitative differences between their initial realisations and those in SE and other varieties of English. Furthermore, the apparent ubiquitous nature of initial velar realisations in many urban and non-urban dialects in the north-west midlands – see description above – is also likely to be a significant factor in the stability of this dialectal feature. The vocalisation of pre-consonantal /l/ (preceded by back / open vowels) is a traditional dialectal feature which also demonstrates a degree of stability. However, considerable apparent-time difference is apparent in the realisations of the preceding vowel – traditional dialect open central vowels (i.e. approximating [a]) are generally absent in the speech of the teenagers who use modified [ɒ] in words such as *cold*, [kɒʊd]. It is probably the case that traditional realisations such as [æʊ] are perceived by the teenagers as being the provenance of older speakers, and thus avoided. Similarly, another traditional feature - the elision of final /l/ following rounded front vowels - being entirely noticeable on a phonetic level, is also absent in the speech of the teenagers, who invariably use realisations with final /l/, e.g., [skʏˑʊɫ], *school*. This suggests that this type of dialectal feature - i.e. elision of final /l/ - is more prominent than other similar traditional features, such as pre-consonantal vocalisation of /l/. Moreover, its perception as a traditional dialectal feature and its non-

occurrence in neighbouring urban varieties are likely factors affecting the speech of the teenagers.

/r/

/r/ is a post-alveolar approximant.

In utterance initial position, /r/ is generally realised as an alveolar approximant – i.e. [ɹ]. In non-initial intervocalic and pre-consonantal positions (word medial / final), /r/ has generally been described as being of an [ɹ] type in those parts of the north-west midlands – i.e. mainly Lancashire and north-east Cheshire (pre-1974) – where rhotic /r/ occurs. Nevertheless, such a description is not entirely accurate, this fact being pointed out by both Wakelin[96] and Shorrocks, [97] who contend that /ɹ/ is of a more retroflex nature than a transcription consisting of /ɹ/ suggests. Indeed, the transcription for the nearest SED locality[98] uses the symbol [ɻ], reflecting the more retroflex nature of this allophone. It is apparent that rhotic /ɹ/ in New Mills, where it occurs, is similarly retroflex; in certain environments, rhotic /ɹ/ is articulated nearer to [ɻ] by some speakers, as, indeed, is evidenced by a few of the transcriptions for the SED locality nearest to New Mills.

Distribution

/r/ can occur in all positions. The traditional dialect of New Mills is rhotic – i.e., /r/ occurs in pre-consonantal and post-vocalic final position, as well as initially and intervocalically. However, the distribution of this phoneme in the traditional dialect of New Mills is complicated by the fact that rhotic /r/ is a highly regressive feature and limited to only a few speakers, mostly, but not entirely, in the older age-groups. The regressive nature of rhotic /r/ is further demonstrated by its realisations amongst those speakers who use it: more often than not, /r/ merely colours the preceding vowel, but in some instances (in intervocalic position) rhotic /r/ may be lengthened considerably – e.g., [aˑɹ].

The situation is made more complex by the fact that rhotic /r/ is used in free variation with non-rhotic variants by those speakers who are rhotic. Furthermore, the presence of rhotic variants does not necessarily indicate speakers who are broader or use more traditional forms of the dialect; some of those in the oldest and (particularly) the middle age-group, who are

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[96] Wakelin (1991), p. 99.
[97] Shorrocks (1998), p. 388.
[98] Derbyshire 1 – Charlesworth (four miles NNW).

not rhotic, speak traditional vernacular (i.e., the traditional dialect) in every other sense. It is also true to say that non-rhotic speakers of the traditional dialect outnumber those who are rhotic. Therefore, the distribution of /r/ must be classified according to those rhotic speakers who use pre-consonantal and final post-vocalic /r/ and to the non-rhotic speakers who generally use /r/ in initial and intervocalic positions only.

This dichotomy presents obvious problems concerning the phonemic status of /r/ in certain environments (i.e., pre-consonantal and final), as well as difficulties concerning description and broad transcription. As far as phonemic transcription is concerned, this can be solved by using brackets which indicate the possibility of rhotic /r/ - e.g., /flɤə(r)/, *floor*; /bə:(r)nt/, *burnt*. The vowel qualities used in these broad transcriptions apply to both rhotic and non-rhotic speech, though it should be noted that the vowel quantity in rhotic speech may be somewhat shorter than non-rhotic; specific examples containing rhotic / non-rhotic realisations will be transcribed exactly (i.e. narrowly).

Initial - e.g., /ragz/, *rags*; /rɛd/, *red*; /riːt/, *right*; /roːd/, *road*; /rʊŋg/, *rung*.

Medial – rhotic speakers have a greater environmental distribution of medial /r/ than those who are non-rhotic - in the case of the latter, medial /r/ occurs in intervocalic and post-consonantal positions only – i.e. in consonant clusters, e.g., [bɹɪŋg], *bring*; [dɹʊŋk], *drunk* (p. t.); [tɹiː], *tree* etc.

Examples of intervocalic medial /r/ (all speakers): [bɛɹɪ], *berry*; [fɒɹədz], *forwards* /ʊɹɪ/, *hurry*; /sɒɹɪ/, *sorry*; /vɛɹɪ/, *very*.

In addition to /r/ in intervocalic position, [ɹ] (and sometimes [ɾ],) occur as allophones of /t/ in a highly limited number of present participles – e.g., [gɛɹɪn], *getting*; [pʊɾɪn], *putting*. These allophones also occur in certain other verbal forms when final /t/ is followed by an initial vowel, e.g., [gɛɹ ɪt], *get it*; [lɛɹ ɪm ɪn], *let him in*; [ä nɛvə gɒɹ itʰ], *I never got it* (*I didn't get it*); [pʊɾ ɪtʔ bak], *put it back*; and a limited number of other lexical items in the same environment (i.e. /t/ + V) – e.g., [:d ə kɹapʰ], *What a load of crap!*

Examples of pre-consonantal /ɹ/ (rhotic speakers only) – [bəˈd], *bird* [boˑəˈd], *board*; [bə:ˈmə], *Burma*; [də:ˈbɪʃə], *Derbyshire*; [əˑˈnd], *earned*; [ə:ˈz], *hers*;   [əˑˈnd], *earned*; [:ˈdəz], *orders*; [maˑˈʃ], *Marsh [Lane]* (place-name), [:ˈs], *horse*; [wəˑˈk], [θəˈstɪ], *thirsty*; *work*; [wəˑˈkəz], *workers*; [jə:ˈz], *years*.

Historical metathesis of /r/ is a feature of some of the dialects of the north-west midlands, including New Mills. Hence, metathetical /ɹ/, having assumed a post-consonantal position, is present in the speech of all traditional dialect speakers in forms such as [bɹɪd], *bird*, [99] whereas /r/ may only occur in the in the speech of rhotic speakers in modified forms – e.g., /bə:(r)d/. A similar situation is apparent with [kɹʊd] (cf. variant /kə:(r)d/), *curd* (RP/kɜ:d/), and [bɹʊnt], (variant /bə:(r)nt/), *burnt* (RP /bɜ:nt/). Conversely, the opposite is the case with [ʊndə(ɹ)d], *hundred* (cf. modified variant /ʊndɹəd/); /r/ may only occur in the speech of the rhotic speakers, although, in this case, it may be omitted by all speakers - i.e. [ʊndəd], e.g. [:tɪ fʊt], *two hundred and forty foot* – see immediately below.

There is a tendency for medial pre-consonantal /r/, in many monosyllabic words (or disyllables with a particle suffix) containing a historical short vowel + /r/ (e.g., ME /ɪ/ + /r/ and, particularly, /ʊ/ + /r/), not to be realised, by both those whose speech contains rhotic variants and those whose speech does not, the usual realisation consisting of a short central / centralised vowel only - e.g. [fəst], *first*; [wək] / [wəkɪn], *work / working*; [kʊsɪn], *cursing* (RP /fɜ:st/, /wɜ:k/, /kɜ:sɪŋ/ respectively). Similarly, medial pre-consonantal /r/ is also generally elided in unstressed syllables, particularly place-name elements, by all speakers – e.g., [blakbən], *Blackburn*; [stɒkpət] (cf. variant /stɒkpoə(r)t/), *Stockport*; [wʊdfəd], *Woodford*. Similarly, final post-vocalic /r/ (in final unstressed syllables) is generally absent amongst all speakers, particularly in those items ending in –*er* (both morpheme + suffix or single morpheme) e.g., [bɪggə], *bigger*; [wɛðə], *weather*. Conversely, before /n/ (in accented syllables), pre-consonantal /r/ is usually retained, even by those speakers who rarely articulate pre-consonantal /r/ - e.g., [bəˈnɪn], *burning*.

Medial intervocalic /r/ is often lengthened; in these instances, /r/ tends to be of a more retroflex quality than usual – e.g., [ə   ], *hurrying*; [wʊ   ], *worrying* - even amongst those speakers who are not rhotic.

Final – As is the case with the other instances of rhoticity, final (post-vocalic) /r/ only occurs randomly in the speech of some (older) speakers, in free variation with non-rhotic forms – see below for examples. Final post-vocalic /r/ may be of a more retroflex quality than initial /r/, generally [ ] but sometimes even more so than medial pre-consonantal /r/, particularly

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[99] In this example, it should be noted that the *brid* form occurred in all OE dialects, except Northumbrian (*bird*) – it is probable, therefore, that the modern variant quoted here is a direct survival of this earlier form.

before a pause or hesitation (i.e. [ɹ]), e.g., [ɒːˤ], *or…* . It may be significant, as far as the highly regressive nature of dialectal pre-consonantal and final /r/ is concerned, that final /r/ very rarely occurs as final syllabic /r/ (i.e. in unstressed syllables in items such as *father*, *water* etc); only two examples were recorded in the speech of one informant (F) - [ʊðəˤ], [ənʊðəˤ], *other* and *another* respectively. There is some evidence from New Mills itself which suggests that the process of erosion of rhotic /r/ begins with the vocalisation of /r/ in unstressed syllables; there are numerous examples of final /r/ (in unstressed syllables) in the tape-recorded speech of a local New Mills man (died 1988) who was born at the turn of the century; e.g., [faːðəˤ], *father*; [səˈkələˤ], *circular*; [ɹɪmɛmbəˤ], *remember* – see also below, p. 183; and Part 1, pp. 73-74.

As in RP and other non-rhotic varieties, final /r/ is retained before following vowels by all speakers (linking /r/). Nevertheless, dialectal final /r/ is sometimes lengthened before a following vowel, again being generally of a more retroflex quality than initial /r/ - i.e. [ɹ] or even (rare) [ɻ] - regardless of whether the speakers use rhotic variants or not – e.g., [əgoː], *a year ago*; [ɪə], *over here* [mɔːˤɻə lɛs], *more or less*; [   ], *Where abouts?* Unlike RP, final intrusive /r/ after /ɔː/ does not occur in the traditional dialect, whether the speakers use rhotic variants or not – e.g., [dɹɔː ɪt æʊt], *draw it out*; [pɔˑɪn mɪ], *[the dog kept] pawing me*. This is evidently not the case with the younger speakers – [dɹɒːɹɪn], *drawing* (n.); [sɒːɹ ɪm], *saw him* (cf. older speakers [sɔˑ ɪm]).

Examples of final /r/ - [dɛəˤ], *dare*; [fa ˤ], *far*; [foˑəˤ], *four*; [ïəˤ], *here*; [mɒːˤ], *more*; [moˑəˤ], *more*; [poˑəˤ], *pour*; [jɪəˤ], *year*.

Comparative Distribution

Dialectal /r/ corresponds to RP /r/ in initial and intervocalic position. Dialectal pre-consonantal and final (post-vocalic, pre-pausal) /r/ has been retained where it has been lost in RP and many other varieties of contemporary English. It must be noted, however, that this feature of the traditional dialect is highly regressive, occurring only (in free variation with non-rhotic variants) in the speech of some older speakers. RP intrusive /r/ following /ɔː/ does not occur in the traditional dialect.

Historical Development[100]

ModE initial /r/ is derived from OE /r/, OE voiceless /r/ in words such as *ring*, *roof* (< OE /hr/, /xr/; the fricatives being lost in the ME period), and OE /wr/ (in *wrap* etc.), the /w/ being lost by the seventeenth century.[101] Gimson describes the quality of OE and ME /r/ as probably being that of a trill or tap [102] (i.e. [r] or [ɾ]) and states that "its vibratory nature is described by writers of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries." [103] Gimson further states that in SE the quality of this vowel changed from a fricative to a frictionless approximant (i.e. [ɹ]) before vowels and in final position during the seventeenth century, and then in all positions. Further to this, the loss of pre-consonantal and final /r/ occurred in unaccented syllables first and was completed by the end of the eighteenth century – earlier in many of the regional dialects.[104]

More detailed research, however, points to the process and chronology of /r/ loss as being somewhat more complex than the development outlined by Gimson. Wyld used rhymes and spellings as evidence for considerably earlier (i.e. 15th century) loss of /r/ (in Essex and Suffolk) when it occurred before /s/ or /ʃ/, but also noted that these new /r/-less pronunciations were later ousted by another type, in which the /r/ was not lost until lengthening [of the preceding vowel] had taken place.[105] These two processes are responsible for the survival in ModE (SE) of doublets such as *bust* / *burst* and *cuss* / *curse*. Nevertheless, as Beal points out, these two processes of /r/ loss differ not only chronologically, but also on a distributional (linguistic / sociolinguistic) level; the early one (in which /r/ is assimilated to a following /s/ or /ʃ/) is "almost certainly confined to colloquial English", while the later change (in which /r/ is weakened / vocalised with compensatory lengthening of the preceding vowel) is of a "much more general nature and finds its way into 'correct' speech." [106] Bearing this in mind, Jespersen identified Jonson (1640) as the first grammarian to note the weakening of /r/ in medial and final (i.e. unstressed) positions, making a distinction

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[100] The historical development of /r/ is also discussed extensively above – see Part 1, 'Contemporary Sound Change', pp. 72-76.
[101] Gimson (1994), pp. 188 – 189.
[102] Ibid.
[103] Gimson (1994), p. 189.
[104] Ibid.
[105] Wyld, H. C., *A History of Modern Colloquial English*, Oxford, Basil Blackwell, 1936, pp. 298-299.
[106] Beal (1999), op. cit, p. 165.

between a strong /r/ in initial position and a weak /r/ in medial and final positions.[107] However, Beal points out that such a distinction (i.e. between 'strong' and 'weak' /r/) is "more widely commented on in the eighteenth century."[108] It is also pointed out that it is Walker's remarks (1791) which first suggest that /r/ in London speech had reached the stage that may be observed in ModE (SE) today – i.e. [ɹ] in initial and intervocalic positions, but fully vocalised in preconsonantal and final positions.[109] The stages previously outlined indicate the process by which /r/ was lost in these environments; initially, the weakening of medial and final /r/ resulted in a change from a consonant type fricative / trill ([r]) to a continuant (i.e. [ɹ]). This process involved a move towards the vocalic end of what Jones calls the "sonority hierarchy."[110] Further weakening (final /r/ [particularly] often occurs in unstressed syllables), would inevitably result in complete vocalisation.

 The rather complex nature of the development of /r/ in SE is complicated somewhat further when applied to English dialects. Due to the fact that orthographic representation did not (and still does not) account for a specific type of /r/, it is impossible to determine the precise quality of pre-consonantal and final /r/ in the north-west midlands during the OE, ME and eModE periods. While the evidence outlined above (i.e. relating to SE) may provide some indication as to the possible development of /r/ in other dialects, it remains conjecture; it is probable, judging from contemporary dialectal evidence, that the precise quality of /r/ differed on a regional level. In addition to its vibratory nature, Gimson states that /r/ "had for some time exerted an influence on the preceding vowel and an /ə/ resonance is identified in the sixteenth century." [111] This suggests the presence of a centralised vowel which typically occurs before the post-alveolar approximant /ɹ/ or retroflex approximant /ɻ/. Orthographic representation suggests that such a vowel was present before /r/ (so-called 'breaking') in certain regional dialects (i.e. West Saxon) as early as the OE period – e.g., *weorc* (cf. OA

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[107] Jespersen assumes that this strong /r/ equates to a 'trilled point' (i.e. [r]), and the weak /r/ equates to a sound 'now given to *r* before a vowel in southern English' (i.e. [ɹ]) - see Jespersen (1909), op. cit, p. 318.
[108] Beal (1999), p. 163.
[109] Beal (1999), p. 164.
[110] Jones, Charles (ed.), *Sylvester Douglas: A Treatise on the Provincial Dialect of Scotland (1779)*, Edinburgh, Edingburgh University Press, 1991, p. 6.
[111] Gimson (1994), p. 189.

[Northumbrian], where spellings such as *werc* probably signify that breaking did not take place, suggesting a difference in articulation).[112]

Thus, such differences possibly indicate that the quality of /r/ differed on a regional level from the OE period onwards. While it is not possible, therefore, to determine the precise nature of /r/ in the north-west midlands during the OE and ME periods, it is reasonable to suppose that /r/ had assumed / maintained an [ɻ] quality in pre-consonantal and final position during the eModE period. Whether or not the more retroflex nature of [ɻ] (in medial / final position) prevented complete vocalisation is, presently, conjecture; nevertheless, preconsonantal and post-vocalic final /r/ has remained in those dialects where a more retroflex /r/ occurs in these positions. Judging by contemporary evidence from many of the dialects of the north-west midlands, it is probable that the quality of pre-consonantal and final /r/ became slightly less retroflex during the latter part of the eModE / early part of the ModE periods (towards [   ]), and that pre-consonantal and final /r/ began to be lost first in unaccented syllables during the modern period. It is also evident that similar change to that which has already occurred in SE and many other regional varieties of English is underway, and that the contemporary period is witnessing the loss of /r/ in such positions in the dialect of New Mills.

Contemporary development in apparent time: realisations according to age-group

Context	ME	SE	Traditional nwDer/neCh	**Contemporary New Mills**			
				Old	*Mid*	*Adult*	*Teen*
Medial pre-con.	/r/	/∅/	/r/ ([ɹ], [ɻ]?)	[ʋ ˡ], [∅]	[∅], ([ʋ ˡ])	[∅]	[∅]
Medial (meta.) e.g., *brid*	V + /r/ /r/ + V	V +[∅]	/r/ + V	[ɹ] + /V/, V + [∅], [ʋ ˡ]	[ɹ] + /V/, V + [∅] [ʋ ˡ]	V + [∅], [ɹ] + /V/	V + [∅]
Final (n. s.) p.p.	/r/	[∅]	/r/ ([ɹ], [ɻ]?)	[ʋ ˡ] [ʋ ˡ], [∅]	[∅]	[∅]	[∅]
Final i.v. 'linking'	/r/	/r/	/r/	[ʋ ˡ ɹ], [ɹ], [ɹ]	[ʋ ˡ ɹ], [ɹ], [ɹ]	[ɹ], [ɹ], [ʋ ˡ ɹ]	[ɹ], [ɹ], [ɹ]

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[112] Further evidence of this is provided by the modern Scots dialects (descended from Old Northumbrian), which have [r] in pre-consonantal position and where the vowels in words such as *bird*, *earth*, *fern* and *purse* have not become centralised – i.e. /ə/.

continued							
	ME	RP	Traditional nwDer/neC	*Old*	*Mid*	*Adult*	*Teen*
Final 'intrusive' after /ɔː/	[∅]	/r/	[∅]	[∅]	[∅]	[∅], [ɹ]	[ɹ]

Abbreviations: i. v. – intervocalic; meta. – methathesis; pre-con. – pre-consonantal; p.p. – pre-pausal; n. s. – non-syllabic.

Contemporary Linguistic Change

It is apparent that there are considerable apparent-time differences in the realisations of /r/ in certain restricted environments – i.e. in pre-consonantal and final pre-pausal positions: pre-consonantal /r/ (realised as an r-coloured vowel) occurs amongst some of the older and middle-age speakers only; final pre-pausal /r/ in monosyllables (final pre-pausal syllabic /r/ was not recorded), also realised as r-coloured vocalic elements, is only present in the speech of some of the oldest informants, being noticeably absent in all other age-groups. It should be noted, however, that as rhotic variants usually consist of a 'coloured' vocalic element only, in addition to the fact that (in the speech of rhotic informants) rhotic variants occur alongside non-rhotic variants, a more accurate classification for 'rhotic' speakers in New Mills would be semi-rhotic. Final intervocalic ('linking' /r/) occurs in all age-groups and is often lengthened – i.e. [vˈɹ] – even amongst non-rhotic speakers, though geminated variants of this type are generally absent in the speech of the teenagers. These differences are evidence of /r/ loss in specific environments, resulting in change to the traditional dialect from a rhotic to a largely non-rhotic variety.

As stated above, the factors behind this development are complex, though it is evident that this same process has already affected, and continues to affect, dialects throughout England. A popular theory, generally held by present-day linguists – particularly sociolinguists and modern variationists – is that the process of /r/ erosion in rhotic dialects is due to the influence exerted by SE or modified varieties thereof, where the process of /r/ loss has already been completed. Wells, who is fairly typical in this respect, states that "non-rhoticity is the prestige norm in England and Wales", with the result that "middle-class accents and, increasingly, working–class accents of the traditionally rhotic areas of the west and north-west of England now tend to exhibit no more than variable rhoticity."[113] Such an assumption, however, fails to recognise the historical aspect of this development, and, in this

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[113] Wells, J. C. (1982a), p. 220.

instance at least, it will be demonstrated that not only are the historical and contemporary processes inextricably linked, but that the modern phenomenon is merely a continuation of the historical process.

It is apparent that the process leading to the loss of rhotic /r/ was initiated during the early part of the eModE period and affected many varieties, including SE. Gimson states:

By the seventeenth century it is probable... that the approximant [ɹ] occurred, with or without friction, finally and before consonants. The change from a fricative to a non-fricative [ɹ], then to [ə], and finally to disappearance or merging with a preceding vowel in post-vocalic positions is a natural sequence. Its loss in post-vocalic positions in educated speech of the south-east of England is likely to have taken place by the end of the eighteenth century – considerably earlier in unaccented syllables and generally in popular speech. As has been stated above, total loss of earlier post-vocalic /r/ is restricted regionally even today.[114]

From the above, several observations may be made: firstly, /r/ loss consisted of a phonetic process, whereby, initially, the quality of rhotic /r/ changed leading to eventual disappearance (i.e. from an articulation with a fricative quality to a vocalic element – see also 'Historical Development', above), and that this loss, involving vocalisation, made incremental progress in specific environments; first in unstressed syllables and then to final and pre-consonantal positions. This development had an irregular spatial and temporal distribution – some varieties were affected in the early eModE period, other dialects were initially unaffected while some others remain so; the rate at which the process operated / operates evidently differs on a geographical level. Thus, the process of rhotic /r/ loss in many contemporary varieties (including SE) has been completed, in others evidence suggests that rhotic /r/ has become highly regressive, while some are still strongly rhotic. This is reflected in the contemporary geographical distribution of rhotic, semi-rhotic and non-rhotic varieties – non-rhotic dialects are present mainly in the south-east, east and north of England (excluding rural Northumberland, where a uvular fricative of the type [ʁ] may occur in final and preconsonantal positions), while rhotic dialects generally occur in the south-west, west and north-west midlands. In many of the traditional dialects in Yorkshire, /r/ loss has generally been completed, resulting in many non-rhotic varieties (except some coastal areas of north Yorkshire). Thus, in Yorkshire, at any rate, /r/ loss occurred as part of the wide-ranging phonological process just mentioned (which affected, and continues to affect, many varieties of English), not on account of any exogenic influence from SE or modified varieties thereof.

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[114] Gimson (1994), p. 189.

Why this process affected eastern dialects earlier and with greater speed than western dialects (which have evidently remained more resistant to /r/ erosion) is unclear. Whatever the factors behind this are, it may be amply demonstrated by the situation in Derbyshire. Hallam (1896) stated that in Whittington (north-east Derbyshire), in the north-east midlands dialect area, "it seems very probable, from Dr. Pegge's orthography, that this same sound was very generally used before consonants and in final position in his days [the latter part of the eighteenth century]; but in the present day 'r' is somewhat frequently silent in these two positions." [115] From this, it may be ascertained that rhotic /r/ loss occurred over a hundred years or so ago, from the latter part of the eighteenth century until the late nineteenth century, and that by the end of the nineteenth century it was all but completed. This is in obvious contrast to some of the dialects in the north-west of Derbyshire, which have remained at least partially rhotic until the present day.

If the theories behind the phonetic development of /r/ loss (discussed above) are accepted, then rhoticity in the dialect of New Mills is displaying characteristics which demonstrate that the process of /r/ loss is underway, and has been underway, for a significant time: this has resulted in the disappearance of final syllabic /r/ and /r/ in unstressed syllables. Additionally, the phonetic quality of rhotic /r/ in the environments where it still occurs - a slightly retroflex vocalic coloured element, i.e. [ʋˈ] – displays partial vocalisation, and it reasonable to assume from this that it will eventually become fully vocalised and disappear; this is precisely what has happened to rhotic /r/ in final pre-pausal position, which occurs in the speech of some of the older informants but is generally absent in the speech of the middle-age informants. In pre-consonantal position, /r/ occurs mainly in the speech of the oldest speakers, but also minimally amongst some of the middle-age speakers. This suggests that rhotic /r/ loss in these environments (pre-pausal and preconsonantal) began to progress towards the end of the first half of the twentieth century, and that the development of rhotic /r/ loss in general was initiated sometime around the beginning of the twentieth century / latter part of the nineteenth century. Evidence for this is provided by the recording, in the 1980s, of a New Mills resident (now deceased) who was born at the beginning of the twentieth century. It is apparent from this data that the dialect was largely rhotic in the first part of the twentieth century. Nevertheless, certain features, such as the absence of pre-consonantal /r/ in unstressed syllables – e.g., [stɒkʔpət], *Stockport* (place-name) – and the partial elision of final pre-pausal syllabic /r/ - [watə˧], *water*; [dɔːtə˧], *daughter* (and examples above, p. 175);

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[115] Hallam (1896), op. cit., p. lxvii.

but [leːtə], *later*; [nɛvə], *never*; [ɹɪvə], *river*; [aɪjən mɒŋgə], *Iron Monger*; [kæ̈ɤd aˑˈbə], *Cold Harbour* (place-name) – demonstrate that /r/ loss had begun. From this, it is possible to postulate a chronology for the process of rhotic /r/ loss in New Mills – by the latter part of the first half of the twentieth century, the dialect had become semi-rhotic (as evidenced by the speech of some of the oldest informants), and by the middle part of the second half was largely non-rhotic. The instrumental change occurred in the middle of the twentieth century (as the process of /r/ loss in increasing environments continued) when the dialect progressed from partially rhotic to mainly, though not entirely, non-rhotic (as is evident in the difference between the old and middle-age groups); in this respect the middle age speakers were critical in this development. Significantly, the time-span of the erosion of rhotic /r/ in New Mills, in relation to the process (leading to the loss of rhotic /r/), that occurred in north-east Derbyshire - which progressed over roughly a hundred year period – compares well. Thus, it may be ascertained that the apparently speedy erosion of rhotic /r/ in contemporary New Mills – demonstrated by the data in this study - is not unduly fast, at least as far as the north midlands are concerned. It may be concluded, therefore, that the development of /r/ erosion in New Mills is probably not attributable to any influence exerted by SE, directly or indirectly. Additionally, the extent to which non-rhotic prestige (SE or modified varieties) or covert prestige (neighbouring urban) varieties have influenced the speed of contemporary change – i.e. by hastening the phonological process – is also open to debate; the evidence outlined above suggests that the process leading to /r/ loss progresses quickly and is completed in a relatively short time. It is probable, therefore, that the change from a rhotic to a non-rhotic variety in New Mills has occurred by mainly endogenic mechanisms, the same process which has affected many varieties of English over the last few hundred years.

/j/

/j/ is an unrounded palatal approximant. As /ɪ/ has an allophone [j] (see above, pp. 90-91), so, conversely, does /j/ have vocalic allophones approximating [ɪ]; these often operate in free variation in the same environment and / or context – e.g., [jʏːnɪən] and [jʏːnjən], *union*. Indeed, dialectal /j/ sometimes occurs where other north midland dialects have /ɪ/ + /ə/ (without initial /h/) and RP has /h/ + V – e.g., [jɛd], *head* (north-east midlands [ɪəd]; RP

[hɛd]). The occurrence of dialectal initial /j/ in this instance has arisen because of a change of stress from a falling diphthong ([ɪə]) to a rising one ([jɛ]).

Gimson states that, in RP, "/juː/ is retained after plosives, nasals, /f/, /v/, and /h/, and when /l/ is preceded by an accented vowel." [116] A similar situation exists in New Mills, with a few exceptions. The sequences of initial /t/ or /d/ + /j/ do not exist, these being realised as [ʧ], [ʤ] respectively – e.g., [ʧɤːzdɪ], *Tuesday*; [ʤɤːk], *duke*. Following a fortis velar plosive in unstressed syllables, /j/ is frequently elided according to a change in syllabic stress; such forms occur in free variation with forms with /j/ + V / long V – e.g., [pətɪkələ], [pətɪkjələ], *particular*; [vakəm], [vakjɤːm], *vaccum* (v.); [ɹɛpəteːʃən], [ɹɛpjɤ·teːʃən], *reputation*. Conversely, the dialect has /j/ after initial /k/, where SE and many other varieties do not (see also /k/, above, pp. 137-138) – e.g., [kjat], *cat*. /j/ after /l/ (preceded by a vowel in an accented syllable) is also apparently optional in some instances – e.g., [kəːlɤː], *curlew*. After initial /n/, /j/ is frequently omitted – e.g., [nɤː mɪlz], *New Mills*; [nɤːz], *news*; [nɤːt], *newt*. Similarly, in medial position, /j/ may also be omitted – e.g., [avənɤː], *avenue*. As initial /h/ does not occur in the dialect, either /j/ occurs initially (in those words corresponding to RP /hjuː/) – e.g., [jɤːʤ], *huge* (RP /hjuːʤ/) – or is omitted altogether – e.g., [ʧɛdl ɤːm], *Cheadle Hulme* (place-name).

According to Gimson, in RP "the sequence /h/ + /j/ [hç] [117] may coalesce into [ç]. Such a realisation entails oppositions between /j/, /h/ and /ç/, raising the possibility of phonemic status for [ç] – *you, who, hue*." [118] As /h/ is not a phoneme in the traditional dialect of New Mills, however, such a situation does not apply; *you, who, hue* would be realised as /jɤː/, /ɤː/ and /jɤː/ respectively.

Distribution

/j/ occurs initially and medially within the word:

Initial – e.g., [jaːd], *yard*; [jɛ], *yeah*; [jɛd], *head*; [jɪə], *year*; [jʊŋg], *young*.

Medial – medial /j/ occurs in those instances outlined immediately above – i.e., following plosives, nasals etc., and preceding /ɤː/ - e.g., [asjɤːmd], *assumed*; [aːgjɤː], *argue*; [kjɤ·ə],

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[116] Gimson (1994), p. 192.
[117] The allophone of /j/, following /h/, is a palatal fricative realisation of the type [ç].
[118] Gimson (1994), p. 192.

cure; [fɛbjɤ·ɛɹɪ], *February*; [fjɤ:], *few*; [kjɤ:], *queue*; [valjɤ:], *value*. Additionally, /j/ occurs in compounds such as [bʊɫjɛd], *bullhead (tadpole)*. In weakly stressed syllables following a consonant, /j/ + centralised vowel occurs in free variation with /ɪə/ - e.g., [jɤ:nɪən] and [jɤ:njən], *Union [Road]* (place-name) – see also /ɪə/, above, pp. 90-91. /j/ also operates (alongside variants with no /j/) as a glide between groups of vowels - [ïjə], [iʲə], *here* - or diphthongs and vowels – [faɪjə], *fire*; [a:ɪʲə], [a:ᶦjə], *higher*.

Final - although /j/ does not occur in final position, it does operate as a glide between words ending in a vowel and a following word with an initial vowel – e.g., [mï jatʰ], *my hat*; [maɪ ʲæɤs], *my house*; [ti: jɒf], *tee off* (v.).

Historical Development

ModE initial /j/ is derived from OE [j] (< palatal /ɡ/) in words such as *year* and *young* etc. ModE /j/ + /u:/ also developed from ME [ɪʊ], [ɛʊ] in words such as *few*, *hue* and *view* etc.

Contemporary development in apparent time: realisations according to age-group

	ME	RP	Traditional nwDer/neCh	**Contemporary New Mills**			
				Old	***Mid***	***Adult***	***Teen***
Initial *head*	/hɛ:/ (/hɛd/)	/h/	/j/ (/jɛd/)	[j], [∅]	[j], [∅]	[∅], [j]	[∅]
Medial (after [n]) *new* etc.	/ɪʊ/ /ɛʊ/	/j/	/j/ ?	[∅], [j]	[∅], [j]	[∅], [j]	[∅], [j]
Medial ppl, unst. *e.g., vacuum*	/ɪʊ/ /ɛʊ/	/ju:/	[∅]?	[∅], [j] + V	[∅], [j] + V	[j] + V [∅]	[j] + V

Abbreviations: ppl – post-plosive; unst –unstressed.

Contemporary Linguistic Change

Dialectal elision of /j/ after /n/ occurs in all age-groups. As far as New Mills is concerned (and other dialects of the north-west midlands, and elsewhere, where this occurs), this is evidently a continuation of a process that was already underway in many varieties – Gimson states that "earlier /ju:/ or /ɪʊ/sequences have regularly been reduced to /u:/ in PresE after /tʃ, ʤ, r/ and /l/ preceded by a consonant; /ju:/ is retained after plosives, nasals, /f/, /v/, and

/h/…"[119] In the case of New Mills, the process of elision of /j/ has spread to the environment of nasals, specifically /n/; one possible reason for this could be the presence of a fronted round vowel ([ʏː]), rather than the back vowel of RP and other varieties, which may make the glide redundant on account of the relatively small difference between the articulations. Whatever the factors concerning this development in the dialect of New Mills are, it is also the case that this process has developed further – i.e. to most other environments, including post plosive positions – in other varieties, such as those in East Anglia.

The main factor behind the stability of this feature – i.e. elision of /j/ after /n/ - in New Mills is likely to be because it is a relatively recent innovation. The same cannot be said, however, about the frequent elision of /j/ after plosives in unstressed syllables. This is a common feature in the older and middle age-groups, but is less frequent amongst adults, and is almost negligible in the speech of the teenagers. It must be assumed that SE, probably via the medium of education, and the promotion of 'correct' pronunciation, is responsible for the erosion of this dialectal feature.

For an analysis of dialectal initial /j/ in *head*, see /ɪə/, above, pp. 96-97.

/w/

/w/ is a lenis (voiced) bilabial-velar (i.e. a double synchronous articulation) approximant. On account of its labial articulation, lip-rounding accompanies the production of /w/, though the extent to which this occurs is influenced by the following vowel. As is the case with /j/ above, devoiced allophones occur after voiceless plosives (/t/, /k/). Similarly, /w/ also occurs initially and medially, as well as operating as a glide between vowels. Initial /w/ occurs in certain instances as the realisation of a rising diphthong – e.g., [wɒn], *one* – some examples of which do not occur in SE and many other dialects – [wɒm], *home* (north midlands [ʊəm]; RP /həʊm/); [wɒpᵊn], *open*.

Conversely, /w/ is omitted in several instances in word medial position where it occurs in SE – e.g., [bakədz] and [fɒɹədz], *backwards* and *forwards* – and in other dialectal contexts – e.g., [sʊmət], *something* [120] – as well as numerous instances of place-names – see directly below.

[119] Gimson (1994), p. 192.
[120] For an analysis of the dialectal lexical item *summat*, see 'Lexis', Part 1, pp. 236-237.

Distribution

/w/ occurs initially and medially within the word:

Initially – e.g., [watə], *water*; [wi:k], *week*; [wɛʃ], *wash*; [wɛt], *wet*; [wək], *work*; [wʊd], *wood*; [wʊnt] / [wʊnə], *wouldn't*. Initial /w/ occurs in certain instances as the realisation of a rising diphthong (see above, pp. 99-103). Dialectal initial /w/ also occurs in [wɪk], *quick*, *lively* (SE /kwɪk/).

Medially- /w/ occurs word medially (morphemic / non-morphemic) in [ɔ:we:z], [ɔ:wɪz], *always* (stressed / unstressed respectively); [əwe:], *away*; [əwɛə], *aware*; [laŋgwɪdʒ], *language*; [no:wɛə], *nowhere*. Additionally, /w/ occurs with variable prominence (as is the case with /j/, above) as a glide between vowels and diphthongs (in free variation with forms without a glide), frequently with the participle forms of certain common verbs – e.g., [goˑʷɪn], *going*; [dʏ:ʷɪn], *doing*; [fʏ:wʊɫ], *fool*; [skʏˑʷʊɫ], *school*; [ʃæʊwəz], *showers*.

Finally – as with /j/ (above), /w/ does not occur word finally, but it does operate as a glide between final vowels and following initial vowels - [go:ʷɪn], *go in* (imperative); [to:ʷɪm], *tow him [back]*.

Historical Development

ModE initial /w/ is derived from OE /w/ in words such as *way* and *word*, and from ME /w/ (< Old north. Fr) in words such as *wage* and *war*. An earlier /w/ in words such as *so* and *two* was lost in most varieties of English, including the north-west midlands, during the ME / eModE periods. Similarly, the loss of /w/ in the unstressed final syllables of place-name elements also occurred during the ME /eModE periods, though it appears to be somewhat more extensive in some of the dialects of the north-west midlands – e.g., north-west Derbyshire / north-east Cheshire /bɹadə/, *Bradwell*; /tɪdzə/, *Tideswell*.

The development of initial /wɒ/, in words such as *one*, *home* and *open*, in the north-west midlands is discussed above - see /ʊə/, above, pp. 99-101.

Contemporary development in apparent time: realisations according to age-group

	ME	RP	Traditional nwDer/neCh	Contemporary New Mills			
				Old	*Mid*	*Adult*	*Teen*
Initial *home, open* etc.	/hɔː/ /ɔ:/	/həʊ/ /əʊ/	/wɒ/ /wɒ/	[wɒ], [oː]	[wɒ], [oː]	[oʊ], [oː] [wɒ]	[oʊ], [oː]
Medial *backwards forwards*	/w/	/w/	[∅]	[∅], [w]	[∅], [w]	[w], [∅]	[w]
Medial *summit* (something)			[∅]	[∅]	[∅]	[∅]	[∅]

Contemporary Linguistic Change

The same situation is apparent concerning the elision of medial /w/, in words such as *backwards* and *forwards*, as that with the elision of /j/ in unstressed syllables – see above, p. 185 - i.e. elision occurs generally in the speech of the old and middle-age informants, though it is almost absent in the speech of the teenagers. It is apparent that /w/-less forms are an established feature of the traditional dialect; however, it is equally evident that they are often stigmatised. It is probable, therefore, that the erosion of this dialect feature is due to the influence of SE and ideas of 'correctness' that are promoted in the education system. Indeed, some of the teenage informants stated as much, by implying that /w/-less forms were not correct ("they [these words] are spelt with a *w*"). The same perceptions, however, do not exist with dialectal *summit*, which is ubiquitous amongst all speakers. This dialect feature, which is very common throughout the north midlands and the north, has descended from a form with /w/, which has subsequently become assimilated to the preceding labial (see Part 1, pp. 236-237). There are two factors which are more than likely responsible for the stability of *summit*: firstly, dialect speakers are obviously not aware that a /w/ ever existed within this word, as this lexical item no longer exists in SE - it is merely seen as a word that corresponds in meaning to SE *something*; secondly, as already stated, this lexical item exists in many dialects (both urban and rural) throughout the north and north midlands and is thus considered to be a regional (i.e. 'northern') marker rather than a localised feature – as such, regional features are evidently more stable than highly localised forms.

For an analysis regarding the development of initial /w/ in words such as *home* and *open*, see above, pp. 99-103.

/h/

/h/ is not a phoneme in the dialect of New Mills. Nevertheless, initial /h/ does occur very infrequently and sporadically, for purposes of emphasis and / or in certain situationally conditioned (i.e. formal) circumstances. The non-phonemic status of /h/ has been observed elsewhere in the north-west midlands, at Bolton (Greater Manchester, formerly south Lancashire), [121] and at nearby Stockport.[122] Phonological factors behind the apparent loss of /h/ in many English dialects, such as system internal pressure, have been forwarded as the main cause for this development.[123] Wells outlines three possible types of 'h dropping', the third type involving a combination of the former two – i.e. h-less forms are the norm with occasional occurrences of /h/, so that *hedge* and *edge* are often /ɛʤ/ but in rare instances /hɛʤ/; h-less forms occur as an optional zero realisation, so that only *hedge* may be realised as /hɛʤ/, but both may be realised as /ɛʤ/.[124] Wells also acknowledges the apparent correlation between /h/ dropping and social factors. [125] Whatever the case may be, it is evident that this phenomenon is also geographically distributed – some of the traditional dialects of the north, specifically those in Northumbria, have retained initial /h/. It is also evident that this phenomenon is long established and still ongoing with varying rates of progress - in some dialects, such as those of the north-west midlands, the loss of initial /h/ is complete.[126]

As far as SE is concerned, /h/ loss is only partial, due to the rise of SE as a prestige variety, with its accompanying connotations of social status, education and subsequent ideas of 'correctness'. These ideas of 'correctness' inevitably centred around orthographic representation, [127] and it is perhaps ironic that the retention (and sometimes re-introduction) of initial /h/ were based on an essentially lME spelling system that did not reflect current pronunciation. It is certainly debatable that had spelling not been judged to be the determiner for pronunciation, /h/ loss in SE would also have been completed, as, indeed, is the case with

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[121] See Shorrocks (1998), pp. 401-402
[122] See Lodge (1966), p. 28.
[123] Sampson, G., *School of Linguistics: Competition and Evolution,* London, Hutchinson University Library, 1980, p. 113.
[124] Wells (1982a), pp. 253-254.
[125] Ibid.
[126] This phenomenon is observable in other European languages – in French, for example, despite the orthographic representation, the process involving the loss of initial /h/ has run to completion.
[127] It was Samuel Johnson (mid 18th century) who first suggested that pronunciation should deviate from the spelling as little as possible; it was during the second half of the eighteenth century that /h/ - dropping became overtly stigmatised – it was Sheridan who first recorded /h/ dropping in "terms which reveal a negative sensitization to its use" – see Mugglestone, L., *Talking Proper*, Oxford, Clarendon Press, 1995, p. 39.

French. The current social class distribution in England – i.e. /h/ less forms mainly occur amongst those speakers who are mostly likely to speak regional dialect, while realisations with initial /h/ occur mostly in the speech of those of the middle and upper classes (those who speak RP and modified varieties thereof) – appears to have had little effect on h-less forms in regional dialects. Indeed, judging by the data from this and the other studies in the north-west midlands, the opposite case may be argued - /h/ less forms are ubiquitous amongst all speakers, regardless of age, including those in New Mills (for a detailed analysis of the historical process involving loss of initial /h/, see above, Part 1, 'Contemporary Sound Change', pp. 81-85).

Suprasegmentals

Differences between the traditional dialect of New Mills and SE, concerning syllabic stress and subsequent vocalic realisations, have been noted above – see pp. 34-35, 59-65. There appears to be significant dialectal variation on a suprasegmental level, but this still remains an area which is largely ignored by dialectologists and other variationists, and, indeed, by linguists in general. As far as the present investigation is concerned, such research would be beyond the scope and limitations of this study, and, as such, any comments on suprasegmental variation are at best, wholly basic and superficial. Nevertheless, a couple of observations may be made on some of the more important aspects. On the level of word stress, some differences exist between SE and the dialect of New Mills – in SE, the weak form of auxiliaries generally occur in initial and medial position, but this is clearly not the case in New Mills - SE /kən juː/ and dialectal /kan jə/, *Can you?* (cf. dialectal [ï sɛd tə miː aɪ kᵊn dɤː ɪt], *He said to me [that] I can do it*). Other differences exist on a phono-syntactic level (clause positional realisations). Gimson states that "*to, from, at, for,* apart from having a strong form when receiving a primary accent, also have a qualitative prominence when final and unaccented… /tuː/ " etc.[128] Dialectal realisations consist of both strong and weak forms in this position, as evidenced by the realisations of the infinitive particle *to* in the following examples – [aːɪ jad tə], *I had to*; [ä dɪnt wɒn tɤː], *I didn't want to*.

On the level of utterance intonation, there have been no changes to the usual intonation patterns, particularly those which occur in declarative and interrogative statements – i.e. rising only occurs in the instance of interrogatives. The recent innovation consisting of rising

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[128] Gimson (1994), p. 229.

or high level patterns at the end of declarative statements, which have been observed in other varieties in England, has not affected New Mills.

Summary and Conclusion

As far as the description of a single dialect is concerned, the very nature of the analysis (i.e. purely descriptive and non-comparative) is such that a 'conclusion' may not readily be drawn; moreover, it can be argued that a conclusion in this type of investigation is unnecessary on the grounds that all relevant analysis has already been undertaken. However, as far as the description of the traditional dialect of New Mills is concerned, several important points, with respect to some aspects of theory and methodology, are worthy of comment. Foremost amongst these is the variability, on a dialectal level, that may be encountered amongst speakers of the traditional dialect (predominantly the older members of the community). The data demonstrates that these speakers generally use two or more variants (consisting of traditional dialect and modified varieties thereof), the use of a specific variant being determined by extra-linguistic factors such as situation, formality and environment. It can be argued that the presence of two or more variants within the speech of the older speakers may merely demonstrate variability within a system, rather than the existence of two or more systems. The context in which these variants occur (i.e. according to the formality of the situation), and the fact that such variants have not been recorded before in any of the studies of traditional dialect [1] previously undertaken within the dialect area defined by Ellis,[2] suggest that these constitute speech that has been modified towards a regional standard. Whether these variants represent separate co-existent systems, or whether they are merely variables, such variation (within a single variety) has been frequently encountered and remarked upon before; as early as 1905, Wright observed and commented on this type of variation in a Westmoreland village:

A man said to me: [ðə roːdz ə dɜːtɪ], *and I said to him*: [ðʊənt jə seː ʊp ɪər ət t rɪadz əz mʊkɪ]? *With a bright smile on his face he replied* [wɪ dɪʊ], *and forthwith he began to speak the dialect in its pure form.*[3] (IPA amended)

Ruoff (1973) labelled this phenomenon as 'bidialectalism' or 'bilingualism'. In this respect, the evidence from the investigation in New Mills does not necessarily add credence to the structuralist model. What the evidence certainly suggests, however, is that several variants / strategies operate in the speech repertoire of speakers of the dialect. The data also suggests that these variants occur in the speech repertoire of speakers of all ages. While traditional

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[1] For example, *Pegge's Derbicisms* (19th century) and the *SED* (mid 20th century).
[2] Specifically north Midland D 21, encompassing north-west Derbyshire, north-east Cheshire and south-east Lancashire; this division is defined here according to the county divisions prior to the 1974 County Reformation Act (i.e. before the creation of the metropolitan county of Greater Manchester).
[3] Wright, Joseph (1905), op. cit, p. vii.

dialect variants tend to predominate in the speech of the older speakers, however, modified variants are dominant among the teenagers. Nevertheless, traditional dialect variants are not totally absent; these dialect features (e.g., /iː/ in *right*, SE /aɪ/) sometimes occur in a very informal and restricted environment (see following, pp. 193, 195). The apparently highly restricted nature of these traditional dialect variants in the speech of the teenagers led the researcher to label this type of use as 'covert repertoire'. The other side of the coin is that the 'overt' repertoire of the teenagers generally consists of modified variants. In this respect, the data demonstrates that more variants operate in the speech of the younger informants (particularly teenagers, but also adults) than the older speakers; these consist of the modified variants just mentioned (i.e. towards SE), some non-standard features of the nearby urban varieties of the Manchester conurbation, in addition to traditional dialect variants. The apparent variety within the speech repertoire of speakers of all ages may also shed some light on the phenomenon of age-grading. The data suggests that the use of a particular variant is subject to extra-linguistic considerations (see also p. 202), and that such considerations / factors also exhibit a set pattern of age variation; if this is so, then a particular variant may become prominent or rejected during a particular phase of the life cycle of a speaker – e.g., the covert repertoire of a teenager may become the overt repertoire of the same speaker in middle / old age.

Such variation also raises other important linguistic issues. On a descriptive and / or analytical level, questions arise in relation to the validity of data: as traditional dialect is usually spoken in the most informal and / or natural situations, or in an intimate environment, can data that is elicited in relatively formal circumstances be considered to represent the *natural* [4] speech of a locality? The answer to this depends largely on fieldwork technique. Extensive fieldwork was undertaken in the present investigation. 'Natural' speech was relatively easy to elicit from the older informants, usually by eliminating as far as possible the formality associated with the 'Observer's Paradox'. Nevertheless, some features of the traditional dialect [5] were only observed in the most informal of situations (i.e. during an unplanned meeting, and thus being one in which no recording equipment was present), while other features were only noted when no formal tape-recording was in operation. With

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[4] This may be defined as speech that occurs in everyday situations within a community (outside of that in which formality may be encountered, such as at work etc.) – i.e. amongst friends or acquaintances when socialising, or in other intimate and highly informal situations, such as within a family / the home. It may be assumed that speech produced in such circumstances will be relatively unconscious, and thus be considered *natural*- see also 'Methodology', above, pp. 104-109.

[5] For example, dialectal /wɒ/ in *open* (modified /oː/).

regard to the youngest informants, this type of data was even more difficult to obtain. Indeed, data that indicated the existence of alternative variants within the speech repertoire of the teenagers was highly restricted, and was only collected in the most informal of situations and environment (i.e. at the informant's home, during an unplanned, coincidental meeting in which the researcher was a third party, and in which no recording equipment was present.) This type of data not only demonstrates the value of extensive fieldwork operations, in which the researcher makes many repeated visits, but also raises some important issues. While it is obviously not always practicable, or even possible, for such extensive research to be undertaken generally, the end result (i.e. highly natural data) strongly suggests that extensive fieldwork should be considered where this is possible. Indeed, Labov has commented on the importance of this type of observation. During research into a particular grammatical feature of a dialect, it was noted that extended observation yielded significant results:

The fourth test was extended observation, which showed that a remarkable number of the residual cases eventually betrayed their knowledge of the rule through spontaneous use.[6]

The qualitative framework of the investigation certainly facilitates this type of fieldwork; it is not necessary to elicit 'natural' speech (i.e. highly informal) from the informants, rather to ensure that it is merely observed and noted.

Moreover, the data collected using this approach brings into question the type of data that is elicited in studies where one-off recordings are made. Many modern quantitative sociolinguistic studies have utilised fieldwork methodologies and data gathering techniques - such as word-lists etc., on account of the need to elicit a required number of variables in a short space of time - that not only engender a high degree of formality, but also are highly unnatural, as far as speech is concerned.[7] In one such study, conducted by Trudgill (1974), a considerable number of informants were interviewed in a little over three weeks.[8] In such an environment, as Shorrocks has pointed out, "the most residual speech will not be recorded after any consistent fashion, if at all." [9] It is perhaps for this reason that a considerable number of contemporary studies have concluded that traditional dialects are being eroded and there is a general tendency towards dialect levelling, the resultant varieties being regional in character rather than tending towards SE. This levelling may indeed be observed in the modified systems / variants used by traditional dialect speakers in New Mills.

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[6] Labov, William, *What is a Linguistic Fact?*, Lisse, Peter de Ridder Press, 1975, p. 57.
[7] These issues are discussed fully in the 'Methodology' section, above.
[8] Trudgill (1974), p. 26.
[9] Shorrocks (1998), p. 43.

Nevertheless, the existence of several systems and / or variants within the speech repertoire of traditional dialect speakers, revealed by the fieldwork in this investigation, may be ultimately responsible for the survival of traditional dialect within a speech community.

The second objective of this investigation was to gauge change to the traditional dialect by means of an age-based comparison. This entailed analysing the speech of informants in various age groups; any difference between the data of informants in the oldest age-group and those in subsequent age groups was indicative of change in 'apparent time'. While modified regional varieties also occurred within the speech of the younger informants, the apparent-time data largely suggested that some of the features of the traditional dialect present in the speech of the older informants (noted above) were absent. As any conclusions that may be drawn solely relate to change in apparent time, it is appropriate first to make some comments regarding the effectiveness, or otherwise, of an apparent-time framework, and subsequent issues regarding the validity of the resultant data. Some contemporary sociolinguists have remarked upon the "value of apparent time studies" for revealing sudden change in progress,[10] but in reality an apparent-time framework, on account of the constraints imposed by time and other factors in real-time studies, is the only feasible option for analysing linguistic change in many instances.

As far as the investigation in New Mills is concerned, no option existed; as no previous linguistic studies have been undertaken in New Mills, in addition to the time constraints imposed by an academic study, the adoption of a methodology utilising an apparent-time framework was the only means by which to gauge change in progress. However, several drawbacks, in relation to linguistic change, are evident with this type of framework. Foremost amongst these are the fact that apparent-time studies do not necessarily indicate linguistic change in progress; while age-based differences may indeed signify linguistic change, the only types of change that apparent-time data represents with certainty are either age-grading or generational change.[11] Furthermore, there is no way to distinguish if the change being observed is one or other of these.

In order to confirm whether apparent-time data is indicative of linguistic change in progress, it is necessary to corroborate this data with real-time data. However, the relevant dearth of completed real-time studies means that any resolutions to the questions raised by apparent-time studies are not readily forthcoming. Two different methods of obtaining real-time data are available – 'panel' and 'trend'. A panel study (using data elicited from the same

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[10] Llamas (2004), op. cit, p. 144
[11] See Labov (1994), op. cit, p. 84.

informants at two different points in time) will indicate whether a variable is subject to age-grading. It will, however, not provide definitive evidence for linguistic change within the wider community (so-called 'communal change') as panel studies focus on the linguistic behaviour of the same (limited number) of individuals over a period of time. In order to confirm whether a linguistic change is widespread throughout a community, it is necessary to conduct a trend study, where data is drawn from a population sample at different points in time. As few of these types of study have been undertaken, there is little corroborating evidence to confirm or otherwise the validity of apparent-time data, though some evidence has emerged that partially sheds light on the problem as to whether age-based variation in apparent-time investigations signify age-grading or linguistic change in progress. The overwhelming dominance of apparent-time studies has resulted in a wealth of hypothetical solutions to this problem. Hickey, as part of his 'ebb and flow' theory, argues that age-graded changes are "rare, if non-existent" on the grounds that "it is difficult to imagine a feature…which repeats itself for all members of a certain age-group perpetually." [12] However, this ignores the fact that such a feature may be ephemeral and last for only a few generations; one age-graded feature at a specific point in time may be replaced by another variable at a later chronological point. Moreover, although to date no panel studies have provided categorical evidence of changes to an individual's speech during their lives, several real-time trend studies are indicative of age-grading: Fowler's re-study (1986) of Labov's New York investigation (1962) and Cedergren's re-study of Panama (1969-71 and 1983) both provide definitive evidence of age-grading. Furthermore, other studies of individuals have demonstrated that the speech of teenagers undergoes a process of 'acculturation', whereby older teenagers' speech progressively conforms to the speech of their parents with the passage of time. [13] There is some evidence to suggest that a similar type of situation exists in New Mills. [14] As this group is the primary focus in relation to linguistic change in New Mills, evidence for age-grading from real-time studies elsewhere is of obvious relevance and significance. At the other end of the age-scale, some evidence [15] has been put forward to suggest that, although older people's speech remains relatively stable, they may be

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[12] Hickey (2002), p. 114.

[13] Labov, W., 'Stages in the acquisition of Standard English', in Shuy, R. (ed), *Social Dialects and Language Learning*, Champaign Illinois, National Council of Teachers of English, 1964.

[14] This type of change has recently been observed in at least two of the informants (the other two teenage informants have now moved away from the locality). These informants, now in their 20s, have lost some of the features, such as the realisation of intervocalic /t/ as [ʔ], that were present in their speech when fieldwork was first undertaken in 1997 and 1998.

[15] See Labov (1994), pp. 101 – 107.

"influenced by changes around them",[16] although the changes "can more likely be viewed as borrowing than overall shifts." [17] As far as New Mills is concerned, there is no evidence to indicate that the speech of the youngest generation has influenced the older speakers, whether the innovation apparent in the younger informants has been influenced by SE / modified standard, regional or covert prestige varieties.

On the other hand, there is some evidence that could suggest that apparent-time change is indicative of change in real time. One grammatical study that focused on two variables used both apparent-time and real-time data. In one instance (relative markers), the correspondence between both sets of data was such that Beal and Corrigan advanced the view that "the same picture will emerge irrespective of the methodology you choose, which is particularly reassuring given the reliance in urban dialectology on the apparent-time method." [18] However, as the results concerning the other variable (subject-verb concord) were "somewhat less conclusive" in this respect, it was finally concluded that "while the apparent-time model is basically sound…the basic method for the study of linguistic change in progress should be a combination of observations in apparent time and real time with insights from timeline analyses contributing to the overall picture." [19]

With respect to linguistic change, therefore, the analyses and summary of the New Mills data discussed below, and, indeed, any other study that utilises an apparent-time methodology, should be viewed and considered within the constraints and possible weaknesses of an apparent-time approach (outlined above). It is not possible to disentangle or even distinguish linguistic change in progress from what may simply be age-grading or generational change, without corroboration from real-time studies. In this respect, any apparent-time investigation is subject to a 'linguistic change paradox': the only way to confirm linguistic change in progress indicated by an apparent-time study is to undertake a real-time investigation, which obviates the need for the apparent-time study in the first place. Nevertheless, as an apparent-time methodology is often the only feasible approach, it will continue to provide the usual framework by which linguistic change is measured.

As far as the present investigation is concerned, several points may be made in relation to the possible anomalies (just mentioned) that may be engendered by apparent-time data. The significant changes indicated by data from the youngest informants do not necessarily

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[16] Labov (1994), p. 105.
[17] Labov (1994), p. 107.
[18] Beal, J. C., and Corrigan, K. P., *New Ways of Capturing the 'Kodak moment': Real-time vs. Apparent Time Analyses of Syntactic Variation in Tyneside English, 1969-1994*, paper delivered at the View Conference, Essex, 2000.
[19] Ibid.

indicate linguistic change in progress; it is only possible to conclude that any age-based differences contained in the data may only be indicative of age-grading / generational change, though such differences *could* indicate linguistic change in progress. This problem is merely exacerbated by the fact that a considerable number of variants and / or co-existent systems appear to operate in the speech of informants (see above). At best, therefore, it is only possible to define these changes as innovations which occur to some of the variants and / or in one (i.e. the dominant) [20] of the systems of the younger speakers, and changes which may or may not be abandoned by these speakers at some chronological point henceforth, and which may or may not be adopted by subsequent generations – considerations which may only be resolved by further investigation and / or a real-time study. It may be argued that parallel changes in other varieties provide some evidence that similar developments in New Mills are indicative of linguistic change in progress, but this is an assumption that only the passage of time will either corroborate or prove otherwise; after all, if all previous linguistic change had followed a similar course in all varieties, there would be little or no contemporary variation.

Phonological Change

The data from New Mills suggests that contemporary phonological change (in this locality at least) is overwhelmingly exogenic in nature. While it is not possible to ascertain with certainty whether historical developments were predominantly endogenic or exogenic (see Part1, pp. 66-68), it is possible, in retrospective analysis, to identify certain differences between historical change and that which is now occurring. It is evident that historical change resulted in significant and wide-ranging modification that sometimes led to the phonemic restructuring of a variety (e.g., the type of change that occurred during the 'Great Vowel Shift'). Moreover, it appears that externally motivated change is not only less extensive, but the type of modification (affecting a single segment, often allophonic)[21] has far less impact upon the sound system of a particular variety; rather than affecting the phonemic structure of the dialect per se, such change has led to the development of a significant number of variants and / or co-existent systems. These modified system(s) are evidently dominant amongst (or favoured by) the younger speakers within the community.

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[20] This 'dominant' system may be defined as one which is used in everyday public situations (outside an intimate environment - i.e. home) and is referred to as 'overt repertoire' (c.f. 'covert repertoire') – see above, Part 2, pp. 12-13.

[21] That is, the effects of modification to a particular phone are restricted to that segment, rather than change being such that other phonemes are coincidentally affected.

 Nevertheless, the data suggests that instances of (at least partial) system internal change do occur. However, the nature of the development often means that it is not possible in some of these instances to determine the extent to which (if indeed there is any) external influences have also played a part in the process. An example of this type of endogenic change is the erosion and total loss of pre-consonantal and final (post-vocalic) /r/. The data amply demonstrates the progressive reduction of /r/ in these environments over the last fifty years or so. Nevertheless, the rather speedy nature of this development suggests the possibility that a modified prestige (or regional standard varieties) could have added further impetus to what was an essentially endogenic process. Evidence supporting a largely system internal process is provided by data from the middle age-group (where the erosion of /r/ is most noticeable), whose speech generally reflects the traditional dialect and is relatively conservative.

Other examples of this type of development have directly resulted from the erosion of /r/; specifically, it may be observed in some of the diphthongs (i.e. the dialectal reflexes of the ME long vowels + /r/). Both /ɤə/ and /oə/ occur as smoothed and lowered variants (i.e. as [:] etc.), by analogy with dialectal [:] (i.e. the reflex of eModE /ɒ/ + /r/), while, conversely, [:] (i.e. < eModE /ɒ/ + /r/) may be realised as a diphthong [oə], by analogy with the reflex of ME /ɔ:/ + /r/. It is also possible that these variants may represent a modified system influenced by SE, modified varieties thereof (but note that, in SE, the loss of /r/, in the environment of a back vowel, has resulted in a smoothed monophthong – i.e. /ɔ:/ - in all instances), or some other regional standard. Moreover, [:], in items such as *saw* and, particularly, *all*, may also be realised as a closer variant, apparently by analogy with the reflex of ME /ɔ:/. It is evident that this type of levelling is more extensive in the speech of the younger informants, indicating progressive change corresponding to the loss of /r/; / :/ (in *saw*) also appears to be part of this process, the result being that all the diphthongal variants (noted above) are usually realised as lowered variants of /ɔ:/. In addition, /ɛə/ is frequently realised as smoothed /ɛ:/. Again, it is not possible to determine the extent of exogenic influence with respect to this process. However, the existence of nasalised variants ([:], [:] etc.) in the speech of some of the younger informants suggests that covert prestige external varieties, such as those of urban Manchester, have played at least a partial role in this development.

With respect to exogenic influence upon processes that are intrinsically endogenic, the erosion of pre-consonantal / final /r/ within the dialect may be compared to the historical,

and relatively drawn out, process of /l/ vocalisation in the north midlands (ME / eModE periods).[22] On a dialectal level, it appears that these two endogenic processes are very similar, resulting in the almost total vocalisation of /r/ in most environments and the vocalisation of /l/ in some environments. However, contemporary exogenic influence from prestige varieties has had widely differing effects; whereas influence from SE / modified varieties may have aided the complete erosion of /r/, the influence of prestige varieties has led to the re-introduction of /l/ (in modified varieties of the dialect) in environments where it was formerly fully vocalised.

As far as exogenic change is concerned, the features of the traditional dialect which are affected by this type of development do not appear to conform to an established pattern. In this respect, it is necessary first to examine conventional theories concerning 'indicators' and 'markers', and then analyse these in relation to features of the traditional dialect which have undergone change. Foremost amongst these is the intervocalic glottalling of /t/ in the speech of the teenagers, realised as [t] or a geminated variant in the speech of the older informants. There is no doubt that this feature is subject to stylistic variation,[23] and thus should fall into the 'marker' category. However, it has been suggested that this feature was initially an 'indicator', being not only originally confined to lower social groups, but also a 'change from below' (i.e. below the level of consciousness).[24] However, evidence from the study in New Mills suggests that informants in whose speech this feature occurred were fully aware of its existence, and a decisive factor in its use was its occurrence in nearby urban varieties.[25] Other similar anomalies concern features that exhibit stability rather than change. The short vowels /a/ and /ʊ/ (in lexical items such as *bath* and *strut* respectively) do not demonstrate stylistic variation, and these should be categorised as 'indicators' rather than 'markers'. Nevertheless, awareness of the social (socio-economic status) and regional (i.e. "northern" as against southern / RP /ɑ:/, /ʌ/) connotations associated with these segments were readily

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[22] The historic and contemporary phenomenon of /l/ vocalisation in England is discussed fully above – see Part 1, pp. 76-80.

[23] The data produced by word-lists in the investigation in New Mills was not deemed suitable for the study, on the grounds that it was evidently highly formal; part of the evidence for this was provided by the persistent use of [t] in intervocalic position (by teenage informants), in contrast to the usual glotallised variants in free speech.

[24] Chambers and Trudgill (1980), pp. 87-88.

[25] The evidence suggests that the phenomenon of glottalisation of /t/ occurred in the urban varieties of the north and midlands before it did in London (see /t/, above, pp. 123-133; and Part 1, pp. 85-87). In the north midlands, it is possible that the glottalisation of /t/ was part of a process of general /t/ glotalling (pre-glotalling, glottal reinforcement) evident in many of the traditional dialects. This development evidently evolved more speedily in urban areas; the glotalling of /t/ in New Mills, as a similar extension of a process already in operation, cannot be ruled out therefore. Subsequently, it is possible that the development is both endogenic and exogenic in nature.

expressed by informants in all age groups; such public awareness reveals these features as being 'markers' of the dialect. Another regionally distributed feature /ɤ:/ (i.e. largely south Lancashire, north-east Cheshire, north-west Derbyshire) in items such as *boot* and *fruit* (SE /uː/), being without stylistic variation and largely below the level of awareness, and thus an indicator, also exhibits stability. However, in lexical items where the dialectal distribution of /ɤ:/ does not correspond to SE / modified or other regional varieties (i.e. dialectal /ɤ:/ in *book*, *look* etc., corresponding to SE /ʊ/), awareness of this phoneme greatly increases within the speech community, the result of which is that this feature becomes a 'marker' of the local dialect; in these instances, /ɤ:/ exhibits both stylistic and age-based variation, with the younger speakers tending to favour modified /ʊ/.

The examples above suggest that status as a marker or indicator is not the decisive factor in determining whether a particular phoneme is susceptible to change or not; rather, it is variables which are either localised and / or deemed to be 'traditional' (i.e. part of the traditional dialect, that being generally spoken by older people) that are undergoing change. Subsequently, such criteria also suggest that a degree of awareness is intrinsic in the process of change. In this respect, Milroy has put forward the view that "language ideologies" – previously defined by Silverstein (1979) as "sets of belief about language articulated by users as a rationalization or justification of perceived language structure or use",[26] and by Irvine as " the cultural system of ideas about social and linguistic relationships, together with their loading of moral and political interests" [27] - play an important role in linguistic change, and that subsequently members of speech communities may be viewed as "agents, rather than as automatons." [28]

The data also suggests that the direction of change is not necessarily towards the Standard. It is difficult in many instances to determine whether the influencing factor behind a particular development is a modified SE (regional Standard), modified dialect, widespread regional or supra-regional dialect feature; this is because in the vast majority of instances, change involves 'regional' levelling, where relatively localised features are replaced by wider regional variants, which may in themselves be non-standard. In New Mills, exogenic change

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[26] Silverstein, Michael, 'Language Structure and Linguistic Ideology', in Clyne, Paul R., and Hanks, William F. (eds), *The Elementary Para Session On Linguistic Units and Levels*, Chicago, Chicago Linguistics Society, 1979, p. 193.

[27] Irvine, Judith T., 'When Talk Isn't Cheap: Language and Political Economy', *American Ethnologist* 16, 1989, 255.

[28] Milroy, Lesley, 'Language Ideologies and Linguistic Change', in Fought, Carmen, *Sociolinguistic Variation: Critical Reflections*, Oxford, Oxford University Press, 2004, p. 167.

of this type may be observed by the development of traditional dialect /æʊ/ (often [æɣ]), younger speakers /aʊ/ (sometimes [a]); initial /wɒ/, /jɛ/ in *home* and *head* respectively (SE /əʊ/, /hɛ/), younger speakers /oʊ/ and /ɛ/; traditional dialect /iː/, /ɛɪ/ in *night and fight*, younger speakers /aɪ/; [29] dialectal vocalisation of final /l/ following /ɤː/ (e.g., /skɤː/, *school*), younger speakers /l/ (e.g., /skɤːl/); and vocalisation of /l/ in *old*, *cold* etc. (dialectal /æʊd/), younger informants /oʊld/ etc. (though sometimes modified /oʊd/). Nevertheless, modification also occurs in what are evidently non-localised dialect features; dialectal regional / supra-regional (north midlands) features /oː/ and /eː/ (SE /əʊ/, /eɪ/ respectively) are usually /oʊ/ and /eɪ/ in the speech of the youngest informants. The direction of change in these instances could suggest that modified varieties of SE are responsible. However, the existence of these types of variants in the urban varieties of nearby Manchester is also probably a major factor in these cases. Although it is not possible to specifically disentangle these urban variants from the possible influence of modified SE variants, however, the existence of nasalised variants, specific to the urban speech of nearby Manchester, in the speech of some of the younger informants (noted above) suggests that the major influence does indeed emanate from urban speech rather than modified varieties. Similarly, it is also not possible to distinguish influence from a specific urban feature rather than a regional feature in the instances outlined above, as many of the variants associated with the speech of Manchester conurbation often correspond exactly with widely distributed regional features; this is unsurprising in itself as general levelling of localised features, which occur in a city's hinterland, often occurs within an urban area.

Despite the obvious influence of urban speech upon the younger speakers in New Mills, not all features are evidently considered prestigious; just as the younger informants generally avoid localised features of the traditional dialect, so localised and widely stigmatised features specific to Manchester speech are similarly rejected – this includes the retraction and lowering of final /ə/ to approximately /ɒ/. Similarly, although not specific to Manchester, the largely urban phenomenon consisting of the fronting of initial /θ/ to /f/ and intervocalic /ð/ to /v/ is not present in New Mills. This suggests that the levelling of features of the traditional dialect is towards a regional variety, rather than a specific urban variety, though some aspects of urban speech are evidently highly influential. In attempting to assess who the arbiters of change within a community may be, it is perhaps significant that the two

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[29] However, see /iː/ above (Part 2), and comments regarding 'covert repertoire', pp. 12-13.

informants whose speech exhibits the greatest modification - and includes localised urban features, such as nasalisation (being specific to these two informants only) - have strong ties with the Manchester area, both in work and in social activities.

As there have been long-standing economic, industrial and social links between north-west Derbyshire and Manchester (on an economic level since the medieval period; on a broader level of social exchange from the period of the Industrial Revolution onwards),[30] it begs the question as to why linguistic influence from Manchester is a relatively recent phenomenon, particularly considering that considerable immigration from the surrounding areas (including Manchester) occurred during the Industrial period, in order to supply labour for the burgeoning cotton industry. This problem is partly answered by the linguistic history of Manchester during the industrial period. It is highly probable that no specific Manchester variety existed at the onset of the Industrial Revolution; rapid expansion and consequent immigration from many parts of the north and further afield, including substantial immigration from Ireland, would, after a period of time, result in the levelling of variants and the development of localised features. Thus, a Manchester accent shares some features with the traditional dialects of the north-west, but it is also dynamic and innovative, this producing some features - such as the retraction of /ə/, noted above, and nasalisation (which has been attributed to immigration from Liverpool) [31] - which set it apart from those dialects of the surrounding areas. Today, this may still be observed by comparing the relatively conservative dialects of the satellite towns (such as Bolton, Bury, Oldham and Rochdale) with the urban variety of inner-city Manchester.

Thus, during immigration into New Mills at the beginning of the Industrial period, no specific urban variety existed; immigration from south-east Lancashire (which is in the same dialect area, or directly neighbouring area, according to Ellis) would merely have strengthened the local dialect. Furthermore, despite the arrival of direct rail links in the nineteenth century, there was little commuting between New Mills and Manchester until the post-industrial period; as late as the 1970s most New Mills people were still employed in local industry, with many journeys to work being on foot or by bus.[32] The apparent contemporary linguistic influence of Manchester in New Mills, evident in the speech of the young, corresponds not only with greater population exchange from the 1980s onwards, but also with a general diffusion outwards, affecting some of the dialects of the satellite towns.

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[30] See relevant sections of 'The Social and Historical Background' in the Appendix, pp. 12-71.
[31] See Wright (1976), p. 30.
[32] See 'The Social and Historical Background' in the Appendix, pp. 64-65.

This was first noted by Wright in the 1970s: "speech is quite different at e.g., Bolton, Denton, Oldham and Rochdale, where it is slower and more traditional in its words and sounds. Yet Manchester talk seems to be nibbling away at the speech on its boundaries, suggesting that Manchester, as the focus of most of the North-West, has a good deal of prestige." [33]

As noted above, contemporary linguistic change in New Mills appears to be part of a process that largely occurs at the level of awareness. Intrinsic to this are the attitudes which form the motivation, and are the driving force, for change. It is evident that the speech of the youngest informants reflects their desire to appear modern, contemporary and dynamic; this is evidenced by their rejection of the most localised / conservative features of the traditional dialect and the adoption of some urban features. Nevertheless, issues of identity appear to be as great a consideration, if not greater. Evidence for this is provided by the retention of dialectal features (such as /ɣː/) that demonstrate a regional distribution. More importantly, others such as /a/ and /ʊ/, that ostensibly have a supra-regional provenance, but are generally considered to be "northern", demonstrate an even greater degree of stability. This suggests that, while the younger speakers want to appear modern, they also want to express their identity as "northerners", and more specifically as coming from the north-west. In this respect, it appears that the teenagers adopt those features of the urban varieties that have gained wider regional currency, whilst rejecting those (noted above) that have remained specific to inner-city Manchester.

There is no doubt that identity also plays an important part in the speech of the older informants.[34] However, it is apparent that older speakers' perceptions surrounding identity are somewhat more geographically restricted; although these speakers have a notional allegiance based on county affiliations, their sense of identity applies primarily to New Mills itself, which is reflected in the conservative and more localised nature of their speech. In this respect, the data from the older and younger informants suggests that a link between linguistic characteristics and notions of identity exists. Identity is a subject area that provides scope for further extensive research, and, no doubt, any such research would be illuminating in this respect. Llamas has already attempted to index linguistic variables with notions of identity, in a study undertaken in Middlesbrough. It was concluded that "changes in the

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[33] Wright (1976), p. 31.
[34] See Part 1, pp. 126-131.

perceived identity of the speech community can be reflected in the speech of its inhabitants."[35]

<u>Grammatical change</u>

One particular facet of grammatical change that has emerged from the data is the somewhat surprising finding that SE has had relatively little effect upon dialectal grammatical features, in light of the educational advances of the twentieth century; a considerable number of grammatical forms in the speech of the teenagers remain non-standard. In those items that do exhibit change, the nature of development could suggest modification towards SE. However, the general high frequency of non-standard variables, in addition to the occurrence of non-standard modification in a few instances, suggests that influences other than SE are paramount in this respect. Indeed, evidence provided by the grammatical data clearly supports the suggestion, provided by the phonological data, that SE has little direct influence as far as linguistic change is concerned. As with many of the phonological variables, the grammatical features of the traditional dialect that are generally absent in the teenagers' speech are those that demonstrate a relatively localised distribution and / or are deemed to be conservative features of the dialect, whether these are 'markers' of the traditional dialect or not (although many of these features are overt markers). Conversely, other features of the traditional dialect, that may also be markers, which demonstrate a wider provenance and / or are not deemed to be particularly conservative, often exhibit a degree of stability. This may be exemplified by realisations of the definite article; while dialectal glottalised variants (i.e. [ʔ]) occur in the speech of the younger informants, the more geographically restricted fricative realisations (i.e. [θ]) are not present in the speech of the teenagers, although both variants are overt markers of the dialect.

This type of patterning may be observed in a considerable number of other variables, both morphemic and syntactic. Second person singular pronominal *th-* realisations (i.e. *thee*, *thy*, *thine*), *as* realisations in relative constructions, the demonstratives *yon* / *yonder*, irregular plural nominal endings in *–n* (i.e. *shoon*, *een*, SE *shoes*, *eyes* respectively), dialectal adjectival constructions with suffix *–ly* (e.g., *badly*), use of the comparative particle *nor*, negative verbal constructions with the suffixed particle *–na*, and use of the infinitive particle *for to* are all generally restricted to the speech of the older informants. It may be observed

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[35] Llamas, C., 'Middlesborough English: Convergent and Divergent Trends in a 'Part of Britain with No Identity', Nelson, D., and Foulkes, P. (eds), *Leeds Working Papers in Linguistics and Phonetics,* 8, 2000, p. 145.

that these examples, on a dialectal level, are relatively localised and conservative in nature. In some instances, the dialectal realisations have been replaced by what are ostensibly standardised variants – second person singular pronoun *you* / *yours*, plural nominal endings with –*s*, adjectival constructions without –*ly*, the comparative particle *than*, negative particle suffix – *n't*. However, non-standard modification is also apparent: relative *what* (personal / non-personal antecedent), demonstrative *that* (SE *this* and *that over there*), and infinitive particle realisations consisting of [?]; all these variants also occur as alternative strategies within the traditional dialect.

Other features of the traditional dialect occur in all age-groups, and thus exhibit relative stability: e.g., the possessive determiner *us* (SE *my*, *our*), the levelling of the first person pronoun singular and plural subject with object – *me*, *us* (SE *I*, *we*), the levelling of the first person plural object with singular object – *us* (SE *me*), the use of an indirect object pronoun following object - *give it us* (SE *give me it*), the use of demonstrative *them* (SE *those*), *what* interrogative realisations where SE has *why* / *which*, nominal realisations with irregular zero plurals – e.g., *year*, *pound*, *foot* etc., irregular adjectival usage with the –*ous* suffix omitted (e.g. *poison*, SE *poisonous*), the frequent omission of the adverbial suffix –*ly*, and the double use of comparatives (*more + -er*; *most + -est*). It is apparent that all these dialectal features have a relatively wide provenance, in many instances occurring in dialects throughout the north midlands / north.

This type of patterning is also observable in relation to verbs, where considerable variation between the dialect and SE is apparent, although the erosion and stability of dialectal forms appears to be more random. For example, irregular dialectal weak past tense forms such as *catched*, *seed*, *sweared*, *teached* and *digged* are restricted to the older age-groups. These have generally been replaced by standardised strong forms in the speech of the younger informants, but not always (e.g., *seen* – SE *saw*). This last example has probably occurred by analogy with the general dialectal tendency to level the past tense with the past participles of strong verbs (below). In other instances, however, irregular weak forms occur alongside strong forms (e.g., *clinged*, *flinged* etc.) in all age-groups. Conversely, irregular strong forms, such as *squoze*, also occur in all age-groups. Other stable features include the levelling of the past tense with the past participle of strong verbs (e.g., *come*, *drunk*, *rung* – SE *came*, *drank*, *rang*), the use of the historic past inflection –*s* in all persons (e.g., *so I goes..*, *he says to me*; SE *so I went*, *he said to me*), non-coordinated realisations (e.g., *them's yours* – SE *those are yours*). On a syntactic level, multiple negation occurs in the speech of

informants in all age-groups. Most of these dialectal features may also be classified as regional, rather than local.

<u>Lexical Change</u>

The data suggests that lexical change (in New Mills) differs from either phonological or grammatical change, in that it is apparent that SE and / or modified varieties thereof are more influential in this respect. This is somewhat surprising, as it is at the level of lexis that age-grading and / or generational change is most easily observable; the speech of any one generation contains ephemeral vocabulary, consisting of contemporary colloquialisms, supra-regional slang, or other non-standard lexical items, relating to contemporary events, circumstances, technology and fashion, which are redolent of the time. This may be exemplified by lexical items, such as *ace* and *bazzin'*, used by the researcher during his youth in the 1970s, and now evidently obsolete; they do not occur in the speech of today's teenagers, though they may still very occasionally be heard in the speech of those who grew up in the 1970s. While the data shows that ephemeral usage is responsible for lexical change in a few instances, this type of change is, nonetheless, eclipsed by a process of standardisation. In other instances, however, the data shows that other non-standard forms, consisting of local dialectal variants or regional variants, are responsible; thus lexical change involves not only erosion / standardisation but also lexical innovation.

As far as lexical erosion is concerned, the data shows that roughly one third of all traditional dialect lexical items are subject to erosion (approximately 24% show complete erosion, 21 out of 86); this figure includes those items in which the data demonstrates that erosion may only be partial (about 10%, ten items), i.e. a particular item may not have disappeared completely in the speech of informants in the adult and / or teenage age-groups. In this respect, the data has also revealed differences and similarities between those items that exhibit partial erosion and those in which erosion is complete. Firstly, whereas standardisation appears to be the dominant process in complete erosion, non-standard innovation mostly occurs in those items which demonstrate partial erosion. Secondly, the data also demonstrates that erosion (whether partial or complete) affects common, everyday lexical items in all word classes.

The process of linguistic change, in those items that have undergone complete erosion, shares one similarity with phonological and grammatical change; the majority of the affected items are not only relatively localised, usually restricted to the north-west midlands or local dialect area, but, moreover, are typical of the traditional dialect and / or conservative dialects

of the north-west. Moreover, the data shows that abrupt change (i.e. a 100% qualitative difference between the older speakers and informants in the adult and / or teenage age groups) is evident in several instances where the lexical items exhibit a particular conservative and / or localised character (e.g. *bonny*, *clemmed*, *starved*, *wimberry* – SE *plump*, *hungry*, *cold* [person], *bilberry* respectively). Similarly, in the few instances where dialect terms have been replaced by non-standard variants, the influence of the urban varieties of Manchester and Lancashire is apparent in the speech of the younger informants, e.g., the replacement of traditional dialect *gennel*, /gɛnɪl/ (north-east Cheshire, north-west Derbyshire) by *ginnel*, /gɪnɪl/ (north-west regional).

 Non-standard variants are particularly common in the speech of the younger informants in those dialectal items which exhibit partial erosion. In a few instances, the data shows that dialect terms have been replaced by regional or local dialectal variants – e.g., dialectal *jacksharp* replaced by regional / supra-regional *stickleback*. Nevertheless, in words of this type (i.e. partially eroded), lexical innovation involving supra-regional or contemporary slang (e.g., *dosh* or *dollar* – SE *money*) is foremost in the process.

As far as lexical continuity is concerned, it is difficult to categorically identify or explain the factors behind the stability of particular dialect terms. The data also shows that this group of lexical items largely consists of everyday vocabulary. However, one possibility is that most of this terminology is either: associated with the home or person, and thus more likely to be used in an intimate and / or informal environment (e.g., the notions *bread roll*, *cup of tea*, *midday meal*, *ear-hole*, *ill*); or is high frequency (e.g., demonstratives; and the lexical items *aye*, *summat*, *aught*, *naught* – SE *yes*, *something*, *anything*, *nothing* respectively). The data also suggests that the regional character (north midlands, north) of some of these terms, and their subsequent general perception as 'northern' words (e.g., *lug* and *mardy* – SE *ear* and *soft, spoilt* [person] respectively) may not only have been responsible for their stability, but, as in the case of *lug*, also their strengthening.

The Dialect of New Mills

On a general level, it may be concluded that the traditional dialect of New Mills has proved remarkably resilient to the effects of standardisation. Nevertheless, a degree of dialect levelling is evident in the speech of the younger informants. This levelling is notable in that modification of the traditional dialect is towards the speech of nearby urban varieties (i.e. specifically those of the conurbation of Manchester), rather than modified RP / regional

standard. It is apparent, however, that not all aspects typical of the urban varieties of inner-city Manchester have contributed to the levelling of the dialect of New Mills; just as the teenagers appear to reject the more local and / or traditional features of the New Mills dialect, so too have they avoided adopting those features of the urban varieties that exhibit a restricted and localised provenance. Other features (such as so-called 'th' fronting), which are supra-regional and overtly stigmatised, are similarly avoided. Consequently, it appears that regional urban features are paramount as far as linguistic change is concerned; it is these which have significantly contributed to levelling. This type of regional urban variety(ies) may have developed as the covert prestige inner–city Manchester varieties diffused outwards into the areas occupied by the more conservative dialects of the surrounding satellite towns of Greater Manchester (formerly those of south-east Lancashire and north-east Cheshire). Only the passage of time will prove if these apparent-time changes to the dialect really are indicative of linguistic change in progress.

The Research and Fieldwork: Retrospective Analysis

The relatively broad aims of the research, and the extensive fieldwork operations which were consequently required, undoubtedly produced an undertaking in which the analysis of the data and the subsequent commentary exceeded that normally encountered in a doctorate length thesis. Indeed, the collation and analysis of the data was a substantial undertaking in itself, and occupied a considerable amount of time (some two years in total). In respect of these considerations, it has to be admitted that the undertaking could have been facilitated if the research were more narrowly orientated; this could have been achieved either by restricting the levels on which the analysis was based or reducing the scope of the study. As far as the latter is concerned, this would necessarily entail restricting the aims of the research by either attempting a study which dealt with either apparent-time change or a systematic description only, or, alternatively, by focusing on a limited number of pre-determined variables, rather than attempting an extensive and / or systematic description on a diachronic level.

Several factors were decisive in ensuring that neither of these options was desirable. Firstly, being a currently popular area of research in the field of variationist studies, it was initially decided that an investigation encompassing linguistic change should be attempted; this was partly facilitated / encouraged by the decision to collect data from speakers of all ages. However, as no previous research had been undertaken at the locality, it was decided early

on that a basic systematic description of the traditional dialect would be not only beneficial, but also essential to the aim of analysing linguistic change in apparent-time. As far as phonology is concerned, a systematic description would, of course, be instrumental in determining the extent of change and for identifying in which segments change is taking place (see also directly below). Moreover, on a broader descriptive level, as Shorrocks noted (1998), "the mere handful of variables employed in sociolinguistic studies to date must cause one to question the claim to be giving full descriptions. In terms of linguistic levels of description, sociolinguistic studies are highly incomplete." [36] Bearing these factors in mind, the other option would prove to be equally problematic. Any attempt to reduce the quantity of analysis by focusing on pre-determined variables (i.e. those which demonstrated considerable variation and / or are undergoing linguistic change in other varieties) would have been unwise. In the absence of a previous systematic phonological description, it would not be possible to ascertain whether these variables exhibited sufficient variation and / or were undergoing change in the dialect of New Mills. This may be clearly demonstrated if, for example, one such pre-determined area of analysis was the quantifying of 'th' fronting in initial /f/ and intervocalic /v/; this would have been a time-wasting exercise, and would have been notable only for the fact that the fronted variables did not exist.

It would have been feasible to reduce the quantity of the research by restricting the levels on which the analysis was being undertaken. Indeed, it is certainly the case, based on the aims of this investigation, that a purely phonological approach would have been sufficient in its own right; nevertheless, the overlap between phonology and morphology, and, indeed, these levels and lexis meant that the inclusion of a grammatical and lexical analysis added a further dimension to the phonological description and the dialect as a whole, a consideration that assumes extra importance when drawing conclusions with respect to linguistic change.

Further research

A further apparent-time study, undertaken at some reasonably distant chronological point in the future in the same locality, would resolve some of the problems associated with apparent-time frameworks outlined above, and corroborate whether the findings in this study are indicative of linguistic change or are merely representative of age-grading / generational change. Another area worthy of further research concerns the existence of numerous variants and / or co-existent systems in the speech repertoire of

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[36] Shorrocks (1998), p. 45.

speakers of all ages; research into when, and under what circumstances, these competing variants come to prominence in the speech of an individual (over a considerable time-span) would be highly illuminating with respect to the survival of traditional dialect within a community.

There is also considerable scope for intensive synchronic quantitative research (focusing on one / a few variables). Such research, conducted within a sociolinguistic framework, would quantify the precise extent to which linguistic change, suggested by the qualitative data in this study, has actually taken place within the community. Quantitative research of this type, conducted within a sociolinguistic framework, would be valuable in that it could also resolve the linguistic change / age-grading problems associated with apparent-time studies (if an independent age variable is included), as well as illuminating other aspects, such as gender variation, which may be important factors in linguistic change, and which are not covered by the present research carried out in New Mills. Nonetheless, the extensive qualitative data provided by this study indicates the variables in which further synchronic quantitative research, sociolinguistic or otherwise, may be most usefully undertaken.

Addenda

Questionnaire Responses

External Data Key: *SED* 1 – Derbyshire 1 (Charlesworth); 2 – (Pilot Study) Bradwell;
3 – Derbyshire 3 (Burbage); 4 – Cheshire 2 (Rainow);
SED Ch – Cheshire; Db – Derbyshire; La - Lancashire
PD – Two Collections of Derbicisms; *CG – Cheshire Glossary*;
EDD – English Dialect Dictionary

Questionnaire Glossary :
(I) – indicate; n. a. – not asked; n. r. – no response; pref.- preferably; (p) – point; s.w. - suggested word; incidental data is presented in parentheses (x);
(**L**) – question designed primarily to elicit lexical information

Informant Data:

Old	1 JL	2 HF	3 F	
Mid	1 CW	2 IH	3 CG	
Ad	1 CW	2 PB	3 MP	
Teen	1 MH	2 WH	3 M	4 JB

Part 1

1. *What do you call this (I)?* head (**L**)
   SED 1 jɛd 2 jɛd *PD 'yeds'; CG – 'yed'*

Old	1 jɛd 2 jɛd 3 jɛd
Mid	1 jɛd 2 ɛd, jɛd (pref) 3 ɛd
Ad	1 jɛd 2 hɛd 3 ɛd
Teen	1 ɛd 2 hɛd 3 ɛd 4 bɒd

2. *And if somebody doesn't feel too well in this area (I), you say they've got a* headache (**L**)
   SED 1 jɛdwaːˈtʃ 4 jɛdeːk 2 jɛdwaːtʃ ; *CG – 'warch'*

Old	1 jɛdeːk 2 jɛdeːk 3 jɛdeːk
Mid	1 jɛdeːk 2 ɛdeːk 3 ɛdeːk
Ad	1 (gɒt ə) bad ɛd 2 ɛdeːˈk 3 ɛdeɪk
Teen	1 ɛdeːˈk 2 hɛdeɪk 3 ɛdeɪk 4 ɛdeɪk

3. *And what do you call this (I)?* hair
   SED 1 jɤːəˈ 2 ɛə *CG – yure*

Old	1 ɛə 2 hɛə 3 ɛə (pref. jɤ·ə)
Mid	1 ɛə 2 ɛə 3 hɛə
Ad	1 ɛə 2 hɛə 3 ɛə
Teen	1 hɛə 2 hɛə 3 hɛə 4 ɛə

4. What do you say somebody is when all this (I) has fallen out? <u>bald</u>

SED 1 no data 2 bɔːd

Old	1 bɔːd 2 bɔːd 3 bɔːd
Mid	1 bɔːd 2 bɔɫd 3 bɔːᵘd
Ad	1 bɔːɫd 2 bɔːɫd 3 bɒ·ɫd
Teen	1 bɒːɫd 2 bɒːɫd 3 bɒːɫd 4 slap ɛd

5. What do you call this (I) <u>eye</u> *; and these (I)?* <u>eyes</u>

SED 1 iː: ; iːn 4 æɪ; æɪz *PD – 'een, eyne'* [pl.]; *CG – 'een'* [pl.]

Old	1 aɪ; iːn 2 aɪ; aɪz (older, iːn) 3 aɪ; iːn
Mid	1 aɪ; iːn 2 aɪ; aɪz 3 aɪ; aɪz (older, iːn)
Ad	1 aɪ; aɪz 2 aɪ; aɪz 3 aɪ; aɪz
Teen	1 aɪ; aɪz 2 aɪ; aɪz 3 aɪ; aɪz 4 aɪ; aɪz

6. And when they are doing this (I) you say they're <u>cross–eyed</u> (**L**)

SED   1 kɹɒsaɪd   4 kɹɒsaɪd

Old	1 skɛn, ə skɛnə 2 skɛn 3 skɛn
Mid	1 skɛnɪn 2 skɛn 3 skɛn
Ad	1 skwɪntɪn 2 kɹɒsaɪd 3 kɹɒsaɪd
Teen	1 kɹɒsaɪd 2 kɹɒsaɪd 3 kɹɒsaɪd 4 kɹɒsaɪd

7. And if somebody is looking at something for a while, what are they doing?   <u>staring</u> (**L**)

SED   1 skɛnnɪn,* gɔː pɪn⁺   4 skwɪntɪn,* gɔːmɪn⁺   3 geːpɪn⁺

* SED headword <u>looking intently</u>; + SED headword <u>staring</u>

Old	1 gɔːpɪn 2 ːpɪn 3 skɛnnɪn
Mid	1 pɪ·əɹɪn, ɒgglɪn, skɛnnɪn 2 skɛnɪn 3 geːzɪn
Ad	1 ːpɪn 2 glɛəɹɪn, skɛnɪn 3 stɛəɹɪn
Teen	1 stɛəɹɪn 2 stɛːɹɪn 3 stɛəɹɪn 4 stɛəɹɪn

8. What do you call this (I)? <u>nose</u> (**L**)

SED   1 noːz   4 nʊəz

Old	1 snɪtʔʧ (maːɪn ðɪ snɪʧ) 2 noːz 3 noːz
Mid	1 noːz 2 noːz 3 noːᵘz
Ad	1 noʊz 2 noʊz 3
Teen	1 noːᵘz 2 noʊz 3 noʊz 4

9. And this (I)? <u>nostril</u> (**L**)

SED   1 noːzoːlz   4 nʊəzʊəlz

  Old   1 noːzoːɫ 2 noːzoːɫ 3 noːzoːɫ
  Mid   1 noːzoːɫ 2 noːzoːɫ 3 noːzoːɫ, nɒstɹɪl
  Ad   1 nɒstɹɪl 2 noʊzoʊɫ, nɒstɹɪl 3 nɒstɹɪl
  Teen   1 nɒstɹɪl 2 nɒstɹɪl 3 nɒstɹɪl 4

10. What do you call this (I)? <u>mouth</u> (**L**)

SED   1 mɛʊθ   4 mæʊθ, gɔb   3 mɛʊθ, gɒb

  Old   1 kɪsə, gɒb 2 mæɤθ (ðɪ mæɤθ) 3 gɒbᵊ
  Mid   1 mæʊθ 2 mæɤθ, gɒb 3 mæɤθ
  Ad   1 mæʊθ 2   maʊθ, gɒb 3 maʊθ
  Teen   1 maʊθ 2 maʊθ 3 maʊθ 4 gɒb

11. What's this (I)? <u>tongue</u>

SED   1 tʊŋg   4 tʊŋg (tɔŋg)   3 tɒŋg

  Old   1 tʊŋg   2 tɒŋg   3 tɒŋg
  Mid   1 tʊŋg   2 tɒŋg   3 tɒŋg
  Ad   1 tʊŋg   2 tɒŋg   3 tɒŋg
  Teen   1 tʊŋg   2 tɒŋg   3 tɒŋg 4 tʊŋg

12. What do you call this stuff in your mouth (I)? <u>spit</u> (**L**)

  Old   1 slavə 2 spɪt   3 spɪtʰ
  Mid   1 slavə   2 slavə, gɒb   3 gɒz
  Ad   1 salaɪvə 2 gɒb 3 salaɪvə, gɒb
  Teen   1 gɒz, spɪt 2 gɒz 3 gɒz   4 gɒz, flɛm

13. What do you call this (I)? <u>spitting</u>

  Old   1 spɪtʔtɪn 2 gɒbbɪn 3 spɪtʔtɪn
  Mid   1 gɒbɪn   2 gɒbbɪn 3 spɪtɪn
  Ad   1 gɒbɪn 2 gɒbbɪn 3 spɪʔɪn
  Teen   1 spɪʔɪn 2 gɒzɪn 3 gɒzɪn   4 gɒbɪn

14. What's this (I) <u>tooth</u> *and all of them?* <u>teeth</u>

SED 1 tɤːθ , tiːθ   4 tʉːθ, tiːθ

  Old   1 tɤːθ , tiːθ 2 tɤːθ , tiːθ 3 tɤːθ , tiːθ
  Mid   1 tʉːθ , tiːθ 2 tɤːθ , tiːθ 3 tɤːθ , tiːθ

(cont.)

Ad	1 tʏ:θ , ti:θ	2 tʏ:θ , ti:θ	3 tʏ:θ , ti:θ
Teen	1 tʏ:θ , ti:θ	2 tʏ:θ , ti:θ	3 t tʏ:θ , ti:θ 4 tʏ:θ , ti:θ

15. If you've got food in your mouth and you're doing this (I) what are you doing? <u>chewing</u>

SED 1 n. r.   2, 3, 4 tʃu:ɪn

Old	1 tʃʏ:ɪn 2 tʃʏ:ɪn 3 tʃʏ:ɪn
Mid	1 tʃʏ:ɪn jə kʊd 2 tʃʏ:ɪn 3 tʃʏ:ɪn
Ad	1 tʃʏ:ɪn 2 tʃʏ:ɪn 3 tʃɒmpɪn
Teen	1 tʃʏ:ɪn 2 tʃʉ:ɪn 3 tʃʏ:ɪn 4 tʃʏ:ɪn

16. When it's dinner time you sit down and <u>eat</u>

SED 1 e:t   4 e:t, ɛɪt, i:t   2, 3 i:t

Old	1 e:t, i:t 2 e:t (e:t ɪt? tʊpʰ) 3 e:t
Mid	1 i:t 2 e:t 3 i:t
Ad	1 i:t 2 i:tʰ 3 i:t
Teen	1 i:t 2 i:t? 3 i:t? 4 i:t

Next day you may say "last night I was that hungry I <u>ate</u> *all the apple pie.*

SED 1, 2 3, 4 ɛt   4 i:t

Old	1 ɛt 2 ɛt 3 ɛt
Mid	1 ɛt 2 ɛt 3 ɛt, e:t
Ad	1 e:t 2 ɛt 3 eɪt?
Teen	1 e:ᶦt 2 eɪt 3 eɪt 4 eɪt?

Later somebody asks "have you <u>eaten</u> *all the apple pie?"*

SED 1, 2 3, 4 ɛtn

Old	1	2	3
Mid	1	2	3 ,
Ad	1 i:t? 2 i:tn 3 i:?		
Teen	1 i: 2 i:? 3 i:? 4 i:?		

17.*What are these (I)?* <u>ears</u> *and what is this called (I)?* <u>earhole</u> (**L**)

SED 1 lʊgz, ɪəɹo:lz 2 ɪəz, ɪəɹɒɪl 3 lʊgz, lʊgo:ᶷl   4 ɪəz, ɪəɹʊəl

Old	1 ïʲəɹ:, ïʲəɹo:ɫ 2 ïjə; ïʲəɹo:ɫ, lʊgo:ɫ 3 ïjə; ïʲo:ɫ
Mid	1 ïʲəz; lʊgo:ɫ 2 ïjəz; lʊgo:ɫ 3 ïʲəz; lʊgo:ɫz
Ad	1 ïjəz; lʊgoʊɫz 2 jə ïjəz; lʊgoʊɫz, ïʲəɹoʊɫz 3 ïjəz; lʊgoʊɫ

(cont)

Teen   1 jə ïjəz; jə ïʲəɹoːʊɫz   2 ïjəz; lʊgoʊɫ   3 ïjəz; lʊgoʊɫz   4 ïjəz; lʊgoʊɫz

18. *If somebody's ears don't work properly and they can't recognise sound then you say they are* deaf

SED 1 dɪəf 2, 3 diːf 4 dɛf

  Old   1 dɛf 2 dɛf 3 dɪəf
  Mid   1 dɛf, dɪəf 2 dɛf 3 dɛf
  Ad   1 dɛf 2 dɛf   3 dɛf
  Teen   1 dɛf 2 dɛf   3 dɛf 4 dɛf

19. *What's this (I)?* arm

SED 1 aːˡm   2, 3, 4 aːm

  Old   1 aːm 2 aːm 3 aːm
  Mid   1 aːm 2 aːm 3 aːm
  Ad   1 aːm 2 aːm 3 aːm
  Teen   1 aːm 2 aːm 3 aːm 4 aːm

20. *And this (I)?*   hand

SED 1, 3 ɒnt   2, 4 and

  Old   1 and 2 and 3 and
  Mid   1 and 2 and 3 hand
  Ad   1 and 2 and 3 hand
  Teen   1 and 2 hand 3 and   4 and

21. *What do you call one of these (I)?* freckle

SED 1, 3 fɹɛtlz   2, 4 fɹɛklz

  Old   1 fɹɛkɫz 2 fɹɛtɫz 3 fɹɛtɫz
  Mid   1 fɹɛtɫz 2 fɹɛkɫz 3 fɹɛkɫz
  Ad   1 fɹɛkɫz 2 fɹɛtɫ 3 fɹɛkɫz
  Teen   1 fɹɛkɫ 2 fɹɛkɫ 3 fɹɛkɫ   4 fɹɛkɫ

22. *If you do lots of manual work, sooner or later you will get something here (I). What do you call*

these? callosities (**L**)

SED 1, 2, 3, 4 sɛgz, Lancs. sɛgz; *EDD* Lancs., Chs., Staff.

  Old   1 sɛgz 2 sɛgz 3 sɛgz
  Mid   1 sɛgz 2 sɛgz 3 sɛgz

Ad   1 sɛgz 2 sɛgz 3 skɪn bagz
(cont)
Teen   1 sɛgz 2 sɛgz 3 ɹʊf skɪn 4 ɹʊkᵁɫd

23. *If somebody does things with this hand (I) then you say they are* <u>left handed</u> (**L**)

SED 1 lɛftɒndɪd   3 gɪblfɪstɪd 4 gje:pɔ:d Db 4 bɛngandɪd Chs 6 bangandɪd

  Old   1 bangandɪd 2 lɛftandɪd (bangandɪd) 3 bangandɪd
  Mid   1 bangandɪd   2 bangandɪd 3 lɛftandɪd
  Ad   1 lɛftandɪd 2 lɛftandɪd, kakandɪd   3 kakandɪd
  Teen   1 lɛftandɪd 2 lɛftandɪd 3 lɛftandɪd 4 kakandɪd

24. *What do you say somebody's doing if they do this (I)?* <u>throwing</u> (**L**)

SED 1 ʧʊkkɪn   4 pɛgɪn   *CG – 'cob'*

  Old   1 ʧʊkʰ, kɒb 2 ʧʊkʔkɪn 3 kɒb
  Mid   1 kɒb ɪt   2 ʧʊkʰ, kɒb 3 ʧʊkʔkɪn
  Ad   1 ʧʊkʔkɪn, kɒbɪn 2 ʧʊkɪn ɪt 3 θɹoʊɪn
  Teen   1 ʧʊkʰ 2 ʧʊkʔ   3 ʧʊkʔ   4 ʧʊk

25. *What's this (I)?* <u>bum</u> (**L**)

SED 1 a: ˈs 2, 3, 4 a:s

  Old   1 a:s 2 baksaɪd 3 a:s
  Mid   1 a:s, bɪʲa:ɪnd 2 a:s 3 baksaɪd
  Ad   1 a:s   2 a:s   3 baksaɪd
  Teen   1 a:s 2 a:s   3 a:s   4 a:s

26. *If somebody's knees are like this (I) then you say they're* <u>knock-kneed</u> (**L**)

SED 1 napɪni:d   4 nɔkəni:d

  Old   1 nɒkni:d 2 nɒkni:d 3 nɒkni:d
  Mid   1 nɒkni:d 2 nɒkni:d 3 nɒkni:d
  Ad   1 nɒkni:d 2 nɒkni:d 3 nɒkni:d
  Teen   1 n. r.   2 nɒkni:d, nɒblɪni:d 3 nɒkni:d   4 boʊlɛgd

27. *What's this (I)* <u>calf</u>

SED 1 kɔ:f   4 kɔ:f ət lɛg

  Old   1 ka:f 2 ka:f 3 ka:f

Mid   1 ka:f 2 ka:f 3 ka:f
(cont)

Ad   1 ka:f 2 ka:f 3 ka:f

Teen   1 ka:f 2 ka:f 3 ka:f 4 ka:f

29. *What's this (I)?* <u>foot</u> *and both of them?* <u>feet</u>

SED 1 fɤ:t, fi:t   4 fʉ:t, fi:t

  Old   1 fʊtʰ, fi:t 2 fʊt, fi:t 3 fʊtʰ, fi:tʰ
  Mid   1 fʊt, fi:t 2 fʊtʰ, fi:t 3 fʊt, fi:t
  Ad   1 fʊt, fi:t 2 fʊtʰ, fi:t 3 fʊt, fi:t
  Teen   1 fʊt, fi:t 2 fʊtʔ, fi:tʔ 3 fʊtʔ, fi:tʔ 4 fʊtʔ, fi:tʔ

30. *What are these (I)?* <u>toes</u>

SED 1 fɤ:t, fi:t   4 fʉ:t, fi:t

  Old   1 to:z 2 to:z 3 to:z
  Mid   1 to:z 2 to:z 3 to:z
  Ad   1 toʊz 2 toʊz 3
  Teen   1 toʊz 2 toʊz 3 toʊz 4 toʊz

31. *And if somebody walks like this (I) then you say they're* <u>pigeon-toed</u> (**L**)

SED 1 twɪnɪto:d   4   :d

  Old   1 twɪnɪto:d 2 twɪnɪto:d 3 twɪnɪto:d
  Mid   1 twɪnɪto:d 2 twɪnɪto:d 3 twɪnɪto:d
  Ad   1 twɪnɪto:d 2 twɪnɪtoʊd 3 pɪʤɪntoʊd
  Teen   1 n. r. 2 twɪnɪtoʊd 3 twɪnɪtoʊd 4 kɹoʊdfi:t

Part 2

If somebody always gets the simplest things wrong, you say that they're <u>stupid</u> (**L**)

SED 1 do:pɪ, stjɤ:pɪd   4 s.w. daft

  Old   1 daft, θɪk, tʊbjɛd 2 daft 3 daft
  Mid   1 ə dʊmbɛl, ə dʊk ɛg 2 daft 3 θɪk
  Ad   1 θɪk 2 θɪkʰ 3 dɛns
  Teen   1 θɪk 2 dʊns 3 θɪk 4 ə stjɤ:pɪd twatʔ

*2. And if somebody acts the fool, you'd say that they were being <u>silly</u> (**L**)*

SED 1 daft, dɒtɪ   4 ba:mɪ

Old	1 daft 2 ə nʊtke:s 3 daft, ba:mɪ
Mid	1 tʊmfɤ:ləɹɪ 2 ba:mɪ 3 pɹat?tɪn əbæʏt
Ad	1 ən ɪdɪʲət, ə klæʊn 2 daft əz ə bɹʊʃ 3 ə dɪk
Teen	1 stjɤ:pɪd, daft 2 ə dɪkɛd 3 daft 4 ə dɪkɛd

3. If a child asks for something and doesn't get it, but carries on complaining or crying, then you'd say

the child is <u>spoilt</u>

Old	1 ma:dɪ 2 ma:dɪ 3 ma:dɪ
Mid	1 ma:d, ə ʊɫt bɹat 2 ma:dɪ 3 ma:dɪ
Ad	1 wɪndʒə 2 ʊɫt bɹat 3 maɪðəɹɪn
Teen	1 ʊɫt 2 ʊɫt 3 ʊɫt 4 ʊɫt

4. If somebody is always moaning about having to do any kind of work or exercise, or about the

weather (particularly if it's cold) then you'd say they are <u>soft</u>

Old	1 ma:dɪ 2 ma:dɪ 3 ma:dɪ
Mid	1 ə mo:nɪn mɪnɪ 2 ma:da:s 3 ma:dɪ
Ad	1 ma:dɪ 2 maɪðəɹɪn 3 ma:da:s
Teen	1 ma:da:s 2 ma:da:s 3 ma:da:s 4 ma:da:s

5. If you've been working hard all day, when you get home you'd say "let me sit down I'm <u>tired,

*exhausted</u> (**L**)*

SED 1 dʒɪɡəˈt 4 dʒɪɡət ʊp   *EDD 'razzored'* (Lancs, Chs)

Old	1 dʒɪɡɪd, nɒk?t ʊp, ɹazəd, bʊɡəd 2 bʊɡəd 3 dʒɪɡɪd
Mid	1 dʒɪɡɪd, nakəd, ɡɤ:st 2 ɹazəd 3 nakəd
Ad	1 nakəd 2 ʃaɡd aʊtʰ 3 :n bi:ft
Teen	1 nakəd 2 fʊkt 3 nakəd 4 naked

*6. If somebody is always running about doing things, you'd say they're very <u>active</u> (**L**)*

Old	1 aktiv, wɪk 2 wɪk 3 wɪk, aktif

Mid   1   ʔʤaɪɬ, wɪk 2 aktiv 3 aktiv

Ad   1 aktiv 2 aktif 3 aktiv

Teen   1 ɛnəʤɛtɪk 2 ɛnəʤɛtɪk 3 ɛnəʤɛtɪk 4 ɛnəʤɛʔɪk

If you're not feeling ill, then you must be well

SED 1 fɪt, wi:l 4 wɛl, ɔ:ɹi:t

  Old   1 wɪəl 2 fɪt 3 fɪt
  Mid   1 enəʤɛtɪk 2 wɛl, ɹi:t 3 fa:n
  Ad   1 fɪt ən wɛl 2 fɪt   3 wɛl
  Teen   1 faɪn 2 tʊp 3 wɛl 4 elƟɪ

The morning after you'd been to the pub you might say " I drank *too much last night*

SED 1 dɹʊŋk 4 dɹʊŋk   (all Db and Chs localities)

  Old   1 dɹʊŋk, sʊpt 2 dɹʊŋk, sʊpt 3 dɹʊŋk, sʊpt
  Mid   1 dɹʊŋk 2 dɹʊŋk, sʊpt 3 dɹʊŋk, sʊpt
  Ad   1 dɹʊŋk, sʊpt 2 dɹʊŋk (tɤ: mʊʧ e:l)   3 dɹʊŋk
  Teen   1 dɹʊŋk 2 dɹʊŋk 3 dɹʊŋk 4 dɹʊŋk,

If you've had too much beer and you were a bit unsteady you'd say you were drunk (**L**)

SED 1 dɹʊŋk 4 dɹʊŋk

  Old   1 dɹʊŋk, ke:laɪd 2 pɪst ʊp 3 dɹʊŋk
  Mid   1 leglǝs, pɪst 2 dɹʊŋk, pɪst 3 dɹʊŋk
  Ad   1 leglǝs, pɪst   2 pɪst ʊp 3 pɪst
  Teen   1 dɹʊŋk, pɪst 2 pɪst 3 pɪst 4 pɪst

If you had a hangover or you had a bit of a cold and you weren't feeling well you'd say you were

  feeling ill

SED 1 bad 4 æʊt bǝt ɹi:t, badlɪ

  Old   1 ɹʊf, badlɪ 2 ɹʊɪ 3 ɹʊf
  Mid   1 ɹʊf, badlɪ 2 ɹʊɪ 3 ɹʊf
  Ad   1 ɹʊf 2 ɹʊf 3 ɹʊf
  Teen   1 ɹʊf 2 ɹʊf 3 ɹʊf 4 ɹʊɪ

If somebody had given you a cold and you in turn gave it to someone else you'd say it was infectious

  (**L**)

SED 1 kɛtʃɪn 4 iːzlɪ kjɛtʃt

Old	1 katʃɪn (older kɛtʃɪn) 2 katʔtʃɪn 3 katʃɪn
Mid (cont)	1 katʃɪn 2 katʃɪn 3 kənteːdʒəs
Ad	1 katʃɪn 2 goʊɪn ɹaʊnd 3 katʃɪn
Teen	1 katʃɪn 2 ɪnfɛkʃəs 3 ɪnfɛkʃəs 4 ɪnfɛkʃəs

In this case, you'd tell the doctor" I've got a cold, I <u>caught</u> it at work"

SED 1 kɛtʃt 4 kjɛtʃt

Old	1 kɒpt 2 kɒpt (katʃt) 3 kɒpt
Mid	1 kɒpt 2 kɒpt 3 kɒpt
Ad	1 :t 2 :t 3 :t
Teen	1 :t 2 :t 3 :t 4 :t

When you're tired and you do this (I) what are you doing <u>yawning</u>

SED 1, 4 geːpɪn

Old	1 :nɪn 2 :nɪn 3 :nɪn
Mid	1 :nɪn 2 :nɪn 3 :nɪn
Ad	1 :nɪn 2 :nɪn 3 :nɪn
Teen	1 :nɪn 2 :nɪn 3 :nɪn 4 :nɪn

*What's a baby doing, if it wants attention and it makes loud shrill noises? <u>Crying</u> (**L**)*

SED 1 jɛllɪn 4 skɹaɪkɪn

Old	1 skɹaːɪkɪn 2 skɹaɪkɪn 3 skɹaɪkɪn
Mid	1 skɹaɪkɪn, japɪn 2 skɹaɪkɪn 3 skɹaːkɪn
Ad	1 skɹaɪkɪn 2 jɛlɪn 3 wɪndʒɪn
Teen	1 wɪndʒɪn 2 skɹiːmɪn 3 skɹaɪkɪn 4 skɹaɪkɪn

*If you see a baby which is large in build, you'd say that it was <u>plump, fat</u> (**L**)*

EDD – 'bonny' (north midlands)

Old	1 bɒnɪ 2 bɒnɪ 3 bɒnɪ
Mid	1 bɒnɪ, tʃʊbɪ 2 bɒnɪ 3 bɒnɪ
Ad	1 bɒnɪ 2 fat 3 fatʔɪ
Teen	1 fatʔ 2 fatʔ 3 fatʔ 4 bʊbɪ

*If a person is always doing everyday things wrong, you'd say they don't have much <u>common-sense</u> (**L**)*

Old	1 (dʊnə av ɛnɪ) sɛns 2 ᶷɫ ɪn ᵗʔ kan 3 sɛns
Mid (cont)	1 kɒmmən sɛns 2 sɛns 3 gʊmʃən
Ad	1 kɒmən sɛns 2 sɛns 3 naʊs
Teen	1 kɒmən sɛns, mʊtʃ ɪn ʔ ɛd 2 sɛns 3 sɛns 4 naʊs

But, if a person learns new things easily and is generally fairly intelligent, you'd say they were <u>bright</u>

(**L**)

Old	1 ʃaːp, wɪk 2 klɛvə 3 wɪk
Mid	1 klɛvə, smaːt 2 ʃaːp, wɪk 3 klɛvə
Ad	1 smaːt 2 klɛvə 3 ɪntɛlɪdʒənt?
Teen	1 kwɪk wɪtɪd, bɹeːɪnɪ 2 bɹeɪnɪ 3 bɹeɪnɪ 4 n. r.

If somebody always drops things unintentionally or generally tends to do things haphazardly, you'd say

they were <u>clumsy</u> (**L**)

Old	1 klʊmzɪ 2 tlʊmzɪ 3 tlʊmzɪ
Mid	1 tlʊmzɪ 2 klʊmzɪ 3 klʊmzɪ
Ad	1 klʊmzɪ, skatɪ 2 klʊmzɪ 3 amfɪstɪd
Teen	1 klʊmzɪ 2 bʊʔə fɪŋgə 3 klʊmzɪ 4 klʊmzɪ

20. *If you see a young girl who has a particularly pleasing physical appearance, you'd say she is*

<u>attractive</u> (**L**)

Old	1 bɒnɪ 2 ə naːs piːs 3 bɒnɪ
Mid	1 teːstɪ 2 teːstɪ, fɪtʰ 3 fɪt
Ad	1 ɹaːɪt 2 fɪt 3 fɪtʔ
Teen	1 fɪtʔ 2 fɪtʔ 3 fɪtʔ 4 ə naɪs bɪʔ ə ɹʊm tɒʔɪ

Part 3

1. *What do you need to buy goods from shops*   <u>money</u> (**L**)

SED 1 bɹas 4 mʊnɪ

Old	1 mʊnɪ, bɹas 2 mʊnɪ, ɹɛdɪ mʊnɪ 3 bɹas
Mid	1 mʊnɪ, kaʃ, dɒʃ 2 bɹas 3 mʊnɪ, dabz
Ad	1 kaʃ 2 mʊnɪ, dabz 3 mʊnɪ
Teen	1 mʊnɪ 2 mʊnɪ, bɹas 3 mʊnɪ 4 dɒlə

2. If you've worked hard for your money, you'd say that you've <u>earned it</u>

SED 1 4 ə:nz ɪt

Old	1 ə·ˈnd ɪt 2 ə·ˈn ɪt 3 ə·ˈnd ɪt
Mid	1 ə:nd 2 ə·ˈnd 3 ə·ˈnɪn
Ad	1 ə:nd 2 ə:nt 3 ə:nt
Teen	1 ə:n 2 ə:nt 3 ə:n 4 ə:n ɪtʔ

3. If somebody won lots of money on the lottery, you'd say they were very <u>lucky</u> (**L**)

Old	1 lʊkɪ 2 ə lʊkʔkɪ bʊgə 3 lʊkɪ
Mid	1 lʊkɪ, dʒamɪ, :pɪ 2 :pɪ 3 :pɪ
Ad	1 :pɪ, dʒamɪ 2 :pɪ 3 :pɪ, lʊkɪ
Teen	1 lʊkɪ 2 lʊkɪ 3 lʊkɪ 4 lʊkɪ

4. A lottery winner would probably want to buy a bigger house. If they did this and left their present

house you'd say they were <u>moving house</u> (**L**)

Old	1 flɪtʔtɪn 2 flɪtɪn 3 flɪtʔtɪn
Mid	1 flɪtɪn 2 flɪtʔtɪn 3 flɪtɪn
Ad	1 flɪtɪn 2 flɪtʔtɪn 3 flɪtɪn
Teen	1 mʏ:vɪn aʊs 2 mʏ:vɪn aʊs 3 mʏ:vɪn aʊs 4

5. In a row of terraced houses, there is often a small opening in between the houses which you can walk

down. What do you call this? <u>alleyway</u> (**L**)

Old	1 gɛnᵁɫ 2 gɛnᵁɫ, snɪkɪt 3 gɛnᵁɫ
Mid	1 gɛnᵁɫ 2 gɛnᵁɫ (snɪkït) 3 gɛnᵁɫ, ɛntɹɪ
Ad	1 gɪnᵁɫ 2 gɛnᵁɫ, snɪkɪt 3 pasɪdʒweɪ
Teen	1 alɪ 2 alɪ 3 alɪ 4 gɪnᵁɫ

6. While you were out the previous night one of your friends called at your house. Next morning your

wife tells you " so and so <u>came</u> *round last night"*

SED 1 kʊm 4 kʊm, kʉ:m

Old	1 kʊm 2 kʊm 3 kʊm
Mid	1 kʊm 2 kʊm 3 ke:m
Ad	1 kʊm 2 kʊm 3 kʊm, keɪm

Teen   1 kʊm 2   :d, s. w. kʊm 3 kʊm 4 kʊm

7. Your wife asks you a few days later "did you get in touch with so and so?" You'd reply "Yes, I <u>saw</u>

him last night"

SED 1 sɔ:, si:d (pref) 4 sɔ:, si:d (pref); *PD - pret. imp. of 'see'; EDD – common midlands, north*

   Old   1 si:d dɪm 2 si:d 3 si:d
   Mid   1 si:d ɪm 2 si:d 3   :
   Ad   1   : ɹɪm 2   : ɪm 3   : ɹɪm
   Teen   1   : ɪm 2 si:n 3 si:n 4   : ɹɪm

*8. (omit for young) Somebody you work with is a <u>work-mate</u> (**L**)*

   Old   1 me:t 2 me:t 3 me:t
   Mid   1 ɒpo: 2 me:t 3 wək me:t
   Ad   1 kɒli:g 2 wə:k me:ᶦt 3 skɪn

*9. What do you call somebody whose company you enjoy and who you socialise with <u>friend</u> (**L**)*

   Old   1 me:t 2 me:t, pal 3 me:t
   Mid   1 me:t 2 me:t 3 me:t, bʊdɪ
   Ad   1 meɪt 2 me:t 3 meɪtʔ
   Teen   1 meɪt 2 meɪtʔ 3 meɪtʔ 4 meɪtʔ

10. If you were walking down the road and you saw one of your mates on the other side of the road, to

     get his attention you'd say <u>eh up!</u>

PD – 'surry'; CG – 'sirry'; EDD – west midlands, north-west midlands

   Old   1 e:ʲ ʊp səɹɪ 2 e:ʲ ʊp 3 e:ʲ ʊp
   Mid   1   2 e:ʲ ʊp səɹɪ 3 e:ʲ ʊp səɹɪ, ɪɹɪ
   Ad   1 eɪʲ ʊp 2 eɪʲ ʊp,   3 name (e.g. ɹɒdʒ)
   Teen   1   2   3   4 eɪ bə:tʔ

11. If you haven't seen a good friend for some time, the first thing you'd say to them is <u>"how are you?"</u>

   Old   1 (næʊ ðɛn səɹɪ) æʊ ətʔ gʏ:ɪn 2 (fansɪ si:ʲɪn ði:) æʏ at 3 æʏ atʰ
   Mid   1 wɪʲəs ʔ bɪn 2 æʏ at səɹɪ 3 æʏ a: jə
   Ad   1 æʊ jə dʏ:ɪn 2 aʊ jə dʏ:ɪn 3 aʊ dʏ:
   Teen   1 aʊ a: jə 2 aʊ a: jə 3 aʊ a: jə 4 aʊ av jə bɪn, aʊ jə dʏ:ɪn

12. When you invite friends into your sitting room you say "sit down"

Old   1 sɪt ðɪ dæʊn 2 sɪt dæyn 3 sɪt ðɪ dæyn

Mid   1 sɪt ðɪ dæyn 2 sɪt ðɪ dæyn 3 (kʊm ɪn) sɪt ðɪ dæyn

Ad   1 kʊm ɪn ən sɪt daʊn 2 kʊm ɪn sɪt daʊn   3 meɪk jəsɛlf ət oʊm

Teen   1 sɪt daʊn 2 sɪd daʊn 3 sɪtʔ daʊn   4 sɪtʔ daʊn

13. When they leave at the end of the night you say goodbye (**L**)

Old   1 sɪ ðɪ əgɛn, təɹa: 2 təɹa: 3 sɪ ðɪ

Mid   1 sɪ ðɪ, təɹa: 2 al sɪ ðɪ 3 sɪ ðɪ

Ad   1 sɪ ðɪ, si: jə 2 si: jə əgɛn 3 si: jə, təɹa:

Teen   1 si: jə 2 si: jə 3 si: jə   4 tʃɪ·ʲəz

14. You have to turn down an invitation to stay at your mate's as you have too much to do at work. So

      you say to him "I can't come next week, I'm working

SED 1 wəˈkkɪn 4 wə:kɪn (wəˈkɪn)

Old   1 wə·ˈkɪn 2 wə·ˈkɪn 3 wə·ˈkɪn

Mid   1 wə:kɪn 2 wəkʔkɪn (am gʏ·ɪn ʔ wə·ˈk) 3 wə·ˈkɪn

Ad   1 wə:kɪn 2 wə:kɪn 3 wə:kɪn

Teen   1 wə:kɪn 2 wə:kɪn 3 wə:kɪn 4 wə:kɪn

15. You also say " I won't be able to come for some time, I'm very busy *at the moment*

Old   1 bɪzɪ 2 bɪzɪ 3 bɪzɪ

Mid   1 bɪzɪ 2 bɪzɪ 3 bɪzɪ

Ad   1 bɪzɪ 2 bɪzɪ 3 bɪzɪ

Teen   1 bɪzɪ 2 bɪzɪ 3 bɪzɪ 4 bɪzɪ,

16. During the week children go to school

SED 1 gʊ tə skʏ: 4 gʊ t skᵊu: *CG 'stoo – stool'*

Old   1 skʏ: 2 skʏ:ᵁɫ 3 skʏ:

Mid   1 skʏ: 2 skʏ: (skʏ·ʷʊɫ) 3 skʏ:ᵁɫ

Ad   1 skʏ:ᵁɫ 2 skʏ:ᵁɫ 3 skʏ:ᵁɫ

Teen   1 skʏ:ᵁɫ 2 skʏ:ᵁɫ 3 skʏ:ᵁɫ 4 skʏ:ʷʊɫ

17. If they're ill they <u>stay at home</u>

SED 1 stɒps ə wɒm 4 stɔp ə wäm; *PD 'whom – home'* ; *CG 'whoam, whome – home'*

Old	1 stɒp ət wɒm 2 stɒp ət wɒm 3 stɒp ət wɒm
Mid	1 stɒp ət wɒm (ɪf ðə pɤ·əlɪ) 2 stɒp ət o:m 3 ste: ətʔ to:m
Ad	1 steɪ ət o:m 2 steɪ ət oʊm 3
Teen	1 steɪ ətʔ oʊm 2 steɪ ətʔ oʊm 3 steɪ ətʔ oʊm 4 steɪ ətʔ

18. If they don't get a lift to school they normally <u>walk</u>

Old	1 :k, lɛg ɪt 2 :k ɪt 3 lɛg ɪt, :k
Mid	1 lɛg ɪt 2 3 :k
Ad	1 :k 2 :k 3 :k
Teen	1 :k 2 :k 3 :k 4 :k

19. When you were young you were often told "it's a nice day, go outside and <u>play</u>

SED 1 ple: 4 ple: ; SED Lancs 5-14 (south) ple: , 1-4 (north) le:k

Old	1 ple: 2 ple: 3 ple:
Mid	1 ple: 2 ple: 3 ple:
Ad	1 ple: 2 pleɪ 3 pleɪ
Teen	1 pleɪ 2 pleɪ 3 pleɪ 4 pleɪ

20. If you're not sure about the weather you'd ask somebody who's just come in "It's still raining outside, <u>isn't it</u> *?"*

SED (*isn't he*) 1 ɪnt ɪ   4 ɪnt ɪ

Old	1 ɪntɪt 2 ɪntɪtʰ 3 ɪntɪtʰ
Mid	1 ɪntɪt 2 ɪntɪtʰ 3 ɪntɪt
Ad	1 ɪntɪt 2 ɪntɪt 3 ɪnɪtʔ
Teen	1 ɪntɪt 2 ʔ 3 ɪnɪtʔ 4 ɪntɪt

21. You see some children playing cricket nearby and decide to have a friendly word with them. So you say to them "be careful - if the ball hits the window it will probably <u>break it</u>

SED 1 bɹe:k   4 bɹɜːk (bɹɛk)

Old	1 bɹe:k ɪtʰ 2 bɹɜːk ɪt 3 bɹe:k ɪt

Mid	1 bɹɛkʔ kɪt 2 bɹe:k ɪt 3 bɹe:k ɪt
Ad	1 bɹe:k 2 bɹeɪkʰ 3 bɹeɪk ɪt
(cont)	
Teen	1 bɹe:k 2 bɹeɪk ɪtʔ 3 bɹeɪk ɪtʔ 4 2 bɹeɪkʰ

22. Next day your neighbour asks you "do you know who <u>broke</u> the window?"

SED 1 bɹɒk   4 bɹɔk

Old	1 ʏ: bɹɒk ɪt 2 bɹo:k 3 bɹɒk
Mid	1 bɹɒk ɪt 2 bɹɒk ɪt 3 bɹo:k
Ad	1 bɹo:k ʔ wɪndə 2 bɹoʊk 3 bɹoʊk ðə wɪndə
Teen	1 bɹoʊk 2 ʏ: bɹoʊk əm 3 bɹoʊk 4 2

You reply "it was <u>broken</u> by some kids playing cricket

SED 1 bɹɒkn   4 bɹɔkən

Old	1 bɹɒkʔn 2 bɹo:k 3
Mid	1 bɹɒk ɪt 2 bɹɒk ɪt 3 bɹo:k
Ad	1 bɹo:k ʔ wɪndə 2 bɹoʊk 3 bɹoʊk ðə wɪndə
Teen	1 bɹoʊk 2 ʏ: bɹoʊk əm 3 bɹoʊk 4

23. Your neighbour then asks you "Do you know a glazier <u>who </u>will mend it now"

SED 1 əz   4 ðət (əz, wɒt, u:)

Old	1 azɫ 2 ʏ:ʊɫ 3 azɫ
Mid	1 azɫ 2 ðatl 3 ʏ:ʊɫ
Ad	1 ʏ:ʊɫ 2 ʏ: 3 ʏ:
Teen	1 ʏ: 2 wɒt 3 ʏ: 4 hʏ:

24. If somebody deliberately hit you, you'd warn them by saying "Stop that or <u>I'll hit you"</u>

SED 1 smɛk   4 smak, klæʊt (al gɪv ɪt ðɪ)

Old	1 θʊmp ðɪ wɒn 2 pʊntʔtʃ ðɪ 3 θʊmp ðɪ
Mid	1 θʊmp ðɪ 2 θʊmp ðɪ 3 al ɪtʔ jə
Ad	1 smak jə 2 smak jə ɪn ðə maʊθ 3 pʊnʃ jə
Teen	1 twatʔ jə 2 smak jə 3 smak jə 4 lɛθə jə

25. If they didn't stop you'd <u>hit them</u>

| Old | 1 θʊmp pəm 2 θʊmp pəm   3 gɪv əm ə θʊmp |
| Mid | 1 θʊmp pəm 2 smak əm 3 θʊmp əm |

| Ad | 1 smak əm 2 smak əm wɒn 3 pʊntʔtʃ əm |
| Teen | 1 twaʔ əm 2 smak əm 3 smak əm 4 smak əm |

*26. If they were much bigger than you, you'd probably be very <u>afraid, scared</u> (**L**)*

SED 1 fɹaɪtnt, fɹiːtnt (older) 4 fɹəd, fɹət (pref.)

Old	1 fɪ·ət 2 wɛəɹɪ, s.w. fɪ·ət 3 fɪ·ət
Mid	1 fɪ·ət 2 fɪ·ət 3 fɹaːᶦtənd
Ad	1 skɛəd 2 skɛəd 3 ʊpsɛtʔ, skɛəd
Teen	1 fɹaɪʔnd 2 skɛəd 3 skɛəd 4 fɹaɪʔnd

*27. If somebody asked you why you had a black-eye, you'd say "I got involved in <u>a fight</u> (**L**)*

SED (verb only) 1 fɛɪt 4 fɛɪt

Old	1 fɛɪt 2 pʊntʃ ʊp s.w. fɛɪt 3 fɛɪt
Mid	1 fɹakaː 2 faɪt, skɹap 3 faɪt
Ad	1 skɹap 2 faɪt 3 skɹap
Teen	1 faɪt 2 pʊntʃ ʊp 3 skɹap 4 ?

*28. If somebody kept going on at you , you'd say "Stop <u>annoying me</u>" (**L**)*

CG 'moidered, or moithered – bothered'

Old	1 maɪðəɹɪn 2 naggɪn, maɪðəɹɪn 3 maɪðəɹɪn
Mid	1 maɪðəɹɪn 2 maɪðəɹɪn 3 maɪðəɹɪn
Ad	1 maʊðɪn ɒf s.w. maɪθəɹɪn 2 nagɪn 3 maɪðəɹɪn, aslɪn
Teen	1 pɛstəɹɪn 2 moʊnɪn 3 maɪðəɹɪn 4 gabbɪn ən moʊnɪn

29. If they still kept annoying you, you'd say <u>"Go away"</u>

SED 1 ɒp ɪt, jə goː 4 klɪəɹ æːt, ɔp ɪt ; Lancs 12 goː ɒn 13 bʊgəɹ ɒf 14 jə goː

Old	1 əweː wɪð jə 2 bʊggəɹ ɒf 3 ɒpʔ pɪt
Mid	1 ɒn jə weː 2 gɛt lɒstʰ, pɪs ɒf 3 sɒd ɒf
Ad	1 fʊk ɒf 2 pɪs ɒf 3 gɛtʔ tə fʊk
Teen	1 fʊk ɒf 2 fʊk ɒf 3 fʊk ɒf 4 fʊk ɒf

Part Four

1. What do you call the main room in your house where the family gathers? <u>Sitting- room</u> (**L**)

SED 1 paːˈləɹ 4 fɹʊntɹuːm, paːlə (fɹʊntpaːlə)

Old   1 æʏs ple:s   2 lɪvɪn ɹʏ:m   3 æʏs ple:s

Mid   1 pa:lə   2 fɹʊnt ɹʏ:m 3 læʏndʒ
(cont)

Ad   1 daɪnɪn ɹʏ:m 2 lɪvɪn ɹʏ:m 3 lɪvɪn ɹʏ:m

Teen   1 lɪvɪn ɹʏ:m 2 lɪvɪn ɹʏ:m 3 lɪvɪn ɹʏ:m 4 sɪʔɪn ɹʏ:m, lɪvɪn ɹʏ:m

2. What do you call the main room in the house where you normally eat? Dining-room (**L**)

SED 1 kɪtʃən 4 lɪvɪn ɹu:m

Old   1 lɪvɪn ɹʏ:m   2 daɪnɪn ɹʏ:m   3 lɪvɪn ɹʏ:m

Mid   1 lɪvɪn ɹʏ:m   2 lɪvɪn ɹʏ:m   3 daɪnvɪn ɹʏ:m

Ad   1 daɪnɪn ɹʏ:m 2 daɪnɪn ɹʏ:m 3 daɪnɪn ɹʏ:m

Teen   1 kɪtʃɪn 2 kɪtʃɪn 3 daɪnɪn ɹʏ:m 4 daɪnɪn ɹʏ:m, kɪtʃɪn

3. What do you call the act of putting all the utensils on the table for a meal? lay the table (**L**)

SED 1 le: ʔ te:bl 4 le: ʔᵗ te:bl

Old   1 sɛtɪn ʔ te:bɫ   2 le: ðə te:bɫ   3 sɛtɪn ʔ te:bɫ

Mid   1 sɛt ðə te:bɫ   2 sɛt, le: 3 sɛtʔtɪn ðə te:bɫ

Ad   1 sɛt ʔ te:bɫ   2 sɛt ðə te:bɫ 3 sɛtɪn ðə te:bɫ

Teen   1 sɛtʔɪn ðə teɪbɫ 2 sɛtʔɪn ðə teɪbɫ 3 leɪ ðə teɪbɫ 4 leɪ ðə teɪbɫ

4. You're told "It's your turn to lay the table tonight". You reply "Oh no it's not, I laid *it last night"*

SED 1 le: ʔ te:bl 4 le: ʔᵗ te:bl

Old   1 sɛt   2 le:d 3 sɛt

Mid   1 sɛt ïit   2 sɛt, le:d 3 le:d

Ad   1 sɛt 2 sɛt 3 sɛt ɪt

Teen   1 leɪd 2 leɪd 3 leɪd 4 sɛt

5. In order to stay alive you have got to eat food (**L**)

SED 1 fʏ:d 4 gɹʊb, fu:d

Old   1 fʏ:d   2 fʏ:d   3 fʏ:d

Mid   1 fʏ:d, fɒdə 2 fʏ:d 3 fʏ:d

Ad   1 fʏ:d   2 fʏ:d   3 fʏ:d

Teen   1 fʏ:d   2 fʏ:d   3 fʏ:d 4 fʏ:d

6. If you've got dirty hands, before you eat, you should always wash them

SED 1 wɛɹʃ əm (p.p. wɛɹʃt)   4 wɛʃ əm (p.p. wɛʃt)

Old (cont)	1 wæʃ əm	2 wɛʃ əm	3 wɛʃ əm	
Mid	1 wɛʃ əm	2 wɛʃ əm	3 wɒʃ əme ('older' wɛʃ)	
Ad	1 wɒʃ əm	2 wɒʃ əme	3 wɒʃ əm	
Teen	1 wɒʃ əm	2 wɒʃ əm	3 wɒʃ əme	4 wɒʃ əm

7. Before a meal you're told "Go and wash your hands". You reply " What do you mean, I've already

<u>washed them</u>"

Old	1 wɛʃt əm	2 wɛʃt əme	3 wɛʃt əm	
Mid	1 wɛʃt əm	2 wɛʃt əm	3 wɒʃt əm	
Ad	1 wɒʃt əm	2 wɒʃt əm	3 wɒʃt mï ʲ andz	
Teen	1 wɒʃt əm	2 wɒʃt əm	3 wɒʃt əm	4 wɒʃt əm

8. What do you call the meal you eat in the morning? <u>breakfast</u>

SED 1 bɹɛkfəst 4 bɹɛkfəst

Old	1 bɹɛkfəst	2 bɹɛkfəst	3 bɹɛkfəs	
Mid	1 bɹɛkfəst	2 bɹɛkfəs	3 bɹɛkfəst	
Ad	1 bɹɛkfəst	2 bɹɛkfəst	3 bɹɛkfəst	
Teen	1 bɹɛkfəs	2 bɹɛkfəs	3 bɹɛkfəs	4 bɹɛkfəst

9. And what do you call your midday meal? <u>lunch</u> (**L**)

SED 1   4

Old	1 dɪnə	2 dɪnə	3 dɪnə	
Mid	1 dɪnə	2 dɪnə	3 dɪnə	
Ad	1 dɪnə	2 dɪnə	3 dɪnə	
Teen	1 dɪnə	2 dɪnə	3 dɪnə	4 dɪnə

10. What do you call the meal that some people take to work/school with them? <u>packed-lunch</u> (**L**)

SED 1 tɒmɪ 4 dinə, meːt

Old	1 baggɪn, snap	2 lʊnʃ	3 bagɪn, snap	
Mid	1 lʊntʃ, snap	2 lʊnʃ, dɪnə	3 jə pak ʊp	
Ad	1 lʊntʃ	2 dɪnə	3 lʊntʃ	
Teen	1 snap	2 lʊnʃ	3 lʊntʃ	4 pak lʊntʃ

11. If you hadn't eat anything for ages you'd be very <u>hungry</u> (**L**)

SED 1 ʊŋgɹɪ 4 ʊŋgəɹɪ, pɛkɪʃ *CG 'clem, clam (v.) – to starve for want of food'*

PD 'clam (v.) – to starve'

Old (cont)	1 klɛmd (welɪ klɛmɪn, *almost starving*) 2 ɹi:t klɛmd 3 klɛmd
Mid	1 klɛmd, famɪʃt 2 klɛmd 3 ʊŋɡɹɪ
Ad	1 sta:vɪn 2 sta:vɪn 3 ʊŋɡɹɪ
Teen	1 ʊŋɡɹɪ 2 ʊŋɡɹɪ 3 sta:vɪn 4 sta:vɪn

12. What do you call a small meal that you eat in between main meals? <u>snack</u> (**L**)

SED 1 snap 3 lʊntʃ 4 dɹʊmʊp ; Chs 4-6 lʊntʃ, Chs 1, 3, Db 2 baɡɪn

Old	1 ə ba:tɪn ɒn 2 snak 3 baɪtɪn ɒn
Mid	1 baɪtɪn ɒn 2 baɪtɪn ɒn 3 snak
Ad	1 snak 2 snak 3 snakʔ
Teen	1 snak 2 snak 3 snak 4 snak

13. Vegetarians don't eat <u>meat</u>

SED 1 mi:t, me:t 4 mi:t, me:t (older)

Old	1 me:t 2 me:t, mi:tʰ 3 me:t
Mid	1 me:t 2 mi:t, me:t (older) 3 mi:tʰ
Ad	1 mi:tʰ 2 mi:t 3 mi:tʔ
Teen	1 mi:tʔ 2 mi:tʔ 3 mi:tʔ 4 mi:tʰ

14. What's this (I-p) <u>cabbage</u>

SED 1 kabɪʤ   4 kabɪtʃ

Old	1 kabɪtʃ 2 kabɪʤ 3 kabɪtʃ
Mid	1 kabɪʤ 2 kabɪʤ 3 kabɪʤ
Ad	1 kabɪʤ 2 kabɪʤ 3 kabɪʤ
Teen	1 kabɪʤ 2 kabɪʤ 3 kabɪʤ 4 kabɪʤ

15. What do you call the food that is made from flour, yeast and water and which is often sliced <u>bread</u>

SED 1 bɹɛd   4 bɹɛd

Old	1 bɹɛd 2 bɹɛd 3 bɹɛd
Mid	1 bɹɛd 2 bɹɛd 3 bɹɛd
Ad	1 bɹɛd 2 bɹɛd 3 bɹɛd
Teen	1 bɹɛd 2 bɹɛd 3 bɹɛd 4 bɹɛd

16. If you go into a baker's to buy some, you will usually ask for a <u>loaf of bread</u>

SED 1 loːf   4 luːf

Old	1 loːf 2 (oːlmiːᵘɫ) loːf 3 loːf	
Mid	1 loːf 2 loːf 3 loːf	
Ad	1 ə loʊf 2 loʊf ə bɹɛd 3 loʊf ə bɹɛd	
Teen	1 loʊf ə bɹɛd 2 loʊf ə bɹɛd 3 ə loʊf 4 ə loʊf	

17. Bakers don't just make loaves. Sometimes the dough is made into small round shapes and baked .

What do you call these? <u>bread-rolls</u> (**L**)

CG 'barm – baw – dough rolled up and boiled like a dumpling'

Old	1 kɒb, baːm keːks 2 bap, mʊfɪn, baːm keːk (old kɒb) 3 ə mʊfɪn, kɒb
Mid	1 baːm keːks, kɒbz, mʊfɪnz 2 mʊfɪn, baːm keːk, kɒb 3 kɒb, mʊfɪn
Ad	1 mʊfɪnz, baːm keːk 2 mʊfɪnz, kɒb 3 kɒb
Teen	1 mʊfɪnz, baːm keːk 2 mʊfɪnz 3 baːm keɪk 4 bʊnz, kɒbz

18. If you've eaten too much food and you've got discomfort here, you'd say "I've got <u>belly-ache"</u> (**L**)

SED (*headache*) 1 jɛdwaːˈtʃ 2 jɛdwaːtʃ 4 ɛdeːk *CG 'warch (n.) – pain'* , *PD 'wark (v.) – to throb'*

Old	1 gʊts eːk 2 gʊts eːk 3 gʊts eːk
Mid	1 gʊts eːk 2 gʊts eːk 3 gʊts eːk
Ad	1 bad gʊts 2 gʊt eɪk 3 aːm pɒgdə
Teen	1 gʊt eɪk 2 stʊmək eɪk 3 gʊt eɪk 4 fat stɪtʃ

19. What am I doing now (I) <u>hiccupping</u>

SED 1 ɛkəpɪn   4 ɛkʊp

Old	1 ɪkʔkʊpɪn 2 ɛkʊps ('old' ɹɪftɪn) 3 ɛkʔkʊpɪn
Mid	1 ɪkʔkʊpɪn 2 ɪkʔkʊpɪn 3 hɪkʊpɪn
Ad	1 ɪkʔkʊpɪn 2 ɪkʔkʊpɪn 3 ɪkʊps
Teen	1 ɪkʔkʊpɪn 2 ɪkʔkʊpɪn 3 ɪkʔkʊpɪn 4 ɪkʔkʊpɪn

20. If you hadn't drunk anything since breakfast, by evening you'd be very <u>thirsty</u>

SED 1 dɹɛɪ, θəːˈstɪ   4 dɹæɪ, θəːstɪ

Old	1 θəˈstɪ 2 dɹaɪ 3 θəˈstɪ
Mid	1 paːtʃt 2 θəstɪ 3 θəːstɪ

Ad	1 θəːstɪ 2 θəːstɪ 3 ʔ, θəːstɪ

(cont)

Teen	1 θəːstɪ 2 θəːstɪ 3 θəːstɪ 4 θəːstɪ

21. If you were thirsty, but wanted a hot drink, you'd probably have a <u>cup of tea</u> (**L**)

SED 1 bɹʏː 4 bɹʉː

Old	1 bɹʏː 2 bɹʏː 3 bɹʏː
Mid	1 bɹʏː 2 bɹʏː 3 bɹʏː
Ad	1 bɹʏː 2 bɹʏː 3 bɹʏː
Teen	1 bɹʏː 2 bɹʏː 3 bɹʏː 4 bɹʏː

22. What do you call the action of pouring the water into the teapot and letting it stand for a while

<u>brewing</u>

Old	1 maʃɪn ɪt 2 bɹʏːɪn ɪtʔ tæʏt 3 bɹʏːɪn
Mid	1 ʃtʃʏːɪn 2 bɹʏːɪn 3 bɹʏːɪn ʔ tiː
Ad	1 bɹʏːɪn 2 lɛtɪn ɪt stʃʏː 3 maʃɪn ɪtʔ
Teen	1 mɛkɪn ə bɹʏː 2 meɪkɪn ə bɹʏː 3 meɪkɪn ə bɹʏː 4 stʃʏː

23. After that, when you transfer the drink from the pot into the cup, you say you <u>pour the tea</u>

Old	1 poˑəɹɪn, tiːmɪn 2 poˑəɹɪn 3 poˑəɹɪn
Mid	1 pʏˑəɹɪn ɪt, ('older') tiːmɪn ɪt 2 poˑəɹɪn 3 poˑəɹɪn
Ad	1 ːɹɪn 2 : 3 ːɹɪn ɪtʔ
Teen	1 ːɹɪn 2 ɹɪː 3 ːɹɪn 4 ɹɪː

24. Before you can make a cup of tea, first of all, you have to <u>boil</u> *the water*

SED (*boiling*) 1 bɛɪlɪn (baɪl) 4 bæɪl (bæɪlɪn)

Old	1 bɛɪᵘɫ 2 bɛɪl ɪt 3 bɛɪᵘɫ ʔ watə
Mid	1 bɛɪl ɪt 2 bɒɪl ɪt, ('older') bɛɪᵘɫ 3
Ad	1 bɒɪᵘɫ 2 bɒɪᵘɫ 3 bɒɪᵘɫ ðə ːtə
Teen	1 2 3 4 bɒɪᵘɫ

25. After you've poured a cup of tea, and added milk or sugar, then you would <u>drink it</u> (**L**)

SED 1 sʊppɪn 4 sʊp, dɹɪŋk ; *EDD 'sup – to drink, not necessarily in small mouthfuls'*

Old	1 sʊp ɪt 2 sʊp ɪt 3 sʊp ɪt

Mid	1 sʊp ɪt 2 sʊp ɪt 3 sʊp ɪt
Ad	1 sʊp ɪt 2 sʊp ɪt 3 dɹɪŋk ɪt?
Teen	1 dɹɪŋk ɪt? 2 dɹɪŋk ɪt? 3 dɹɪŋk ɪt? 4 dɹɪŋk ɪt?

If this is a pint of beer, what am I doing with it (I) supping

Old	1 sʊpʔpɪn 2 sʊpʔpɪn 3 sʊpʔpɪn
Mid	1 sʊpɪn, swɪlɪn 2 sʊpʔpɪn 3 sʊpʔpɪn ɪt
Ad	1 sʊpɪn 2 sʊpɪn 3 sʊp (ə pa:ᴵnt)
Teen	1 dɹɪŋkɪn 2 dɹɪŋkɪn ɪt? 3 dɹɪŋkɪn ɪt? 4 sʊpɪn,

26. If somebody picked up your pint by mistake you might say"Here, that's mine, that's yours *over there"*

SED 1 ðaɪn 4 n.a.

Old	1 ðaɪn 2 ðaɪn 3 ðaɪn
Mid	1 ðats ðaɪn, ðats jo·əz 2 jʏ·əz 3 ðaɪn
Ad	1 jo·əz 2 :z 3 :z
Teen	1 :z 2 :z 3 :z 4 :z

*27. In the confusion you're not sure which drink is yours, so you ask "*Whose *is this drink?*

SED 1 ʏ:z 4 ʉ:z

Old	1 ʏ:z 2 ʏ:z 3 ʏ:z
Mid	1 ʏ:z 2 ʏ:z 3 hʏ:z
Ad	1 ʏ:z 2 ʏ:z 3 hʏ:z
Teen	1 ʏ:z 2 hʏ:z 3 ʏ:z 4 ʏ:z

28. Somebody asks you what you do and don't like to eat. You reply "I'm not really bothered, I'll eat anything (**L**)

SED 1 ɒʊt 3   4 ɛʊt (æʊt) ; *CG 'owt (n.) – anything'*

Old	1 æʊt 2 æʏt, ɛnɪθɪn 3 æʊt
Mid	1 æʊt 2 æʏt 3 æʏt, ɛnɪθɪn
Ad	1 æʊt 2 aʊt, ɛnɪθɪn 3 aʊt?, ɛnɪθɪn
Teen	1 aʊt, ɛnɪθɪn 2 aʊt?, ɛnɪθɪn 3 aʊt? 4 aʊt?, ɛnɪθɪn

29. When you were young, your mum would often say to you "Come on eat *all your greens"*

SED 1 e:t 4 e:t (i:t, ɛɪt)

Old   1 e:t   2 e:t əm ʊp   3 e:t

Mid   1 e:t   2 e:t   3 i:t

(cont)

Ad   1 i:t 2 i:t 3   :ɫ jə gɹi:nz

Teen   1 i:tʔ 2 i:tʔ   3 i:tʔ   4 i:tʔ

30. At Xmas you might be asked "Is there any turkey left". You reply "No, I <u>ate</u> *the last bit yesterday"*

SED 1 ɛt 4 ɛtn

  Old   1 ɛt 2 ɛt   3 ɛt

  Mid   1 ɛt 2 ɛt   3 e:t

  Ad   1 ɛt 2 ɛt 3 eɪtʔ

  Teen   1 ɛt 2 eɪtʔ 3 eɪtʔ   4 ɛtʔ

31. You might also be asked "Is there any pudding left?" You say "No, it was all <u>eaten</u> *on Boxing*

Day"

SED 1 ɛtn 4 ɛtn

  Old   1 ɛtᵊn 2 i:tən   3 ɛt

  Mid   1 ɛt 2 ɛt   3 i:tən

  Ad   1 i:ʔ   2 ɛt 3 i:tən

  Teen   1 i:ʔ   2 i:ʔ   3 ɛtʔ 4 i:ʔ

32. Often at Christmas people eat so much they feel uncomfortable. If this was the case, you'd say " my

belly <u>aches</u>"

SED 1 əˈts, wa:ˈtʃ 4 le:mɪn, le:mz

  Old   1 e:ks 2 e:ks 3 e:ks

  Mid   1 e:ks 2 e:ks 3 e:ks

  Ad   1 e:ks, a:m stʊftʰ 2 eɪks 3 eɪks

  Teen   1 e:ks 2 ə:ts 3 ə:ts 4 ə:ts

33. You might be told "If you feel ill, go upstairs and <u>lie down</u>

SED 1 laɪ dɛʊn 4 av ə laɪ dæʊn

  Old   1 la:ᶦ ðɪ dæʊn 2 laɪ dæyn 3 la:ᶦ dæʊn

  Mid   1 laɪ dæyn 2 laɪ dæyn 3 la:ᶦ dæyn

| Ad | 1 laɪ daʊn 2 laɪ daʊn 3 laɪ daʊn |
| Teen | 1 laɪ daʊn 2 laɪ daʊn 3 laɪ daʊn 4 av ə kɪpʰ |

34. Later on, you say "Well, I <u>lay down </u>for half an hour, and now I'm OK.

Old	1 le:d dæʊn 2 le:d dæʏn 3 le:d dæʊn
Mid	1 le:d dæʏn 2 le:d dæʏn 3 le:d dæʏn
Ad	1 le:d daʊn 2 le:d daʊn 3 leɪ daʊn
Teen	1 leɪd daʊn 2 leɪd daʊn 3 leɪd daʊn 4 av bɪn laɪʲɪn

Part Five

1. What do you call flowing water that is smaller than a river? <u>rivulet</u> (**L**)

SED 1 ʏ:z 4 ʉ:z

Old	1 bɹʏ:k 2 bɹʏ:k 3 bɹʏ:k
Mid	1 bɹʊk (bɹʏ:k) 2 bɹʏ:k 3 bɹʊk
Ad	1 stɹi:m 2 stɹi:m 3 stɹi:m
Teen	1 stɹi:m 2 stɹi:m 3 stɹi:m 4 stɹi:m

2. What do you call still water that is surrounded by land, large in size ? <u>lake</u>

Old	1 le:k 2 le:k 3 le:k
Mid	1 le:k 2 le:k 3 le:k
Ad	1 leɪk 2 leɪk 3 leɪk
Teen	1 leɪk 2 leɪk 3 leɪk 4 leɪk

3. What do you call that bit of water that is often found on village greens? <u>Pond</u>

Old	1 pɒnd 2 pɒnd 3 pɒnd
Mid	1 pɒnd 2 pɒnd 3 pɒnd
Ad	1 pɒnd 2 pɒnd 3 pɒnd
Teen	1 pɒnd 2 pɒnd 3 pɒnd 4 pɒnd

4. And a field boundary? (made of stone) <u>wall</u>

SED 1 wɔ:l ('older' wo:) 4 stʊənwɔ:

Old	1 :ɫ 2 :ɫ 3 :ɫ
Mid	1 : 2 :ɫ 3 :ɫ
Ad	1 :ɫ 2 :ɫ 3 w :ɫ

Teen   1   :ɫ 2   :ɫ 3   :ɫ 4   :ɫ

5.   When you cross a field on a right of way, you are walking on a <u>footpath</u>

SED 1 fʊtpaθ 4 tɹak (fʊtɹoːd)

Old	1 fʊtpaθ	2 fʊtpaθ	3 fʊtpaθ
Mid	1 fʊtpaθ	2 fʊtpaθ	3 fʊtpaθ
Ad	1 fʊtpaθ	2 pʊblɪk fʊtpaθ	3 fʊtpaθ
Teen	1 paθ	2 paθ	3 paθ 4 pʊblɪk fʊtpaθ

6.   What do you call a small rural road, for instance the one at Low Leighton called Marsh?… <u>lane</u>

SED 1 loːn 4 leːn

Old	1 leːn ('old' loːn – aɪ loːn, *High Lane*) 2 leːn 3 leːn
Mid	1 leːn 2 leːn 3 leːn
Ad	1 leɪn 2 leɪn 3 leɪn
Teen	1 leɪn 2 leɪn 3 leɪn 4 leɪn

7.   At the side of a lane, if there's not a wall, there's usually a <u>hedge</u>

SED 1 ɛdʒ 4 ɛdʒ

Old	1 ɛdʒ 2 ɛdʒ 3 ʔdʒ
Mid	1 ɛdʒ 2 ɛdʒ 3 hɛdʒ
Ad	1 ɛdʒ 2 ɛdʒ 3 ɛdʒ
Teen	1 ɛdʒ 2 hɛdʒ 3 ɛdʒ 4 ɛdʒ

8. What often build their nests in hedges? <u>birds</u>

SED 1 bəˈdz 4 bəːd, pref. bɹɪd (jʊŋ bɹɪdz) ; *CG 'brid (n.) – a bird'* ; *EDD 'brid' - n.w. midlands*

Old	1 bəːdz (ə bɹɪd, bɹɪdz) 2 bəˈd, ('old' bɹɪd) 3 ə bəˈd, ə bɹɪd
Mid	1 bəːdz, pref. bɹɪdz 2 bəˈdz (bɹɪd) 3 bəˈdz
Ad	1 bəːdz 2 bəːdz 3 bəːdz
Teen	1 bəːdz 2 bəːdz 3 bəːdz 4 bəːdz

9. What do birds lay in their nests? <u>eggs</u>

SED 1 ɛgz 4 ɛgz

Old	1 ɛgz 2 ɛgz 3 ɛgz

Mid	1 ɛgz 2 ɛgz 3 ɛgz
Ad	1 ɛgz 2 ɛgz 3 ɛgz
Teen	1 ɛgz 2 ɛgz 3 ɛgz 4 ɛgz

10. What colour is an egg's yolk? <u>yellow</u>

SED 1 jalə 4 jalə; *EDD 'yaller' - north, north midlands*

Old	1 jɛlə 2 jɛlə 3 jɛlə
Mid	1 jɛlo: 2 jɛlə 3 jɛlə
Ad	1 jɛlə 2 jɛlə 3 jɛlə
Teen	1 jɛlə 2 jɛlə 3 jɛlə 4 jɛlə

11. What do you call the small rodent that lives in hedges, fields and houses? <u>mouse</u>

SED 1 mɛʊs 4 mæʊs

Old	1 s 2 mæys 3 mæʊs
Mid	1 mæʊs 2 mæʊs 3 mæys
Ad	1 mæʊs 2 ə maʊs 3 ə maʊs
Teen	1 maʊs 2 maʊs 3 ə maʊs 4

And two of them? <u>mice</u>

SED 1 mɛɪs 4 maɪs (mæɪs)

Old	1 maɪs 2 maɪs 3 ma:ᴵs
Mid	1 maɪs 2 ma:ᴵs 3 ma:ᴵs
Ad	1 ma:ᴵs 2 maɪs 3 maɪs
Teen	1 maɪs 2 maɪs 3 maɪs 4 ma:ᴵs

12. And what do you call the slightly larger rodent that sometimes lives in the sewers? <u>rat</u>

SED 1 ɹɒt 4 ɹat (pl. ɹɔts)

Old	1 ɹat 2 ɹat 3 ə ɹat
Mid	1 ɹats 2 ɹatʰ 3 ɹat
Ad	1 ɹat 2 ɹatʰ 3 ə ɹatʔ
Teen	1 ɹatʔ 2 ɹatʔ 3 ɹatʔ 4 ɹaʔ

12. What do you call the animal that often hunts for mice and rats? <u>cat</u>

SED (*tomcat*) 1 kat 4 tʊmkjat

| Old | 1 kjat 2 kat 3 kjat |

Mid	1 kat 2 kat, kjat 3 kat
Ad	1 kats 2 katʰ 3 ə kat
Teen	1 katʔ 2 katʔ 3 katʔ 4 kats

14. What do you call the animal that is similar to a rabbit but large? <u>hare</u>

SED 1 ɛːɾ 4 ɛə

Old	1 ə hɛə 2 ɛə 3 ən ɛəˈ
Mid	1 ɛə 2 ɛəˈ 3 ə hɛə
Ad	1 ə hɛə 2 ɛə 3 ə hɛə
Teen	1 ɛə 2 hɛː 3 ɛə 4 ɛː

15. What is the bird that usually hunts at night? <u>owl</u>

SED 1 ɒʊl 4 æʊl

Old	1 æɣl 2 æɣᵁɫ 3 æɣᵁɫ
Mid	1 æɣᵁɫ 2 æɣᵁɫ 3 æɣᵁɫ
Ad	1 aʊᵁɫ 2 ən aʊᵁɫ 3 ən aʊɫ
Teen	1 aʊɫ 2 aʊɫ 3 aʊɫ 4 aʊᵁɫ

16. What do you call that black and white bird, the one in the rhyme that starts "one for sorrow, two for

joy"? <u>magpie</u>

SED 1 4

Old	1 magpaːᶦ 2 magpaɪ 3 magpaːᶦ
Mid	1 magpaːᶦ 2 magpaːᶦ 3 magpaː
Ad	1 magpaːᶦ 2 magpaːᶦ 3 magpaɪ
Teen	1 magpaːᶦ 2 magpaɪ 3 magpaɪ 4 magpaːᶦ

17. What is that black and yellow insect, apart from bees, that can sting you? <u>wasp</u>

SED 1 wasps 4 wasps (was)

Old	1 wɒsp, waps 2 wɒz pl. ('old' waps) 3 waps
Mid	1 wɒsp ('older' waps) 2 wɒsp, waps 3 wɒz (pl.)
Ad	1 wɒsps (pl.) 2 wɒsp 3 ə wɒsp
Teen	1 wɒsps (pl.) 2 wɒsp 3 wɒsp 4 wɒsps (pl.), wapiːz (pl.)

18. What do you call those other common insects, that don't sting or bite, but are a general nuisance?

<u>Flies</u>

SED 1 fli:z 4 flaɪz

Old	1 flaɪz	2 flaɪz	3 fla:ɪz
Mid (cont)	1 flaɪz	2 flaɪz	3 fla:ɪz
Ad	1 flaɪz	2 flaɪz	3 flaɪz
Teen	1 fla:ɪz	2 flaɪz	3 flaɪz 4 flaɪ

19. What are those tiny black things that live in ponds and eventually turn into frogs?

tadpoles (**L**)

SED 1 bʊljɛd 4   ; *CG 'Bullhead – tadpole'; PD 'Bullhead – the fish called the Miller's thumb'*

Old	1 bʊɫjɛd	2 tadpo:lz	3 bʊɫjɛd
Mid	1 bʊɫjɛdz, tadɪz	2 bʊɫjɛd	3 tadpo:ɫ
Ad	1 tadpoʊɫ	2 tadpoʊlz, bʊɫɛd ('used when young')	3 tadpoʊlz
Teen	1 tadpo:lz	2 tadpoʊlz	3 tadpoʊlz 4

20. And what do you call those tiny fish that also live in ponds and rivers and kids frequently try to catch? minnows (**L**)

SED 1 dʒɛkʃa: 'ps 4 dʒakʃa:ps; *CG 'Jacksharp or Sharpling – the small fish called the sticleback'*

Old	1 dʒakʃa:ps	2 dʒakʃa:ps	3 dʒakʃa:p
Mid	1 stɪtlbaks	2 stɪtlbak	3 stɪkᵁɫbak
Ad	1 stɪkᵁɫbak	2 stɪtlbak	3 stɪkᵁɫbak
Teen	1 stɪkᵁɫbaks 2 stɪkᵁɫbaks	3 stɪkᵁɫbaks	4 stɪkᵁɫbak, dʒakʃa:p

21. What's that tree called, that has nuts on it, and which gave it's name to that suburb of Stockport?

.... Grove Hazel

SED 1 azl   4 azəl

Old	1 azᵁɫ	2 e:zᵁɫ	3 azᵁɫ
Mid	1 e:zᵁɫ, azᵁɫ	2 azᵁɫ	3 e:zᵁɫ
Ad	1 e·ɪzᵁɫ	2 heɪzᵁɫ	3 heɪzᵁɫ
Teen	1 eɪzᵁɫ 2 heɪzᵁɫ	3 eɪzᵁɫ	4 eɪzᵁɫ

22. What are those small edible bluey black berries that grow on the moors? bilberries (**L**)

SED 1 wɪmbɹɪz 4

Old	1 wɪmbɹɪz	2 wɪmbɹɪz	3 wɪmbɹɪz

Mid	1 wɪmbɹɪz	2 wɪmbɹɪz	3 wɪmbɹɪz
Ad	1 wɪmbəɹɪz	2 wɪmbəɹɪz	3 wɪmbɹɪz
Teen	1 bɪlbɹɪ	2 bɪlbɹɪ	3 ɪɹdɹɪ	4 blɤ:bɹɪ

23. Some berries you can't eat because they're <u>poisonous</u>

SED 1 pɛɪzn 4 paɪzənəs

Old	1 pɛɪzn	2		3 pɛɪzn	
Mid	1 pɛɪzᵊnəs	2	ᵊnəs, pɛɪzn	3	ᵊnᵉ
Ad	1	2	ᵊnəs	3	ᵊnᵉ
Teen	1	2	3	4

24. Farmers set aside some fields to <u>grow</u> *crops in*

SED 1 gɹo: 4   : (gɹu:)

Old	1 gɹo:	2 gɹo:	3 gɹo:	
Mid	1 gɹo:	2 gɹo:	3 gɹo:	
Ad	1 gɹoʊ	2 gɹoʊ	3	
Teen	1 gɹoʊ	2 gɹoʊ	3 gɹoʊ	4

A farmer tells you "I'm growing wheat this year, but last year I <u>grew</u> *barley*

SED 1 gɹɤ: 4   : (gɹɪʉ:)

Old	1 gɹo:d	2 gɹɤ:	3 gɹo:d	
Mid	1 gɹɤ:	2 gɹɤ:	3 gɹɤ:	
Ad	1 gɹɤ:	2 gɹɤ:	3 gɹɤ:	
Teen	1 gɹɤ:	2 gɹɤ:	3 gɹɤ:	4 gɹɤ

Then you ask the farmer "What other crops have you <u>grown</u> *this year*

SED 4 gɹoʊən

Old	1 gɹo:n	2 gɹo:n	3 gɹo:n	
Mid	1 gɹɤ:	2 gɹɤ:, gɹo:n	3 gɹo:n	
Ad	1 gɹoʊn	2 gɹoʊən	3 gɹoʊən	
Teen	1 gɹoʊn	2 gɹoʊn	3 gɹoʊn	4 gɹoʊən

25. Another farmer tells you "I'm leaving my fields fallow this year, I'm growing <u>nothing</u>*"* (**L**)

SED 1 nɒʊt 4 næʊt (nɔʊt, nɛʊt,   ); *CG 'nought, nowt, naught; PD 'nought'*

Old	1 næʊt	2 næɤt	3 næʊt

Mid	1 nævt 2 nævt 3 nævt
Ad	1 naʊt 2 naʊt 3 (am nɒt?) naʊt, nʊθɪn
Teen	1 naʊt? 2 naʊt?, nʊθɪn 3 naʊt? 4 naʊt?, nʊθɪn, (pref.) ʤakʃɪt?

26.*What do you do in the garden with a spade?*   dig

SED 1 dɪg   4 dɛlvɪn (dɪg)

Old	1 dɪgᵊ 2 dɪg 3 dɪg
Mid	1 dɪg ɪt 2 dɪg 3 dɪg
Ad	1 dɪg 2 dɪg 3 dɪg
Teen	1 dɪg 2 dɪg 3 dɪg 4 dɪg

27. *If your spade's broken, you ask a neighbour "Could you* lend me *a spade?"* (**L**)

SED 1 lɛn   4 lɛn mɪ

Old	1 lɛnd ʊz 2 bɒɹə 3 bɒɹə
Mid	1 bɒɹə 2 bɒɹə 3 lɛn
Ad	1 bɒɹə 2 bɒɹə, lɛnd ʊz 3 bɒɹə
Teen	1 bɒɹə 2 lɛn mɪ 3 lɛnd 4 bɒɹə

28. *You ask him when he wants it back. He says "Oh, it doesn't matter, give it me back*

anytime" (**L**)

SED 1 ɒnɪ taɪm   4 ɛnɪ taɪm

Old	1 ɛnɪta:ˈm 2 ɛnɪta:m 3 ɛnɪta:ˈm
Mid	1 wɛn ðəz fɪnɪʃt wɪð ɪt 2 wɛnɛvə 3 ɛnɪta:m, wɛnɛvə
Ad	1 wɛnɛvə 2 wɛn jə ɹɛdɪ 3 wɛn jə wɒnt?
Teen	1 wɛnɛvə 2 wɛnɛvə 3 wɛnɛvə 4 wɛnɛvə

Part Six

1. *What do you call the big object in the sky that shines in the day, providing us with warmth and light?*

sun

SED 1 sʊn   4 sʊn

Old	1 sʊn 2 ðə sʊn 3 sʊn

Mid	1 sʊn	2 sʊn	3 sʊn	
Ad	1 sʊn	2 sʊn	3 sʊn	
Teen	1 sʊn	2 sʊn	3 sʊn	4 sʊn

2. And the object in the sky that is often visible at night and is sometimes crescent-shaped? <u>moon</u>

SED 1 mʏːn 4 müːn

Old	1 mʏːn	2 mʏːn	3 mʏːn	
Mid	1 mʏːn	2 mʏːn	3 mʏːn	
Ad	1 mʏːn	2 mʏːn	3 mʏːn	
Teen	1 mʏːn	2 mʏːn	3 mʏːn	4 mʏːn

3. What do you call the fluffy white objects in the sky that often block out the sun? <u>clouds</u>

SED 1   4 klæʊdz; Db 3, 5, 7 [tl]; Chs 3, 4, 5, 6 [tl]; La 3, 8, 11, 13 [tl]

PD (*Introduction by Thomas Hallam*) *'c before l is [t]'*

Old	1 dz	2 ðə tlæʏdz	3 dz	
Mid	1 tlæʏdz	2 klæʏdz	3 klæʏdz	
Ad	1 klæʊdz	2 klaʊdz	3 klaudz	
Teen	1 klaʊdz	2 klaʊdz	3 klaʊdz	4

4. Often in November, when you go outside, you can't see very far because of <u>fog</u>

SED 1, 3 fɒgə 4 fɔg ; Db 3, La 12 fɒgə

Old	1 fɒgə	2 ðə fɒgə	3 fɒgə	
Mid	1 fɒgə	2 fɒgə	3 ðə fɒgə	
Ad	1 fɒg	2 fɒgə	3 fɒg	
Teen	1 ðə fɒgə	2 ðə fɒg	3 fɒg	4 fɒgə

5. In the morning the ground is sometimes damp because of the <u>dew</u>

SED 1 dʒʏː 4 djʉː Chs 3, 5, 6 dʒʏː

Old	1 dʒʏː	2 dʒʏː	3 dʒʏː	
Mid	1 dʒʏː	2 dʒʏː	3 dʒʏː	
Ad	1 dʒʏː	2 dʒʏː	3 dʒʏː	
Teen	1 dʒʏː	2 dʒʏː	3 dʒʏː	4 dʒʏː

6. If it's raining and you haven't got a coat or umbrella you'll get <u>wet</u>

SED 1 wiːt 4 wɛt

Old	1 wɛt, wiːtʰ 2 wɛtʰ 3 wiːt, wɛtʰ
Mid (cont)	1 dɹɛnʃtʰ 2 wɛtʰ 3 wɛtʰ
Ad	1 wɛtʰ 2 wɛtʰ 3 wɛtʔ
Teen	1 wɛtʰ 2 wɛtʔ 3 wɛtʔ 4 wɛtʔ

7. If you got wet and caught a cold, you'd be told "It's no good moaning, it's your <u>own fault</u>

SED 1 oːn fɒlt 4 oːn fɔːt ;   Db 2 fɒlt

Old	1 oːn fɒlt 2 oːn fɒlt 3 oːn fɒʊt
Mid	1 oːn fɒlt 2 oːn fɒʊt 3 oːn fɒlt
Ad	1 oʊn fɒlt 2 oʊn fɒlt 3 oʊn fɒltʔ
Teen	1 oʊn fɒltʔ 2 oʊn fɒɫʔ 3 oʊn fɒltʔ 4 oʊn fɒlt

8. When you've got a cold, you usually start sneezing and <u>coughing</u>

SED 1 kɒffɪn 4 kœfɪn (ɔsk - animals) ; Ch 3 ʊsk

Old	1 kɒfɪn 2 kɒfɪn 3 kɒffɪn
Mid	1 kɒfɪn (fiˑʲʊɫ ə bɪt ʊskɪ) 2 kɒffɪn 3 kɒfɪn
Ad	1 kɒfɪn 2 kɒffɪn 3 kɒfɪn
Teen	1 kɒfɪn 2 kɒfɪn 3 kɒfɪn 4 kɒfɪn

9. If there's ice on the ground it can't be mild, it must be very <u>cold</u>

SED (room) 1 kɒʊd   4 kɛʊd (kaʊd) ; La 1-3 kaːld, kaːd La 4-13 kɛʊd (æʊ, ɔʊ, ɒʊ etc.)

Old	1 kæʊd 2 kæʊd 3 kæʊd
Mid	1 d 2 kæʊd 3 kæɤd
Ad	1 kæʊd, kɒld 2 kɒʊd 3 kɒld
Teen	1 fɹiːzɪn, kɒld 2 kɒld 3 kɒld 4 kɒʊd

10. If it's like this (icy) and you went outside with only a tee-shirt on, you'd be very <u>cold</u>

Old	1 kæʊd 2 kæʊd 3 kæʊd
Mid	1 kæʊd 2 kæʊd 3 kæɤd
Ad	1 kæʊd 2 kɒʊd 3 kɒld
Teen	1 kɒld 2 kɒʊd 3 kɒld 4 kɒʊd, fɹiːzɪn

11. If you had stayed out all night in the snow, with no clothes on, you'd almost certainly have <u>frozen</u> to death. (**L**)

SED 1 staːˈvd ʔ dɛθ 4 staːvnt tʔ dɪəθ

Old	1 staːvd ʔ dɪəθ 2 staːvd ʔ dɛθ 3 staːvd ʔ dɪəθ
Mid	1 staːvdʰ, staːv tə dɛθ 2 staːvd ʔ dɛθ 3 staːvd
Ad	1 fɹoːzn ʔ dɛθ 2 fɹoʊzn 3 fɹoʊzən tə dɛθ
Teen	1 fɹoʊzən tə dɛθ 2 fɹoʊz tə dɛθ 3 fɹoʊz tə dɛθ 4 θ

12. If you wanted to keep your hands warm, you'd put on a pair of <u>gloves</u>

SED 1 dlʊvz 4 dlʊvz (mɪtɪnz);   *PD* (*Introduction by Thomas Hallam*) *'g before l is [d]'*

Old	1 dlʊvz 2 dlʊvz 3 dlʊvz
Mid	1 glʊvz 2 dlʊvz 3 glʊvz
Ad	1 glʊvz 2 glʊvz 3 glʊvz
Teen	1 glʊvz 2 glʊvz 3 glʊvz 4 glʊvz

13. If it's freezing outside, dripping water will form into <u>icicles</u>

SED 1 aɪsɪtlz 4 aɪsɪklz; Ch 3 (only) tl ; Db 4, 5, 6, 7 kl ; La 9, 10, 12 tl

Old	1 aɪsɪkᵁɫz 2 aɪsɪkᵁɫz 3 aɪsɪtlz
Mid	1 aɪsɪtlz 2 aɪsɪkᵁɫz 3 aɪsɪkᵁɫz
Ad	1 aɪsɪkᵁɫz 2 aɪsɪkᵁɫz 3 aɪsɪkᵁɫz
Teen	1 g aɪsɪkᵁɫz 2 aɪsɪkᵁɫz 3 aɪsɪkᵁɫz 4 aɪsɪkᵁɫz

14. If there's snow and ice on the ground, underfoot it is very <u>slippery</u> (**L**)

SED 1 slɪppɪ 4 slɪpɪ ; Db 3 slɪppɪ ; La 10, 11 slɪppɪ

Old	1 slɪpɪ 2 slɪpɪ 3 slɪpʔpɪ
Mid	1 slɪpʔpɪ 2 slɪpɪ 3 slɪpɪ
Ad	1 slɪpɪ 2 slɪpɪ 3 slɪpɪ
Teen	1 slɪpɪ 2 slɪpɪ 3 slɪpɪ 4 slɪpɪ

15. When it is raining heavily you'd say it was <u>pouring</u> (**L**)

Old	1 tʃʊkʔkɪn ɪtʔ n 2 poˑəɹɪn 3 poˑəɹɪn, tʃʊkʔkɪn ɪtʔ dæʊn
Mid	1 ːɹɪn, tiːmɪn 2 poˑəɹɪn, tʃʊkʔkɪn ɪtʔ n 3 θɹaʃɪn ɪtʔ dæʏn
Ad	1 tʃʊkɪn ɪtʔ dæʊn 2 pɪsɪn daʊn 3 laʃɪn ɪtʔ daʊn
Teen	1 tʃʊkɪn ɪtʔ daʊn 2 tʃʊkɪn ɪtʔ daʊn 3 tʃʊkɪn ɪtʔ daʊn 4 tʃʊkɪn ɪtʔ

16. If it's not raining and the sky is blue then it's <u>fine</u>

Old	1 faːᶦn 2 faːᶦn 3 faɪn
Mid	1 faɪn 2 faːᶦn 3 ɪts faːn
Ad	1 faːᶦn 2 faːᶦn (naːs ən sʊnɪ) 3 sʊnɪ, faɪn
Teen	1 faɪn 2 faɪn 3 faɪn 4 klïə, faːᶦn

17. If it's sunny and the temperature is high you say it's <u>hot</u> (**L**)

Old	1 ɪts ɒtʰ 2 ɹoːstɪn, waːm 3
(cont)	
Mid	1 ɹoːstɪn, vɛɹɪ ɒt 2 ɹoːstɪn 3 swɛltəɹɪn
Ad	1 ɒt, 2 hɒt, ɹoʊstɪn 3 ɹoʊstɪn,
Teen	1 hɒtʔ, ɹoʊstɪn 2 ɒtʔ, 3 ɒtʔ, ɹoʊstɪn 4 bəːnɪn

18. When it hasn't rained the ground is <u>dry</u>

SED ('*summer has been very…*') 1 dɹɛɪ 4 (dɹaɪ)

Old	1 2 dɹaːᶦ 3 dɹaːᶦ
Mid	1 paːʧtʰ 2 dɹaɪ 3 dɹaː
Ad	1 dɹaːᶦ 2 dɹaːᶦ 3 dɹaɪ
Teen	1 dɹaːᶦ 2 dɹaɪ 3 dɹaɪ 4 dɹaːᶦ

Part Seven

1. How many hands have you got? <u>Two</u>

SED 1 tʏː 4 tʉː ; Ch 1 tʏː ; (other) Db tɛʊ

Old	1 tʏː 2 tʏː 3 tʏː
Mid	1 tʏː 2 tʏː 3 tʏː
Ad	1 tʏː 2 tʏː 3 tʏː
Teen	1 tʏː 2 tʏː 3 tʏː 4 tʏː

2. Three plus one is <u>four</u>

SED 1 foəˑᶴ 4 fʊə (fɔə) ; (other) Ch, Db foə, foˑə

Old	1 foˑə 2 foˑə (fʊə) 3 foˑəᶴ
Mid	1 foˑə 2 foˑə 3 foˑə
Ad	1 foə (fʊə) 2 ː 3 ː
Teen	1 ː 2 ː 3 ː 4 ː

3. *How many days in a week* <u>seven</u>

SED 1 sɛvən 4 sɛvn (sɛvən)

Old	1 sɛvən 2 sɛvən 3 sɛvən
Mid	1 sɛvən 2 sɛvən 3
Ad	1 sɛvən 2 sɛvən 3
Teen	1 sɛvən 2 sɛvən 3 sɛvən 4

4. *One more than seven is* <u>eight</u>

SED 1 ɛɪt 4 ɛɪt (e:t)

Old	1 ɛɪt 2 ɛɪt 3 ɛɪt
Mid	1 ɛɪtʰ 2 ɛɪt 3 ɛɪt
Ad	1 ɛɪt 2 ɛɪt 3 eɪtʔ
Teen	1 eɪt 2 eɪtʔ 3 eɪtʔ 4 eɪtʔ

5. *One less than a dozen is* <u>eleven</u>

SED 1 ɪlɛvən 4 əlɛvn

Old	1 ɪlɛvən 2 ɪlɛvən 3 ɪlɛvən
Mid	1 ɪlɛvən 2 ɪlɛvən 3 ɪlɛvən
Ad	1 ɪlɛvən 2 ɪlɛvən 3
Teen	1 ɪlɛvən 2 ɪlɛvən 3 ɪlɛvən 4 ɪlɛvən

6. *Unlucky for some is* <u>thirteen</u>

SED 1 θəˈtti:n 4 θə:tɪn (θəʔti:n)

Old	1 θətʔti:n 2 θəˑˈti:n 3 θətʔti:n
Mid	1 θəˑˈti:n 2 θətʔti:n 3 θə:ti:n
Ad	1 θə:ti:n 2 θə:ti:n 3 θə:ti:n
Teen	1 θə:ti:n 2 θə:ti:n 3 θə:ti:n 4 θəˑʔi:n

7. *You come of age when you're* <u>twenty one</u>

SED 1 twɛntɪwɒn 4 twɛntɪwɔn

Old	1 twɛntɪ wɒn 2 twɛntɪ wɒn 3 twɛntɪ wɒn
Mid	1 twɛntɪ wɒn 2 twɛntɪ wɒn 3 twɛntɪ wɒn
Ad	1 twɛnɪ wɒn 2 twɛntɪ wɒn 3 twɛnɪ wɒn

Teen   1 twɛnɪ wɒn   2 twɛnɪ wɒn 3 twɛnɪ wɒn 4 twɛnɪ wɒn

8. *Give the next two numbers in this sequence: 10,20,* <u>thirty, forty</u>

SED 1 θəˈttɪ, fɔːˈtɪ 4 θəːtɪ, fɔːtɪ (fɔʔtɪ)

Old   1 θətʔtɪ, foˑətɪ 2 θəˑˈtɪ, foˑətɪ 3 θəˑˈtɪ, foˑətɪ
Mid   1 θəˑtɪ, :tɪ 2 θəˑtɪ, foˑətɪ 3 θəˑˈtɪ, :tɪ
Ad   1 θəːtɪ, foˑətɪ 2 θəːtɪ, :tɪ 3 θəːtɪ, :tɪ
Teen   1 θətʔɪ, :tʔɪ 2 θətʔɪ, ʔɪ 3 θəˑʔɪ, ʔɪ 4 θətʔɪ, :tʔɪ

9. *One century is a* <u>hundred years</u>

SED 1 ʊndəˈt 4 ʊndɹət ; Db 3, 4, 6, 7 ʊndəd ; Ch 1, 4, 5 ʊndət ; Ch 3, 6, –dəd

Old   1 ʊndɪd jïə 2 ʊndɹəd 3 ʊndəd
Mid   1 ʊndɹət 2 ʊndɹəd 3 ʊndəd
Ad   1 ʊndɹəd 2 ʊndɹəd 3 hʊndɹəd
Teen   1 ʊndɹəd 2 ʊndɹəd 3 ʊndɹəd 4 ʊndɹɪd jəːz

10. *Ten times a hundred is* <u>a thousand</u>

SED 1 θ   4 θæʊzənd

Old   1 θæʊzənd 2 θæʏzənd 3 θæʊzənd
Mid   1 θæʏzənd 2 θæʏzənd 3 θæʏzənd
Ad   1 θæʊzənd 2 θaʊzᵊnd 3 θ
Teen   1 θaʊzənd 2 θaʊzənd 3 θaʊzənd 4 θ

11. *New Year's Day is on the* <u>first of January</u>

SED 1 fəˈst 4 fəːst (fɔst, fʊst) ; Db 2 fʊst; 3, 4 fəːst; 6, 7 fəst ; Db 5, 7, Ch fɔst, fʊst

Old   1 fəˈst əv dʒanjʏˑɛɹɪ 2 fəˈst əv dʒanjʏˑɹɪ 3 ðə fəst
Mid   1 fəst əv dʒanjʏˑɹɪ 2 fəst əv dʒanjʏˑɹɪ 3 fəːst əv dʒanjʏˑɛɹɪ
Ad   1 fəst əv dʒanjʏəɹɪ 2 fəːst əv dʒanjʏˑɛɹɪ 3 fəːst əv dʒanjʏˑɛɹɪ
Teen   1 ðə fəːst 2 fəːst ə dʒanjʏˑɹɪ 3 fəːst ə dʒanjʏˑɹɪ 4 fəːst əv dʒanjʏˑɹɪ

12. *Bonfire night is on the* <u>fifth of November</u>

SED 1 fɪft 4 fɪft ; Db 2, 3, 4, 6, 7; Ch 1, 3, ,5 fɪfθ; Db 5, Ch 6 fɪft

Old   1 fɪθ noːvɛmbə 2 fɪθ ə noːvɛmbə 3 fɪθ ə noːvɛmbə
Mid   1 fɪf ə noːvɛmbə 2 fɪθ ə noːvɛmbə 3 fɪθ əv noːvɛmbə

Ad   1 fɪθ ə noʊvɛmbə   2 fɪθ ə noʊvɛmbə 3 fɪθ ə noʊvɛmbə

Teen   1 fɪθ noʊvɛmbə 2 fɪθ ə noʊvɛmbə 3 fɪθ ə noʊvɛmbə 4 fɪθ ə noʊvɛmbə

13. You might say "I did it not three times, not twice but only <u>once</u>

SED 1 wɒns 4 wʊns ; Db 1-3 wɒns; 4, 6, 7; Ch 3, 6, Db 4-7 wʊns

Old   1 wʊns 2 wʊns 3 wɒns

Mid   1 wʊns 2 wɒns 3 wɒns

Ad   1 wɒns 2 wɒns 3 wɒns

Teen   1 wɒns 2 wɒns 3 wɒns 4 wɒns

14. What time is this (I) <u>half past one</u>

SED 1 e:f pas 4 e:f pas

Old   1 e:f pas wɒn 2 af pas wɒn 3 e:f pas wɒn

Mid   1 e:f wɒn 2 e:f pas wɒn (af pas wɒn) 3 af pas wɒn

Ad   1 af pas wɒn 2 af pas wɒn 3 af pas wɒn

Teen   1 af pas wɒn 2 af pas wɒn 3 af pas wɒn 4 af pas wɒn

15. What time is this (I) <u>twenty five to three</u>

SED 1 twɛntɪ faɪv tə θɹi: 4 twɛntɪ faɪv mɪnɪts tə θɹɪð; Db 3, 5, 6, 7 *'five and twenty to'*

Old   1 twɛntɪ faːᶦv tə θɹi: 2 twɛntɪ faːᶦv tə θɹi: 3 twɛntɪ faːv tə θɹi:

Mid   1 twɛnɪ faːᶦv tə θɹɪð: 2 twɛnɪ faːv tə θɹɪð: 3 twɛntɪ faːv tə θɹɪð:

Ad   1 twɛnɪ faːv tə θɹi: 2 twɛnɪ faːᶦv tə θɹi: 3 twɛnɪ faːᶦv tə θɹi:

Teen   1 twɛnɪ faːᶦv tə θɹi: 2 twɛnɪ faːᶦv tə θɹi: 3 twɛnɪ faːᶦv tə θɹi: 4 twɛnɪ faːv tə θɹi:

16. How tall are you ?   ** <u>feet</u>

SED 1 fi:t, fʊt   4 fʉ:t

Old   1 fʊt 2 fʊt 3 fʊt

Mid   1 fʊt 2 fʊt 3 fʊt

Ad   1 fʊt 2 fʊt 3 fʊt

Teen   1 fʊt 2 fʊt 3 fʊt 4 fʊt

17. If you're 5' 11" and somebody asked if you were 6', you'd say "Well, <u>almost"</u>

SED 1 naːˤʃɪnʊf   4 nə fəːɹ ɔf (vɛɹɪ nɪəɹ)

Old   1 nɒtʔ kwaːᶦtʰ 2 ɔːmoːst 3 vɛɹɪ nɪə, ɔːmoːst

Mid   1 nɪəˑɹ   2 nɒtʔ kwaːᶦ, :moːst 3 nɪəlɪ

Ad   1 nɪʲəlɪ, nɒtʔ kwa:t 2 a nɪəlɪ am   3 nɒtʔ kwaɪtʔ

Teen   1 :ɫmoʊst 2 :ɫmoʊst 3   :ɫmoʊs 4

Part Eight

1. Another word for"two weeks" is a <u>fortnight</u>

SED 1 fɔ:ˈtnɪt   4 fɔtnɪt

Old   1 fɔ:tʔnɪt 2 fɔ:tʔnɪt 3   :tʔnɪt

Mid   1   :tʔnɪt 2   :tʔnɪt 3   :tʔnaːɪtʰ

Ad   1   :tʔnaːɪt, :tʔnɪt 2   :tʔnaːɪt 3   :tʔnaɪtʔ

Teen   1   :tʔnaːɪtʔ 2   :tʔnaːɪtʔ 3   :tʔnaːɪtʔ 4 :tʔnaːɪtʔ

2. The season after winter is <u>spring</u>

SED 1 spɹɪŋg   4 spɹɪŋg

Old   1 spɹɪŋg 2 spɹɪŋg 3 spɹɪŋg

Mid   1 spɹɪŋg 2 spɹɪŋg 3 spɹɪŋg

Ad   1 spɹɪŋg 2 spɹɪŋg 3 spɹɪŋg

Teen   1 spɹɪŋg 2 spɹɪŋg 3 spɹɪŋg 4 spɹɪŋg

3. And the season before winter is <u>autumn</u> (**L**)

SED 1 bakɛnd   4 bakɛnd

Old   1 bakɛnd 2 bakɛnd 3 bakɛnd

Mid   1 bakɛnd 2 bakɛnd 3 bakɛnd

Ad   1   :təm 2   :təm 3   :təm

Teen   1   :təm 2   :təm 3   :təm 4   :təm

4. All the seasons together make up a <u>year</u>

SED (*a ... ago*) 1 ə jə:ˈ   4 ə jɪəɹ əgʊə ; (*this ...*) 1 ðɪs jə:ˈ   4 ðɪs ɪə ; Ch (all) ɪə / ɛɪə

Old   1 ə jïə 2 ə jïə (jə:) 3 ə jïə

Mid   1 ə jïə 2 ə jïə 3 ə jə:

Ad   1 ə jïə 2 ə jə: 3 ə jïə

Teen   1 ə jə: 2 ə jə: 3 ə jə: 4 ə jə:

5. 1988 was about <u>ten years</u> *ago*

SED (*two ... ago*) 1 jəˈ   4 jɪə

Old	1 tɛn jə: bak 2 tɛn jəˈz bak 3 tɛn jə: sɪn
Mid (cont)	1 tɛn jɪə bak 2 tɛn jə:ˈɹ əgo: 3 tɛn jə:z bak
Ad	1 tɛn jɪəɹ əgoʊ 2 tɛn jə: bak 3 tɛn jɪəz əgoʊ
Teen	1 tɛn jə:ɹ əgoʊ 2 tɛn jə:z əgoʊ 3 tɛn jə:z əgoʊ 4 tɛn jə:z əgoʊ

6. The day before today was <u>yesterday</u>

SED 1 jɪstəde: 4 jɪstədɪ

Old	1 jɛstəde: 2 jɛstəde: 3 jɛstəde: (jɪstədɪ)
(cont)	
Mid	1 jɛstəde: 2 jɛstəde: 3 jɪstəde:
Ad	1 jɛstədɪ 2 jɛstədɪ 3 jɛstədeɪ
Teen	1 jɛstədɪ 2 jɛstədeɪ 3 jɛstədeɪ 4 jɛstədeɪ

7. And yesterday evening was <u>last night</u>

SED 1 la:s ni:t   4 last ni:t

Old	1 las ni:t 2 las ni:t 3 las ni:t
Mid	1 last? ni:t 2 las ni:t 3 las na:ɪt?
Ad	1 las na:ɪt 2 las na:ɪt 3 las naɪt?
Teen	1 las na:ɪt? 2 las na:ɪt? 3 las na:ɪt? 4 las naɪ?

8. This evening is <u>tonight</u>

SED 1 təni:t   4 təni:t ; Db 4, 5, 6, 7; Ch 1, 2, 4 tənɛɪt

Old	1 təni:t 2 təni:t 3 təni:t
Mid	1 təni:t 2 təni:t 3 təna:t (təni:t)
Ad	1 təna:ɪt (təni:t) 2 təna:ɪt 3 təna:ɪt?
Teen	1 təna:ɪt? 2 tənaɪt? 3 təna:ɪt? 4 təna:ɪt?

9. Somebody asks you to look for the car keys. You reply "It's too late now, I'll do it first thing in

the <u>morning</u>

SED 1 mɔ:ˤnɪn   4 mɔənɪn

Old	1	2 :nɪn 3 ɪn ᵗ?
Mid	1 :nɪn 2 ɪn ᵗ?	3 :nɪn
Ad	1 :nɪn 2 :nɪn 3 :nɪn

Teen   1   :nɪn 2   :nɪn 3   :nɪn 4   :nɪn

10. Next morning, somebody says "I hope they're not lost, do you think you will <u>find them?"</u>

SED 1 faɪnd 4 fæɪnd (fɑɪnd)

(cont)
Old   1 faɪnd əm 2 fa:ᶦnd əm 3 faɪnd əm
Mid   1   2 fa:ᶦnd əm 3 fa:ᶦnd əm
Ad   1 fa:ᶦnd əm 2 fa:ᶦnd əm 3 faɪnd əm
Teen   1 fa:ᶦnd əm 2 faɪnd əm 3 faɪnd əm 4 fa:ᶦnd əm

11. A bit later you are asked "Has anybody <u>found</u> *them yet?"*

SED (room) 1 fʊn   4 fʊn (fʊnd) ;

Old   1 fæʊn ʔ ki:z 2 fæɤnd əm   3 fæʊnd əm
Mid   1 fæɤnd əm 2 fæɤnd əm 3 fæɤnd əm
Ad   1 fæɤnd əm jɛt 2 faʊnd əm 3 faʊnd əm
Teen   1 faʊnd əm 2 faʊnd əm 3 faʊnd əm 4 faʊnd əm

12. You reply "No, they've not been <u>found"</u>

Old   1 fʊn jɛt 2 ant fæɤnd əm 3 fʊn
Mid   1 fʊn 2 fæɤnd ('old' fʊn) 3 ant fæɤnd əm
Ad   1 fæɤnd jɛt 2 faʊnd   3 ant faʊnd əm
Teen   1 antʔ bɪn faʊnd 2 faʊnd 3 faʊnd 4   nd

13. The day after Monday is <u>Tuesday</u>

SED 1 tʃɤ:zdɪ   4 tʃʉ:zdɪ

Old   1 tʃɤ:zdɪ 2 tʃɤ:zdɪ 3 tʃɤ:zdɪ
Mid   1 tʃɤ:zdɪ 2 tʃɤ:zdɪ 3 tʃɤ:zdɪ
Ad   1 tʃɤ:zdɪ 2 tʃɤ:zdɪ 3 tʃɤ:zdɪ
Teen   1 tʃɤ:zdɪ 2 tʃɤ:zdɪ 3 tʃɤ:zdɪ 4 tʃɤ:zdɪ

14. And the day before Sunday is <u>Saturday</u>

SED 1 sɛtdi   4 sɛʔtdɪ ; Ch 3, 4, 6; Db 4 satdɪ ; Ch 1, 5 ;Db 2, 3, 5-7 sɛt−

Old   1 satʔdɪ 2 satədɪ (satʔdɪ) 3 satʔdɪ

Mid	1 satʔdɪ, sɛtʔdɪ 2 satʔdɪ 3 satədɪ
Ad	1 satʔdɪ 2 satʔdɪ 3 satədɪ
Teen	1 satʔdɪ 2 satədɪ 3 satədɪ 4 satʔdɪ

15. It is typical that at the weekend, when people are off work, it nearly <u>always </u>rains

SED 1 ɔ:ləs   4 (ɔ:ləs, ɔ:ləz)

(cont)

Old	1 ɔ:we:z (ɔ:wɪz) 2 ɔ:we:z ('older' ɔ:ləs) 3 ɔ:wɪz
Mid	1 ɔ:we:z 2 ɔ:we:z 3 ɔ:ɫwe:z (ɔ:wɪz)
Ad	1 ɔ:wɪz 2 :ɫweɪz 3 :ɫweɪz
Teen	1 ɔ:wɪz 2 :ɫweɪz 3 :ɫwɪz 4 :ɫweɪz

16. What's the month after March ? <u>April</u>

SED 1 e:pɹɪl   4 e:pɹɪl

Old	1 e:pɹɪl 2 e:pɹɪl 3 e:pɹɪl
Mid	1 e:pɹɪl 2 e:pɹɪl 3 e:pɹɪl
Ad	1 e:pɹɪl 2 eɪpɹɪl 3 eɪpɹɪl
Teen	1 e:pɹɪl 2 eɪpɹɪl 3 eɪpɹɪl 4 eɪpɹɪl

17. On the first of this month, if a trick is played on somebody, we call them an <u>April fool</u>

SED 1 ən e:pɹɪl fɤ: 4 ə e:pɹɪl fu: ; Db 2-7 –l ; Ch (all) –ø ; *CG 'foo – fool'*

Old	1 ən e:pɹɪl fɤ: 2 ən e:pɹɪl fɤ·ʊɫ 3 e:pɹɪl fɤ:
Mid	1 ən e:pɹɪl fɤ·ʊɫ, fɤ: 2 e:pɹɪl fɤ: 3 ən e:pɹɪl fɤ:ᵘɫ
Ad	1 e:pɹɪl fɤ:ᵘɫ 2 eɪpɹɪl fɤ:ᵘɫ 3 eɪpɹɪl fɤ:ᵘɫ
Teen	1 eɪpɹɪl fɤ:ᵘɫ 2 eɪpɹɪl fɤ:ᵘɫ 3 eɪpɹɪl fɤ:ᵘɫ 4 eɪpɹɪl fɤ:ᵘɫ

18. In this month (April) we often celebrate a Christian festival which begins with Good Friday. On the

Sunday people are given presents which are called <u>Easter Eggs.</u>

SED 1 ən e:pɹɪl fɤ: 4 ə e:pɹɪl fu: ; Db 2-7 –l ; Ch (all) –ø ; *CG 'foo – fool'*

Old	1 ən e:pɹɪl fɤ: 2 ən e:pɹɪl fɤ·ʊɫ 3 e:pɹɪl fɤ:
Mid	1 ən e:pɹɪl fɤ·ʊɫ, fɤ: 2 e:pɹɪl fɤ: 3 ən e:pɹɪl fɤ:ᵘɫ
Ad	1 e:pɹɪl fɤ:ᵘɫ 2 eɪpɹɪl fɤ:ᵘɫ 3 eɪpɹɪl fɤ:ᵘɫ
Teen	1 eɪpɹɪl fɤ:ᵘɫ 2 eɪpɹɪl fɤ:ᵘɫ 3 eɪpɹɪl fɤ:ᵘɫ 4 eɪpɹɪl fɤ:ᵘɫ

19. Somebody asks you what presents you're getting for Christmas. You reply " I don't know, it's a

surprise".

SED 1 dʊnə 4 dʊnə;

PD dunnot, dunna – don't ('*dunnot' old, 'dunna' now used*) ; *CG 'dunna – do not* (*sometimes 'dunnot'*)*'*

Old	1 ä dʊnə no: 2 ä dʊnə no: , a do:nt? no: 3 a dʊnə no:
Mid	1 ä dʊnə no: 2 ä dʊnə no: 3 ä do:nt? no: , ä dʊnə no:
Ad	1 a· dənoʊ, ('sometimes') ä dʊnə noʊ 2 doʊnt? noʊ 3

(cont)

Teen	1 a· dənoʊ 2 a· doʊnt? noʊ 3 a· dənoʊ 4

20. Before you put a present under the tree, first of all you've got to wrap *it up.* (**L**)

SED 1 ɹap 4 lap ɪt ʊp; Ch (all), Db 2, 3 ,4 ,5, 7 lap; Db 1, 2, 5, 6 ɹap

CG 'lap – to fold anything up in paper or otherwise'

Old	1 ɹap ɪt, lap ɪt 2 ɹap ɪt, lap ɪt 3 lap ɪt
Mid	1 ɹap ɪt ʊp, lap ɪt 2 lap ɪt ʊp 3 lap ɪt, ɹap ɪt
Ad	1 ɹap ɪt ʊp 2 ɹap ɪt ʊp 3 ɹap ɪt? ʊp
Teen	1 ɹap ɪt 2 ɹap ɪt? 3 ɹap ɪt? 4 ɹap ɪt?

Part Nine

1. *Roughly how far is Whaley Bridge from here?* ***miles

Old	1 fo·ə ma:ᴵl 2 θɹi: ma:ᴵl 3 əbæʊt fo·ə ma:ᴵl
Mid	1 əbæɤt θ 2 θɹi: ma:ᴵl 3 əbæɤt fo·ə ma:l
Ad	1 θɹi: ma:ᴵl 2 fa:ᴵv 3 θɹi: ma:lz
Teen	1 θɹi: ma:ᴵl 2 θɹi: ma:ᴵlz 3 θ 4 θɹi: ma:ᴵlz

2.   *If somebody asked you how far it was, you'd say "Oh not far, it only* takes *ten minutes*

SED 1 tɛks 4 tɛks ; Db (all) tɛks; Db 3, 7 (also) taks; Ch 1, 3-6 taks; La 1-4 (north) taks;

La 5-11, 13, 14 (central, south) tɛks; La 12 tæks

EDD 'tak' – s. Lancs, Chs., n.w. Derbys.; EDD 'tek'- Yorks., Lancs, Derbys.

Old	1 tɛks 2 tɛks 3 tɛks
Mid	1 tɛks, teːks 2 tɛks 3 teːks
Ad	1 tɛks 2 teɪks (tɛks) 3 teɪks
Teen	1 teɪks 2 teɪks 3 teɪks 4 teɪks

3.   You also tell them "Don't go at rush hour, I did it once and it <u>took</u> me an hour"

SED 1 tʏːk 4 tʉːk

Old	1 tʏːk 2 tʏːk 3 tʏːk
Mid	1 tʏːk 2 tʏːk 3 tʏːk
Ad	1 tʊk 2 tʊk 3 tʊk
Teen	1 tʊk (tʏːk) 2 tʊk 3 tʊk 4 tʊk

4.   You're asked why you're late back. You say "I got stuck in a jam, it's <u>taken</u> me two hours to get

   back"

SED 1 tɛkn   4 teːn

(cont)

Old	1 tɛkᵊn 2 tɛkᵊn (teːkən) 3 tʏːk
Mid	1 tɛkᵊn 2 tʏːk (tɛkᵊn) 3 tʏːk
Ad	1 teːkn 2 tʊk 3 teɪkən
Teen	1 tʊk mɪ 2 teɪkən 3 tʊk 4 tʊk mɪ

5.   Somebody asks you the way to Rowarth. You say "I'm not sure, but there's a policeman over

   there, why don't you <u>ask him?</u>"

SED 1 ɛks 4 ɛks

Old	1 ɛks ɪm 2 ask ɪm, ɛks ɪm 3 ɛks sɪm
Mid	1 ɛks ɪm 2 ɛks ɪm 3 ask ɪm
Ad	1 ask ɪm ('sometimes' ɛks) 2 ask ɪm 3 ask ɪm
Teen	1 ask ɪm 2 ask ɪm 3 ask ɪm 4 ask ɪm

6.   You're locked out of the house so you decide to <u>climb</u> in through the upstairs window

SED 1 tlaɪm   4 klaɪm; Db 1-5,7; Ch 3-6; La 8, 9, 13 tl−

Old	1 klaɪm ʊp 2 tlaɪm ɪn 3 tlaːᶦm
Mid	1 klambə 2 klaɪm ɪn θɹʏː ʔ wɪndə 3 klaːm ʊp
Ad	1 klaɪm ɪn 2 klaːᶦm 3 klaɪm
Teen	1 klaːᶦm 2 klaɪm 3 klaɪm 4 klaːᶦm

7. Somebody asks you "Did you hear a noise last night". You reply "No, I <u>heard</u> nothing

SED 1 jə:ˈd   4 ə:d, ɪəd

Old	1 ə:d næʊt 2 ə:ˈd næɤt 3 ïʲəd næʊt
Mid	1 ä dɪnə hɪʲəɹ æɤt 2 ə:ˈd næɤt 3 ə:d næɤt
Ad	1 dɪnt ïʲəɹ æʊt 2 nɛvəɹ ə:d ə θɪŋg 3 ə:d nʊθɪn, dɪnt
Teen	1 dɪnt ïʲəɹ aʊtʔ 2 dɪnt ïʲəɹ aʊtʔ 3 ə:d naʊtʔ 4 ?

8. What am I doing now (I) <u>walking backwards</u>

SED 1 bakwəd, bakəˈts ('older') 4 bakəts; Ch, Db (all) −ət(s), −əd(z); La 2-14 −ə⁽ˈ⁾t(s), −ə⁽ˈ⁾d(z)

Old	1 :kɪn bakəts 2 : kɪn bakədz 3 :kɪn bakəts
Mid	1 :kɪn bakəts 2 :kɪn bakədz 3 :kɪn bakədz
Ad	1 :kɪn bakədz 2 :kɪn bakwədz 3 ɹʊnɪn bakwədz
Teen	1 :kɪn bakwədz 2 :kɪn bakwədz 3 :kɪn bakwədz 4 :kɪn bakwədz

9. And now? (I) <u>forwards</u>

SED 1 fʊɹəd 4 fʊɹət; Ch, Db (all) −ət, −əd, except Db 5 fɹʊntədz; La 1, 3-14 −ət(s), −əd(z)

Old	1 fʊɹəts 2 fʊɹədz 3 fʊɹəts
Mid	1 :wədz, fʊɹədz 2 fʊɹədz 3 fʊɹədz
Ad	1 :wədz 2 :wəz 3 :wədz
Teen	1 :wədz, fʊɹədz 2 :wədz 3 :wədz 4 :wədz

10. You go to the shop and it's closed. You're told "It always shuts from one <u>till</u> four on a Friday"

SED 1 tɪl   4 tɪl (s.w. waɪl, ðən); Db 1-4, 6, 7, Ch 1-6 *til*; Db 5 *while*;

La 1-3, 5, 6, 10-14 *til*; La 7-9 *while*

Old	1 tɪl 2 tɪl 3 tɪl, wa:l
Mid	1 tɪl 2 tɪl, wa:ˈl 3 tɪl
Ad	1 tɪl 2 tɪl 3 waɪʊl
Teen	1 tɪl 2 tɪl 3 tɪl 4 tɪl

11. In the morning you're told "There's no milk, you'll have to wait <u>until</u> the milkman comes"

SED (*... the sun goes down*) 1 tɪl   4 ðən, tɪn (waɪl, tɪl); La 1-8, 10-14 *til*; La 4, 6, 7, 9 *while*

Old	1 tɪl ʔ mɪlkʔmən 2 tɪl 3 tɪl
Mid	1 tɪl 2 tɪl, wa:ˈl 3 tɪl

Ad   1 fə ʔ mɪlkʔmən kʊm 2 tɪl 3 tɪl

Teen   1 tɪl 2 tɪl 3 tɪl 4 tɪl

12. You're looking for your house keys. Somebody asks you "When's the last time you saw them". You

reply "Oh, about ten minutes <u>ago</u>*"* (**L**)

SED (*a week ….*) 1 sɪn 4 sɪn; Db 1-4, 6, Ch 1-3 *since*; Db 5,7, Ch 4-6 *ago*; La 1-14 *since*

  Old   1 sɪn 2 sɪnts 3 sɪn

  Mid   1 sɪnts 2 sɪn 3 sɪnts

  Ad   1 əgoʊ 2 əgoʊ 3 əgoʊ

 Teen   1 əgoʊ (sɪnts) 2 əgoʊ 3 əgoʊ 4 əgoʊ

13. Then they ask "<u>Where </u>*abouts?"*

SED 1 wɪəˈ 4 wɪə; (all) Db, Ch wɪə⁽ˈ⁾; La 3-14 wɪə⁽ˈ⁾, wɜ:⁽ˈ⁾

  Old   1 wɪəˈɹ əbæʊts 2 wɛəˈɹ əbæʏts 3 wɪʲə

  Mid   1 wɪʲə 2 wɛə, wɪʲə 3 wɛə

  Ad   1 wɛə 2 wɛə 3 wɛə

 Teen   1 wɛə 2 wɛ: ɹ əbaʊts 3 wɛ: 4 wɛ: ɹ

14. You say "On the work surface". So then they say "They've probably dropped in the sink, they could

be <u>among </u>*the crockery"*

SED 1 əmʊŋg 4 əmʊŋg; Db 2, Ch 4 əmɒŋg; La 10, 14 əmɒŋg; La 12, 13 əmʊŋg

  Old   1 əmʊŋg 2 əmɒŋg 3 əmʊŋg

  Mid   1 əmʊŋg (ðə wɛʃɪn ʊpʰ) 2 əmʊŋg 3 əmʊŋg

  Ad   1 əmʊŋg 2 əmʊŋg 3 əmɒŋgst

 Teen   1 əmʊŋg 2 əmʊŋgst 3 əmʊŋg 4 əmʊŋg

15. You say "No, I bet the dog's had them and <u>buried </u>*them in the flower bed again".*

SED 1 bɛɹɪd 4 bɛɹɪd ; Db 2, 4 bəɹɪd; Ch 3 bəɹɪt; La 9-13 bəɹɪd; La 14 bɛɹɪd

  Old   1 bɛɹɪd 2 bɛɹɪd 3 bəɹɪd

  Mid   1 bɛɹɪd 2 bɪɹəd (bəɹɪd) 3 bɛɹɪd

  Ad   1 bɛɹɪd 2 bɛɹɪd (bəɹɪd əm) 3 bɛɹɪd

 Teen   1 bɛɹɪd 2 bɛɹɪd 3 bɛɹɪd 4 bɛɹɪd

16. Somebody says "Well, here's mine, don't <u>lose them</u>*"*

SED 1 lo:z 4 lɔ:s;   Db 3, 4 u: ; 6, 7, o: ; 4 ɛʊ ; 5 ɒ; Ch 1,3, 4 ʏ:, ʉ: ; 5 ɛʊ

Old	1 dənə lʏ:z əm (lo:z əm) 2 lʏ:z 3 lʏ:z əm
Mid	1 lo:z əm 2 lʏ:z əm 3 lʏ:z əm
Ad	1 lʏ:z əm 2 lʏ:z əm 3 lʏ:z əm
Teen	1 lʏ:z əm 2 lʏ:z əm 3 lʏ:z əm 4 lʏ:z əm

Part Ten

1. A male is a <u>man</u> *and a female is a* <u>woman</u>

SED 1 mɒn, wʊmən 4 man (mɔn), wʊmən; Ch, Db (all) mɒn; Ch 2, 6, Db 2, 5 (also) man; La 4-14

mɒn

CG 'mon – man'; PD "a is often an o (before n) in mon, man"; EDD - Lanc, Ch, Stf, Der (n. Der +'man')

Old	1 man; lass, wʊmən 2 man; wʊmən 3 mɒn; wʊmən
Mid	1 man ('older' mɒn); wʊmən 2 man ('older' mɒn); wʊmən 3 man; wʊmən
Ad	1 man; wʊmən 2 man; wʊmən 3 man; wʊmən
Teen	1 man; wʊmən 2 man; wʊmən 3 man; wʊmən 4 man; wʊmən

More than one ?

SED 1 wʊmən 4 wɪmɪn ; Db 2-7 wɪmɪn; Ch 1-6 wɪmɪn

EDD – wʊmən, north country (Nhb, Cu, Dur, n.Yorks etc.)

Old	1 mɛn; wɪmɪn 2 mɛn; wɪmɪn 3 mɛn; wɪmɪn
Mid	1 mɛn; wɪmɪn 2 mɛn; wɪmɪn 3 mɛn; wɪmɪn
Ad	1 mɛn; wɪmɪn 2 mɛn; wɪmɪn 3 mɛn; wɪmɪn
Teen	1 mɛn; wɪmɪn 2 mɛn; wɪmɪn 3 mɛn; wɪmɪn 4 mɛn; wɪmɪn

2. Children are young but grandparents are <u>old</u>

SED 1 ɒʊd, (   ) 4 (ɔʊd,   ) ; Db 1, 2 ɒʊd ; Db 3 - 7 ɛʊd; Ch ɛʊd, ɒʊd; La 4-12 ɛʊd, ɒʊd

CG 'owd – old'; PD 'owd – old'

Old	1 æʊd 2 æʊd 3 æʊd
Mid	1 d 2 æʏd 3 æʏd
Ad	1 ɒʊd, æʊd 2 ɒʊd 3 ɒɫd
Teen	1 ɒʊd 2 ɒɫd 3 ɒɫd 4 ɒʊd

3. Somebody says "It's not only grandparents that are old, I know somebody <u>whose</u> *uncle was born*

last century"

SED 1 ʏ:z 4 n.r. ; Db 3, 5, 6, 7, Ch 3, 4,5 əz ɪz; Ch 6 ʉːz, Db 4 uːz; Db 2 wɒt

Old	1 ʏ:z	2 ʏ:z	3 ʏ:z	
Mid	1 ʏ:z	2 ʏ:z	3 ʏ:z	
Ad	1 ʏ:z	2 ʏ:z	3 ʏ:z	
Teen	1 ʏ:z	2 ʏ:z	3 ʏ:z	4 ʏ:z

4. When you're middle aged, you're not really old but you're still <u>older than</u> *children*

SED 1 ɒʊdə nə 4 ɛʊdə tɪn ; Db 3, 4, 5, 7, Ch 1, 3, 4 ðən ; Ch 4, 5, 6 tɪl ; La 8, 9, 12, 14 nə(ɹ);

La 10, 13 *tin* (tn);   *CG 'nor – than'*; *PD 'nor (conj.) – than'*

Old	1 æʊdə nəɹ əm 2 n.r. 3 æʏdə nə		
Mid	1 æʊdə ðən (nə) 2 æʏdə ðən 3 ɒʊdə ðən		
Ad	1 ɒʊdə ðən 2 ɒʊdə ðən 3 ɒʊdə ðən		
Teen	1 ɒʊdə ðən 2 ɒldə ðən 3 ɒldə ðən 4 ɒʊdə ðən		

5. In family there can be two parents and just one <u>child</u>

SED 1 tʃaɪld 4 tʃaɪld

(cont)

Old	1 tʃaɪʲ , kɪd 2 tʃaːᴵld 3 tʃaːᴵld		
Mid	1 tʃaɪᵁld 2 tʃaːᴵld 3 tʃaːld		
Ad	1 tʃaːᴵld 2 tʃaɪᵁld 3 tʃaɪᵁld		
Teen	1 tʃaɪᵁld 2 tʃaɪᵁld 3 tʃaɪᵁld 4 tʃaːᴵld		

But usually there are two or three <u>children</u>

SED 1 tʃɪldəɾ, kɪdz 4 tʃɪldə; Db 6 –ɹən; Ch 1, 2, 3 tʃɪldə; Ch 4, 5, 6 tʃɪldən; La 4-12 tʃɪldə(ɹ)

Old	1 tʃɪldə (tʃɪldə) 2 tʃɪldɹən ('older' tʃɪldə) 3 tʃɪldə
Mid	1 tʃɪldɹɪn ('older' tʃɪldə) 2 tʃɪldɹən ('older' tʃɪldə) 3 tʃɪldɹən
Ad	1 tʃɪldɹɪn 2 tʃɪldɹɪn 3 tʃɪldɹɪn
Teen	1 tʃɪldɹən 2 tʃɪldɹən 3 tʃɪldɹɪn 4 tʃɪldɹɪn

6. How do you address your parents? <u>mum, dad</u> (**L**)

SED 1 mɒðəɾ, feːðəɾ 4 mʊðə, feːðə pref. (faːðə);Db 2, Ch (all) mʊðə; Db 2 faːðə; Ch 1, 3-6 feːðə

Old	1 mʊðə, dad 2 mam, dad 3 mʊðə, dad
Mid	1 mʊðə, dad 2 mʊm, dad 3 mʊm, dad

Ad	1 mam, dad	2 mʊm, dad	3 mʊm, dad	
Teen	1 mʊm, dad	2 mʊm, dad (mam)	3 mʊm, dad	4 mʊm, dad

And more formal terms <u>mother, father</u> (**L**)

Old	1 mʊðə, fa:ðə (faðə)	2 mʊðə, fa:ðə	3 mʊðə, fe:ðə (faðə, fa:ðə)	
Mid	1 mʊðə, fe:ðə (fa:ðə)	2 mʊðə, fa:ðə ('old' fe:ðə), (faðə)	3 mʊðə, fa:ðə	
Ad	1 mʊðə, fa:ðə	2 mʊðə, fa:ðə	3 mʊðə, fa:ðə	
Teen	1 mʊðə, fa:ðə	2 mʊðə, fa:ðə	3 mʊðə, fa:ðə	4 mʊðə, fa:ðə

7. Some children have foster parents but most are <u>brought</u> *up by their natural parents* (**L**)

SED 1 bɹʊʊt ʊp 4 bɹɔ: t ʊp; Db 1, 2, 4 ʊʊ; Db 3, 5, 6, 7, Ch 1, 3, 4, 5 ɛʊ

EDD bɹʊʊt – *Yks, s. Lancs, s. Chs, n.w.and e.Der*; bɹaʊt - *Yks, Lancs, n. Der*

Old	1 ɹïʲəd	2 bɹɔ:t ʊp	3 bɹʊʊt ʊp	
Mid	1 bɹæʊt ʊp	2 bɹʊʊt ʊp, bɹæʊt ʊp	3 bɹɔ:t ʊp	
Ad	1 :t ʊp	2 :tʔ ʊp	3 :tʔ ʊp	
Teen	1 :t ʊp	2 :tʔ ʊp	3 :tʔ ʊp	4 :tʔ ʊp

8. Children often squabble. Before a game one says "You won't win this game". The other says "Oh

yes <u>I shall</u>*"* (**L**)

SED 1 ʃal 4 ʃal, wɪl; Db 4, 5 ʃɒl; Ch 1-5 ʃal; La 5-11, 13, 14 ʃal ; La 1-4, 8, 12 wɪl

Old	1 ä wɪl	2 a wɪl	3 ä wɪl	
Mid	1 a wɪl	2 ä wɪl	3 a· wɪl	
Ad	1 a wɪl	2 aɪ wɪl	3 a wɪl	
Teen	1 a wɪl	2 a wɪl	3 a wɪl	4 a wɪl

9. If there's some children throwing stones near your house, and you want to get rid of them, you might

shout <u>"Go away"</u>

SED 1 ɒp ɪt 4 klɪəɹ æ:t, ɔp ɪt; La 13 bʊgəɹ ɒf

Old	1 slɪŋg jəˈɹ ɤ:k	2 go: əwe:	3 ɒpʔ pït	
Mid	1 skɪdadʊɫ	2 ɒp it	3 klïʲəɹ ɒf	
Ad	1 klïʲəɹ ɒf	2 klïʲəɹ ɒf	3 gɛtʔ lɒst	
Teen	1 sɒd ɒf	2 bʊgəɹ ɒf	3 gɛtʔ lɒst	4 gɛtʔ lɒst

10. And if they didn't go away you might shout "Come on now, <u>off you go"</u>

SED (*Off......*) 1 jə go: 4 n. r.; La 7 skɪdadl; La 13 ɒf ða gɤ·ə

Old	1 bɪ^j ɒf wɪð jə 2 bʊggəɹ ɒf 3 bʊggəɹ ɒf
Mid	1 klï^jəɹ ɒf 2 bʊggəɹ ɒf wɪl jə 3 ɒp it
Ad	1 fʊk ɒf 2 pɪs ɒf 3 a:m kʊmɪn tə gɛt jə
Teen	1 pɪs ɒf 2 fʊk ɒf 3 fʊk ɒf 4 fʊk ɒf

11. To stop children misbehaving, parents sometimes say "If you don't behave, the bogeyman *will come and get you"* (**L**)

SED 1 bo:gɪmɒn 4 bɔbbɪ, pref. bʊ:gɪ, bʊ:gɪsam

Old	1 bo:gɪman 2 bo:gɪman 3 bo:gɪmɒn
Mid	1 bo:gɪman 2 bo:gɪman 3 bo:gɪman
Ad	1 boʊgɪman 2 boʊgɪman 3 mɒnstə
Teen	1 boʊgɪman 2 boʊgɪman 3 boʊgɪman 4 ɪman

Part 11

1. *A friend says to you "I hear that you and your mates are not going away this bank holiday".*

    You reply "Oh yes we are*"*

SED 1 wɪ a:ˑ 4 n.a.; Db 2-6 a: , Ch 1, 3, 5 a: ; Ch 4, 6 an, am; La ɜ:ˑ, a:ˑ, æ:ˑ

Old	1 wɪ a: 2 wɪ a:ˑ 3 wɪ a:
Mid	1 wɪ a: 2 wɪ a: 3 wɪ a:
Ad	1 wɪ a: 2 wɪ a: 3 wɪ a:
Teen	1 wɪ a: 2 wɪ a: 3 wɪ a: 4 wɪ a:

2. Then he says "Is you wife (girlfriend / sister) going too?" You reply "Yes, she is*"*

SED 1 ɤ: ɪz 4 n.a.; Db 2-6 , Ch ; La *hoo*

PD 'hoo'- (usual form) of she' ; CG 'Hoo – she; this word most common in Lancs, Ches,is merely the AS heo'

Old	1 ʃi: ɪz 2 ʃi: ɪz ('older' ɤ: ɪz) 3 ʃi: ɪz ('older' ɤ: ɪz)
Mid	1 ʃi: ɪz 2 ʃi: ɪz ('older' ɤ: ɪz) 3 ʃi: ɪz
Ad	1 ʃi: ɪz 2 ʃi: ɪz 3 ʃi: ɪz
Teen	1 ʃi: ɪz 2 ʃi: ɪz 3 ʃi: ɪz 4 ʃi: ɪz

3. Somebody says to you " I'm busy, will you make *the spare bed?"*

SED 1 mɛk 4   (me:k); Db 2-6 , Ch ; La 2-10 mɛk

Old	1 mɛk ɪt	2 mɛk	3 mɛk
Mid	1 mɛk	2 mɛk	3 me:k (mɛk)
Ad	1 me:k	2 meɪk	3 meɪk
Teen	1 mɛk	2 meɪk	3 meɪk 4 meɪk

Later you're asked "Has the spare bed been made *yet?*

SED 1 mɛd 4 me:d; *EDD* mɛd - *s. Lancs*; me:d – *n.w. midlands, including s.Lancs, n.w. Der*

Old	1 me:d (mɛd)	2 me:d	3 mɛd (me:d)
Mid	1 mɛd	2 mɛd, me:d	3 me:d
Ad (cont)	1 me:d	2 meɪd	3 meɪd
Teen	1 me:d	2 meɪd	3 meɪd 4

You reply "Yes I made *it half an hour ago"*

Old (cont)	1 me:d	2 mɛd	3 mɛd
Mid	1 mɛd ɪt mɪsɛl	2 mɛd	3 me:d
Ad	1 me:d	2 mɛd	3 meɪd
Teen	1 me:d	2 meɪd ɪtʔ	3 meɪd 4 meɪd ɪtʔ

4. If you're doing this with a spade (I) what are you doing   digging

SED 1 dɪg 4 dɛlvɪn (dɪg, dɪgɪn)

Old	1 dɪgɪn	2 dɪggɪn	3 dɪggɪn
Mid	1 dɪggɪn	2 dɪggɪn	3 dɪgɪn
Ad	1 dɪgɪn	2 dɪggɪn	3 dɪgɪn
Teen	1 dɪgɪn	2 dɪgɪn	3 dɪgɪn 4 dɪgɪn

5. Because you're tired, somebody offers to do some digging for you, so you hand them the spade. After

a while you say "Here, give it me *back! If you want a job doing properly you have to do it* yourself*"*

SED 1 gɪv ɪt əz 4 n. a.

Old	1 gɪv ɪt əz bak; ðɪsɛl	2 ; jəsɛl	3 ; ðɪsɛl
Mid	1 gɪv ɪt əz bak; dʏ: ɪt ðɪsɛl	2 ; dʏ: ɪt ðɪsɛl ðɪsɛl	3 gɪv ɪt; jəsɛl
Ad	1 gɪv ɪt əz bak; jəsɛlf	2 ; jəsɛlf	3 gɪv ɪt mɪ bak; jəsɛlf
Teen	1gɪv ɪtʔ ʊz bak; jəsɛlf	2 gɪv ɪtʔ bak; jəsɛl	3gɪv ɪtʔ ʊz; jəsɛlf 4 gɪv ɪtʔ ʊz; jəsɛlf

6. Somebody doing a questionnaire asks if you're going to vote for the government. You reply "No, <u>I'm</u>

<u>*not*</u>*"*

SED 1 aɪ amnə 4 n.a.

Old	1 aɪ amnə 2 a:m nɒt 3 aɪ amnə
Mid	1 a:m nɒt (aɪ amnə) 2 a:m nɒt, aɪ amnə 3 a:m nɒt
Ad	1 a:m nɒt 2 a:m nɒt 3 a:m nɒt
Teen	1 a:m nɒtʔ 2 a:m nɒtʔ 3 a:m nɒtʔ 4 a:m nɒtʔ

7. Then they ask if your wife (mother) is . You reply "As far as I know, no <u>she isn't</u>"

SED 1 ʏ: ɪznə 4 n.a. ; Db 1, 3-6 ɪznə; Db 7 ɪnə ; Db 2 ʃɪ ɪnt; Ch 3-6 ɪnə, Ch 1 ɪznt

Old	1 ʃɪ ɪznə (ʏ: ɪznə) 2 ʃɪz nɒt, ʃɪ ɪznə 3 ʃɪ ɪznə (ʃɪ ɪnt go·ɪn tə)
Mid	1 ʃɪz nɒt 2 ʃɪz nɒt, ʃɪ ɪznə 3 ʃɪz nɒt
Ad	1 ʃɪ e:nt 2 ʃɪz nɒt 3 ʃɪ ɪnt
Teen	1 ʃɪ eɪnt 2 ʃɪ eɪntʔ 3 ʃɪ eɪntʔ 4 ʃɪz nɒt

8. They also ask if other members of the family are. You reply "No, <u>they aren't</u>"

SED 1 ðe: a:ˤ nt 4 n.a. ; Db 2, 4, Ch 1 nɒt; Db 3, 6, 7 a:nə ; Ch 3, 5, 6 anə; Ch 4 ɪnə

Old	1 ðɛə nɒt 2 ðɛə nɒt 3 ðɛəˡ nɒt, ðɪ anə
Mid	1 ðɛə nɒt, ðe: a:nt 2 ðɛə nɒt 3 ðɛə nɒt
Ad	1 ðɛə nɒt, ðeɪ e:nt 2 ðɛə nɒt 3 ðɛ nɒtʔ
Teen	1 ðɛə nɒt 2 ðɛə nɒtʔ 3 ðɛə nɒtʔ 4 ?

9. Your mate says "I'm going to the shops, are you coming <u>with me</u>?"

SED 1 wɪð 4 n.a. ; Db (all) wɪ ; Ch 3-5 wɪ; Ch 1, 6 wɪð

Old	1 wɪ mɪ 2 wɪð ʊz 3 wɪð ʊz
Mid	1 wɪð ʊz 2 wɪð ʊz 3 wɪ mɪ
Ad	1 wɪ mɪ 2 wɪð ʊz 3 wɪð ʊz
Teen	1 wɪ mɪ 2 wɪð ʊz 3 wɪð ʊz 4 wɪ mɪ

10. Then you ask him "<u>Are you </u> going to the local shops?"

SED (*…married?*) 1 a:ˡt, a:ˡ jə* 4 n.a. ; Db 1, 3*, 4, 7* a:t, at ; Db 2, 5 a; Ch 1, 3⁺ a, at; Ch 4 ɪz ðɪ; Ch 5

    a jə   * subject to social situation (i.e. ' you' to 'social superiors'); + 'you' ('to strangers')

Old	1 a:tʔ go·ɪn tə ʔ ʃɒp (wɪəɹ ətʔ go:ɪn) 2 atʔ go·ɪn 3 a·tʔ gʏ·ɪn
Mid	1 atʔ gʏ·ɪn 2 atʔ go·ɪn, a· jə 3 a· jə go·ɪn

Ad	1 aː jə 2 aː jə 3 aː jə
Teen	1 aː jə 2 aː jə 3 aː jə 4 a jə

He replies "No, I'm going to Stockport

Old	1 am goːɪn 2 am go·ɪn 3 a·m gʏ·ɪn
Mid	1 aːm gʏ·ɪn ʔ stɒkʔpət 2 am gʏ·ɪn 3 aːm go·ɪn
Ad	1 aːm goʊɪn tə 2 am goʊɪn tə stɒkʔ ːt 3 aːm goʊɪn
Teen	1 aːm 2 aːm goʊɪn 3 aːm goʊɪn 4 am

Then you say "Oh, that's right, you're going for the sales aren't you?"

(*convert for 'he'*)

SED 1 aːˈtʔnə 4 n.a.; Db 2 anə jə; Db 4 aːtn; Db 3, 6, 7 aːtnə; Ch aːtnə, anə

Old	1 anə ðɪ, aːnt jə 2 aːˈnt jə, aːtnə 3 aːtnə
Mid	1 at ðɪ 2 aːnt jə, aːtnə 3 aːnt jə
Ad	1 aːnt jə 2 aːnt jə 3 aːnt jə

(cont)

Teen	1 aːntʔ jə 2 aːntʔ jə 3 aːntʔ jə 4 aːntʔ jə

Old	1 ɪnt ɪ 2 ɪnt ɪ 3 ɪnt ɪ (ɪznə ʃɪ)
Mid	1 ɪnt ɪ 2 ɪnt ɪ 3 ɪzənt ɪ
Ad	1 ɪnt ɪ 2 ɪzənt ɪ 3 ɪzənt ɪ
Teen	1 ɪnt ɪ 2 ɪzənt ɪ 3 ɪnt ɪ 4 ɪnt ɪ

11. Then you also say "Well I'm not going - I just haven't got the time."

(*convert for 'he'*)

SED 1 anə 4 n.a. (ant); Db 2, 5 ɛvnt; Db 3, 4 avnə; Db 6, 7 anə; Ch 1 avnt; Ch 3 - 6 anə

Old	1 a·ʲ avnə ʔ taː� ɪm 2 aɪʲ antʔ gɒt ʔ taːˈɪm, aʲ anə 3 aʲ anə gɒt ʔ taːˈɪm
Mid	1 aɪʲ avnə gɒtʔ taːˈɪm 2 aʲ antʔ gɒt, anə gɒt 3 aɪʲ antʔ gɒt taːm
Ad	1 antʔ gɒtʔ taːˈɪm 2 aɪʲ antʔ gɒtʔ taːˈɪm 3 antʔ gɒt ðə taːˈɪm
Teen	1 antʔ gɒtʔ taːˈɪm 2 antʔ gɒt ðə taːˈɪm 3 antʔ gɒtʔ taːˈɪm 4 antʔ gɒt ðə ˈɪm

Old	1 ɪʲ aznə 2 ɪʲ antʔ gɒt ʔ taːˈɪm , ɪʲ anə 3 ɪʲ anə gɒt ʔ taːˈɪm
Mid	1 ɪʲ aznə gɒtʔ taːˈɪm 2 ɪʲ ant, ɪʲ anə 3 ɪʲ ant
Ad	1 ɪʲ antʔ gɒtʔ taːˈɪm 2 ɪʲ ant 3 ɪʲ antʔ gɒt ðə taːˈɪm
Teen	1 ɪʲ ant 2 ɪʲ antʔ gɒt ðə taːˈɪm 3 ɪʲ ant 4 ɪʲ antʔ gɒt ðə ˈɪm

You also say " I could go tomorrow, but today I <u>can't</u>"

Old	1 kɒnə, ka:nt 2 ka:nt, kɒnə 3 kɒnə
Mid	1 kɒnə 2 ka:nt, kɒnə 3 ka:nt
Ad	1 ka:nt ('sometimes' kɒnə) 2 ka:nt 3 ka:nt
Teen	1 ka:nt 2 ka:nt 3 ka:nt 4 ka:nt

12. He replies " Alright then, I'll go by <u>myself</u>"

SED 1 mɪsɛl 4 n.a.; Db 3, 4 mɪsɛl ; Db 2, 5, 6, 7 mɪsɛn ; Ch (all) mɪsɛl

Old	1 mɪsɛl 2 mɪsɛl 3 mɪsɛl
Mid	1 mɪsɛl 2 mɪsɛl 3 mɪsɛlf
Ad	1 mɪsɛlf 2 mɪsɛlf 3 mɪsɛlf
Teen	1 mɪsɛlf 2 mɪsɛlf 3 mɪsɛlf 4 ɒn mɪ bɒd

.

13. Later you say "Well that's another job done, I've done the painting today and tomorrow I <u>shall</u> mow the lawn"

SED 1 am gɤ:ɪn (al) 4 al (ɔl, a sl); Db 3, 7 a sl ; Db 2, 4, 5, 6 al ; Ch 1, 4, 6 al; Ch 3, 5 a sl

Old	1 al 2 a·l 3 al, a·m go:ɪn fə ʔ mo:
Mid	1 a·m go:ɪn fə ʔ mo: , a:l 2 a:l 3 a:l
Ad	1 al moʊ ʔ :n 2 aɪᵁɫ 3 al moʊ ðə :n
Teen	1 a:l 2 a:l 3 a:l 4 aɪᵁɫ dɤ: ðə :n

14. Next day your neighbour says to you "Here, you can't mow with that, but I'll tell you what, you can <u>borrow</u> my mower for a while if you like" (**L**)

Old	1 bɒɹə 2 bɒɹo: 3 bɒɹə
Mid	1 bɒɹo: 2 bɒɹə 3 bɒɹo:
Ad	1 bɒɹə 2 bɒɹə 3 bɒɹə
Teen	1 bɒɹə 2 bɒɹoʊ 3 bɒɹə 4 bɒɹoʊ

15. You say "will you lend it me now?" He replies "Well, I can't lend it to you today but you can have it tomorrow when I <u>shan't</u> need it anymore"

SED 1 ʃanə 4 ʃa:nt (ʃanə)

Old	1 ʃanə 2 wo:nt, wʊnə 3 wʊnə, wo:nt
Mid	1 wo:nt 2 wo:nt, wʊnə 3 wo:nt
Ad	1 woʊnt 2 doʊnt, s.w. woʊnt 3 woʊnt :
Teen	1 woʊnt 2 woʊntʔ 3 woʊnt 4

16. If somebody asked you to do something you didn't want to do, you'd say "No, I <u>won't</u> do that."

SED 1 wɪnə   4 wʊnə (wɪnə)

Old	1 a wənə dʏː ðat 2 wo:nt, wʊnə 3 wʊnə dʏː ðat
Mid	1 wʊnə 2 wo:nt, wʊnə 3 wo:nt
Ad	1 woʊnt 2 doʊnt wɒntʔ tʏː 3 woʊnt
Teen	1 wʊnə 2 aː woʊntʔ 3 woʊnt 4 a ka:nt dʏː ðatʔ

17.Naughty children often don't do what they <u>should</u> do and also they do what they <u>shouldn't</u> do.

SED 1 ʃʊd; ʃʊdnə   4 ʃʊd, ʃəd; ʃʊdnə; Db 5 ɛʊt; ʃʊdnə; Ch 5 ɔ:t tʏː ; dɪdnt ɔ:t ə

Old	1 ʃʊd; ʃʊdnə 2 ʃʊd; ʃʊdnə, ʃʊnt 3 ʃʊd; ʃʊdnə
Mid (cont)	1 ʃʊd; ʃʊnə dʏː 2 ʃʊd; ʃʊntʔ dʏ:, ʃʊdnə 3 ʃʊd; ʃʊdᵊnt
Ad	1 ʃʊd; ʃʊntʔ dʏː 2 ʃʊd; ʃʊdᵊnt 3 ʃʊd; ʃʊdᵊntʔ
Teen	1 ʃʊd; ʃʊntʔ dʏː 2 ʃʊd; n. r. 3 ʃʊd; ʃʊdᵊntʔ 4 ʃʊd; ʃʊntʔ dʏː

18. If you're telling a youngster not to do something, you might say "You <u>must not</u> do that, it's

*dangerous." (**L**)*

SED 1 mʊnə 4 mʊsnt, s.w. mʊnə (mʊsnə);Db (all) mʊnə; Ch 1, 5 mʊn; 4, 6 mʊnə; 2, 3 mʊsnə

Old	1 dʊnə dʏː ðat 2 ʃʊdᵊnt 3 dʊnə dʏː
Mid	1 dʊnə dʏː ðat 2 dʊnə dʏː ðat 3 ʃʊdənt
Ad	1 doʊntʔ dʏː 2 doʊntʔ dʏː 3 ʃʊntʔ dʏː
Teen	1 ʃʊntʔ dʏː 2 ʃʊntʔ dʏː ðat 3 ʃʊntʔ dʏː 4 kantʔ dʏː ðat

19. The child says "I <u>don't care</u> if it's dangerous."

Then you say "He <u>doesn't care</u> if it's dangerous."

SED 1 dʊnə kɛːˈ 4 dʊnə kɛə

Old	1 dʊnə kɛə 2 do:ntʔ kɛə, dʊnə kɛə 3 dʊnə kɛəˈ
Mid	1 dʊnə kɛə 2 dʊnə kɛə, do:ntʔ kɛə 3 do:ntʔ kɛə
Ad	1 doʊntʔ kɛə 2 doʊntʔ kɛə 3 doʊntʔ kɛːᵊ
Teen	1 doʊntʔ kɛə 2 doʊntʔ kɛː 3 doʊntʔ kɛː 4 ʔ kɛə

Old	1 ï dʊznə kɛə 2 dʊntʔ kɛə, dʊznə kɛə 3 ï dʊznə kɛəꞌ
Mid	1 dʊznə kɛə 2 dʊznə kɛə, dʊntʔ kɛə 3 dʊzəntʔ kɛə
Ad	1 ï dʊntʔ kɛə 2 dʊntʔ kɛə 3 dʊzəntʔ kɛː
Teen	1 dʊntʔ kɛə 2 dʊzəntʔ kɛː 3 dʊntʔ kɛː 4 ï dʊntʔ kɛə

*20. Afterwards you say " That's not the point, I know you didn't hurt yourself but you <u>might</u> have done." (**L**)*

SED 1 mɛt (maɪt) 4 s.w. maɪt, pref. mɛt

Old	1 maɪt əv 2 kʊd 3 mɛt ə dʊn
Mid	1 mɛtʔ dɤː 2 maːᴵt ə 3 maːt əv
Ad	1 kʊd ə dʊn 2 kʊd dɤː 3 kʊd əv dʊn
Teen	1 kʊd 2 kʊd 3 kʊd 4 kʊd əv

*21. You say " You don't have to do that task today if you don't want, but tomorrow you really <u>must</u>" (**L**)*

SED 1 jəl a ⁷ dɤː , pref. mʊs 4 wɪl av tə, s.w. mʊn (mən)

(cont)

Old	1 av tə 2 ʃʊd 3 af ʔ dɤː
Mid	1 mʊs dɤː (ːt fə ʔ dɤː) 2 af tə 3 ʃʊd
Ad	1 ːtʔ tə 2 ːtʔ tə 3 ʃʊd dɤː
Teen	1 av tə 2 av tɤː 3 av tə 4 mʊs dɤː

*22. On seeing some biscuits on the kitchen table, you ask "<u>May</u> I have one?" (**L**)*

SED 1 kɒn a a wɒn (kɒn) 4 kɔn a av wɒn; Db 1, 3, 4, 6, 7 kɒn; 2 kʊd; 5 kan; Ch 1-3 kɒn, kɔn

Old	1 kan ə 2 kan 3 kan
Mid	1 kan ə av wɒn 2 kan ə 3 kan ə
Ad	1 kan ä 2 kan ä 3 kan ə hav wɒn
Teen	1 kan ə 2 kan ä 3 kan ə 4 kan ä av wɒn

23. One of your mates says to you "There's no jobs round here any more, it's ridiculous, there <u>used to</u> be plenty of work."

SED 1 jɤːst tə (ðə jɤːs tə) 4 (ðə jʉːst tə, ðəɹ az biːn, ðə wəˑɹ)

Old	1 wə, jɤːs bɪ (jɤːs fəʔ bɪ) 2 jɤːs ʔ bɪ 3 jɤːs bɪ
Mid	1 jɤːs bɪ 2 jɤːs bɪ 3 jɤːs tə bɪ
Ad	1 jɤːs tə bɪ 2 wə, jɤːs tə bɪ 3 jɤːs tə bɪ
Teen	1 jɤːs tə bɪ 2 jɤːs tə bɪ 3 jɤːs tə bɪ 4 wɒz

Part Thirteen

1. You say "I know you don't like biscuits, but I <u>do</u>

SED 1 dɣː   4 dʉː

  Old   1 dɣː 2 dɣː 3 dɣː

  Mid   1 dɣː 2 dɣː 3 dɣː

  Ad   1 dɣː 2 dɣː 3 dɣː

  Teen   1 dɣː 2 dɣː 3 dɣː 4 dɣː

2. Then you say "I like them a lot but I know he <u>doesn't</u>"

  Old   1 ï dʊznə 2 dʊznə 3 ï dʊznə

  Mid   1 dʊznə 2 ï dʊnt, dʊznə 3 dʊzənt

  Ad   1 ï dʊnt   2 dʊzᵊnt   3 dʊzənt?

  Teen   1 ï dʊnt?   2 dʊzənt?   3 dʊzənt? 4 dʊzənt?

3. If you want to know how much a mate pays on the bus, you'd ask him "How much <u>do you</u> pay?"

SED 1 dʊst 4 dʊst, pref. dʊst ðɪ; Db 2, 7, Ch 4, 6 dʊn

  Old   1 dʊs pe: 2 dʊz ðɪ   3 dʊst? pe: (dʊn jə)

  Mid   1 ast? pe:d, s.w. dʊs pe: 2 dʊst, dɣː jə 3 dɣː jə

  Ad   1 dɣː jə pe:ᴵ 2 dɣː jə peɪ   3 dɣː jə

  Teen   1 dɣː jə 2 dɣː jə peɪ   3 dɣː jə 4 dɣː jə peɪ

4. He says "It depends how far you go". So you say "How much <u>did you</u> pay last time, when you went

to Stockport?"

SED 1 dɪd ? 4 n. r. (dɪd jə)

  Old   1 dɪd ðə pe: 2 dɪd ðɪ, dɪd jə 3 dɪd ðə pe:

  Mid   1 dɪd jə 2 dɪd jə 3 dɪd jə

  Ad   1 dɪd jə 2 dɪd jə peɪ 3 dɪd jə

  Teen   1 dɣː jə 2 dɪd jə 3 dɪd jə 4 dɪd jə

5.Your neighbour says to you "The back window's been broken - do you know who's <u>done</u> this?"

SED 1 dʊn   4 n. a.

  Old   1 dʊn ðɪs 2 dʊn   3 dʊn ðɪs

  Mid   1 dʊn ðɪs 2 dʊn ðɪs 3 dʊn

Ad	1 dʊn	2 dʊn ɪt	3 dʊn ðɪs
Teen	1 dʊn ðɪs	2 dʊn ðɪs	3 dʊn ðɪs	4 dʊn ɪt?

6. You say "Well I can truthfully say that I did not do it."

SED 1 dɪdnə dʏ: ɪt   4 anə dʊn ɪt, s.w. dɪdnə dʉ: ɪt

Old	1 ä dɪdnə dʏ: ɪt 2 dɪdnə dʏ: ɪt 3 dɪdnə dʏ: ɪt
Mid	1 dɪdnə dʏ: ɪt 2 dɪdnə (ä: dɪnt? dʏ: ɪt) 3 n. r.
Ad	1 dɪnt? dʏ: ɪt ('sometimes' dɪdnə) 2 dɪnt? dʏ: ɪt 3 dɪnt? dʏ: ɪt?
Teen	1 dɪnt? dʏ: 2 dɪd nɒt? dʏ: 3 dɪnt? dʏ: ɪt? 4 dɪnt? dʏ: ɪt?

7. Then you say "Some young lads were playing cricket half an hour ago, but I don't know where they've gone"

SED 1 gɒn 4 gɔn; Db (all) gɒn; Ch gɒn, Ch 5 (also) gan

Old	1 gɒn 2 gɒn tʏ: 3 gɒn
Mid (cont)	1 gɒn tʏ: 2 gɒn 3 gɒn
Ad	1 gɒn 2 gɒn 3 gɒn
Teen	1 gɒn 2 gɒn 3 gɒn 4 gɒn

*8. A friend says to you "I saw you in Glossop last week, why did you go there?" You reply "Oh I went there to see my mates." (**L**)*

SED 1 ˀ si: (fə si:) 4 n.a. (fə t, fə tə); Db 3, 4, ˀ si: ; 6 ? sɛɪ; 2, 5 tə; Ch 1 fə si: ; 4-6 tə

EDD 'for –used before an inf., without the governing preposition, generally to express purpose – s.Ches; used redundantly before an infinitive, with the governing preposition 'to' – (including) Yks, Lancs, Der'

Old	1 fə t? si: (fə ? dʏ: sʊm ʃɒp?pɪn) 2 fə t? si: (fə si: mɪ me:ts, tə) 3 fə t? si:
Mid	1 fə ᵗ? si: 2 fə ᵗ? si: 3 fə t? si:, tə si:
Ad	1 tə (fə t? si: mɪ me:ᶦts) 2 tə si: 3 tə si:
Teen	1 tə si: (fə ? si:) 2 tə si: 3 tə si: 4 tə si:

9. Somebody asks if you've got a match. You reply "No, I haven't"

SED 1 anə 4 n. a. (ant); Db 6, 7, Ch 3-6 anə; Db 3, 4 aznə; Db 2, 5 ɛvnt

Old	1 avnə 2 aɪʲ anə 3 aɪʲ anə
Mid	1 av nɒt, aɪʲ anə 2 avnə (ant? gɒt) 3 aʲ ant? gɒt
Ad	1 avᵊnt 2 avᵊnt 3 ant? gɒt ə matʃ

Teen   1 avᵊnt   2 avᵊntʔ   3 avᵊntʔ   4 avᵊntʔ

10. He then turns to ask your friend. You say "There's no point asking him, he <u>hasn't</u> either."

SED   1 anə   4 n. a. (aznt, ɛznt); Db 3, 4, 6 anə; Db 5 ɛznə; Db 2 ɛznt

   Old   1 aznə e:ðə   2 ïʲ azᵊnt   3 ïʲ aznə

   Mid   1 ïʲ anə i:ðə   2 ïʲ antʔ gʊɹ ə matʔtʃ i:ðə (ïʲ anə i:ðə)   3 ïʲ ant i:ðə

   Ad   1 e:nt i:ðə   2 azᵊnt i:ðə   3 azᵊntʔ

   Teen   1 azᵊnt aɪðə   2 azᵊntʔ aɪðə   3 azᵊntʔ   4 azᵊntʔ i:ðə

Part Fourteen

1. At the end of a question you give the answer and then ask "<u>Am I</u> right?"

SED   1 am a ɹi:t   4 n. a. (aznt, ɛznt); Db (all) am a; Ch 3, 4   am a; Ch 5 anəɹ a

   Old   1 am a ɹi:t   2 am a ɹi:t   3 am a ɹi:t

   Mid   1 am ä ɹi:t   2 am a ɹi:t   3 am ä

   Ad   1 am ə   2 am ä   3 am a ɹa:ᴵ

(cont)

   Teen   1 am ä ɹaɪtʔ   2 am ə   3 am ə ɹaɪtʔ   4 am ə

2. Then you say "Well, am I right or am I <u>wrong?</u>"

SED   1 n. a.   4 n. a.; Db (all) ɹʊŋg / ɹɒŋg; Ch 1, 3, 5, 6   ɹʊŋg; Ch 4 ɹʊŋg ('very old' ɹaŋg)

   Old   1 ɹɒŋg ('sometimes' ɹʊŋg)   2 ɹɒŋg   3 ɹɒŋg, ɹʊŋg

   Mid   1 ɹɒŋg   2 ɹɒŋg   3 ɹɒŋg

   Ad   1 ɹɒŋg   2 ɹɒŋg   3 ɹɒŋg

   Teen   1 ɹɒŋg   2 ɹɒŋg   3 ɹɒŋg   4 ɹɒŋg

3. When you are told you are right, you say "<u>Aren't I</u> clever?"

SED   1 amt a   4 n. a.; Db 3, 6 amt; 4 amənt; 2, 7 a:nt; 5 anə, eɪnt; Ch 3-5 anə; 1 a:nt

   Old   1 a:nt ə (amət ə)   2 amənt ə (a:ᴵnt ə)   3 amət ə, a:nt ə

   Mid   1 amənt ə   2 a:nt ə   3 n. r.

   Ad   1 a:nt ə   2 a:nt ə   3 a:nt ä klɛvə

   Teen   1 a:nt ə   2 a:ntʔ ə   3 a:ntʔ ə   4 a:ntʔ ə klɛvə

4. If you'd been ill, I'd ask you "<u>Are you</u> better yet?"

SED   1 a:ᴵt   4 n. a

   Old   1 a·t bɛtə   2 at fi:lɪn bɛtə   3 at əɹi:t

Mid	1 at fiːlɪn bɛtə 2 at əɹiːt 3 aː jə
Ad	1 aː jə 2 ə jə bɛtə 3 aː jə bɛtə jɛtʔ
Teen	1 aː jə bɛʔə jɛtʔ 2 aː jə 3 ə jə bɛʔə jɛtʔ 4 aː jə

5. Somebody tells you that he's won the pools. You say "Aren't you lucky?"

SED 1 aːˤtnə 4 n. a.; Db 3, Ch 3 aːtnə

Old	1 aːnt jə 2 aːˈnt jə (eːnt jə) 3 aːtnə
Mid	1 eːnt jə 2 aːnt jə 3 aːnt jə
Ad	1 eɪnt jə 2 aːnt jə 3 aːnt jə lʊkɪ
Teen	1 aːnt jə 2 aːntʔ jə 3 aːntʔ jə 4 aːntʔ jə

6. When you tell another friend , he says " He's a lucky devil, isn't he?"

SED 1 ɪntɪ 4 n. a.; Db 2, 5, 6, 7, Ch 3, 5 ɪntɪ; Db 3, Ch 6 ɪnəɹɪ; Ch 1, 4 ɪznɪ

| Old | 1 ɪnt ɪ 2 ɪnt ɪ 3 ɪnt ɪ (ɪznə ʃɪ) |
| Mid | 1 ɪnt ɪ 2 ɪnt ɪ 3 ɪnt ɪ |

(cont)	
Ad	1 ɪnt ɪ 2 ɪzənt ɪ (ɪnt ɪ) 3 ɪzntʔ ɪ
Teen	1 ɪnt ɪ 2 ɪnt ɪ 3 ɪnt ɪ 4 ɪn i·

7. You say to a mate "What do you mean, you're watching the football tonight, I was supposed to be playing snooker with you, wasn't I?"

SED 1 wəːˈnt ə 4 n. a.

Old	1 wə; wəːnt ə 2 wə; wəːnt ə 3 wə; wə·ˈnt ə
Mid	1 wə; wəːnt ə 2 wə; wəːnt ə 3 wə; wəːnt ə (wɒnt ə)
Ad	1 wə; wəːnt ə 2 wə; wɒnt ə 3 wə; wəːnt ə
Teen	1 wə; wəːnt ə 2 wɒz, wɒzᵊnt ə 3 wɒz; wɒnt ə 4 wɒz; wɒntʔ ə

8. He says "No, I'm sure you were supposed to be going to the match with Jim, weren't you?"

SED 1 wəːˈtnə 4 n. a.; Db 3 wəsnə; Ch 5 wɒsnə

Old	1 wə; wəːnt jə 2 wə; wə·ˈnt jə 3 wə; wəːnt jə
Mid	1 wə; wəːnt jə 2 wə; wəːnt jə 3 wə; wəːnt jə
Ad	1 wə; wəːnt jə 2 wə; wəːnt jə 3 wə; wəːnt jə
Teen	1 wə; wəːnt jə 2 wə ; wəːntʔ jə 3 wə; wəːntʔ jə 4 wə; wəːntʔ jə

9. You say "Well , it's the first I've heard of it because I thought the rest of the lads <u>were</u> planning to go

to the local*, <u>weren't they</u>?"

* substitute "sports hall" for younger informants

SED 1 wəːˈnə ðə 4 n. a.; Db 3 wəːnt ðə; Ch 3 wɒsnə; Ch 5 wɒnə ðɪ

  Old   1 wəː; wəːnt ðɪ (wənə ðɪ) 2 wə (wɒz); wəːnt ðɪ   3 wəː; wənə ðɪ (wɒznə ðɪ)
  Mid   1 wəː; wənə ðɪ, wəːnt ðɪ (wɒnt ðɪ) 2 wəː; wəːnt ðɪ; wənə ðɪ   3 wɒz; wɒnt ðɪ
  Ad   1 wəː; wəːnt ðɪ   2 wəː; wəːnt ðɪ   3 wəː; wəːnt ðɪ
  Teen   1 wəː; wəːnt ðɪ   2 wə ; wəːntʔ ðɪ 3 wəː; wəːntʔ ðɪ   4 wəː; wəːntʔ ðɪ

10. He says " Well, I don't know, I'm not really <u>sure</u>

SED 1 ʃʏˑəˈ 4 n. a. (ʃɪʉːə); Ch 4 ʃʉːə; Ch 3, 5 ʃʏːə; Ch 6 ʃʊə

  Old   1 ʃʏːə 2 ʃʏːə 3 ʃʏːə
  Mid   1 ʃʏːə 2 ʃʏːə 3 ʃʏːə
  Ad   1   (ʃʏːə) 2 : 3 :
  Teen   1 ʃɔ: 2 : 3 : 4 :

11. You might say "If I <u>were</u> rich, I wouldn't work again!"

SED 1 wə 4 n. a.; Db (all) wə; Ch 4-6 wəz

  Old   1 wə 2 wə 3 wə
  Mid   1 wə 2 wə 3 wəz
  Ad   1 wəz 2 wəz 3 wəz
  Teen   1 wəz   2 wɒz   3 wəz   4 wəz

12. "If she <u>were</u> rich, she would get a bigger house."

SED 1 wə 4 n. a.; Db (all) wə; Ch 3 wə; Ch 1, 4-6 wəz

  Old   1 wə 2 wəz   3 wəz
  Mid   1 wəz   2 wəz   3 wəz
  Ad   1 wəz 2 wəz 3 wə
  Teen   1 wə 2 wəz 3 wəz 4 wə

13. "If we <u>were</u> rich, we <u>wouldn't</u> be doing this now!"

SED 1 wə 4 n. a.; Db (all) wə; Ch 1 wə; Ch 4 wəz; Ch 3, 5, 6 wən

  Old   1 wə; wʊdnə 2 wə; wʊdnə (wʊnt) 3 wə; wʊdnə
  Mid   1 wə; wʊdnə 2 wə; wʊdnə   3 wə; wʊnt

| Ad | 1 wə; wʊnt   2 wə; wʊdᵊnt   3 wə; wʊd nɒtʔ |
| Teen | 1 wə; wʊdᵊnt   2 wə; wʊdᵊntʔ   3 wə; wʊdᵊntʔ   4 wə; wʊnt |

14. If you and me decided to go for a day out with a group of mates, but nobody else wanted to go, then

we'd have to go on <u>our own</u>

SED 1 əz oːn 4 n. a.; Db 1, 2, 5 əz; Ch 3 əz

EDD 'us- used for possessive pronoun – (including) Yks, Lancs, s. Lancs, Ches'

Old	1 əz oːn 2 əz oːn (æʏ ːn) 3 əz oːn
Mid	1 əz oːn 2 əz oːn 3 æʏəɹ oːn
Ad	1 əz oʊn 2 əz oʊn 3 aʊəɹ oʊn ('sometimes' əz)
Teen	1 aːɹ oʊn 2 aːɹ oʊn 3 aʊəɹ oʊn 4

Part Fifteen

1. At night you hear a loud noise outside so you shout "<u>Who</u> is it?"

SED 1 ʏː   4 ʉː

Old (cont)	1 ʏː 2 ʏː 3 ʏː
Mid	1 ʏː ɪz ɪt 2 ʏː 3 ʏː ɪz ɪt
Ad	1 ʏː ɪz ɪt 2 hʏː 3 ʏː ɪz ɪtʔ
Teen	1 ʏː ɪz ɪtʔ 2 ʏː ɪz ɪtʔ 3 ʏː ɪz ɪtʔ 4 ʏː z ðatʔ

2. Your neighbours shout back "It's only <u>us</u>"

SED 1 ʊz 4 n.a.; Ch 1-4 ʊz; Ch 5 ʊs

Old	1 ʊz 2 ʊz 3 ʊz
Mid	1 ʊz 2 ʊz 3 ʊz
Ad	1 ʊz 2 ʊz 3 ʊz
Teen	1 ʊz 2 ʊz 3 ʊz 4 ʊz

3. Your mate asks you if Jim has returned the spade you lent him. You say "Yes, he's <u>given</u> it back"

SED 1 gɛn (gɪn) 4 (gɛn, gɪvən) 3 gɪn (gɪvn)

Old	1 gɪn ɪtʔ bak 2 gɪvən 3 gɪn ɪtʔ bak
Mid	1 gɪvən ɪt 2 gɪn ɪtʔ bak 3 gɪvən
Ad	1 gɪvən ɪt 2 gɪvən ɪtʔ bak 3 gɪvən ɪtʔ bak
Teen	1 gɪvən ɪtʔ mɪ 2 gɪvən ɪtʔ mɪ 3 gɪvən ɪtʔ ʊz bak 4 gɪvən ɪtʔ bak

4. You could say " I have my own spare time and you have yours"

SED 1 ðaɪn 4 n.a.

Old	1 jo·əz	2 jo·əz (jʏ·əz) 3 jʏ·əz
Mid	1 jo·əz	2 jo·əz (jʏ·əz) 3 jo·əz (:z)
Ad	1 jo·əz	2 :z 3 :z
Teen	1 :z	2 :z 3 :z 4 :z

"I have my own spare time and she has hers"

SED 1 ə:ˈz 4 n.a. 3 ə:z; Ch 3 ə:ˈz

Old	1 ə:ˈz 2 ə:ˈz 3 ə:ˈz
Mid	1 ə:z 2 ə:ˈz 3 ə:ˈz
Ad	1 ə:z 2 ə:z 3 ə:z
Teen	1 ə:z 2 ə:z 3 ə:z 4 ə:z

" I have my own spare time but we also have ours"

SED 1 ɛ:ˈz 4 n.a. 3   ; Ch 3 a:z

(cont)	
Old	1 æʊəz 2 æʏəz 3 æʊəz
Mid	1 æʊəz 2 æʏəz 3 æʏəz
Ad	1 æʊəz 2 aʊəz 3 a:z
Teen	1 aʊəz 2 aʊəz 3 a:z 4 a:z

" You have your own spare time and I have mine"

SED 1 maɪn 4 n.a. 3 mɑɪn; Ch 3, 5 mɑɪn

Old	1 ma:ᵻn 2 maɪn 3 mɑɪn
Mid	1 maɪn 2 ma:ᵻn 3 ma:ᵻn
Ad	1 ma:ᵻn 2 ma:ᵻn 3 maɪn
Teen	1 maɪn 2 maɪn 3 ma:ᵻn 4 :ᵻn

5. When you're feeding the cats, you open a tin and give one half to one cat and the rest of it to the other"

SED 1 tʊðə 4 n.a. (tʊðə) 3 (tʊðə)

Old	1 tʊðə (tə ʔ ʊðə) 2 ðɪ ʊðə (tə ʔ tʊðə) 3 tʊðə
Mid	1 tʊðə (tə ʔ tʊðə) 2 tʊðə 3 ðɪ ʊðə, tə ʔ tʊðɹ ən

| Ad | 1 tə ʔ ʊðə 2 tə ʔ ʊðə 3 tə ðɪ ʊðə |
| Teen | 1 tə ʔ ʊðə 2 tə ðɪ ʊðə 3 tə ðɪ ʊðə 4 tə ðɪ ʊðə |

6. There's a car blocking your gate so you ask "That car, do you know <u>whose</u> it is?"

SED 1 ʏːz 4 n.a. 3 ʉːz ɪt ɪz; Ch 5 ʏːz ɪt ɪz

Old	1 ʏːz 2 ʏːz 3 ʏːz ɪt ɪz
Mid	1 ʏːz ɪt ɪz (ʏː ɪtʔ bɪlɒŋgz tʏː) 2 ʏːz 3 ʏːz ɪt ɪz
Ad	1 ʏːz 2 ʏːz ɪt ɪz 3 ʏːz ɪtʔ ɪz
Teen	1 ʏːz ɪt ɪz 2 ʏːz ɪtʔ ɪz (ʏː ɪtʔ bɪlɒŋgz tʏː) 3 ʏːz ɪtʔ ɪz 4 ʏːz ðɪs ɪz

7. A mate asks you to send a parcel for him, and as you're not sure who it's for, you ask "This parcel,

<u>to whom</u> am I sending it (to)?

SED (…… *am I giving it?*) 1 ʏː t gɪv ɪt tʏː 4 n.a. 3 ʉː t gɪv ɪt tʉː

Old	1 ʏː am ə sɛndɪn ɪtʔ tʏː 2 ʏː äm ə sɛndɪn ɪtʔ tʏː 3 ʏː əm ə sɛndɪn ɪtʔ tʏː
Mid	1 ʏː äm ə sɛndɪn ɪtʔ tʏː 2 ʏː əm ə sɛndɪn ɪtʔ tʏː 3 ʏː əm ə sɛndɪn ɪtʔ tʏː
Ad	1 ʏː əm ə sɛndɪn ɪtʔ tʏː 2 ʏː əm ə sɛndɪn ɪtʔ tʏː 3 ʏː əm ə sɛndɪn ɪtʔ tʏː
Teen	1 ʏː əm ə sɛndɪn ɪtʔ tʏː 2 ʏː əm ə sɛndɪn ɪtʔ tʏː 3 n. r. 4 ʏː əm ə sɛndɪn ɪtʔ tʏː

8. Here are three coins (arrange 5p coin and a 10p coin near each other and a pound coin further

away). Now you probably wouldn't want <u>this one here</u> (p) or <u>that one there</u> (p) but you would want <u>that

<u>one over there</u>"* (repeat with more than one of each).*

* If they say "that one / these, those" only, ask again "which one(s)" and " where?

Singular

Old	1 ðat; ðat; ðatʔ wɒn 2 ðat; ðat; ðatʔ wɒn 3 ðat; ðat; ðatʔ wɒn
Mid	1 ðat; ðat; ðatʰ 2 ðat; ðat; ðatʔ wɒn 3 ðat; ðat; ðatʔ wɒn
Ad	1 ðat wɒn; ðatʔ wɒn; ðat wɒn 2 ðat; ðat; ðatʔ wɒn 3 ðatʔ; ðatʔ; ðatʔ
Teen	1 ðatʔ; ðatʔ; ðatʔ wɒn 2 ðatʔ; ðatʔ; ðatʔ wɒn 3 ðatʔ; ðatʔ; ðatʔ wɒn 4 ðatʔ; ðatʔ; ðatʔ

Plural

Old	1 ðɛm; ðɛm; ðɛm 2 ðɛm; ðɛm; ðɛm 3 ðɛm; ðɛm; ðɛm
Mid	1 ðɛm; ðɛm; ðɛm 2 ðɛm; ðɛm; ðɛm 3 ðɛm; ðɛm; ðɛm
Ad	1 ðɛm; ðɛm; ðɛm 2 ðɛm; ðɛm; ðɛm 3 ðɛm; ðɛm; ðɛm
Teen	1 ðɛm; ðɛm; ðɛm 2 ðɛm; ðɛm; ðɛm 3 ðɛm; ðɛm; ðɛm 4 ðɛm; ðɛm; ðɛm

If they say "that one / these, those" only, ask again "which one(s)" and " where?"

SED 1 jɒnd 4 n.a. 3 jɒn; *EDD ˈjondə(r) – (including) N, Yks, Lancs, Ches, Der, N. Mid*

Old	1 ðɛəˑ; ðɛə; æʊt jɒndə 2 ðɛə; ðɛə; ʊp jɒndə 3 ðɛəˑ; ðɛəˑ; ʊp jɒndə
Mid	1 ðɛə; ðɛə; ʊp jɒndə 2 ðɛə; ðɛə; ʊp jɒndə 3 ðɛə; ðɛə; oːvə ðɛə
Ad	1 ðɛə; ðɛə; oʊvə ðɛə 2 ðɛə; ðɛə; oʊvə ðɛə 3 ðɛə; ðɛə; oʊvə ðɛə
Teen	1 ðɛə; ðɛə; oʊvə ðɛə 2 ðɛə; ðɛə; oʊvə ðɛː 3 ðɛə; ðɛə; oʊvə ðɛə 4 ðɛə; ðɛə; :

9. Now if you're sick and tired of answering all these questions, you'd say "Can't we stop? I've had

<u>enough</u>"

SED 1 ɪnʊf 4 n.a. 3 ənʊf; Db 4 ənʊf; Db 2, 5-7 ɪnʊf; Ch (all) ənʊf; La 13, 14 ənʊf

Old	1 ɪnʊf 2 ɪnʊf 3 ɪnʊf
Mid	1 ɪnʊf 2 ɪnʊf 3 ɪnʊf
Ad	1 ɪnʊf 2 ɪnʊf 3 ɪnʊf
Teen	1 ɪnʊf 2 ɪnʊf 3 ɪnʊf 4 ɪnʊf

<u>Biographical Information</u> (correct as of 1999)

<u>Age-Group Old</u>

1   JL   Sex: Male

Date of Birth: 8 / 11/ 36   Place of Birth: Maternity Home, Birch Vale

Present Address: New Mills

Residency History: Has lived in New Mills permanently – Cold Harbour Farm, Ollersett Moor (until 1968)

Place of Birth (Father): New Mills, Laneside

Place of Birth (Mother): Little Hayfield, Clough Lane (2.5 miles NE)

Marital Status: Married (wife from Cheadle, Cheshire – in residency until 1968)

Current Occupation: Retired

Previous Occupation(s): Farmer; Postman (from 1971 until retirement in 1992)

Assessment of social status: Working Class

2   HF   Sex: Male

Date of Birth: 20 / 03/ 26   Place of Birth: New Mills

Present Address: New Mills

Residency History: Has lived in New Mills permanently – enlisted in Merchant Navy in WW II (radio operator)

Place of Birth (Father): New Mills

Place of Birth (Mother): New Mills

Marital Status: Married (wife from New Mills)

Current Occupation: Retired

Previous Occupation(s): Cotton Mill Weaver (Lowe's Mills, New Mills); Postman (from 1968 until retirement in 1990)

Assessment of social status: Working Class

3   F   Sex: Male

Date of Birth: 1922 (exact date not ascertained) Place of Birth: Thornsett, New Mills

Present Address: Thornsett, New Mills

Residency History: Has lived in New Mills (Thornsett) permanently

Place of Birth (Father): Thornsett, New Mills

Place of Birth (Mother): Thornsett

Marital Status: Widower

Current Occupation: Retired

Previous Occupation(s): Bleach Works, Thornsett; Machine Operator at Ferodo Engineering (Car Parts), Chapel-en-le-Frith (from 1968 until retirement in 1982)

Assessment of social status: Working Class

Age-Group Mid

1   CW   Sex: Male

Date of Birth: 24 / 07/ 48   Place of Birth: Porch Cottage, Eaves Knoll, New Mills

Present Address: New Mills

Residency History: Has lived in New Mills permanently

Place of Birth (Father): Little Hayfield (2.5 miles NE)

Place of Birth (Mother): Bugsworth (2.5 miles SE)

Marital Status: Divorced

Current Occupation: Self-employed (Window Cleaner) since 1970

Previous Occupation(s): Rope Works, Daniel Woods Cotton Mill (local firms)

Assessment of social status: Working Class

2   IH   Sex: Male

Date of Birth: 18 / 08/ 54   Place of Birth: New Mills

Present Address: New Mills

Residency History: Has lived in New Mills permanently

Place of Birth (Father): Nottinghamshire (moved to New Mills post-war, age: 30s)

Place of Birth (Mother): New Mills

Marital Status: Married (wife from New Mills)

Current Occupation: Postman (from 1997)

Previous Occupation(*s*): Postman (from 1973 until 1993), University Tutor, 1996-97

Assessment of social status: Working Class

3   CG   Sex: Male

Date of Birth: 24 / 07/ 48   Place of Birth: New Mills

Present Address: New Mills

Residency History: Has lived in New Mills permanently

Place of Birth (Father): Manchester

Place of Birth (Mother): New Mills

Marital Status: Married (wife from New Mills)

Current Occupation: Postman (since June, 1980)

Previous Occupation(*s*): Removals, Painter and Decorator, Machine Operator (Bowaters Drum Manufacturers – local company), Calicoe Printer's Assistant (CPA, Watford Bridge – local company), Machine Operator, Daniel Woods (Cotton Mill).

Assessment of social status: Working Class

<u>Age-Group Adult</u>

1   CW (son of informant CW, Age-Group Mid)   Sex: Male

Date of Birth: 04/ 01/ 67   Place of Birth: Stepping Hill, Hazel Grove, Stockport

Present Address: New Mills

Residency History: Has lived in New Mills permanently

Place of Birth (Father): New Mills

Place of Birth (Mother): New Mills

Marital Status: Single

Current Occupation: Fireman

Previous Occupation(*s*): Postman

Assessment of social status: Working Class

2   PB   Sex: Male

Date of Birth: 23 /11 / 65   Place of Birth: Ashton-Under-Lyne (9.5 miles NW)

Present Address: New Mills

Residency History: Has lived in New Mills permanently, except first two years

Place of Birth (Father): New Mills (ink works manager)

Place of Birth (Mother): New Mills

Marital Status: Divorced

Current Occupation: Postman

Previous Occupation(*s*): As above

Assessment of social status: Working Class

3   MP   Sex: Male

Date of Birth: 24/06/66   Place of Birth: Stepping Hill, Hazel Grove, Stockport

Present Address: New Mills

Residency History: Has lived in New Mills permanently (except 3 years at Pontypridd Polytechnic, south Wales, age 18-21)

Place of Birth (Father): Oxford

Place of Birth (Mother): Wakefield, West Yorkshire

Marital Status: Married (wife from Warrington, Cheshire)

Current Occupation: Quantity Surveyor, Construction Industry (Manchester-based company)

Previous Occupation(*s*): As above

Assessment of social status: Working Class / Lower Middle Class

Age-Group Teen

1   MH (son of informant IH, Age-Group Mid; brother of WH, Age-Group Teen)
        Sex: Male

Date of Birth: 2 / 08 / 81   Place of Birth: Stepping Hill, Hazel Grove, Stockport

Present Address: New Mills

Residency History: Has lived in New Mills permanently

Place of Birth (Father): New Mills

Place of Birth (Mother): New Mills

Marital Status: Single

Occupation of Head of Household: Postman

Assessment of social status: Working Class

2   WH (son of informant IH, Age-Group Mid; brother of MH, Age-Group Teen)
Sex: Male

Date of Birth: 30 / 06 / 83   Place of Birth: Stepping Hill, Hazel Grove, Stockport

Present Address: New Mills

Residency History: Has lived in New Mills permanently

Place of Birth (Father): New Mills

Place of Birth (Mother): New Mills

Marital Status: Single

Occupation of Head of Household: Postman

Assessment of social status: Working Class

3   M (AM)   Sex: Male

Date of Birth: 6 / 10 / 82   Place of Birth: Macclesfield, Cheshire (moved to NM, 1985)

Present Address: New Mills

Residency History: Has lived in New Mills permanently since 1985

Place of Birth (Father): Macclesfield (stepfather)

Place of Birth (Mother): Macclesfield

Marital Status: Single

Occupation of Head of Household: Truck Driver (Crabtree's – local firm)

Assessment of social status: Working Class

4   JB   Sex: Male

Date of Birth: 18 / 12 / 80   Place of Birth: Stepping Hill, Hazel Grove, Stockport

Present Address: New Mills

Residency History: Has lived in New Mills permanently

Place of Birth (Father): Skipton, North Yorkshire

Place of Birth (Mother): Preston, Lancashire

Marital Status: Single

Occupation: Sixth Form College Student

Occupation of Head of Household: Outdoor Pursuits Instructor

Assessment of social status: Working Class / Lower Middle Class