LISTENING TO THE PAST

Audio Records of Accents of English

Audio recordings of English are available from the first half of the twentieth century and thus complement the written data sources for the recent history of the language. This book is the first to bring together a team of globally recognised scholars to document and analyse these early recordings in a single volume. Looking at examples of regional varieties of English from England, Scotland, Ireland, the USA, Canada and other anglophone countries, the volume explores both standard and vernacular varieties, and demonstrates how accents of English have changed between the late nineteenth century and the present day. The sociophonetic examinations of the recordings will be of interest to scholars of historical linguistics, the history of the English language, language variation and change, phonetics, and phonology.

RAYMOND HICKLEY is Professor of English Linguistics at the University of Duisburg and Essen, Germany. His main research interests are varieties of English (especially Irish English and Dublin English) and general questions of language contact, variation and change. Among his recent book publications are Irish English. History and Present-day Forms (Cambridge, 2007), The Handbook of Language Contact (2010), Eighteenth-Century English (Cambridge, 2010) and The Sound Structure of Modern Irish (2014).
The aim of this series is to provide a framework for original studies of English, both present-day and past. All books are based securely on empirical research, and represent theoretical and descriptive contributions to our knowledge of national and international varieties of English, both written and spoken. The series covers a broad range of topics and approaches, including syntax, phonology, grammar, vocabulary, discourse, pragmatics and sociolinguistics, and is aimed at an international readership.

Already published in this series:

Christiane Meierkord: Interactions across Englishes: Linguistic Choices in Local and International Contact Situations
Haruko Momma: From Philology to English Studies: Language and Culture in the Nineteenth Century
Raymond Hickey: Standards of English: Codified Varieties Around the World
Benedikt Szmrecsanyi: Grammatical Variation in British English Dialects: A Study in Corpus-Based Dialectometry
Daniel Schreier and Marianne Hundt: English as a Contact Language
Bas Aarts, Joanne Close, Geoffrey Leech and Sean Wallis (eds.): The Verb Phrase in English: Investigating Recent Language Change with Corpora
Martin Hilpert: Constructional Change in English: Developments in Allomorphy, Word Formation, and Syntax
Jakob R. E. Leimgruber: Singapore English: Structure, Variation and Usage
Christoph Rühlemann: Narrative in English Conversation
Dagmar Deuber: English in the Caribbean: Variation, Style and Standards in Jamaica and Trinidad
Eva Berlage: Noun Phrase Complexity in English
Nicole Dehé: Parentheticals in Spoken English: The Syntax-Prosody Relation
Jock Onn Wong: English in Singapore: A Cultural Analysis
Anita Auer, Daniel Schreier and Richard J. Watts: Letter Writing and Language Change
Marianne Hundt: Late Modern English Syntax
Irma Taavitsainen, Merja Kyto, Claudia Claridge and Jeremy Smith: Developments in English: Expanding Electronic Evidence
Arne Lohmann: English Co-ordinate Constructions: A Processing Perspective on Constituent Order
John Flowerdew and Richard W. Forest: Signalling Nouns in English: A Corpus-Based Discourse Approach
Jeffrey P. Williams, Edgar W. Schneider, Peter Trudgill and Daniel Schreier: Further Studies in the Lesser-Known Varieties of English
Nuria Yáñez-Bouza: Grammar, Rhetoric and Usage in English: Preposition Placement 1500—1900
Jack Grieve: Regional Variation in Written American English
Douglas Biber and Bethany Gray: Grammatical Complexity in Academic English: Linguistics Change in Writing
Gjertrud Fleremoen Stenbrenden: Long-Vowel Shifts in English, c. 1050–1700: Evidence from Spelling
Zoya G. Proshina and Anna A. Eddy: Russian English: History, Functions, and Features
Raymond Hickey: Listening to the Past: Audio Records of Accents of English

Earlier titles not listed are also available.
LISTENING TO THE PAST

Audio Records of Accents of English

EDITED BY

RAYMOND HICKEY

University of Duisburg and Essen
Contents

List of Figures
List of Maps
List of Tables
Notes on Contributors
Preface

1 Analysing Early Audio Recordings
   Raymond Hickey 1

2 British Library Sound Recordings of Vernacular Speech:
   They Were Lost and Now They Are Found
   Jonathan Robinson 13

3 Twentieth-Century Received Pronunciation: Prevocalic /l/
   Anne Fabricius 39

4 Twentieth-Century Received Pronunciation:
   Stop Articulation
   Raymond Hickey 66

5 London’s Cockney in the Twentieth Century:
   Stability or Cycles of Contact-Driven Change?
   Paul Kerswill and Eivind Torgersen 85

6 The Origins of Liverpool English
   Kevin Watson and Lynn Clark 114

7 Tyneside English
   Dominic Watt and Paul Foulkes 142

8 Scotland: Glasgow and the Central Belt
   Jane Stuart-Smith and Eleanor Lawson 171
## Contents

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Chapter</th>
<th>Title</th>
<th>Author(s)</th>
<th>Page</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>9</td>
<td>Early Recordings of Irish English</td>
<td>Raymond Hickey</td>
<td>199</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10</td>
<td>Evidence of American Regional Dialects in Early Recordings</td>
<td>Matthew J. Gordon and Christopher Strelluf</td>
<td>232</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11</td>
<td>New England</td>
<td>Daniel Ezra Johnson and David Durian</td>
<td>257</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12</td>
<td>Upper Midwestern English</td>
<td>Thomas Purnell, Eric Raimy and Joseph Salmons</td>
<td>298</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13</td>
<td>Western United States</td>
<td>Valerie Fridland and Tyler Kendall</td>
<td>325</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14</td>
<td>Analysis of the Ex-Slave Recordings</td>
<td>Erik R. Thomas</td>
<td>350</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15</td>
<td>Archival Data on Earlier Canadian English</td>
<td>Charles Boberg</td>
<td>375</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16</td>
<td>Canadian Raising in Newfoundland? Insights from Early Vernacular Recordings</td>
<td>Sandra Clarke, Paul De Decker and Gerard Van Herk</td>
<td>395</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>17</td>
<td>The Caribbean: Trinidad and Jamaica</td>
<td>Shelome Gooden and Kathy-Ann Drayton</td>
<td>414</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>18</td>
<td>Early Recordings from Ghana: A Variationist Approach to the Phonological History of an Outer Circle Variety</td>
<td>Magnus Huber</td>
<td>444</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>19</td>
<td>Earlier South African English</td>
<td>Ian Bekker</td>
<td>464</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>20</td>
<td>Early Twentieth-Century Tristan da Cunha h’English</td>
<td>Daniel Schreier</td>
<td>484</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>21</td>
<td>Open Vowels in Historical Australian English</td>
<td>Felicity Cox and Sallyanne Palethorpe</td>
<td>502</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Contents

22 Early New Zealand English: The Closing Diphthongs
   Márton Sóskuthy, Jennifer Hay, Margaret Maclagan, Katie Drager
   and Paul Foulkes
   529

23 The Development of Recording Technology
   Raymond Hickey
   562

Index
   569
Figures

3.1 Consonant chart, Jones (1909: xiii).
3.2 Waveform and spectrogram of trilled /r/ sequence in ‘heroism’ spoken by OFr (Baroness Asquith).
3.3 Trends in rates of tapped and trilled /r/ by word position according to decade of recording.
3.4 Proportion of labial and non-labial variants in the corpus by individual speaker.
4.1 Average VOT values for T. S. Eliot, Elizabeth Bowen and Virginia Woolf.
4.2 Development of VOT (ms) values with /p/ (1947–2014).
4.3 Development of VOT (ms) values with /t/ (1947–2014).
4.4 Development of VOT (ms) values with /k/ (1947–2014).
4.5 Average VOT (ms) values for four English monarchs from 1923 to 2014.
5.1 Vowel system of EE, female born c. 1890 and recorded in 1956, showing mean vowel onsets and 0.5 standard deviations (Lobanov normalisation).
5.2 Mr H. J. Kent, mean vowel onsets (Lobanov normalisation), showing 0.5 standard deviations.
5.3 Vowel system of MM, female born in 1892 and recorded in 1956 (based on a manual analysis of vowels; Lobanov normalisation), showing 0.5 standard deviations.
5.4 Mr MG, elderly male speaker from Hackney (b. 1931, recorded 2005).
5.5 PF, female aged twelve (recorded in 1956 by Eva Sivertsen).
5.7 Normalised Vocalic Pairwise Variability Index (nPVI) for thirteen speakers/speaker groups.
Figures

5.8 Voice onset time (VOT) measurements for American English, Southern British English and three East Londoners born 1890–1910. 107

6.1 TH variation in working-class Catholic Liverpool speakers, adapted from Knowles (1973: 324). 118

6.2 A typical lenition trajectory, adapted from Lass (1984: 178). 120

6.3 Word-final /t/ variation in working-class Liverpool speakers, adapted from Knowles (1973: 326). 121

6.4 Utterance-final /t/ variation in working-class adolescent speakers (nine female, seven male), adapted from Watson (2007a: 181). 122

6.5 An example of a transcript in OLIVE, showing the orthographic and phonological tiers. 128

6.6 An example of a textgrid generated automatically by OLIVE. 129

6.7 TH variation, by corpus and sex. 131

6.8 Vowel plots for female Archive speakers and male Archive speakers. 133

6.9 Vowel plots for female Older speakers and male Older speakers. 134

6.10 Vowel plots for female Teen speakers and male Teen speakers. 135

6.11 Realisation of utterance final /t/, by age and sex. 137

7.1 F1/F2 plot of averaged trajectories of the face and goat vowels for the four BLA speakers. 158

7.2 F1/F2 plot of averaged trajectories of the face and goat vowels for four TLS speakers (four elderly women from Gateshead, Co. Durham). 160

7.3 F1/F2 plots (in Hz) of the vowels of nurse and north items produced by the four BLA speakers. 162

7.4 F1/F2 plots (in Hz) of the vowels of nurse and north items produced by four SED speakers (older males from Earsdon, Ebchester, Ellington and Heddon-on-the-Wall) and four TLS speakers (older females from Gateshead). 164

8.1 Wilhelm Doegen recording a speaker in the prisoner of war camp in Wahn (near Cologne) in October 1916, with the assistance of Alois Brandl. 176

8.2 Spectrogram of Thomas Sneddon from Falkirk saying ‘brother has’. 180
Figures

8.3 Spectrogram of William Bryce from Glasgow saying prepausal ‘faither’. 181
8.4 Distribution of glottal stops for /t/ in the full sample of the Berliner Lautarchiv speakers according to position. 183
8.5 Percentage breakdown of onset /t/ variants used by the Berliner Lautarchiv sample, from eight different locations in the Scottish Central Belt. 186
8.6 Variants of /t/ by social class, comparing one Glasgow middle-class speaker with one Glasgow working-class speaker, in upper, onset position and lower, coda position. 187
8.7 Error bars showing the mean percentage use of coda /t/ variants (+/− 1 standard deviation) used by all Lautarchiv informants and the eastern Central Belt WL07 informants. 190
8.8 Percentage of weak rhotic variants of coda /t/ in the six western Central Belt Berliner Lautarchiv speakers (10X) and in the Sounds of the City corpus data for middle-aged men and adolescent boys recorded in the 1990s and 2000s. 193
9.1 Lenition scale after Lass (1984). 205
9.2 Rhotic pronunciation of **Mister** by James Joyce in 1924 recording (third formant depressed). 215
9.3 Non-rhotic pronunciation of **heard** by James Joyce in 1924 recording (no depression of third formant). 216
9.4 GOAT realisations of five speakers from pre-WWII recordings. 219
9.5 Back vowel raising in Dublin English in the 1990s. 220
9.6 BATH vowel realisations for Kathleen Clarke, Máire Comerford, Ria Mooney and Maud Gonne. 224
10.2 Mean productions of vowel classes for Grand Rapids man, b. 1878, and Buffalo woman, b. 1890. 239
10.3 NORTH and FORCE tokens for Grand Rapids man, b. 1878. 240
10.4 Mean productions of vowel classes for Grand Rapids woman, b. 1890. 241
10.5 TRAP/PAN, LOT, and THOUGHT tokens for Grand Rapids woman, b. 1890. 242
10.6 TRAP/PAN, LOT, and THOUGHT tokens for Buffalo man, b. 1899. 243
10.7 Mean productions of vowel classes for Kansas City men, born 1884 and 1887. 246
10.8 PIN and PEN tokens for Kansas City man, b. 1902. 247
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Figure</th>
<th>Description</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>10.9</td>
<td>Mean productions of vowel classes for Indianapolis woman, b. 1904. 249</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10.10</td>
<td>LOT and THOUGHT tokens for Indianapolis woman, b. 1904. 249</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10.11</td>
<td>Mean productions of vowel classes for St. Louis men, born 1912 and 1915. 251</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10.12</td>
<td>TRAP and DRESS tokens for St. Louis man, b. 1915. 251</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10.13</td>
<td>NORTH, FORCE, and START tokens for St. Louis man, b. 1915. 253</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11.1</td>
<td>Short-a system of Schofield, an incipient split system. 278</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11.2</td>
<td>Short-a system of Brewster, a more robust broad-a system. 279</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12.1</td>
<td>Waveform and spectrogram of LAUM Speaker 41 (b. 1877, male, Montevideo, Chippewa County, Minnesota) saying go with a monophthongal GOAT vowel. 304</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12.2</td>
<td>Vowel plot for General American English speaker, female, b. 1890, Menomonee Falls, Wisconsin. 314</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12.3</td>
<td>Vowel plot for speaker who produces BAD-vowels over BAG-vowels (DG) speaker, male, b. 1920, Greenfield, Wisconsin. 315</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12.4</td>
<td>Vowel plot for speaker who produces BAG-vowels over BAD-vowels (GD) speaker, female, b. 1923, Menomonee Falls, Wisconsin. 315</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13.1</td>
<td>Vowel plot for Hana, young adult female from Sebastopol, California. 334</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13.2</td>
<td>Vowel plot for Mia, young adult female from Lafayette, California. 334</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13.3</td>
<td>Vowel plot for Jocelyn, young adult female from Las Vegas, Nevada. 336</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13.4</td>
<td>Vowel plot for Ryan, young adult male from Reno, Nevada. 337</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13.5</td>
<td>Vowel plot for William Colby, born 1875 in Benicia, California. 339</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13.6</td>
<td>Vowel plot for Frank Tracy Swett, born 1869 in San Francisco, California. 339</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13.7</td>
<td>Vowel plot for Emma Bowler, born 1880s in Hawthorne, Nevada. 340</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13.8</td>
<td>Vowel plot for William Thomas, born 1876 in Austin, Nevada. 340</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14.1</td>
<td>Wideband spectrogram of the phrase drive on from the Boyd interview, illustrating the noise and transience (crackling) found in the recording. 356</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14.2</td>
<td>Narrowband power spectrum of the vowel in the first syllable of chicken from the Boyd interview. 357</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
xiv Figures

14.3 Comparison of narrowband power spectra, both from the vowel in utterances of the word got, from Boyd’s speech and that of a woman recorded with modern equipment. 358
14.4 Comparison of smoothed average power spectra of utterances of [s] from Boyd’s speech and that of a woman recorded with modern equipment. 359
14.5 Spectrogram of the phrase the Lord will bless with superimposed formant tracks. 360
14.6 Spectrogram of the word mother with superimposed formant tracks. 361
14.7 Wideband spectrogram of a section of the Laura Smalley recording without enhancement. 362
14.8 Formant plot showing the mean values of the vowels of ex-slave Phoebe Boyd. 364
14.9 Trajectories of twenty tokens of face vowel as produced by Boyd. 366
14.10 An utterance from the Boyd interview with ToBI annotations. 368
14.11 A pitch accent with a rising contour from the Boyd interview, showing the relevant features for computing the peak delay. 369
14.12 An utterance from the Boyd interview with consonantal and vocalic intervals delineated for analysis of prosodic rhythm. 371
15.1 Vowel system of D. M. Marshall. 387
15.2 Vowel system of J. R. McIlree. 387
15.3 Vowel system of E. S. Russenholt. 388
16.1 Mean values for /ai/ and /au/, Older English group. 406
16.2 Mean values for /ai/ and /au/, Older Irish group. 406
16.3 Mean values for /ai/ and /au/, Younger English group. 407
16.4 Mean values for /ai/ and /au/, Younger Irish group. 407
17.1 Mean interpolated F0 contours on a normalized time axis. The contours are averaged across repetitions from a portion of the sentence, Him want wan || alligator and (some) yam. ‘He wants an alligator and some yams’. 425
17.2 Fo contours of statements: (a) broad focus, He wants a banana and yam, (b) narrow focus (non-final), He wants a banana (not mango) and yam, (c) narrow focus (final), The calabash has a banana (female Afro-Trinidadian speaker from Princes Town). 427
Figures

17.3 Fo contour showing L* H (male Afro-Trinidian speaker from Dabadie).
17.4 Fo contour showing bitonal pitch accents L+H* L* H in younger speaker (male Afro-Trinidian speaker from Dabadie).
17.5 Fo contour showing syntactic marking of focus and an M% and M- in the sentence, Whereas, the man ROBBED you, lit. whereas, its rob that the man robbed you (Carter, male speaker from Banana Ground).
17.6 Fo contour showing phrase accents in sentence continued from Figure 17.5, … and he is gone, because after all he can't move it (Carter, male speaker from Banana Ground).
17.7 Fo contour showing a variety of pitch accents in sentence, Until after you bury, after you BURY the dead, then they have the, the wake (Barnett, male from Trout Hall).
17.8 Fo contour showing focus in the phrase, … this man's house and THAT house (Harris, male from Moore Town).
17.9 Fo contour showing utterance internal IPs, in the sentence, After they BURY the dead, then they do the singing (Barnett, male from Trout Hall).
17.10 Fo contour … but of the land they gave the maroons, not me … they, they did not give me ANY. I (alone) should have gotten more (Harris, male from Moore Town).
17.11 Fo contour showing utterance internal IPs with both L% and M%, in the sentence, But however, we are called ambadasha, and we are LEAN, and we will not fall (Harris, male from Moore Town).
17.12 Fo contour showing L* pitch accents in APs. Indo-Trinidian from the Mayo area (rural).
17.13 Fo contour showing H*, H*+L, and L+H* pitch accents on stressed syllables (male Afro-Trinidian from Mayo).
17.14 Fo contour showing H*+L and L* pitch accents on stressed syllables (male Afro-Trinidian from Mayo).
18.1 Realization of GhE (ing), 1960 and 2008.
19.1 Mr Flemming’s vowel chart (Lobanov-normalised).
19.2 Ms Murchie’s vowel chart (Lobanov-normalised).
19.3 Ms Gibson’s vowel chart (Lobanov-normalised).
Figures

19.4 Part-System A cross-subject comparison. 468
19.5 Part-System B cross-subject comparison. 469
19.6 Part-System C cross-subject comparison. 469
19.7 Part-System D cross-subject comparison. 470
20.1 Vowel plot for a male TdCE speaker, born 1902. 493
20.2 /h/ insertion in four TdCE speakers by place of interview (Southampton vs. TdC). 497
21.1 Monophthong F1/F2 vowel space plot for citation-form data collected from 116 young females from Sydney between 2005 and 2009. 507
21.2 Monophthong vowel space plots for the historical female and male speakers. 516
21.3 Mean durations in milliseconds for the vowels *start* and *strut* for each of the historical speakers and modern speakers. 517
21.4 Monophthong vowel space for the AusE modern data extracted from citation form vowels from five adolescent males from rural NSW recorded in 1998. 518
21.5 NZE historical data reconstructed from Figure 6.5 in Gordon *et al.* (2004: 109) illustrating the normalised vowel spaces for five males and five females born in New Zealand in 1864–1886. 519
22.1 Three pom-pom graphs illustrating the proportions of different phonetic variants for *price*, *mouth*, *face* and *goat* in NZE for speakers born between 1860 and 1870, 1870 and 1880, and 1880 and 1900. 540
22.2 Ribbon graphs illustrating changes in the proportions of different phonetic variants for *price*, *face*, *mouth* and *goat* in NZE for speakers born between 1865 and 1900. 541
22.3 Graph showing the interaction between year of birth and whether the following environment is voiceless or not. 547
22.4 Graph showing the interaction between year of birth and whether the following sound is a lateral or not. 548
22.5 Scatterplots of per-speaker average diphthong shift indices for different pairs of vowels, parametric and non-parametric correlation coefficients based on the data shown in the scatterplots, and the distribution of average diphthong shift indices for a given vowel. 550
Figures xvii

22.6 Scatterplots of random intercepts from the statistical models for different pairs of vowels, parametric and non-parametric correlation coefficients based on the data shown in the scatterplots, and the distribution of random intercepts for a given model. 552

22.7 The relationship between speaker-specific random intercepts for diphthong shift and glide weakening in the PRICE lexical set and MOUTH lexical set. 557

23.1 An early cylindrical phonograph from around 1900. 563

23.2 A portable mechanical gramophone player from the 1930s. 564

23.3 An early reel-to-reel magnetic tape recorder. 565

23.4 A modern hand-held digital recorder (Roland Edirol R09HR, 24 bit/96 kHz WAVE/MP3 recorder – used by the author for fieldwork). 567
Maps

5.1 Jewish East London (south-western portion) (Arkell 1899 [2012]).

7.1 Map of north-eastern England showing the places of origin of the Berliner Lautarchiv (BLA), Tyneside Linguistic Survey (TLS) and Survey of English Dialects (SED) speakers, and a selection of other locations mentioned in this chapter.

8.1 Map of the Central Belt of Scotland showing the provenance of the eight speakers from the Berliner Lautarchiv corpus.

9.1 Main dialect division in Ireland (north, approximately one third, and south, approximately two thirds of the island).

11.1 Locations of speakers with names, codes from LANE and PEAS, and dates of birth.

11.2 PALM–LOT–THOUGHT configurations, centred on LOT.

11.3 THOUGHT–NORTH–FORCE–GOAT configurations, centred on NORTH.

12.1 Upper Midwestern states by narrow or broad reference.

12.2 Settlement patterns into Wisconsin between 1830 and 1920 (Ostergren 1997: 138). By courtesy of the University of Wisconsin Press.

12.3 Geographic distribution of [u] offgliding in GOAT class words in the Upper Midwest.

12.4 Distribution of the THOUGHT vowel in frost, daughter, and law from LAUM.

12.5 Distribution of the THOUGHT vowel in frost, daughter, and law from LANCS.

12.6 Distribution of the TRAP vowel from LAUM and LANCS.

19.1 Southern Africa in 1898.
## Table of Contents

1.1 Caveats when using data from early recordings.  
1.2 Classification of insights from early recordings.  
2.1 A comparison of thirty-three variables in a recital of the Parable of the Prodigal Son by John Townend with corresponding SED data from Skelmanthorpe, Yorkshire.  
2.2 A description of selected phonological variables in John Townend’s recital of the Parable of the Prodigal Son.  
2.3 A description of selected lexical and morphonological variables in John Townend’s rendering of the Parable of the Prodigal Son.  
3.1a Composition of the data corpus.  
3.1b Links to online recordings.  
3.2 Number of /r/ tokens by speaker.  
3.3 Tokens of /r/ by phonological position.  
3.4 Mixed methods logistic regression modelling for tapped and trilled /r/ (omitting speaker OM4), N = 2289.  
3.5 Mixed methods logistic regression modelling for labiodental and labialized /r/, N = 2511.  
4.1 Distribution of seven key phonetic features for early twentieth-century Received Pronunciation.  
4.2 Parameters influencing the values of VOT for any speaker.  
4.3 VOT values for Virginia Woolf (recording c. 1937).  
4.4 VOT values for T. S. Eliot (recording 1955).  
4.5 VOT values for Elizabeth Bowen (recording c. 1956).  
4.6 Comparative ranges of VOT for /k/ with Virginia Woolf, T. S. Eliot and Elizabeth Bowen.  
4.7 VOT values for King George V (1910–1936).
### Tables

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Number</th>
<th>Description</th>
<th>Page</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>4.8</td>
<td>VOT values for King Edward VIII (1936).</td>
<td>78</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.9</td>
<td>VOT values for King George VI (1937–1952).</td>
<td>78</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.10</td>
<td>VOT values for broadcast by Elizabeth Windsor on the occasion of her 21st birthday from Cape Town, South Africa in 1947.</td>
<td>78</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.11</td>
<td>VOT values for Queen Elizabeth II (1953–) in Christmas broadcast from 1953.</td>
<td>79</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.12</td>
<td>VOT values for Queen Elizabeth II (1953–) in Christmas broadcast from 1984.</td>
<td>79</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.13</td>
<td>VOT values for Queen Elizabeth II (1953–) in Christmas broadcast from 2014.</td>
<td>79</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.14</td>
<td>Average VOT (ms) values for Christmas broadcasts by Queen Elizabeth II from 1953 to 2014 and 21st birthday broadcast in 1947.</td>
<td>81</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6.1</td>
<td>The population of Liverpool between 1801 and 1911, from census returns. Taken from Honeybone (2007: 115, via Neal 1988: 2).</td>
<td>124</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6.3</td>
<td>Numbers of Archive vowel tokens analysed across each lexical set, arranged by sex.</td>
<td>132</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7.1</td>
<td>Information about the Berliner Lautarchiv (BLA) speakers.</td>
<td>147</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8.1</td>
<td>Provenance, age and details of the recordings for the eight Central Belt Scottish English men, whose speech was recorded in 1916 and 1917.</td>
<td>174</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8.2</td>
<td>Education, occupation, stated dialect and provenance of parents, for the overall sample of eight Central Belt Scottish men, from whom recordings were made in 1916 and 1917.</td>
<td>174</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8.3</td>
<td>Mean percentage of variants used in syllable-onset and coda position (onset N = 139; coda N = 502).</td>
<td>185</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8.4</td>
<td>Seven phonotactic environments conditioning weak /r/ in the Berliner Lautarchiv full sample. v indicates an unstressed syllable, V indicates a stressed syllable, C indicates any consonant.</td>
<td>189</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8.5</td>
<td>Seven phonotactic environments conditioning weak /r/ in the WL07 corpus. v indicates an unstressed syllable, V indicates a stressed syllable, C indicates any consonant.</td>
<td>192</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
9.1 Distribution of seven key phonetic features for early twentieth-century supraregional Irish English. A dash ‘–’ indicates that the recording(s) in question did not provide any context where the feature could be assessed. 213

9.2 Strut vowel realisations for five speakers in pre-WWII recordings and two speakers in post-WWII recordings (median values of F1 and F2), arranged (i) chronologically, (ii) by value of F1 and (iii) by value of F2. 217

9.3 Features of pre-WWII recordings (present to differing degrees with different speakers). 225

9.4 Changes in supraregional Irish English by speaker age. 227

9.5 Main shift in vowel values in 1990s Dublin English. 228

11.1 Regional and social characteristics of the ten speakers. 272

11.2 Percent of rhoticity by speaker and by speaker’s geographic location. 274

11.3 F1, F2, and duration differences between LOT and THOUGHT, by speaker (*** p < .001, ** p < .01, * p < .05, italics: p > .05). 285

11.4 F1, F2, and duration differences between LOT and PALM, by speaker (*** p < .001, ** p < .01, * p < .05, italics: p > .05). 285

11.5 F1, F2, and duration differences between NORTH and FORCE, by speaker (*** p < .001, ** p < .01, * p < .05, italics: p > .05). 290

12.1 Upper Midwestern datasets. “Transcripts” refers to manual transcriptions of lexical items, not free conversation. 300

12.2 Distribution of 277 UME speakers by birth date and gender. 300

12.3 Order of selected conditioning effects of following consonants on /æ/ raising. 314

12.4 Comparison of TRAP variants in UME. Light shading identifies Wisconsin preference for raising before fortis fricatives; dark shading identifies Minnesota preference for raising before lenis velar plosives. 316

12.5 Words from Arthur used in the present study. Some words appear more than once (e.g., back, that, etc.). 318

12.6 DARE subjects from southeastern Wisconsin used in the present study. Subjects are listed by general acoustic pattern. 319

15.1 Auditory-impressionistic coding of seven Canadian-sounding World War I veterans for eight phonological variables (see key for explanation of variables; nd = no data). 385
Tables

15.2 Key to phonemic symbols used in vowel charts (Figures 15.1–15.3). Standard vowel class keywords from Wells (1982) are given in small caps. Where these are inappropriate, other keywords are given in italics. 389

16.1 The nine-speaker sample in terms of Age and Origin. 403

16.2 Mean F1 nuclear midpoint values, in Bark units, per Age/Origin group. 408

17.1 Summary of annotation conventions for Trinidadian and Jamaican intonation. 421

17.2 Summary of pitch accent and boundary tones in contemporary Jamaican. 426

18.1 Speakers and words in the corpus of early educated spoken GhE. 448

18.2 Sociobiography of speakers of present-day educated spoken GhE. 452

20.1 Features of Tristan da Cunha English relevant to historical reconstruction. 492

20.2 /h/ insertion in four TdCE speakers by place of interview (Southampton vs. TdC). 497

21.1 Details of the speakers selected for the historical analysis. 513

21.2 The number of tokens analysed per vowel per test speaker. 514

22.1 The parents’ origins for the speakers in the data set. 535

22.2 Coding scheme for the closing diphthongs. The lowest-score for glide weakening, i.e. (0), indicates no off-glide resulting in a monophthongal token. 537

22.3 The counts and the relative proportions of glide weakening variants for the four different lexical sets. 554

22.4 The numbers of (0) off-glide variants versus other variants for face and goat in speakers with at least one Scottish parent versus speakers with no Scottish parents. 555
Contributors

IAN BEKKER is Associate Professor at North-West University in Potchefstroom, South Africa, having previously spent ten years lecturing at Rhodes University, Grahamstown. His main research interest is the sociophonetics of South African English, from both a synchronic and a diachronic perspective. His main current research project is focused on the role of Johannesburg in the formation of South African English.

CHARLES BOBERG is Associate Professor of Linguistics at McGill University in Montreal, Canada. His main research interests are in language variation and change, with a particular focus on Canadian English. He is a co-author, with William Labov and Sharon Ash, of the Atlas of North American English: Phonetics, Phonology and Sound Change (2006) and the author of The English Language in Canada: Status, History and Comparative Analysis (2010). His current research projects concern dialect variation in the phonological nativisation of loan words, and accent and dialect in North American film and television.

LYNN CLARK is a Senior Lecturer in Linguistics at the University of Canterbury, New Zealand. Her main research interests are language variation and change, sociophonetics and usage-based models of language. She has worked on several varieties of English including Scots and Scottish English, the English of Polish migrants, Liverpool English and, more recently, New Zealand English. Her work has recently appeared in English Language and Linguistics, Language Awareness, English World-Wide and Language, Variation and Change.

SANDRA CLARKE is a Professor Emerita of Linguistics at Memorial University of Newfoundland, Canada. Her research deals with social and
regional variation, with particular focus on Newfoundland and Canadian English, as well as the indigenous Algonquian varieties of Labrador. Recent publications include *Newfoundland and Labrador English* (2010). She is coordinator of the online *Dialect Atlas of Newfoundland and Labrador English* (2013), which documents regional variation in the traditional speech of the province.

**Felicity Cox** is Associate Professor in Phonetics in the Department of Linguistics at Macquarie University, Australia. Her main research interest is phonetic variation and change in Australian English. She is the author of *Australian English: Pronunciation and Transcription* (2012) and co-author of the Australian edition of Fromkin, Rodman, Hyams, Cox and Thornton, *Introduction to Language* (2015). She has recently published in the *Journal of the International Phonetic Association*, *Journal of the Acoustical Society of America*, *Journal of Child Language* and *Journal of Speech, Language and Hearing Research*.

**Paul De Decker** is Assistant Professor in Linguistics at Memorial University of Newfoundland, Canada. His main research interests are in the areas of sociophonetics and dialectology, where he focuses on phonetic creativity in forms of quoted speech. He is co-investigator of the SSHRC-funded project *Allophony in Newfoundland English: Production, Perception and Variation*, which uses ultrasound imaging to examine articulatory patterns in Irish-settled areas of Newfoundland. His research also covers data collection methods and analysis of vocalic variation in English.

**Katie Drager** is Associate Professor of Sociolinguistics at the University of Hawai‘i at Mānoa, USA. Her research focuses on sociophonetic variation and the link between social factors and linguistic variation during the perception of speech. Her recent publications have appeared in *Journal of Phonetics, Language and Speech* and *Language Variation and Change*.

**Kathy-Ann Drayton** is a Lecturer in Linguistics at the University of the West Indies, St Augustine, Trinidad and Tobago. Her main research interests are the phonology of Eastern Caribbean Englishes and English creoles, with a particular focus on prosodic systems. She recently completed her dissertation on the prosodic structure of Trinidadian English creole. She is currently involved in a project investigating the sociolinguistic aspects of prosodic variation in Trinidadian English, especially as it relates to ethnicity and socioeconomic status.
Contributors

DAVID DURIAN is a Lecturer at North Central College, Illinois, USA. He completed his PhD in linguistics at the Ohio State University, USA. His work focuses heavily on language change and variation trends affecting vowels in US English among speakers born in the nineteenth, twentieth and twenty-first centuries.

ANNE H. FABRICIUS is Associate Professor of English Language at Roskilde University, Denmark. She trained in linguistics in Australia and in Denmark. Her main research interests are variation and change in the elite sociolect of England and the UK, commonly referred to as Received Pronunciation or BBC English. She has published on this topic in English World-Wide, Language Variation and Change, Journal of Sociolinguistics and Journal of the International Phonetic Association. She also works on sociophonetic methodological questions and has published in this area with Dominic Watt, University of York.

PAUL FOULKES is Professor in the Department of Language and Linguistic Science, University of York, UK. He has previously held posts at the universities of Cambridge, Newcastle and Leeds, and in 2008 was a Visiting Erskine Fellow at the University of Canterbury, New Zealand. His teaching and research interests include forensic phonetics, laboratory phonology, phonological development and sociolinguistics. He has worked on over 200 forensic cases from the UK, Ghana and New Zealand.

VALERIE FRIDLAND is a Professor of Linguistics at the University of Nevada in Reno, USA. A sociolinguist, her research focus is primarily sociophonetics. She is currently involved in research supported by the National Science Foundation measuring the production and perception of vowel changes in regional US dialects. Her recent publications include papers in the Journal of Phonetics, Journal of the Acoustical Society of America, Lingua and American Speech and she is lead editor of the forthcoming volume Speech in the Western States (Publications of the American Dialect Society).

SHELOME GOODEN is an Associate Professor of Linguistics at the University of Pittsburgh, USA. Her research focuses on the prosodic classification and intonational phonology of Caribbean (English) creole varieties and on identity and sociocultural aspects of language use. She has published articles and book chapters on a variety of topics including the phonological and phonetic properties of reduplication, stress and intonation in Jamaican creole, past tense marking in Belizean creole, and language and identity in Pittsburgh African American English. Her
Contributors

Most recent publication (with Jennifer Bloomquist) is on *African American Language in Pittsburgh and the Lower Susquehanna Valley* (2015). With Clancy Clements she was guest editor for *Studies in Language* 33(2) (2009).

Matthew J. Gordon is Professor of English at the University of Missouri-Columbia, USA. He studies language variation and change particularly in the context of dialects of American English. He is the author of *Labov: A Guide for the Perplexed* (2013).

Jennifer Hay is a Professor of Linguistics at the University of Canterbury, New Zealand and is Director of the New Zealand Institute of Language, Brain and Behaviour. She has published widely on topics relating to New Zealand English, sociophonetics, morphology and laboratory phonology.


Magnus Huber is Professor of English Linguistics and the History of English at the University of Giessen, Germany. His main research interests are World Englishes, pidgins and creoles, (historical) sociolinguistics, dialectology, corpus linguistics and historical linguistics. He has co-edited the *Atlas and Survey of Pidgin and Creole Languages* (2013) and a volume on *The Evolution of Englishes: The Dynamic Model and Beyond* (2014). He also works in the newly established field of colonial linguistics, researching contemporary documents for what they can tell us about the function, structure and development of languages in the colonial context.

Daniel Ezra Johnson received his PhD in linguistics from the University of Pennsylvania with a study of the development of low vowels in Southeastern New England (published by the American Dialect Society
Contributors

Tyler Kendall is Associate Professor in Linguistics at the University of Oregon, USA. His research focuses on language variation and change, primarily in regional and ethnic varieties of American English, using methods from variationist sociolinguistics, sociophonetics, and corpus and computational linguistics. With Valerie Fridland, he is engaged in a large-scale study of vowel production and perception in US regional dialects. He is the developer of several web-based tools for sociolinguistic research, including the Sociolinguistic Archive and Analysis Project (http://slaap.lib.ncsu.edu/) and the NORM suite for vowel normalisation and plotting (http://lingtools.uoregon.edu/norm/). His recent publications include the book *Speech Rate, Pause, and Sociolinguistic Variation: Studies in Corpus Sociophonetics* (2013), as well as articles appearing in journals such as the *Journal of Phonetics* and *Journal of the Acoustical Society of America*.

Paul Kerswill is Professor of Sociolinguistics at the University of York, UK. He previously held appointments at the University of Reading and Lancaster University. His research has focused on migration and dialect contact in Norway and Britain, including Bergen and the new town of Milton Keynes. More recently he has collaborated with Jenny Cheshire on the emergence of Multicultural London English. His publications include work on the role of children in language change and the representation of youth language in the media. He has co-edited *Dialect Change: Convergence and Divergence in European Languages* (with Frans Hinskens and Peter Auer, 2005) and the *Sage Handbook of Sociolinguistics* (with Ruth Wodak and Barbara Johnstone, 2010).

Eleanor Lawson is a researcher in articulatory phonetics and sociophonetics at Queen Margaret University Edinburgh, and the University of Glasgow, UK. She previously worked as a lecturer in phonetics at the Phonetics Laboratory, University of Oxford. Her research interests are rhotics, socially conditioned articulatory variation, and sound change. Her current research projects involve the analysis of Scottish rhoticity using ultrasound tongue imaging and the creation of an online ultrasound tongue imaging corpus of worldwide Englishes.

Margaret Maclagan is a retired Professor in Phonetics and Linguistics at the University of Canterbury, New Zealand, where she currently...
Contributors

holds an adjunct position. Her main research interests are sound change in New Zealand English and Māori and language change in Alzheimer's disease. Recent publications include papers in the Journal of Phonetics and the Journal of the International Phonetic Association. Current research projects include the influence of New Zealand English on the sounds and rhythm of Māori.

sallyanne palethorpe is a Senior Researcher in both the Department of Cognitive Science and the ARC Centre of Excellence in Cognition and its Disorders at Macquarie University, Australia. Her main research interests are in acoustic phonetics and speech physiology. She has published journal articles and book chapters (with Felicity Cox) on Australian English, both past and present. She also provides an acoustic phonetic contribution to research and publications in cognitive science.

thomas purnell is Associate Professor in the English Department, University of Wisconsin–Madison, USA. His research and teaching examines the interface between phonetics and phonology with a focus on regional pronunciation. In particular, he is interested in the intersection of ethnically affiliated social groups and sound systems of language.

eric raimy is the Chair of the Department of Linguistics and a member of the Department of English at the University of Wisconsin–Madison, USA. His research is focused on modularity in grammar and the role that representations play in phonology. He is a member of the Wisconsin Englishes Project that documents and analyses the local variation in English found in the state of Wisconsin.

jonathan robinson is Lead Curator of Spoken English at the British Library and responsible for the Library’s extensive archive of sound recordings of British accents and dialects. He has worked on two nationwide surveys of regional speech, the Survey of English Dialects and BBC Voices, and in 2010 co-curated the world’s first major exhibition on the English Language, Evolving English: One Language, Many Voices. He selects content for the Library’s online dialect archive (sounds.bl.uk) and created Sounds Familiar, an educational website that celebrates and explores regional speech in the UK. He is currently accessioning a substantial set of sound recordings (c. 15,000 voices from all over the world) made by visitors to the Library’s Evolving English exhibition and recently published Evolving English WordBank: A Glossary of Present-Day English Dialect and Slang (2015) based on an initial audit of the collection.
Contributors

JOSEPH SALMONS is the Lester W. J. ‘Smoky’ Seifert Professor of Germanic Linguistics at the University of Wisconsin–Madison, USA and is the co-founder of the Center for the Study of Upper Midwestern Cultures. He is author of A History of German: What the Past Reveals about Today’s Language (2012, second edition in preparation), editor of Diachronica: International Journal for Historical Linguistics, and co-editor with Tom Purnell and Eric Raimy of Wisconsin Talk: Linguistic Diversity in the Badger State (2013). His work focuses on language change in the context of linguistic theory, drawing data especially from Germanic languages, including American English and heritage languages spoken in the United States.

DANIEL SCHREIER is Professor in English Linguistics at the University of Zurich, Switzerland. His main research interests are variationist sociolinguistics, contact linguistics and English historical linguistics. Recent publications include the co-edited volumes The Lesser-Known Varieties of English (2010, 2015), Contact, Variation and Change in the History of English (2014) and Letter Writing and Language Change (2015). He is co-editor of English World-Wide: A Journal of Varieties of English.

MÁRTON SÓSKUTHY is Lecturer in Phonetics and Phonology at the University of York, UK. His research looks at the emergence of sound patterns using computational modelling and corpus-based techniques, with special focus on English and Hungarian. He received his PhD in Linguistics from the University of Edinburgh in 2013; his thesis investigated the role of phonetic biases and systemic effect in the actuation of sound change.

CHRISTOPHER STRELLUF is Assistant Professor of English at Northwest Missouri State University, USA. His research interests include language variation and change, dialectology and composition pedagogy. His dissertation ‘We have such a normal, non-accented voice: A sociophonetic study of English in Kansas City’, is available at http://catpages.nwmissouri.edu/m/cstrell/kc_speech.htm.

JANE STUART-SMITH is Professor in Phonetics and Sociolinguistics, and Director of the Glasgow University Laboratory of Phonetics (GULP) at the University of Glasgow, UK. She has extensively researched accent variation and change in Glasgow and has been principal investigator on a number of projects funded by Leverhulme and the Economic and Social Research Council, including a long-term project on the influence of the broadcast media on language change, and an ongoing...


**EIVIND TORGersen** is Professor of English at the Norwegian University of Science and Technology. He has worked on projects on Multicultural London English and language change in London, in particular modelling of phonological change and the use of spoken corpora in sociolinguistic research. Other research interests are in experimental phonetics and second language acquisition.

**GERARD VAN HERK** is Associate Professor of Linguistics at Memorial University of Newfoundland, Canada. His main research interests are varieties of English, especially in Newfoundland, African American and Caribbean. He is the author of *What is Sociolinguistics?* (2012) and co-editor of *Data Collection in Sociolinguistics* (2013).

**KEVIN WATSON** is Senior Lecturer in Linguistics at the University of Canterbury, New Zealand. His main research interests centre on the sociophonetics of English, with a focus on varieties in north-west England and New Zealand. He has worked on phonological levelling, diffusion and divergence in Liverpool and two hinterland localities, and has established the Origins of Liverpool English corpus (OLIVE).

**DOMINIC WATT** is Senior Lecturer in Forensic Speech Science at the University of York, UK. His main research interests are forensic phonetics, sociophonetics, dialectology and speech perception. Recent publications include *Language, Borders and Identity* (2014) and *Language and Identities* (2010), both co-edited with Carmen Llamas, and *English
Contributors