

**Title:**

Dulverton, Somerset

**Shelfmark:**

C1190/31/01

**Recording date:**

31.05.2005



**Speakers:**

- Balsom, Angela, b. 1945 Gloucester; female
- Chanter, Paul, b. 1951 Exford; male
- Fulford-Williams, John, b. 1954 Uganda; male
- Huxtable, Norma, b. Devon; female
- Silverlock, Marion, b. 1944 Guildford; female
- Williams, Teresa, b. 1964 Germany; female

The interviewees are all friends who live in Dulverton.

## ELICITED LEXIS

◦ see English Dialect Dictionary (1898-1905)  
 \* see Survey of English Dialects Basic Material (1962-1971)  
 △ see New Partridge Dictionary of Slang and Unconventional English (2006)  
 ♦ see Urban Dictionary (online)  
 △ no previous source (with this sense) identified

- pleased**      *proper job*♦ (used as term of approval)
- tired**        (not discussed)
- unwell**      *not too fitty*◦; *not fitty*◦; *icky*
- hot**          *hot*; *heat* (pronounced “heat” [jɛt] locally, “you’re heating [jɛdɪn] up”<sup>\*1</sup>); *lathered*◦
- cold**         *peart*△; *snarky*△
- annoyed**    *pert*△; *pissed off*
  
- throw**        (not discussed)
- play truant** (not discussed)
- sleep**        (not discussed)
- play a game** (not discussed)
- hit hard**    (not discussed)
  
- clothes**      (not discussed)

<sup>1</sup> See entries for Somerset at VI.13.6 for confirmation of this realisation locally.

**trousers** (not discussed)  
**child's shoe** *tackies* (used in East Africa/South Africa); *daps*; *trainers* (modern)

**mother** (not discussed)  
**gmother** (not discussed)  
**m partner** (not discussed)  
**friend** (not discussed)  
**gfather** (not discussed)  
**forgot name** (not discussed)  
**kit of tools** (not discussed)  
**trendy** (not discussed)  
**f partner** (not discussed)  
**baby** (not discussed)

**rain heavily** *it's pissing down*  
**toilet** (not discussed)  
**walkway** (not discussed)  
**long seat** (not discussed)  
**run water** (not discussed)  
**main room** (not discussed)  
**rain lightly** *mizzle; drizzle; dank*

**rich** (not discussed)  
**left-handed** (not discussed)  
**unattractive** *yucky; sour-faced old bugger; ugly*  
**lack money** (not discussed)  
**drunk** *pissed; squiffy; tiddly; scummed<sup>2</sup>*  
**pregnant** (not discussed)  
**attractive** (not discussed)  
**insane** (not discussed)  
**moody** (not discussed)

## SPONTANEOUS LEXIS

**aye** = yes (0:31:37 *well 'clats' well 'clats' ('clat') I mean if you'm 'scatting up clats' then you'm 'banking', isn't it, like (on a 'banking up a hedge') aye, so that's 'scatting up clats' but if you'm 'scatting back the clats' that means you'm out hunting and you'm 'getting on with it' fair, like, really your horse is 'scatting back the clats'; 0:25:40 how about "aye, well there thee are, see" that means 'no matter what've happened it's too late, isn't it' 'job's done, isn't it'*)

**back-along**<sup>o</sup> = recently, a while ago (0:14:41 *I was working with some boys back-along chitter chitter-chat shall we say and their their pronunciation and arrangement of words is totally different to what ours is course they'm wrong*)

**bettermost** = best, superior (0:30:21 *some of the incomers that come in to the area we call 'the bettermost folk'*)

**bugger** = mild expletive (0:16:15 *and that was the only time I can actually remember actually saying that word I'd say 'bugger' a lot but I wouldn't say 'shit' and it suddenly came out and I thought, "that's when I'm doing it it's when I'm cooking"; 0:47:57 and I looked up and I just saw him stood there and I thought,*

<sup>2</sup> *English Dialect Dictionary* (1898-1905) includes 'scummed' in sense of 'to foul with dirty liquid' but not in this sense.

*“bugger, I didn’t know he was working tonight” and he was, like, just pointing and doing that to me and I am trying to walk across the hall dead straight)*

**bugger** = nuisance, so-and-so (0:12:51 *the kids is out playing, like, “come in here running and tearing about you little buggers, get in here” simple as that, isn’t it?; 0:34:44 eh yeah, here’s another one you’m considered a ‘dough-bake’ if you don’t talk like do you know what a ‘dough-bake’ is [...] uh yeah, a ‘dough-bake’ is somebody perhaps not as sharp as they could be (‘country bumpkin’ sort of thing [...]) “you dough-bake bugger” is the way to describe somebody whose just dropped mother’s best vase or something)*)

**bugger off** = to go away (0:44:24 *you can’t say, “bugger off don’t buy th’ houses” and if you got a house and you want to sell hine we won’t benefit from that)*

**bumpkin** = yokel, rural dweller (0:34:44 *(eh yeah, here’s another one you’m considered a ‘dough-bake’ if you don’t talk like do you know what a ‘dough-bake’ is [...] uh yeah, a ‘dough-bake’ is somebody perhaps not as sharp as they could be) ‘country bumpkin’ sort of thing ([...] “you dough-bake bugger” is the way to describe somebody whose just dropped mother’s best vase or something)*)

**chitter-chat**<sup>o</sup> = chat, conversation (0:14:41 *I was working with some boys back-along chitter chitter- chat shall we say and their their pronunciation and arrangement of words is totally different to what ours is course they’m wrong)*

**clat** = clod (0:31:37 *well ‘clats’ well ‘clats’ (‘clat’) I mean if you’m ‘scatting up clats’ then you’m ‘banking’, isn’t it, like (on a ‘banking up a hedge’) aye, so that’s ‘scatting up clats’ but if you’m ‘scatting back the clats’ that means you’m out hunting and you’m ‘getting on with it’ fair, like, really your horse is ‘scatting back the clats’)*)

**cor** = exclamation expressing surprise, incredulity or exasperation (0:17:16 *I was up on the old and uh well just, you know, gathering some sheep on a Sunday morning clear and beautiful Sunday morning bit of frost about hear the church bells everything else and I don’t know why but my dog wouldn’t have it, you, her just took they ewes all over the place bar in the right place so I was letting rip, cor)*

**crack** = fun, amusement, banter (0:41:28 *that’s one thing that has changed a lot really, isn’t it, is the pubs, you, there idn a pub any more where you can go in and have the crack after work)*

**dead** = very, really (0:47:57 *and I looked up and I just saw him stood there and I thought, “bugger, I didn’t know he was working tonight” and he was, like, just pointing and doing that to me and I am trying to walk across the hall dead straight)*)

**dreckly**<sup>o</sup> = soon, in a while (0:34:25 *yeah, I think a lot of kids would be uh at a certain age maybe they’ll get over it dreckly but they they’d be um ashamed to speak with an accent; 0:35:52 (it’s either next Christmas or next Easter whichever comes last) could be and I didn’t say which year it would be (it’ll be ‘dreckly’) but it’ll be dreckly, yeah, always, yeah, the lady I live with now hates it, “could you do this for me?” “yes, dreckly” her knows bloody well it idn going to get done)*)

**dough-bake**<sup>o</sup> = fool, simpleton (0:34:44 *eh yeah, here’s another one you’m considered a ‘dough-bake’ if you don’t talk like do you know what a ‘dough-bake’ is [...] uh yeah, a ‘dough-bake’ is somebody perhaps not as sharp as they could be (‘country bumpkin’ sort of thing [...]) “you dough-bake bugger” is the way to describe somebody whose just dropped mother’s best vase or something)*)

**drunken** = drunk (0:17:55 *swearing is more acceptable I surprised myself on this form it said, like, ‘drunken’ or something (oh, yeah) and I put ‘pissed’)*)

**folk** = people (0:30:21 *some of the incomers that come in to the area we call ‘the bettermost folk’)*)

**fore** = before (0:51:33 *so he was stood there he was moaning about my dog barking and the the cow shit rolling the tarmac up, you know, and I had to point out to hine that it’s been happening for a long time and it’ll probably continue to happen and if he didn’t like it piss off ‘cause it was happening fore ever he bought thick house (yeah) (that’s right) and thankfully they’ve gone)*)

**great** = big, large (0:08:38 *I mean there idn many people that drink enough of the appropriate cider left alive now but that used to affect then nose of them for years and years of dedicated cider drinking you’d end up with a bloody great nose with pits in it)*)

- hae**<sup>o</sup> = to have (0:02:34 *yeah, but they didn't hae no cars, did them, I mean the car is a revelation really otherwise you just couldn't go anywhere, could you, as far as a horse'd take you that's it; 0:14:12 but Norma's right about the difference you don't hae to go very far before it totally changes*)
- happen** = perhaps, maybe (0:17:31 *anyway I saw me next-door neighbour who was coming out the church which is happen about three mile away the church is he said to me he come up and he said, "do you know?" he said, "I had to say to Fred Burnell tother day that your dog had the same initials"*)
- hine** = him, it (0:44:24 *you can't say, "bugger off don't buy the houses" and if you got a house and you want to sell hine we won't benefit from that; 0:51:33 so he was stood there he was moaning about my dog barking and the the cow shit rolling the tarmac up, you know, and I had to point out to hine that it's been happening for a long time and it'll probably continue to happen and if he didn't like it piss off 'cause it was happening fore ever he bought thick house (yeah) (that's right) and thankfully they've gone*)
- movie** = film (0:34:36 *you got to be mid-Atlantic not American or English anything that comes off a movie*)
- nestle-tripe** = runt, last-born of litter (0:25:27 *how about a 'nestle-tripe' or a 'nestle-tripe'? (oh, yeah) (yeah, that's a little skentered down to naught sort of little) 'runt' (y... young'un, isn't it?)*)
- naught** = nothing (0:25:27 *(how about a 'nestle-tripe' or a 'nestle-tripe?') (oh, yeah) yeah, that's a little skentered down to naught sort of little ('runt') y... young'un, isn't it?; 0:42:24 they are but there's naught you can do, is there? (no, no) I mean if you've got x amount of pounds in your pocket you can't tell people you don't spend it here 'cause we wanna keep it*)
- nowt** = nothing (0:44:11 *everybody knew me as the copper's daughter never bloody told me nothing, you know, "the old copper's daughter I'm not saying nowt" you know*)
- maid** = common local form of address to female (0:26:27 *and we're all called 'maid' collectively [...] (I get called it quite a bit with people behind the bar [...] if they can't remember me name they just refer to me as 'maid')*)
- missus** = wife (0:40:07 *(and I always remember him saying, "have you got a drink?" and when we went in and we hadn't, you see, he said, "where's that damned serving wench?" that was the way he used to talk, wasn't it?) Joan that would've been his missus (he really meant it) oh aye, aye*)
- oh aye**<sup>o</sup> = yes, confirming or contradicting (0:40:07 *(and I always remember him saying, "have you got a drink?" and when we went in and we hadn't, you see, he said, "where's that damned serving wench?" that was the way he used to talk, wasn't it?) Joan that would've been his missus (he really meant it) oh aye, aye; 0:50:03 (we used to use their milk in the café and a certain time of the year people would say,) oh aye ("there's something wrong with this milk what's the matter with this milk?")*)
- our**<sup>3</sup> = affectionate term for family member or partner (0:12:03 *the main thing I remember about that sorry is is 'our mum' and 'our dad' that people don't seem to say that down here*)
- pig** = police officer (0:19:14 *and police are called 'pigs', aren't they, that's an animal connotation, isn't it? (I don't like that much) no, I don't (well that's been around for a long time though)*)
- pissy** = irritated, angry (0:51:06 *I actually had a bit of a fall-out with a chap where I was living once and he he was very nice him and his wife when they first moved in and about six months later he started to get a bit pissy because he was living in the country and didn't understand it*)
- Queen's English** = popular term for Standard English and/or Received Pronunciation (0:12:26 *and we use different words in North Devon say for 'run' you would say 'rin' Queen's English would be 'run' and um here they rearrange the letters and it's 'run' 'U' 'R' 'N')*)
- rin**<sup>o</sup> = to run (0:12:26 *and we use different words in North Devon say for 'run' you would say 'rin' Queen's English would be 'run' and um here they rearrange the letters and it's 'run' 'U' 'R' 'N')*)
- scat**<sup>o</sup> = to break up, scatter, fling (0:31:37 *well 'clats' well 'clats' ('clat') I mean if you'm 'scatting up clats' then you'm 'banking', isn't it, like (on a 'banking up a hedge') aye, so that's 'scatting up clats' but if you'm 'scatting back the clats' that means you'm out hunting and you'm 'getting on with it' fair, like, really your horse is 'scatting back the clats')*)

<sup>3</sup> This utterance is consciously 'performed' in imitation of Gloucester dialect speech.

**scrumpy** = traditional farmhouse cider (0:08:15 *they drank this stuff called scrumpy that we'd never heard of and uh we were told that if you drink a lot of it your nose drops off*)

**skenter**<sup>o</sup> = used of animal that will not fatten (0:25:27 *(how about a 'nestle-tripe' or a 'nestle-tripe'?) (oh, yeah) yeah, that's a little skentered down to naught sort of little ('runt') y... young'un, isn't it?)*)

**snarly-gog**<sup>o</sup> = filmy substance that forms in cider (0:06:24 *here you see if I got a word for thee, you know, like sometimes in the the cider when you get down to the bottom of a barrel you open it and then like a great long string of, you know, like jelly seems to come out that's the 'snarly-gog')*)

**sod** = nuisance, so-and-so (0:15:37 *if you were talking especially say to your own pet, you know, "you little sod what've you done?" it's it's just altering their name that's all*)

**squiffy** = drunk (0:27:26 *we went to uh a party at Reg's house which his son Tony was running and Reg withdrew from all the noise and he went into another room where there was a lovely fella and he was sitting there getting squiffy*)

**summat**<sup>Δ</sup> = something (0:16:00 *I was picked up on it at parents' evening and I said, "I don't swear in front the kids I'm really careful" but what I do remember is every time I took summat out the oven I went, "oh shit" because it never rose; 0:25:53 so you wanted summat peculiar to the area so that's one or two I thought of*)

**(the) Tap** = tap-room in public house (0:08:05 *we were sort of given a guided tour of Dulverton by a friend and uh he pointed out The Lion tap and, you know, this was presented as as, like, you know, the the den of iniquity of the place; 0:37:48 when the um uh the churchyard had railings round before the war fa... f... he used to go in the front bar and talk to the visitors and they'd buy him a drink then he'd go in the tap and talk to visitors they'd buy him another drink when he'd had enough he'd say, "right um Arthur's going home by rail now"*)

**thick**<sup>o</sup> = that (0:51:33 *so he was stood there he was moaning about my dog barking and the the cow shit rolling the tarmac up, you know, and I had to point out to hine that it's been happening for a long time and it'll probably continue to happen and if he didn't like it piss off 'cause it was happening fore ever he bought thick house (yeah) (that's right) and thankfully they've gone*)

**tother** = the other (0:17:31 *anyway I saw me next-door neighbour who was coming out the church which is happen about three mile away the church is he said to me he come up and he said, "do you know?" he said, "I had to say to Fred Burnell tother day that your dog had the same initials"*)

**two-tooth** = sheep between one and two years old (0:32:52 *you know, I'd seen sheep in the field but I didn't know anything about sheep and there was Jonny Bray and he was talking to uh Tom Flanagan about um the 'two-tooths' and I was mystified, you know, I didn't know what these were and I couldn't work out why Jonny Bray had got anything to do with ballet dancers, you know, these 'tutus' 'tutus', you know, I couldn't 'cause I thought that 'tutus' were a dress that ballet dancers wore [...] (we call them 'ewes')*)

**wench** = girl, woman (0:40:07 *and I always remember him saying, "have you got a drink?" and when we went in and we hadn't, you see, he said, "where's that damned serving wench?" that was the way he used to talk, wasn't it? (Joan that would've been his missus) he really meant it (oh aye, aye)*)

**young'un**<sup>Δ</sup> = youngster, young one (0:25:27 *(how about a 'nestle-tripe' or a 'nestle-tripe'?) (oh, yeah) yeah, that's a little skentered down to naught sort of little ('runt') y... young'un, isn't it?)*)

## PHONOLOGY

**KIT** [ɪ > ə]

(0:05:17 *and some liked it clear so you wouldn't shake it and some liked it thick* [θɪk]; 0:08:05 *we were sort of given* [ɡɪvən] *a guided tour of Dulverton by a friend and uh he pointed out The Lion tap and, you know, this was presented* [pɹɪsɛntɪd] *as as, like, you know, the the den of iniquity* [ɪnɪkwəti] *of the place; 0:13:00 yeah, but I don't find it* [ɪ?] *strange that's how it* [ɪ?] *suddenly dawned on me lying in the bath-tub at night I started to chuckle and I shouted to um oh what's the word oh her'll be my stepdaughter when I*

gets married I suppose and I said, “here, go and get a pencil and paper a minute [mənəʔ] and don’t come in [ɪn] here ’cause I’m in [ɪn] the bath at least wait till [tɪʔ] you ’m twenty”; 0:34:25 yeah, I think [θɪŋk] a lot of kids [kɪdz] would be uh at a certain age maybe they’ll get over it directly but they they’d be um ashamed to speak with [wɪð] an accent; 0:42:40 there was always a disco [dɪskəʊ] on a Friday or Saturday night (OK) in the town or just a couple miles out of town and now there are none)

<es-, ex-> (0:18:40 I mean for example [ɪgzæmpʔ] like you can say to your wife maybe, “you stupid cow” but you wouldn’t say, “you stupid cat” would you I mean (I don’t think I’d get away with either, you); 0:21:25 I do believe they’re ‘trainers’ now (yeah) and a bloody sight more expensive [ɪkspɛnsɪv] than a pair of daps would’ve been; 0:37:38 I came here thirty-seven years ago and never escaped [əskɛɪpt]; 0:52:34 but when you come in and it’s already established [ɪstæblɪʃt] [...] yes, absolutely you don’t complain (but there’s certain things that are just part and parcel of country life, aren’t they, really like you say) (well if they’re there they’re there, isn’t them?))

in (0:12:51 the kids is out playing, like, “come in here running and tearing about you little buggers, get in [ɪ:n] here”)

it, market, minute, planet, pocket ( (0:02:34 yeah, but they didn’t have no cars, did them, I mean the car is a revelation really otherwise you just couldn’t go anywhere, could you, as far as a horse’d take you that’s it [ɪʔ]; 0:05:51 I still drink it [ət] (ugh) any form of cider I can get hold of I’ll drink it [ət] (yeah) yeah, I don’t like beer; 0:08:38 I mean there isn’t many people that drink enough of the appropriate cider left alive now but that used to affect the nose of them for years and years of dedicated cider drinking you’d end up with a bloody great nose with pits in it [əʔ]; 0:13:00 yeah, but I don’t find it [ɪʔ] strange that’s how it [ɪʔ] suddenly dawned on me lying in the bath-tub at night I started to chuckle and I shouted to um oh what’s the word oh her’ll be my stepdaughter when I gets married I suppose and I said, “here, go and get a pencil and paper a minute [mənəʔ] and don’t come in here ’cause I’m in the bath at least wait till you ’m twenty”; 0:25:40 how about “aye, well there thee are, see” that means ‘no matter what’ve happened it’s too late, isn’t it’ [ɪnəʔ] ‘job’s done, isn’t it’ [ɪnəʔ]; 0:31:53 but if you was to say that to a lot of the visitors who come down here hunting or whatever they’d look at you as though you as they do (as they do) as uh as though you come from a different planet [plænət]; 0:42:24 they are but there’s naught you can do, is there? (no, no) I mean if you’ve got x amount of pounds in your pocket [pɒkət] you can’t tell people you don’t spend it here ’cause we want to keep it; 0:51:06 I actually had a bit of a fall-out with a chap where I was living once and he he was very nice him and his wife when they first moved in and about six months later he started to get a bit pissy because he was living in the country and didn’t understand it [ət]; 0:35:52 (it’s either next Christmas or next Easter whichever comes last) could be and I didn’t say which year it would be (it’ll be ‘directly’) but it’ll be directly, yeah, always, yeah, the lady I live with now hates it, [ət] “could you do this for me?” “yes, directly” her knows bloody well it isn’t going to get done; 0:47:22 and um due to Common Market<sup>4</sup> [kɒmən mɑ:kət] legislation and ruling and new rules and everything else [...] you could only sell half a pound of cream a week or something)

## DRESS [ɛ]

(0:08:05 we were sort of given a guided tour of Dulverton by a friend [fɛnd] and uh he pointed out The Lion tap and, you know, this was presented [pɹɪzɛntɪd] as as, like, you know, the the den [dɛn] of iniquity of the place; 0:13:00 yeah, but I don’t find it strange that’s how it suddenly dawned on me lying in the bath-tub at night I started to chuckle and I shouted to um oh what’s the word oh her’ll be my stepdaughter [stɛpdaʊ:də] when I gets [gɛts] married I suppose and I said, [sɛd] “here, go and get [gɛʔ] a pencil

<sup>4</sup> Popular term for European Union (EU).



[pɛnsəʔ] and paper a minute and don't come in here 'cause I'm in the bath at least wait till you'm twenty" [twəni]; 0:21:56 um I had a letter [lɛtə] home asking if she could go to see a speech therapist [θɛɪrəpɪst] when [wɛn] she was about seven [sɛvən] and I thought, "well I didn't think there was a problem" I thought, "fair enough" the school probably knows I'll sign the form and they asked if I would come in afterwards so I went [wɛnt] down and saw the speech therapist [θɛɪrəpɪst])

**nestle-tripe, twenty** (0:13:00 yeah, but I don't find it strange that's how it suddenly dawned on me lying in the bath-tub at night I started to chuckle and I shouted to um oh what's the word oh her'll be my stepdaughter when I gets married I suppose and I said, "here, go and get a pencil and paper a minute and don't come in here 'cause I'm in the bath at least wait till you'm twenty" [twəni]; 0:25:27 how about a 'nestle-tripe' [nɛzʔtɹɪpɪ] or a 'nestle-tripe'? [nɪzʔtɹɪpɪ] (oh, yeah) (yeah, that's a little skentered down to naught sort of little) 'runt' (y... young'un, isn't it?); 0:37:20 lived here for twenty-four [twɛnɪfɔ:] years now)

#### TRAP [a]

(0:22:31 but now that she's doing a bit of amateur [amətə] dramatics [dɹəmətɪks] when she is speaking on stage it's appalling and I'm like, "will you say 'that'?" [ðat] you know and things like that [ðəʔ] because she never sounds her last letters; 0:41:28 that's one thing that has changed a lot really, isn't it, is the pubs, you, there isn't a pub any more where you can go in and have the crack [kɹæk] after work; 0:42:40 there was always a disco on a Friday or Saturday [sətədi] night (OK) in the town or just a couple miles out of town and now there are none)

**Atlantic** (0:34:36 you got to be mid-Atlantic [mɪdɪdləntɪk] not American or English anything that comes off a movie)

**have, had** (0:02:34 yeah, but they didn't have [ɛ] no cars, did them, I mean the car is a revelation really otherwise you just couldn't go anywhere, could you, as far as a horse'd take you that's it; 0:13:26 I hadn't [ɛdn̩] thought about it at all and then I tried to think about it as anybody who would be outside looking in, you know, say like we'm in a goldfish on Ex... goldfish bowl and they'm looking at us and some of the words they wouldn't have [ɛv] a clue about, would them?; 0:14:12 but Norma's right about the difference you don't have to [ɑɪfə] go very far before it totally changes; 0:21:56 um I had [had] a letter home asking if she could go to see a speech therapist when she was about seven and I thought, "well I didn't think there was a problem" I thought, "fair enough" the school probably knows I'll sign the form and they asked if I would come in afterwards so I went down and saw the speech therapist; 0:40:07 and I always remember him saying, "have [həv] you got a drink?" and when we went in and we hadn't, [hadn̩t] you see, he said, "where's that damned serving wench?" that was the way he used to talk, wasn't it? (Joan that would've been his missus) he really meant it (oh aye, aye); 0:46:25 we we have [hɛv] so many petty laws forced upon us by the so we're told and informed that we should take notice of them; 0:51:33 so he was stood there he was moaning about my dog barking and the the cow shit rolling the tarmac up, you know, and I had [ɛd] to point out to hine that it's been happening for a long time and it'll probably continue to happen and if he didn't like it piss off 'cause it was happening fore ever he bought thick house (yeah) (that's right) and thankfully they've gone)

#### LOT [ɒ > ɑ]

(0:08:15 they drank this stuff called scrumpy that we'd never heard of [ɒv] and uh we were told that if you drink a lot [lɒt] of it your nose drops [dɹɒps] off; 0:20:44 'unattractive'? ('unattractive', yeah) I 'sour-faced old bugger' I got [gɑʔ]; 0:28:25 (and he said, "it happened so often I started looking at all the children" he said, "you could see you could see the bloodlines running" you know and then you find somebody's marrying their half-brother with no idea) yeah, we all got cars now though and so on [ɑn];

0:44:11 *everybody knew me as the copper's [kʊpəz] daughter never bloody told me nothing, you know, "the old copper's [kʊpəz] daughter I'm not [nʊ?] saying nowt" you know)*

**dog, long, snarly-gog** (0:06:24 *here you see if I got a word for thee, you know, like sometimes in the the cider when you get down to the bottom of a barrel you open it and then like a great long string of, you know, like jelly seems to come out that's the 'snarly-gog' [sna:ɹliɡʌg]; 0:09:49 I was born and brought up in Uganda so a long [lɒŋ] long [lɒŋ] way from here; 0:16:44 I was uh trying to work the sheep one day and it was hot and sunny and the dog [dɒg] was tired and I was shouting at the dog [dɒg]; 0:19:14 (and police are called 'pigs', aren't they, that's an animal connotation, isn't it?) (I don't like that much) (no, I don't) well that's been around for a long [lɒŋ] time though; 0:51:17 and one day he was beside of hisself about the dog [dɒg] had been barking in the night; 0:51:33 so he was stood there he was moaning about my dog [dɒg] barking and the the cow shit rolling the tarmac up, you know, and I had to point out to hine that it's been happening for a long [lɒŋ] time and it'll probably continue to happen and if he didn't like it piss off 'cause it was happening fore ever he bought thick house (yeah) (that's right) and thankfully they've gone* <-body> (0:11:36 *one thing I thought was funny was it's and they still do it now they say it when somebody's [səmbədiz] done something and it c... it can be a man and they say, "oh, did her?" (oh, yes) and that can be a man as well as a woman 'her' (that's typical) yeah, that's um a funny one, isn't it, and that thing about "where's it to" if you've lost something (oh, yes) we never said that in Gloucester; 0:28:25 and he said, "it happened so often I started looking at all the children" he said, "you could see you could see the bloodlines running" you know and then you find somebody's [səmbədiz] marrying their half-brother with no idea (yeah, we all got cars now though and so on); 0:44:11 everybody [ɛbviβədi] knew me as the copper's daughter never bloody told me nothing, you know, "the old copper's daughter I'm not saying nowt" you know' 0:52:20 I could understand if somebody [sʌmbədi] bought a a say f... not that you can buy one now a secluded cottage and all of a sudden something got built next door)*

**STRUT**

[ʌ ~ ə]

(0:08:15 *they drank this stuff [stʌf] called scrumpy [skɹʌmpi] that we'd never heard of and uh we were told that if you drink a lot of it your nose drops off; 0:11:36 one thing I thought was funny [fəni] was it's and they still do it now they say it when somebody's [səmbədiz] done [dən] something [səmθɪŋ] and it c... it can be a man and they say, "oh, did her?" (oh, yes) and that can be a man as well as a woman 'her' (that's typical) yeah, that's um a funny [fəni] one, isn't it, and that thing about "where's it to" if you've lost something [səmθɪŋ] (oh, yes) we never said that in Gloucester; 0:41:28 that's one thing that has changed a lot really, isn't it, is the pubs, [pʌbz] you, there isn't a pub [pʌb] any more where you can go in and have the crack after work)*

**ONE** (0:00:34 *um at the time I was swimming a lot and there was as far as I was concerned the local pool was nothing [nʌθɪŋ] so I just refused and then father decided to put his foot down; 0:00:52 and all I saw was this huge house, "Christ, are we living there?" and they went, "no it's the little one [wən] on the side"; 0:01:19 and what I should've done was not corrected him (yeah) because Pete's got an awful lot of money I should've just let that one [wʌn] slide really, you know, I could've had those [...] I could've done Monday Wednesday Friday, couldn't I, you know; 0:11:36 one [wən] thing I thought was funny was it's and they still do it now they say it when somebody's done something and it c... it can be a man and they say, "oh, did her?" (oh, yes) and that can be a man as well as a woman 'her' (that's typical) yeah, that's um a funny one, [wən] isn't it, and that thing about "where's it to" if you've lost something (oh, yes) we never said that in Gloucester; 0:22:15 I said, "well what's the matter with it?" she said, "there's nothing [nʌθɪŋ] wrong with it leave it as it is"; 0:25:27 (how about a 'nestle-tripe' or a 'nestle-tripe?') (oh, yeah) yeah, that's a*



little skentered down to naught sort of little ('runt') y... young one, [jʌŋ ən] isn't it?; 0:41:28 that's one [wən] thing that has changed a lot really, isn't it, is the pubs, you, there isn't a pub any more where you can go in and have the crack after work; 0:41:06 well he'd probably had a few at the races anyway and then went down there and it was a congregating place once [wʌns] a year; 0:42:40 there was always a disco on a Friday or Saturday night (OK) in the town or just a couple miles out of town and now there are none [nʌn]; 0:44:11 everybody knew me as the copper's daughter never bloody told me nothing, [nʌθɪŋ] you know, "the old copper's daughter I'm not saying nowt" you know; 0:51:06 I actually had a bit of a fall-out with a chap where I was living once [wʌns] and he he was very nice him and his wife when they first moved in and about six months later he started to get a bit pissy because he was living in the country and didn't understand it)

**run** (0:12:26 and we use different words in North Devon say for 'run' [ɹʌŋ] you would say 'rin' Queen's English would be 'run' and um here they rearrange the letters and it's 'run' [æ:ɹn] 'U' 'R' 'N'; 0:12:51 the kids is out playing, like, "come in here running [æ:ɹnɪŋ] and tearing about you little buggers, get in here" simple as that, isn't it?; 0:27:26 we went to uh a party at Reg's house which his son Tony was running [ɹʌŋɪŋ] and Reg withdrew from all the noise and he went into another room where there was a lovely fellow and he was sitting there getting squiffy)

**FOOT** [ʊ ~ ə > ʏ]<sup>5</sup>

(0:01:56 and I just said, "oh, I'm not going there" so father thought, "oh well we'll play along she'll come round" and I didn't and then he put [pʊʔ] his foot [fʊʔ] down; 0:02:34 yeah, but they didn't have no cars, did them, I mean the car is a revelation really otherwise you just couldn't [kʏdŋ] go anywhere, could [kʏd] you, as far as a horse'd take you that's it; 0:04:08 and he went down there and there was an old labourer down there uh chopping down wood [wʊd] that was called Fred Quartley; 0:11:36 one thing I thought was funny was it's and they still do it now they say it when somebody's done something and it c... it can be a man and they say, "oh, did her?" (oh, yes) and that can be a man as well as a woman [wʊmən] 'her' (that's typical) yeah, that's um a funny one, isn't it, and that thing about "where's it to" if you've lost something (oh, yes) we never said that in Gloucester; 0:16:15 and that was the only time I can actually remember actually saying that word I'd say 'bugger' a lot but I wouldn't [kədŋt] say 'shit' and it suddenly came out and I thought, "that's when I'm doing it it's when I'm cooking" [kəkɪŋ]; 0:32:36 two good-looking [gʏdlykɪŋ] men in a room that's all it is; 0:51:33 so he was stood [stʏd] there he was moaning about my dog barking and the the cow shit rolling the tarmac up, you know, and I had to point out to hine that it's been happening for a long time and it'll probably continue to happen and if he didn't like it piss off 'cause it was happening fore ever he bought thick house (yeah) (that's right) and thankfully they've gone)

**BATH** [ɑ: > a: > a]

(0:02:12 I had a cleaner and she was the last [lɑ:st] illegitimate baby to be born in Exmoor House (wow) and her 'cause well she's died now and she, like, that was, like, eighty years ago; 0:06:10 he put the glass [glɑ:s] down and he said to the landlord, "this is terrible" he said, "can I have some ice?"; 0:13:02 it suddenly dawned on me lying in the bath [bɑ:θ] tub and that and I started to chuckle; 0:13:00 yeah, but I don't find it strange that's how it suddenly dawned on me lying in the bath-tub [bɑ:θtʌb] at night I started to chuckle and I shouted to um oh what's the word oh her'll be my stepdaughter when I gets married I suppose and I said, "here, go and get a pencil and paper a minute and don't come in here 'cause I'm in the bath [bɑ:θ] at least wait till you'm twenty"; 0:21:56 um I had a letter home asking [ɑ:skɪŋ] if she could go to see a speech therapist when she was about seven and I thought, "well I didn't think there was

<sup>5</sup> All tokens with [ʏ] supplied by Paul.

a problem” I thought, “fair enough” the school probably knows I’ll sign the form and they asked [ɑːst] if I would come in afterwards [aftəwədz] so I went down and saw the speech therapist; 0:41:28 that’s one thing that has changed a lot really, isn’t it, is the pubs, you, there isn’t a pub any more where you can go in and have the crack after [ɑːdæ] work)

**CLOTH** [ɒ > ɑː]

(0:08:15 they drank this stuff called scrumpy that we’d never heard of and uh we were told that if you drink a lot of it your nose drops off [ɒf]; 0:11:36 one thing I thought was funny was it’s and they still do it now they say it when somebody’s done something and it c... it can be a man and they say, “oh, did her?” (oh, yes) and that can be a man as well as a woman ‘her’ (that’s typical) yeah, that’s um a funny one, isn’t it, and that thing about “where’s it to” if you’ve lost [lɒst] something (oh, yes) we never said that in Gloucester [glɒstə]; 0:17:16 I was up on the old and uh well just, you know, gathering some sheep on a Sunday morning clear and beautiful Sunday morning bit of frost [fɒst] about hear the church bells everything else and I don’t know why but my dog wouldn’t have it, you, her just took they ewes all over the place bar in the right place so I was letting rip, cor; 0:51:33 so he was stood there he was moaning about my dog barking and the the cow shit rolling the tarmac up, you know, and I had to point out to hine that it’s been happening for a long time and it’ll probably continue to happen and if he didn’t like it piss off [ɑːf] ‘cause it was happening fore ever he bought thick house (yeah) (that’s right) and thankfully they’ve gone [gɑːn])

**NURSE** [əː]

(0:03:16 and so we had our dinner and then we went to sit round the fire and this sleeper went further and further into the fire and [fəːðə əŋ fəːðə ɪntə ðə flɪə əŋ] we all got further and further [fəːðə əŋ fəːðə] back against the wall ended up sitting over here with the fire over there; 0:03:49 and I well remember the very first [fəːst] morning that we woke up in our new residence and it was early [əːli] it was about seven in the morning and we could hear a hunting horn blowing; 0:08:15 they drank this stuff called scrumpy that we’d never heard [həːd] of and uh we were told that if you drink a lot of it your nose drops off; 0:41:28 that’s one thing that has changed a lot really, isn’t it, is the pubs, you, there isn’t a pub any more where you can go in and have the crack after work [wəːk])

**FLEECE** [iː]

(0:02:12 I had a cleaner and [kliːnə əŋ] she [ʃiː] was the last illegitimate baby to be born in Exmoor House (wow) and her ‘cause well she’s died now and she, like, that was, like, eighty years ago; 0:16:44 I was uh trying to work the sheep [ʃiːp] one day and it was hot and sunny and the dog was tired and I was shouting at the dog; 0:34:25 yeah, I think a lot of kids would be uh at a certain age maybe they’ll get over it directly but they they’d be um ashamed to speak [spiːk] with an accent; 0:38:57 and then he’d always, you know, give us a joint when he killed the pig and it was the sweetest [swiːtɪst] meat [miːt] I think I’ve ever eaten [iːtən])

**been** (0:21:25 I do believe they’re ‘trainers’ now (yeah) and a bloody sight more expensive than a pair of daps would’ve been [biːn]; 0:51:17 and one day he was beside of hisself about the dog had been [biːn] barking in the night; 0:51:33 so he was stood there he was moaning about my dog barking and the the cow shit rolling the tarmac up, you know, and I had to point out to hine that it’s been [biːn] happening for a long time and it’ll probably continue to happen and if he didn’t like it piss off ‘cause it was happening fore ever he bought thick house (yeah) (that’s right) and thankfully they’ve gone)

**heat** (0:19:59 ‘hot’, see (yeah) that’d be ‘heat’ [jæt] (oh, of course it would I’ve heard that) [...] (yes, I’ve heard my father-in-law say that, you know, when you’re talking about the silage plant he says) “you’re heating [jɛdɪn] up” (“he’s heating [jɛtɪn] up”) yeah, that’d be right, yeah)

## FACE

[ɛɪ > eɪ]<sup>6</sup>

(0:02:12 *I had a cleaner and she was the last illegitimate baby [bɛɪbi] to be born in Exmoor House (wow) and her 'cause well she's died now and she, like, that was, like, eighty [ɛɪti] years ago; 0:04:08 and he went down there and there was an old labourer [lɛɪbɔːlə] down there uh chopping down wood that was called Fred Quartley; 0:34:25 yeah, I think a lot of kids would be uh at a certain age [ɛɪdʒ] maybe [mɛɪbi] they'll get over it directly but they they'd be um ashamed [əʃeɪmd] to speak with an accent; 0:41:06 well he'd probably had a few at the races [jɛ:səz] anyway [ɛɪwɛɪ] and then went down there and it was a congregating [kɒŋgɹɪge:dɪn] place [pleɪs] once a year; 0:51:06 I actually had a bit of a fall-out with a chap where I was living once and he he was very nice him and his wife when they first moved in and about six months later [lɛ:də] he started to get a bit pissy because he was living in the country and didn't understand it)*

*always* (0:04:31 *he um hoisted his flag and he blew the hounds into cover always [ɔːtweɪz] and when he left he ceremoniously at the end of the day he pulled down the pulled down the flag and blew the hounds out again; 0:40:07 and I always [ɔːwɪz] remember him saying, "have you got a drink?" and when we went in and we hadn't, you see, he said, "where's that damned serving wench?" that was the way he used to talk, wasn't it? (Joan that would've been his missus) he really meant it (oh aye, aye); 0:42:40 there was always [ɔːwɛɪz] a disco on a Friday or Saturday night (OK) in the town or just a couple miles out of town and now there are none*

*<-day>* (0:01:19 *and what I should've done was not corrected him (yeah) because Pete's got an awful lot of money I should've just let that one slide really, you know, I could've had those [...] I could've done Monday [mʌndi] Wednesday [wɛnzdi] Friday, [fɹɪɔɪdi] couldn't I, you know; 0:17:16 I was up on the old and uh well just, you know, gathering some sheep on a Sunday [sʌndi] morning clear and beautiful Sunday [sʌndi] morning bit of frost about hear the church bells everything else and I don't know why but my dog wouldn't have it, you, her just took they ewes all over the place bar in the right place so I was letting rip, cor; 0:42:40 there was always a disco on a Friday [fɹɪɔɪdi] or Saturday [satədi] night (OK) in the town or just a couple miles out of town and now there are none*)

## PALM

[aɪ ~ ɑɪ]

(0:00:34 *um at the time I was swimming a lot and there was as far as I was concerned the local pool was nothing so I just refused and then father [fɑːðə] decided to put his foot down; 0:28:25 and he said, "it happened so often I started looking at all the children" he said, "you could see you could see the bloodlines running" you know and then you find somebody's marrying their half-brother [hɑːfbɹʌðə] with no idea (yeah, we all got cars now though and so on); 0:34:44 eh yeah, here's another one you'm considered a 'dough-bake' if you don't talk like do you know what a 'dough-bake' is [...] uh yeah, a 'dough-bake' is somebody perhaps not as sharp as they could be ('country bumpkin' sort of thing [...]) "you dough-bake bugger" is the way to describe somebody whose just dropped mother's best vase [vɑːz] or something; 0:49:41 and when he give it up he was asked by the local authority could he please keep a token amount meaning like half [ɑːf] a dozen perhaps to drive through the town twice a day because it was a thing that visitors used to come and see)*

## THOUGHT

[ɔɪ]

(0:04:08 *and he went down there and there was an old labourer down there uh chopping down wood that was called [kɔɪt] Fred Quartley; 0:21:56 um I had a letter home asking if she could go to see a speech therapist when she was about seven and I thought, [θɔɪ?] "well I didn't think there was a problem" I thought, [θɔɪ?] "fair enough" the school probably knows I'll sign the form and they asked if I would come*

<sup>6</sup> One speaker (Paul) varies between [ɛɪ > eɪ]; the other speakers consistently use [ɛɪ].

in afterwards so I went down and saw [sɔ:] the speech therapist; 0:37:48 when the um uh the churchyard had railings round before the war fa... f... he used to go in the front bar and talk to the visitors and they'd buy him a drink then he'd go in the tap and talk [tɔ:k] to visitors they'd buy him another drink when he'd had enough he'd say, "right um Arthur's going home by rail now"; 0:42:24 they are but there's naught [nɔ:ʔ] you can do, is there? (no, no) I mean if you've got x amount of pounds in your pocket you can't tell people you don't spend it here 'cause we want to keep it; 0:51:06 I actually had a bit of a fall-out [vɔ:ləʊt] with a chap where I was living once and he he was very nice him and his wife when they first moved in and about six months later he started to get a bit pissy because he was living in the country and didn't understand it)

**alter** (0:15:37 if you were talking especially say to your own pet, you know, "you little sod what've you done?" it's it's just altering [ɔ:təɪŋ] their name that's all)

#### GOAT [əʊ > ou]

(0:03:49 and I well remember the very first morning that we woke [wouk] up in our new residence and it was early it was about seven in the morning and we could hear a hunting horn blowing [blouɪŋ]; 0:08:15 they drank this stuff called scrumpy that we'd never heard of and uh we were told that if you drink a lot of it your nose [nəʊz] drops off; 0:08:38 I mean there isn't many people that drink enough of the appropriate [əpɹɔʊpɹɪət] cider left alive now but that used to affect the nose [nouz] of them for years and years of dedicated cider drinking you'd end up with a bloody great nose [nouz] with pits in it; 0:21:56 um I had a letter home [həʊm] asking if she could go [gəʊ] to see a speech therapist when she was about seven and I thought, "well I didn't think there was a problem" I thought, "fair enough" the school probably knows [nəʊz] I'll sign the form and they asked if I would come in afterwards so I went down and saw the speech therapist; 0:42:40 there was always a disco [dɪskəʊ] on a Friday or Saturday night (OK) in the town or just a couple miles out of town and now there are none)

**don't (know)** (0:17:16 I was up on the old and uh well just, you know, gathering some sheep on a Sunday morning clear and beautiful Sunday morning bit of frost about hear the church bells everything else and I don't know [dʌnou] why but my dog wouldn't have it, you, her just took they ewes all over the place bar in the right place so I was letting rip, cor)

**<-ow>** (0:27:26 we went to uh a party at Reg's house which his son Tony was running and Reg withdrew from all the noise and he went into another room where there was a lovely fellow and [felə ən] he was sitting there getting squiffy; 0:39:17 and he'd sold a fellow [feləʊ] uh a horse and um he hadn't paid up (well he was called Philip too, wasn't her?) he was called Philip)

#### GOAL [ɔʊ > əʊ]

(0:04:08 and he went down there and there was an old [ɔʊtɪd] labourer down there uh chopping down wood that was called Fred Quartley; 0:08:15 they drank this stuff called scrumpy that we'd never heard of and uh we were told [tɔʊtɪd] that if you drink a lot of it your nose drops off; 0:13:26 I hadn't thought about it at all and then I tried to think about it as anybody who would be outside looking in, you know, say like we'm in a goldfish [gɔʊtɪdfɪʃ] on Ex... goldfish [gɔʊtɪdfɪʃ] bowl [bɔʊtɪ] and they'm looking at us and some of the words they wouldn't have a clue about, would them?; 0:21:13 and presumably they were called 'tackies' because they'd got slightly tacky soles [səʊtɪz]; 0:51:33 so he was stood there he was moaning about my dog barking and the the cow shit rolling [ɔʊstɪn] the tarmac up, you know, and I had to point out to hine that it's been happening for a long time and it'll probably continue to happen and if he didn't like it piss off 'cause it was happening fore ever he bought thick house (yeah) (that's right) and thankfully they've gone)

#### GOOSE [uɪ > ʏɪ]<sup>7</sup>

<sup>7</sup> One speaker (Paul) consistently uses [ʏɪ]; the other speakers consistently use [uɪ].

(0:04:31 *he um hoisted his flag and he blew [blu:] the hounds into cover always and when he left he ceremoniously at the end of the day he pulled down the pulled down the flag and blew [blu:] the hounds out again; 0:27:26 we went to uh a party at Reg's house which his son Tony was running and Reg withdrew [wiðdju:] from all the noise and he went into another room [ju:m] where there was a lovely fellow and he was sitting there getting squiffy; 0:32:36 two [tu:] good-looking men in a room [ju:m] that's all it is; 0:41:06 well he'd probably had a few [fy:] at the races anyway and then went down there and it was a congregating place once a year; 0:51:06 I actually had a bit of a fall-out with a chap where I was living once and he he was very nice him and his wife when they first moved [mu:vd] in and about six months later he started to get a bit pissy because he was living in the country and didn't understand it)*  
*ewe (0:17:16 I was up on the old and uh well just, you know, gathering some sheep on a Sunday morning clear and beautiful Sunday morning bit of frost about hear the church bells everything else and I don't know why but my dog wouldn't have it, you, her just took they ewes [ju:z] all over the place bar in the right place so I was letting rip, cor; 0:32:52 (you know, I'd seen sheep in the field but I didn't know anything about sheep and there was Jonny Bray and he was talking to uh Tom Flanagan about um the 'two-tooths' and I was mystified, you know, I didn't know what these were and I couldn't work out why Jonny Bray had got anything to do with ballet dancers, you know, these 'tutus' 'tutus', you know, I couldn't 'cause I thought that 'tutus' were a dress that ballet dancers wore [...]) we call them 'ewes' [ju:z])*  
**two-tooth** (0:32:52 *you know, I'd seen sheep in the field but I didn't know anything about sheep and there was Jonny Bray and he was talking to uh Tom Flanagan about um the 'two-tooths' [tuðəθs] and I was mystified, you know, I didn't know what these were and I couldn't work out why Jonny Bray had got anything to do with ballet dancers, you know, these 'tutus' 'tutus', you know, I couldn't 'cause I thought that 'tutus' were a dress that ballet dancers wore [...]) (we call them 'ewes')*)

**PRICE** [aɪ ~ ɔɪ]

(0:01:19 *and what I should've done was not corrected him (yeah) because Pete's got an awful lot of money I should've just let that one slide [slɔɪd] really, you know, I could've had those [...] I could've done Monday Wednesday Friday, [frɔɪdi] couldn't I, you know; 0:51:06 I actually had a bit of a fall-out with a chap where I was living once and he he was very nice [nɔɪs] him and his wife [wɔɪf] when they first moved in and about six months later he started to get a bit pissy because he was living in the country and didn't understand it; 0:42:40 there was always a disco on a Friday [frɔɪdi] or Saturday night [nɔɪt] (OK) in the town or just a couple miles [mɔɪtɪz] out of town and now there are none)*  
*my (0:13:00 yeah, but I don't find it strange that's how it suddenly dawned on me lying in the bath-tub at night I started to chuckle and I shouted to um oh what's the word oh her'll be my [mi] stepdaughter when I gets married I suppose and I said, "here, go and get a pencil and paper a minute and don't come in here 'cause I'm in the bath at least wait till you'm twenty"; 0:26:27 (and we're all called 'maid' collectively [...]) I get called it quite a bit with people behind the bar [...] if they can't remember my [mi] name they just refer to me as 'maid'; 0:51:33 so he was stood there he was moaning about my [mi] dog barking and the the cow shit rolling the tarmac up, you know, and I had to point out to hine that it's been happening for a long time and it'll probably continue to happen and if he didn't like it piss off 'cause it was happening fore ever he bought thick house (yeah) (that's right) and thankfully they've gone)*  
**fire, tired** (0:03:16 *and so we had our dinner and then we went to sit round the fire [faɪə] and this sleeper went further and further into the fire and [faɪə ən] we all got further and further back against the wall ended up sitting over here with the fire over there [faɪə əvə ðeɪ]; 0:16:44 I was uh trying to work the sheep one day and it was hot and sunny and the dog was tired [taəd] and I was shouting at the dog)*)

**CHOICE** [ɔɪ]

(0:04:31 *he um hoisted [hɔɪstɪd] his flag and he blew the hounds into cover always and when he left he ceremoniously at the end of the day he pulled down the pulled down the flag and blew the hounds out again; 0:08:05 we were sort of given a guided tour of Dulverton by a friend and uh he pointed [pɔɪntɪd] out The Lion tap and, you know, this was presented as as, like, you know, the the den of iniquity of the place; 0:27:26 we went to uh a party at Reg's house which his son Tony was running and Reg withdrew from all the noise [nɔɪz] and he went into another room where there was a lovely fellow and he was sitting there getting squiffy)*

**boy** (0:14:41 *I was working with some boys [bɔɪz] back-along chitter chitter-chat shall we say and their their pronunciation and arrangement of words is totally different to what ours is course they'm wrong)*

**MOUTH** [aʊ > əʊ]<sup>8</sup>

(0:42:40 *there was always a disco on a Friday or Saturday night (OK) in the town [taʊn] or just a couple miles out [aʊt] of town [taʊn] and now [naʊ] there are none; 0:38:19 there'd be no room for characters like that to develop now [nəʊ] there (no) 'cause if a society wouldn't let them, would it?; 0:44:11 everybody knew me as the copper's daughter never bloody told me nothing, you know, "the old copper's daughter I'm not saying nowt" [naʊʔ] you know; 0:51:33 so he was stood there he was moaning about [əbəʊt] my dog barking and the the cow [kəʊ] shit rolling the tarmac up, you know, and I had to point out [əʊt] to hine that it's been happening for a long time and it'll probably continue to happen and if he didn't like it piss off 'cause it was happening fore ever he bought thick house [əʊs] (yeah) (that's right) and thankfully they've gone)*

**our, sour** (0:03:16 *and so we had our [ɑ:] dinner and then we went to sit round the fire and this sleeper went further and further into the fire and we all got further and further back against the wall ended up sitting over here with the fire over there; 0:03:49 and I well remember the very first morning that we woke up in our [ɑ:] new residence and it was early it was about seven in the morning and we could hear a hunting horn blowing; 0:12:03 the main thing I remember about that sorry is is 'our [aʊə] mum' and 'our [aʊə] dad' that people don't seem to say that down here<sup>3</sup>; 0:14:41 I was working with some boys back-along chitter chitter-chat shall we say and their their pronunciation and arrangement of words is totally different to what ours [əʊəz] is course they'm wrong; 0:20:44 'unattractive'? ('unattractive', yeah) I 'sour-faced [zəʊəfeɪst] old bugger' I got)*

**NEAR** [ɪə > ɪɪ]

(0:05:17 *and some liked it clear [klɪə] so you wouldn't shake it and some liked it thick; 0:01:19 and what I should've done was not corrected him (yeah) because Pete's got an awful lot of money I should've just let that one slide really, [ɪɪli] you know, I could've had those [...] I could've done Monday Wednesday Friday, couldn't I, you know; 0:05:51 I still drink it (ugh) any form of cider I can get hold of I'll drink it (yeah) yeah, I don't like beer [bɪə-]*)

**hear, here, year** (0:02:12 *I had a cleaner and she was the last illegitimate baby to be born in Exmoor House (wow) and her 'cause well she's died now and she, like, that was, like, eighty years [jɪɪz] ago; 0:08:38 I mean there isn't many people that drink enough of the appropriate cider left alive now but that used to affect the nose of them for years [jɪɪz] and years [jɪɪz] of dedicated cider drinking you'd end up with a bloody great nose with pits in it; 0:12:51 the kids is out playing, like, "come in here [jɪɪ] running and tearing about you little buggers, get in here" [jɪɪ] simple as that, isn't it?; 0:13:00 yeah, but I don't find it strange that's how it suddenly dawned on me lying in the bath-tub at night I started to chuckle and I shouted to um oh what's the word oh her'll be my*

<sup>8</sup> One speaker (Paul) consistently uses [əʊ]; the other speakers consistently use [aʊ].



stepdaughter when I gets married I suppose and I said, “here, [jə:] go and get a pencil and paper a minute and don’t come in here [jə:] ’cause I’m in the bath at least wait till you’m twenty”; 0:17:16 I was up on the old and uh well just, you know, gathering some sheep on a Sunday morning clear and beautiful Sunday morning bit of frost about hear [jə:] the church bells everything else and I don’t know why but my dog wouldn’t have it, you, her just took they ewes all over the place bar in the right place so I was letting rip, cor; 0:34:44 eh yeah, here’s [jə:z] another one you’m considered a ‘dough-bake’ if you don’t talk like do you know what a ‘dough-bake’ is [...] uh yeah, a ‘dough-bake’ is somebody perhaps not as sharp as they could be (‘country bumpkin’ sort of thing [...]) “you dough-bake bugger” is the way to describe somebody whose just dropped mother’s best vase or something; 0:35:52 (it’s either next Christmas or next Easter whichever comes last) could be and I didn’t say which year [jɪə] it would be (it’ll be ‘directly’) but it’ll be directly, yeah, always, yeah, the lady I live with now hates it, “could you do this for me?” “yes, directly” her knows bloody well it isn’t going to get done; 0:37:38 I came here [hɪə] thirty-seven years [jɪ:z] ago and never escaped; 0:41:06 well he’d probably had a few at the races anyway and then went down there and it was a congregating place once a year [jə:ɪ])

**SQUARE** [ɛɪ > ɛə]

(0:04:08 and he went down there [ðɛə] and there was an old labourer down there [ðɛə] uh chopping down wood that was called Fred Quartley; 0:16:00 I was picked up on it at parents’ [pɛɪ.ənts] evening and I said, “I don’t swear in front [swɛɪ ɪmfʌnʔ] the kids I’m really careful” [kɛɪfʊt] but what I do remember is every time I took summat out the oven I went, “oh shit” because it never rose; 0:18:53 I get called ‘silly mare’ [mɛə] but I think that’s as (that’d be all right for TV) that’s my that, no, yeah, that’s my limit; 0:21:56 um I had a letter home asking if she could go to see a speech therapist when she was about seven and I thought, “well I didn’t think there was a problem” I thought, “fair enough” [fɛɪ.ɪ ɪnʌf] the school probably knows I’ll sign the form and they asked if I would come in afterwards so I went down and saw the speech therapist)

**where** (0:02:34 yeah, but they didn’t have no cars, did them, I mean the car is a revelation really otherwise you just couldn’t go anywhere, [ɛɪwə:] could you, as far as a horse’d take you that’s it; 0:08:28 I was absolutely terrified I didn’t know where [wɛɪ] to hide my glass because I really didn’t want my nose to drop off; 0:41:28 that’s one thing that has changed a lot really, isn’t it, is the pubs, you, there isn’t a pub any more where [wə:] you can go in and have the crack after [a:də] work)

**START** [ɑɪ > aɪ]

(0:02:34 yeah, but they didn’t have no cars, [kɑɪ:z] did them, I mean the car [kɑɪ] is a revelation really otherwise you just couldn’t go anywhere, could you, as far [fɑɪ] as a horse’d take you that’s it; 0:27:26 we went to uh a party [pɑ:ti] at Reg’s house which his son Tony was running and Reg withdrew from all the noise and he went into another room where there was a lovely fellow and he was sitting there getting squiffy; 0:37:48 when the um uh the churchyard [tʃə:tʃjɑ:d] had railings round before the war fa... f... he used to go in the front bar [bɑ:] and talk to the visitors and they’d buy him a drink then he’d go in the tap and talk to visitors they’d buy him another drink when he’d had enough he’d say, “right um Arthur’s [ɑ:θəz] going home by rail now”; 0:47:22 and um due to Common Market<sup>4</sup> [kɒmən mɑ:kəʔ] legislation and ruling and new rules and everything else [...] you could only sell half a pound of cream a week or something; 0:51:06 I actually had a bit of a fall-out with a chap where I was living once and he he was very nice him and his wife when they first moved in and about six months later he started [stɑ:dɪd] to get a bit pissy because he was living in the country and didn’t understand it)

**NORTH~FORCE** [ɔɪ]

(0:02:12 *I had a cleaner and she was the last illegitimate baby to be born [bɔ:n] in Exmoor House (wow) and her 'cause well she's died now and she, like, that was, like, eighty years ago; 0:03:49 and I well remember the very first morning [mɔ:nɪŋ] that we woke up in our new residence and it was early it was about seven in the morning [mɔ:nɪŋ] and we could hear a hunting horn [hɔ:n] blowing; 0:17:31 anyway I saw my next-door [nɛksdɔ:] neighbour who was coming out the church which is happen about three mile away the church is he said to me he come up and he said, "do you know?" he said, "I had to say to Fred Burnell tother day that your dog had the same initials"; 0:21:56 um I had a letter home asking if she could go to see a speech therapist when she was about seven and I thought, "well I didn't think there was a problem" I thought, "fair enough" the school probably knows I'll sign the form [fɔ:m] and they asked if I would come in afterwards so I went down and saw the speech therapist; 0:37:48 when the um uh the churchyard had railings round before [bɪfɔ:] the war [wɔ:] fa... f... he used to go in the front bar and talk to the visitors and they'd buy him a drink then he'd go in the tap and talk to visitors they'd buy him another drink when he'd had enough he'd say, "right um Arthur's going home by rail now"; 0:52:20 I could understand if somebody bought a a say f... not that you can buy one now a secluded cottage and all of a sudden something got built next door [nɛksdɔ:]*)

**CURE** [ɔ: > ʊə]

(0:02:12 *I had a cleaner and she was the last illegitimate baby to be born in Exmoor House [ɛksmɔ: haus] (wow) and her 'cause well she's died now and she, like, that was, like, eighty years ago; 0:08:05 we were sort of given a guided tour of [tʊə əv] Dulverton by a friend and uh he pointed out The Lion tap and, you know, this was presented as as, like, you know, the the den of iniquity of the place; 0:23:10 and I mean I taught at Exford which is right in the middle of the moor [mɔ:]*)

**happy** [i]

(0:02:12 *I had a cleaner and she was the last illegitimate baby [bɛɪbi] to be born in Exmoor House (wow) and her 'cause well she's died now and she, like, that was, like, eighty [ɛɪti] years ago; 0:03:49 and I well remember the very [vɛɪi] first morning that we woke up in our new residence and it was early [ə:lɪ] it was about seven in the morning and we could hear a hunting horn blowing; 0:09:22 not really [ɹɪ:lɪ] it's all far more refined keg stuff now more's the pity [pɪdi]; 0:51:06 I actually [ækʃəli] had a bit of a fall-out with a chap where I was living once and he he was very [vɛɪi] nice him and his wife when they first moved in and about six months later he started to get a bit pissy [pɛsɪ] because he was living in the country [kʌntɪi] and didn't understand it)*

**letter** [ə]

(0:03:16 *and so we had our dinner and [dɪnə ən] then we went to sit round the fire and this sleeper [slɪ:pə] went further and further into the fire and [fə:ðə əŋ fə:ðə ɪntə ðə flɪə ən] we all got further and further [fə:ðə əŋ fə:ðə] back against the wall ended up sitting over [əʊvə] here with the fire over [əʊvə] there; 0:04:08 and he went down there and there was an old labourer [leɪbɔ:ə] down there uh chopping down wood that was called Fred Quartley; 0:21:56 um I had a letter [letə] home asking if she could go to see a speech therapist when she was about seven and I thought, "well I didn't think there was a problem" I thought, "fair enough" the school probably knows I'll sign the form and they asked if I would come in afterwards [aftəwɔdz] so I went down and saw the speech therapist; 0:37:48 when the um uh the churchyard had railings round before the war fa... f... he used to go in the front bar and talk to the visitors [vɪzɪtəz] and they'd buy him a drink then he'd go in the tap and talk to visitors [vɪzɪtəz] they'd buy him another [ənʌðə] drink when he'd had enough he'd say, "right um Arthur's [ɑ:θəz] going home by rail now"; 0:41:28 that's one thing that has changed a lot really, isn't it, is the pubs, you, there isn't a pub any more where you can go in and have the crack after [ɑ:də] work; 0:44:11 everybody knew me as the copper's [kɒpəz] daughter [dɔ:tə] never [nevə] bloody told me nothing, you know, "the old copper's [kɒpəz] daughter [dɔ:tə] I'm not saying nowt" you know)*

**comma** [ə]

(0:09:49 *I was born and brought up in Uganda [ju:gandə] so a long long way from here; 0:30:21 some of the incomers that come in to the area [ɛ:ɪə] we call 'the bettermost folk'*)

**horsES** [ɪ ~> ə]

(0:14:12 *but Norma's right about the difference you don't have to go very far before it totally changes [tʃɛɪndʒɪz]; 0:27:26 we went to uh a party at Reg's [ɹɛdʒɪz] house which his son Tony was running and Reg withdrew from all the noise and he went into another room where there was a lovely fellow and he was sitting there getting squiffy; 0:41:06 well he'd probably had a few at the races [ɹɛ:səz] anyway and then went down there and it was a congregating place once a year)*

**startED** [ɪ > ə]

(0:04:31 *he um hoisted [hɔɪstɪd] his flag and he blew the hounds into cover always and when he left he ceremoniously at the end of the day he pulled down the pulled down the flag and blew the hounds out again; 0:08:05 we were sort of given a guided [gʌɪdɪd] tour of Dulverton by a friend and uh he pointed [pɔɪntɪd] out The Lion tap and, you know, this was presented [pɹɪsɛntɪd] as as, like, you know, the the den of iniquity of the place; 0:25:53 so you wanted [wanəd] summat peculiar to the area so that's one or two I thought of; 0:51:06 I actually had a bit of a fall-out with a chap where I was living once and he he was very nice him and his wife when they first moved in and about six months later he started [stɑ:ɪdɪd] to get a bit pissy because he was living in the country and didn't understand it)*

**morNING** [ɪ]

(0:03:49 *and I well remember the very first morning [mɔ:ɪnɪŋ] that we woke up in our new residence and it was early it was about seven in the morning [mɔ:ɪnɪŋ] and we could hear a hunting [hʌntɪŋ] horn blowing [blouɪŋ]; 0:04:08 and he went down there and there was an old labourer down there uh chopping [tʃɒpɪŋ] down wood that was called Fred Quartley; 0:11:36 one thing I thought was funny was it's and they still do it now they say it when somebody's done something [səmθɪŋ] and it c... it can be a man and they say, "oh, did her?" (oh, yes) and that can be a man as well as a woman 'her' (that's typical) yeah, that's um a funny one, isn't it, and that thing about "where's it to" if you've lost something [səmθɪŋ] (oh, yes) we never said that in Gloucester; 0:27:26 we went to uh a party at Reg's house which his son Tony was running [ɹʌnɪŋ] and Reg withdrew from all the noise and he went into another room where there was a lovely fellow and he was sitting [sɪtɪŋ] there getting [gɛtɪŋ] squiffy)*

**VARIABLE RHOTICITY<sup>9</sup>**

(0:02:12 *I had a cleaner and [kli:nəɪ ən] she was the last illegitimate baby to be born [bɔ:n] in Exmoor House [ɛksmɔ: haʊs] (wow) and her 'cause well she's died now and she, like, that was, like, eighty years [ɹɪ:z] ago; 0:02:34 yeah, but they didn't have no cars, [kɑ:z] did them, I mean the car [kɑ:] is a revelation really otherwise [ʌðə-wɔɪz] you just couldn't go anywhere, [ɛnɪwɛ:ɪ] could you, as far [fɑ:] as a horse'd [ɔ:s əd] take you that's it; 0:03:49 and I well remember [ɪmɛmbə] the very first [fɛ:st] morning [mɔ:ɪnɪŋ] that we woke up in our [ɑ:] new residence and it was early [ə:li] it was about seven in the morning [mɔ:ɪnɪŋ] and we could hear [hɪə] a hunting horn [hɔ:n] blowing; 0:04:08 and he went down there [ðɛə] and there was an old labourer [ɹɛɪbɔ:lɔ:] down there [ðɛə] uh chopping down wood that was called Fred Quartley [fɹɛd kwɔ:tli]; 0:05:51 I still drink it (ugh) any form [fɔ:m] of cider [sɪɪdɔ:] I can get hold of I'll drink it (yeah) yeah, I don't like beer [bɪə]; 0:18:53 I get called 'silly mare' [mɛə] but I think that's as (that'd be all right for TV) that's my that, no, yeah, that's my limit; 0:21:56 um I had a letter [lɛtə] home asking if she could go to see a speech therapist when she was about seven and I thought,*

<sup>9</sup> Two speakers (John and Theresa) are non-rhotic; one speaker (Paul) consistently pronounces postvocalic /r/; the other speakers vary.

“well I didn’t think there was a problem” I thought, “fair enough” [fɛ:ɪ ɪnɪf] the school probably knows I’ll sign the form [fɔ:ɪm] and they asked if I would come in afterwards [aftəwɔ:dz] so I went down and saw the speech therapist; 0:37:48 when the um uh the churchyard [tʃə:tʃjɑ:d] had railings round before [bɪfɔ:] the war [wɔ:] fa... f... he used to go in the front bar [bɑ:] and talk to the visitors [vɪzɪtəz] and they’d buy him a drink then he’d go in the tap and talk to visitors [vɪzɪtəz] they’d buy him another [ənʌðə] drink when he’d had enough he’d say, “right um Arthur’s [ɑ:θəz] going home by rail now”; 0:41:28 that’s one thing that has changed a lot really, isn’t it, is the pubs, you, there [ðə] isn’t a pub any more [mɔ:] where [wə:] you can go in and have the crack after [ɑ:də] work [wə:k]; 0:44:11 everybody knew me as the copper’s [kɒpəz] daughter [dɔ:tə] never [nevə] bloody told me nothing, you know, “the old copper’s [kɒpəz] daughter [dɔ:tə] I’m not saying nowt” you know)

## PLOSIVES

### T

**frequent word final T-glottaling** (e.g. 0:01:19 and what [wɒʔ] I should’ve done was not [nɒʔ] corrected him (yeah) because Pete’s got [gɒʔ] an awful lot [lɒʔ] of money I should’ve just let [lɛʔ] that [ðəʔ] one slide really, you know, I could’ve had those [...] I could’ve done Monday Wednesday Friday, couldn’t I, you know; 0:01:56 and I just said, “oh, I’m not [nɒʔ] going there” so father thought, [θɔ:ʔ] “oh well we’ll play along she’ll come round” and I didn’t and then he put [pʊʔ] his foot [fʊʔ] down; 0:13:00 yeah, but [bəʔ] I don’t find it [ɪʔ] strange that’s how it [ɪʔ] suddenly dawned on me lying in the bath-tub at [əʔ] night [nɪʔ] I started to chuckle and I shouted to um oh what’s the word oh her’ll be my stepdaughter when I gets married I suppose and I said, “here, go and get [gɛʔ] a pencil and paper a minute [mənəʔ] and don’t come in here ’cause I’m in the bath at least wait till you’m twenty”; 0:16:00 I was picked up on it [ɪʔ] at [əʔ] parents’ evening and I said, “I don’t swear in front [fɪʌnʔ] the kids I’m really careful” but what I do remember is every time I took summat out the oven I went, [wɛnʔ] “oh shit” [ʃɪʔ] because it [ɪʔ] never rose; 0:41:28 that’s one thing that [ðəʔ] has changed a lot [lɒʔ] really, isn’t it, [ɪnɪʔ] is the pubs, you, there isn’t a pub any more where you can go in and have the crack after work; 0:42:40 there was always a disco on a Friday or Saturday night [nɪʔ] (OK) in the town or just a couple miles out of town and now there are none)

**frequent word medial & syllable initial T-glottaling** (e.g. 0:13:00 yeah, but I don’t find it strange that’s how it suddenly dawned on me lying in the bath-tub at night I started [stɑ:ɪʔɪd] to chuckle and I shouted to um oh what’s the word oh her’ll be my stepdaughter when I gets married I suppose and I said, “here, go and get a pencil and paper a minute and don’t come in here ’cause I’m in the bath at least wait till you’m twenty”; 0:25:27 (how about a ‘nestle-tripe’ or a ‘nestle-tripe’?) (oh, yeah) yeah, that’s a little skentered down to naught sort of little [ɪʔʔ] (‘runt’) y... young one, isn’t it?; 0:25:40 how about “aye, well there thee are, see” that means ‘no matter [mɑʔə] what’ve [wɑʔəv] happened it’s too late, isn’t it’ ‘job’s done, isn’t it’; 0:32:01 but as I keep telling lots of them they got to [gɑʔə] remember that when they come down here they’m the buggers who got the funny accent not me; 0:34:25 yeah, I think a lot of kids would be uh at a certain [sə:ɪʔn] age maybe they’ll get over it directly but they they’d be um ashamed to speak with an accent; 0:38:33 that particular gentleman [dʒɛnʔmən] in question would perhaps deliver the milk at five o’clock in the afternoon ’cause he might’ve stopped for a pint of cider or two at dinner time, you know, well he wouldn’t be able to get away with it now, would he? (no) on an old bike with no brakes (sad, isn’t it?) yeah, ’cause nobody didn’t get poisoned, you know; 0:50:03 we used to use their milk in the café and a certain [sə:ɪʔn] time of the year people would say, (oh aye) “there’s something wrong with this milk what’s the matter with this milk?”; 0:52:20 I could understand if somebody bought a a say f... not that you can buy one now a secluded cottage [kɑʔɪdʒ] and all of a sudden something got built next door)

**frequent T-voicing** (e.g. 0:00:52 *and all I saw was this huge house, “Christ, are we living there?” and they went, “no it’s the little [lɪdʒ] one on the side”*; 0:12:51 *the kids is out playing, like, “come in here running and tearing about you little [lɪdʒ] buggers, get [gɛd] in here”*; 0:13:00 *yeah, but I don’t find it strange that’s how it suddenly dawned on me lying in the bath-tub at night I started to chuckle and I shouted [ʃəʊɪd] to um oh what’s the word oh her’ll be my stepdaughter [stɛpɔːdɔː] when I gets married I suppose and I said, “here, go and get a pencil and paper a minute and don’t come in here ’cause I’m in the bath at least wait till you’m twenty”*; 0:16:00 *I was picked up on it at parents’ evening and I said, “I don’t swear in front the kids I’m really careful” but what [wɒd] I do remember is every time I took summat out the oven I went, “oh shit” because it never rose*; 0:17:16 *I was up on the old and uh well just, you know, gathering some sheep on a Sunday morning clear and beautiful [buːdɪfʊ] Sunday morning bit of frost about hear the church bells everything else and I don’t know why but my dog wouldn’t have it, you, her just took they ewes all over the place bar in the right place so I was letting [lɛdɪn] rip, cor*; 0:22:15 *I said, “well what’s the matter [mɑdə] with it?” she said, “there’s nothing wrong with it leave it as it is”*; 0:25:27 *(how about a ‘nestle-tripe’ or a ‘nestle-tripe’?) (oh, yeah) yeah, that’s a little [lɪdʒ] skentered down to naught sort of [sɔːdɔː] little (‘runt’) y... young one, isn’t it?*; 0:30:58 *so I said, “well I don’t know” I said, “a lot of [lɒdə] the farmers’ wives get [gɛd] up and milk the cows every morning” “ah”, she said, “but this wasn’t a farmer’s wife this was an educated person*; 0:31:37 *well ‘clats’ well ‘clats’ (‘clat’) I mean if you’m ‘scatting [skadɪn] up clats’ then you’m ‘banking’, isn’t it, like (on a ‘banking up a hedge’) aye, so that’s ‘scatting [skadɪn] up clats’ but if you’m ‘scatting [skadɪn] back the clats’ that means you’m out hunting and you’m ‘getting [gɛdɪn] on with it’ fair, like, really your horse is ‘scatting [skadɪn] back the clats’*; 0:34:25 *yeah, I think a lot of kids would be uh at a certain age maybe they’ll get [gɛd] over it directly but they they’d be um ashamed to speak with an accent*; 0:38:19 *there’d be no room for characters like that to develop now (no) ’cause if a society [səʊsɪəti] wouldn’t let [lɛd] them, would it?*; 0:41:28 *that’s one thing that has changed a lot really, isn’t it, is the pubs, you, there isn’t a pub any more where you can go in and have the crack after [ɑːdɔː] work*; 0:51:06 *I actually had a bit of a fall-out with a chap where I was living once and he he was very nice him and his wife when they first moved in and about six months later [leɪdɔː] he started [stɑːɪdɪd] to get [gɛd] a bit pissy because he was living in the country and didn’t understand it*; 0:49:41 *and when he give it up [gɪv dʌp] he was asked by the local authority could he please keep a token amount meaning like half a dozen perhaps to drive through the town twice a day because it was a thing that visitors [vɪzɪdɔːz] used to come and see)*

## K

**K-voicing**<sup>10</sup> (0:13:26 *I hadn’t thought about it at all and then I tried to think about it as anybody who would be outside looking [lʊgɪn] in, you know, say like we’m in a goldfish on Ex... goldfish bowl and they’m looking [lʊgɪn] at us and some of the words they wouldn’t have a clue about, would them?*; 0:14:41 *I was working [wɔːgɪn] with some boys back-along chitter chitter-chat shall we say and their their pronunciation and arrangement of words is totally different to what ours is course they’m wrong*; 0:34:44 *eh yeah, here’s another one you’m considered a ‘dough-bake’ [doubɛːg] if you don’t talk like do you know what a ‘dough-bake’ [doubɛːk] is [...] uh yeah, a ‘dough-bake’ [doubɛːg] is somebody perhaps not as sharp as they could be (‘country bumpkin’ sort of thing [...]) “you dough-bake [doubɛːk] bugger” is the way to describe somebody whose just dropped mother’s best vase or something)*

## NASALS

### NG

<sup>10</sup> All tokens supplied by Paul.

**frequent NG-fronting** (e.g. 0:12:51 *the kids is out playing*, [ple:ɪn] *like*, “*come in here running* [ə:ɪnɪn] *and tearing* [tɛ:ɪɪn] *about you little buggers, get in here*” *simple as that, isn’t it?*; 0:22:31 *but now that she’s doing* [du:ɪŋ] *a bit of amateur dramatics when she is speaking* [spi:kɪn] *on stage it’s appalling* [əpɔ:lɪn] *and I’m like*, “*will you say ‘that’?*” *you know and things like that because she never sounds her last letters*; 0:31:37 *well ‘clats’ well ‘clats’* (‘clat’) *I mean if you’m ‘scatting* [skadɪn] *up clats’ then you’m ‘banking’*, [bɑŋkɪn] *isn’t it, like* (on a ‘banking [bɑŋkɪn] *up a hedge*) *aye, so that’s ‘scatting* [skadɪn] *up clats’ but if you’m ‘scatting* [skadɪn] *back the clats’ that means you’m out hunting* [ʌntɪn] *and you’m ‘getting* [gɛdɪn] *on with it’ fair, like, really your horse is ‘scatting* [skadɪn] *back the clats’*; 0:44:11 *everybody knew me as the copper’s daughter never bloody told me nothing*, [ɪʌθɪn] *you know*, “*the old copper’s daughter I’m not saying* [sɛɪɪn] *nowt*” *you know*; 0:51:06 *I actually had a bit of a fall-out with a chap where I was living* [lɪvɪn] *once and he he was very nice him and his wife when they first moved in and about six months later he started to get a bit pissy because he was living* [lɪvɪn] *in the country and didn’t understand it*; 0:51:33 *so he was stood there he was moaning* [mounɪn] *about my dog barking* [bɑ:kɪn] *and the the cow shit rolling* [ɹɔʃɪn] *the tarmac up, you know, and I had to point out to hine that it’s been happening* [apnɪn] *for a long time and it’ll probably continue to happen and if he didn’t like it piss off ‘cause it was happening* [apnɪn] *fore ever he bought thick house* (yeah) (that’s right) *and thankfully they’ve gone*)

**<-thing> with NK** (e.g. 0:10:38 *as an incomer did you notice anything* [ɛnɪθɪŋk] *peculiar to the area?*; 0:50:03 *we used to use their milk in the café and a certain time of the year people would say, (oh aye) ‘there’s something* [sʌmɪŋk] *wrong with this milk what’s the matter with this milk?’*)

## N

**syllabic N with nasal release** (0:01:19 *and what I should’ve done was not corrected him* (yeah) *because Pete’s got an awful lot of money I should’ve just let that one slide really, you know, I could’ve had those* [...] *I could’ve done Monday Wednesday Friday, couldn’t I*, [kʊdŋ] *you know*; 0:01:56 *and I just said, “oh, I’m not going there” so father thought, “oh well we’ll play along she’ll come round” and I didn’t* [dɪdŋt] *and then he put his foot down*; 0:02:34 *yeah, but they didn’t have no cars, did them, I mean the car is a revelation really otherwise you just couldn’t* [kʊdŋ] *go anywhere, could you, as far as a horse’d take you that’s it*; 0:08:28 *I was absolutely terrified I didn’t know where to hide my glass because I really didn’t* [dɪdŋt] *want my nose to drop off*; 0:13:00 *yeah, but I don’t find it strange that’s how it suddenly* [sʌdŋli] *dawned on me lying in the bath-tub at night I started to chuckle and I shouted to um oh what’s the word oh her’ll be my stepdaughter when I gets married I suppose and I said, “here, go and get a pencil and paper a minute and don’t come in here ‘cause I’m in the bath at least wait till you’m twenty”*; 0:13:26 *I hadn’t* [ɛdŋ] *thought about it at all and then I tried to think about it as anybody who would be outside looking in, you know, say like we’m in a goldfish on Ex... goldfish bowl and they’m looking at us and some of the words they wouldn’t* [wʊdŋ] *have a clue about, would them?*; 0:16:15 *and that was the only time I can actually remember actually saying that word I’d say ‘bugger’ a lot but I wouldn’t* [wʊdŋt] *say ‘shit’ and it suddenly* [sʌdŋli] *came out and I thought, “that’s when I’m doing it it’s when I’m cooking”*; 0:32:52 *you know, I’d seen sheep in the field but I didn’t* [dɪdŋt] *know anything about sheep and there was Jonny Bray and he was talking to uh Tom Flanagan about um the ‘two-tooths’ and I was mystified, you know, I didn’t* [dɪdŋt] *know what these were and I couldn’t* [kʊdŋt] *work out why Jonny Bray had got anything to do with ballet dancers, you know, these ‘tutus’ ‘tutus’, you know, I couldn’t* [kʊdŋt] *‘cause I thought that ‘tutus’ were a dress that ballet dancers wore* [...] (we call them ‘ewes’); 0:38:19 *there’d be no room for characters like that to develop now* (no) *‘cause if a society wouldn’t* [wʊdŋ] *let them, would it?*; 0:38:33 *that particular gentleman in question would perhaps deliver the milk at five o’clock in the afternoon ‘cause he might’ve stopped for a pint of cider or two at dinner time, you know, well he wouldn’t*



[wɪdŋ] *be able to get away with it now, would he? (no) on an old bike with no brakes (sad, isn't it?) yeah, 'cause nobody didn't get poisoned, you know; 0:39:17 and he'd sold a fellow uh a horse and um he hadn't [hadŋ?] paid up (well he was called Philip too, wasn't her?) he was called Philip; 0:40:07 and I always remember him saying, "have you got a drink?" and when we went in and we hadn't, [hadnt] you see, he said, "where's that damned serving wench?" that was the way he used to talk, wasn't it? (Joan that would've been his missus) he really meant it (oh aye, aye); 0:42:59 and it didn't [dɪdŋ] matter if you couldn't [wɒdŋ] get home because the local police'd be turning up anyway to make sure everyone and that was my dad; 0:51:06 I actually had a bit of a fall-out with a chap where I was living once and he he was very nice him and his wife when they first moved in and about six months later he started to get a bit pissy because he was living in the country and didn't [dɪdŋ] understand it; 0:52:20 I could understand if somebody bought a a say f... not that you can buy one now a secluded cottage and all of a sudden [sʌdŋ] something got built next door)*

**syllabic N with epenthetic schwa** (0:03:49 *and I well remember the very first morning that we woke up in our new residence [ɹɛzɪdəns] and it was early it was about seven in the morning and we could hear a hunting horn blowing; 0:28:25 and he said, "it happened so often [ɒftən] I started looking at all the children" he said, "you could see you could see the bloodlines running" you know and then you find somebody's marrying their half-brother with no idea (yeah, we all got cars now though and so on); 0:38:57 and then he'd always, you know, give us a joint when he killed the pig and it was the sweetest meat I think I've ever eaten [i:tən])*)

## FRICATIVES

### H

**frequent H-dropping**<sup>10</sup> (e.g. 0:02:34 *yeah, but they didn't have no cars, did them, I mean the car is a revelation really otherwise you just couldn't go anywhere, could you, as far as a horse'd [ɔ:s əd] take you that's it; 0:12:51 the kids is out playing, like, "come in here [jə:] running and tearing about you little buggers, get in here" [jə:] simple as that, isn't it?; 0:19:59 'hot', see (yeah) that'd be 'heat' [jɛt] (oh, of course it would I've heard that) [...] (yes, I've heard my father-in-law say that, you know, when you're talking about the silage plant he says) "you're heating [jɛdɪn] up" ("he's heating [jɛtɪn] up") yeah, that'd be right, yeah; 0:31:37 well 'clats' well 'clats' ('clat') I mean if you'm 'scatting up clats' then you'm 'banking', isn't it, like (on a 'banking up a hedge') aye, so that's 'scatting up clats' but if you'm 'scatting back the clats' that means you'm out hunting [ʌntɪn] and you'm 'getting on with it' fair, like, really your horse [ɔ:s] is 'scatting back the clats'; 0:35:52 (it's either next Christmas or next Easter whichever comes last) could be and I didn't say which year it would be (it'll be 'directly') but it'll be directly, yeah, always, yeah, the lady I live with now hates [e:ts] it, "could you do this for me?" "yes, directly" her knows bloody well it isn't going to get done; 0:44:24 you can't say, "bugger off don't buy the houses" [əvzəz] and if you got a house [əvz] and you want to sell hine we won't benefit from that; 0:51:33 so he was stood there he was moaning about my dog barking and the the cow shit rolling the tarmac up, you know, and I had to point out to hine that it's been happening [apɪn] for a long time and it'll probably continue to happen [apən] and if he didn't like it piss off 'cause it was happening [apɪn] fore ever he bought thick house [əvs] (yeah) (that's right) and thankfully they've gone)*)

## LIQUIDS

### R

**approximant R** (0:03:49 *and I well remember [ɹɪmɛmbə] the very [vɛɹi] first morning that we woke up in our new residence [ɹɛzɪdəns] and it was early it was about seven in the morning and we could hear a*

*hunting horn blowing; 0:08:15 they drank [dʒaŋk] this stuff called scrumpy [skɹʌmpri] that we'd never heard of and uh we were told that if you drink [dʒɪŋk] a lot of it your nose drops [dʒɒps] off; 0:21:56 um I had a letter home asking if she could go to see a speech therapist [θeɪəpɪst] when she was about seven [sevən] and I thought, "well I didn't think there was a problem" I thought, "fair enough" [feɪɹ ɪnʌf] the school probably [pɹɒbli] knows I'll sign the form and they asked if I would come in afterwards so I went down and saw the speech therapist [θeɪəpɪst])*

## L

**clear onset L** (0:04:31 *he um hoisted his flag [flæg] and he blew [blu:] the hounds into cover always and when he left [left] he ceremoniously [sɛɪmənɪəsli] at the end of the day he pulled down the pulled down the flag [flæg] and blew [blu:] the hounds out again; 0:51:06 I actually [ækʃəli] had a bit of a fall-out [fɔ:ləʊt] with a chap where I was living [lɪvɪŋ] once and he he was very nice him and his wife when they first moved in and about six months later [le:də] he started to get a bit pissy because he was living [lɪvɪŋ] in the country and didn't understand it; 0:52:34 but when you come in and it's already established [ɪstəblɪʃt] [...] yes, absolutely [əpsəlu:ʔli] you don't complain [kəmpleɪn] (but there's certain things that are just part and parcel of country life, [lɪf] aren't they, really [ɹi:li] like [laɪk] you say) (well if they'm there they'm there, isn't them?))*

**dark coda L** (0:00:34 *um at the time I was swimming a lot and there was as far as I was concerned the local [ləʊkəl] pool [pu:t] was nothing so I just refused and then father decided to put his foot down; 0:04:08 and he went down there and there was an old [ɔʊt] labourer down there uh chopping down wood that was called [kɔ:t] Fred Quartley; 0:04:31 he um hoisted his flag and he blew the hounds into cover always [ɔ:tweɪz] and when he left he ceremoniously at the end of the day he pulled [pʊt] down the pulled [pʊt] down the flag and blew the hounds out again; 0:13:26 I hadn't thought about it at all [ɔ:t] and then I tried to think about it as anybody who would be outside looking in, you know, say like we'm in a goldfish [gɔʊtɪfɪʃ] on Ex... goldfish [gɔʊtɪfɪʃ] bowl [bɔʊt] and they'm looking at us and some of the words they wouldn't have a clue about, would them?))*

**syllabic L with lateral release** (0:00:52 *and all I saw was this huge house, "Christ, are we living there?" and they went, "no it's the little [lɪdʒ] one on the side"; 0:12:51 the kids is out playing, like, "come in here running and tearing about you little [lɪdʒ] buggers, get in here" simple as that, isn't it?; 0:23:10 and I mean I taught at Exford which is right in the middle [mɪdʒ] of the moor; 0:25:27 (how about a 'nestle-tripe' or a 'nestle-tripe?') (oh, yeah) yeah, that's a little [lɪdʒ] skentered down to naught sort of little ('runt') y... young one, isn't it?; 0:36:51 I live at Lower Chilcott which is three miles from Dulverton and to get to it you go down the dual carriageway which is about ten feet wide with grass growing up the middle [mɪdʒ])*

## GLIDES

### J

**yod with D** (0:30:58 *so I said, "well I don't know" I said, "a lot of the farmers' wives get up and milk the cows every morning" "ah", she said, "but this wasn't a farmer's wife this was an educated [ɛdʒukɛɪtɪd] person; 0:36:51 I live at Lower Chilcott which is three miles from Dulverton and to get to it you go down the dual carriageway [dʒu:ətkaɪdʒweɪ] which is about ten feet wide with grass growing up the middle)*

**zero yod** (0:17:16 *I was up on the old and uh well just, you know, gathering some sheep on a Sunday morning clear and beautiful [bu:dɪfət] Sunday morning bit of frost about hear the church bells everything else and I don't know why but my dog wouldn't have it, you, her just took they ewes all over the place bar in the right place so I was letting rip, cor; 0:41:06 well he'd probably had a few [fr:] at the races anyway*

*and then went down there and it was a congregating place once a year; 0:47:57 do you know you got to have a stamp on them again now (yeah, yeah) I got few [fɹ:] fowls and it and it, you know, no big shakes but s... in the summer there's too many eggs for us)*

**yod dropping - other** (0:38:33 *that particular [pətɪkələ] gentleman in question would perhaps deliver the milk at five o'clock in the afternoon 'cause he might've stopped for a pint of cider or two at dinner time, you know, well he wouldn't be able to get away with it now, would he? (no) on an old bike with no brakes (sad, isn't it?) yeah, 'cause nobody didn't get poisoned, you know)*)

**yod coalescence** (0:18:40 *I mean for example like you can say to your wife maybe, "you stupid [stʃu:pɪd] cow" but you wouldn't say, "you stupid [ʃtʃu:pɪd] cat" would you I mean (I don't think I'd get away with either, you))*)

## ELISION

### prepositions

**frequent of reduction** (e.g. 0:01:19 *and what I should've done was not corrected him (yeah) because Pete's got an awful lot of [ə] money I should've just let that one slide really, you know, I could've had those [...] I could've done Monday Wednesday Friday, couldn't I, you know; 0:13:26 I hadn't thought about it at all and then I tried to think about it as anybody who would be outside looking in, you know, say like we'm in a goldfish on Ex... goldfish bowl and they'm looking at us and some of [ə] the words they wouldn't have a clue about, would them?; 0:17:16 I was up on the old and uh well just, you know, gathering some sheep on a Sunday morning clear and beautiful Sunday morning bit of [ə] frost about hear the church bells everything else and I don't know why but my dog wouldn't have it, you, her just took they ewes all over the place bar in the right place so I was letting rip, cor; 0:21:25 I do believe they're 'trainers' now (yeah) and a bloody sight more expensive than a pair of [ə] daps would've been; 0:30:21 some of [ə] the incomers that come in to the area we call 'the bettermost folk'; 0:30:58 so I said, "well I don't know" I said, "a lot of [ə] the farmers' wives get up and milk the cows every morning" "ah", she said, "but this wasn't a farmer's wife this was an educated person; 0:31:53 but if you was to say that to a lot of [ə] the visitors who come down here hunting or whatever they'd look at you as though you as they do (as they do) as uh as though you come from a different planet; 0:34:25 yeah, I think a lot of [ə] kids would be uh at a certain age maybe they'll get over it directly but they they'd be um ashamed to speak with an accent; 0:50:03 we used to use their milk in the café and a certain time of [ə] the year people would say, (oh aye) "there's something wrong with this milk what's the matter with this milk?"*)

### negation

**frequent secondary contraction** (e.g. 0:02:34 *yeah, but they didn't [dɪn] have no cars, did them, I mean the car is a revelation really otherwise you just couldn't go anywhere, could you, as far as a horse'd take you that's it; 0:12:51 the kids is out playing, like, "come in here running and tearing about you little buggers, get in here" simple as that, isn't it? [ɪnə?]; 0:21:56 um I had a letter home asking if she could go to see a speech therapist when she was about seven and I thought, "well I didn't [dɪn?] think there was a problem" I thought, "fair enough" the school probably knows I'll sign the form and they asked if I would come in afterwards so I went down and saw the speech therapist; 0:25:40 how about "aye, well there thee are, see" that means 'no matter what've happened it's too late, isn't it' [ɪnə?] 'job's done, isn't it' [ɪnə?]; 0:31:37 well 'clats' well 'clats' ('clat') I mean if you'm 'scatting up clats' then you'm 'banking', isn't it, [ɪnɪ?] like (on a 'banking up a hedge') aye, so that's 'scatting up clats' but if you'm 'scatting back the clats' that means you'm out hunting and you'm 'getting on with it' fair, like, really your horse is 'scatting back the clats'; 0:32:22 (so you don't get bothered then if they look down their nose at you then?) they isn't [ɪn?] tall enough for that; 0:38:33 that particular gentleman in question would perhaps deliver the*

*milk at five o'clock in the afternoon 'cause he might've stopped for a pint of cider or two at dinner time, you know, well he wouldn't be able to get away with it now, would he? (no) on an old bike with no brakes (sad, isn't it?) yeah, 'cause nobody didn't [dɪnʔ] get poisoned, you know; 0:39:17 (and he'd sold a fellow uh a horse and um he hadn't paid up) well he was called Philip too, wasn't her? [wʌnəː] (he was called Philip); 0:40:07 and I always remember him saying, "have you got a drink?" and when we went in and we hadn't, you see, he said, "where's that damned serving wench?" that was the way he used to talk, wasn't it? [wɒntɪʔ] (Joan that would've been his missus) he really meant it (oh aye, aye); 0:41:28 that's one thing that has changed a lot really, isn't it, [ɪnɪʔ] is the pubs, you, there isn't a pub any more where you can go in and have the crack after work; 0:52:34 (but when you come in and it's already established [...]) yes, absolutely you don't complain) (but there's certain things that are just part and parcel of country life, aren't they, really like you say) well if they'm there they'm there, isn't them? [ɪnəm]*

### simplification

**frequent word final consonant cluster reduction** (0:01:19 *and what I should've done was not corrected him (yeah) because Pete's got an awful lot of money I should've just let that one slide really, you know, I could've had those [...] I could've done Monday Wednesday Friday, couldn't [kʊdʔ] I, you know; 0:02:34 yeah, but they didn't [dɪn] have no cars, did them, I mean the car is a revelation really otherwise you just couldn't [kʊdʔ] go anywhere, could you, as far as a horse'd take you that's it; 0:07:06 cider doesn't [dʌdʔ] do those quite so much now everything's more and more refined; 0:08:38 I mean there isn't [ɪdʔ] many people that drink enough of the appropriate cider left alive now but that used to affect [fɛk] the nose of them for years and years of dedicated cider drinking you'd end up with a bloody great nose with pits in it; 0:11:36 one thing I thought was funny was it's and they still do it now they say it when somebody's done something and it c... it can be a man and they say, "oh, did her?" (oh, yes) and that can be a man as well as a woman 'her' (that's typical) yeah, that's um a funny one, isn't it, [ɪzənɪʔ] and that thing about "where's it to" if you've lost something (oh, yes) we never said that in Gloucester; 0:12:51 the kids is out playing, like, "come in here running and tearing about you little buggers, get in here" simple as that, isn't it? [ɪnəʔ]; 0:13:26 I hadn't [ɛdʔ] thought about it at all and then I tried to think about it as anybody who would be outside looking in, you know, say like we'm in a goldfish on Ex... goldfish bowl and they'm looking at us and some of the words they wouldn't [wʊdʔ] have a clue about, would them?; 0:21:56 um I had a letter home asking if she could go to see a speech therapist when she was about seven and I thought, "well I didn't think there was a problem" I thought, "fair enough" the school probably knows I'll sign the form and they asked [ɑːst] if I would come in afterwards so I went down and saw the speech therapist; 0:25:40 how about "aye, well there thee are, see" that means 'no matter what've happened it's too late, isn't it' [ɪnəʔ] 'job's done, isn't it' [ɪnəʔ]; 0:31:37 well 'clats' well 'clats' ('clat') I mean if you'm 'scatting up clats' then you'm 'banking', isn't it, [ɪnɪʔ] like (on a 'banking up a hedge') aye, so that's 'scatting up clats' but if you'm 'scatting back the clats' that means you'm out hunting and you'm 'getting on with it' fair, like, really your horse is 'scatting back the clats'; 0:35:52 (it's either next Christmas or next Easter whichever comes last) could be and I didn't say which year it would be (it'll be 'directly') but it'll be directly, yeah, always, yeah, the lady I live with now hates it, "could you do this for me?" "yes, directly" her knows bloody well it isn't [tɪdʔ] going to get done; 0:38:19 there'd be no room for characters like that to develop now (no) 'cause if a society wouldn't [wʊdʔ] let them, would it?; 0:38:33 that particular gentleman in question would perhaps deliver the milk at five o'clock in the afternoon 'cause he might've stopped for a pint of cider or two at dinner time, you know, well he wouldn't [wʊdʔ] be able to get away with it now, would he? (no) on an old bike with no brakes (sad, isn't it?) yeah, 'cause nobody didn't get poisoned, you know; 0:39:17 (and he'd sold a fellow uh a horse and um he hadn't paid up) well he was called Philip too, wasn't her? [wʌnəː] (he was called Philip); 0:41:28 that's one thing that has changed a lot really, isn't it, [ɪnɪʔ] is the pubs, you, there isn't [ɪdʔ] a pub any more where you can go in and have*

*the crack after work; 0:42:24 they are but there's naught you can do, is there? (no, no) I mean if you've got x amount of pounds in your pocket you can't tell people you don't spend it here 'cause we want to [wɒnə] keep it; 0:42:59 and it didn't [dɪdn̩] matter if you couldn't [wɒdn̩] get home because the local police'd be turning up anyway to make sure everyone and that was my dad; 0:44:24 you can't say, "bugger off don't buy the houses" and if you got a house and you want to [wɒnə] sell hine we won't benefit from that; 0:51:06 I actually had a bit of a fall-out with a chap where I was living once and he he was very nice him and his wife when they first moved in and about six months later he started to get a bit pissy because he was living in the country and didn't [dɪdn̩] understand it; 0:52:34 (but when you come in and it's already established [...] yes, absolutely you don't complain) (but there's certain things that are just part and parcel of country life, aren't they, really like you say) well if they'm there they'm there, isn't them? [ɪnəm])*

**word medial consonant cluster reduction** (0:13:00 *yeah, but I don't find it strange that's how it suddenly dawned on me lying in the bath-tub at night I started to chuckle and I shouted to um oh what's the word oh her'll be my stepdaughter when I gets married I suppose and I said, "here, go and get a pencil and paper a minute and don't come in here 'cause I'm in the bath at least wait till you'm twenty" [twəni]; 0:25:53 so you wanted [wanəd] summat peculiar to the area so that's one or two I thought of; 0:37:20 lived here for twenty-four [twentɪfɔ:] years now; 0:41:28 that's one thing that has changed a lot really, isn't it, is the pubs, you, there isn't a pub any more where you can go in and have the crack after [ɑ:də] work; 0:50:03 we used to use their milk in the café and a certain time of the year people would say, (oh aye) "there's something [sʌmɪŋk] wrong with this milk what's the matter with this milk?"*)

**word-initial syllable reduction** (0:00:21 *and for about [bau?] four months I actually lived with friends; 0:04:50 yeah, I remember [mɛmbə] him his (do you?) yeah, his grandchildren's the same age as me; 0:08:38 I mean there isn't many people that drink enough of the appropriate cider left alive now but that used to affect [jv:stə fɛk] the nose of them for years and years of dedicated cider drinking you'd end up with a bloody great nose with pits in it; 0:15:37 if you were talking especially [spɛfli] say to your own pet, you know, "you little sod what've you done?" it's it's just altering their name that's all; 0:17:31 anyway I saw my next-door neighbour who was coming out the church which is happen about [bəvt] three mile away the church is he said to me he come up and he said, "do you know?" he said, "I had to say to Fred Burnell tother day that your dog had the same initials"; 0:25:40 how about [bəvt] "aye, well there thee are, see" that means 'no matter what've happened it's too late, isn't it' 'job's done, isn't it'; 0:51:17 and one day he was beside of hissself about [bəvt] the dog had been barking in the night)*

**syllable deletion** (0:13:00 *yeah, but I don't find it strange that's how it suddenly dawned on me lying in the bath-tub at night I started to chuckle and I shouted to um oh what's the word oh her'll be my stepdaughter when I gets married I suppose [spouz] and I said, "here, go and get a pencil and paper a minute and don't come in here 'cause I'm in the bath at least wait till you'm twenty"; 0:15:37 if you were talking especially [spɛfli] say to your own pet, you know, "you little sod what've you done?" it's it's just altering their name that's all; 0:21:56 um I had a letter home asking if she could go to see a speech therapist when she was about seven and I thought, "well I didn't think there was a problem" I thought, "fair enough" the school probably [pɪɒbli] knows I'll sign the form and they asked if I would come in afterwards so I went down and saw the speech therapist; 0:22:45 as long as she can communicate I suppose [spouz] that's the important thing, isn't it? (oh, her can communicate all right); 0:34:25 yeah, I think a lot of kids would be uh at a certain age maybe they'll get over it directly [dʒɪɛkli] but they they'd be um ashamed to speak with an accent; 0:35:52 (it's either next Christmas or next Easter whichever comes last) could be and I didn't say which year it would be (it'll be 'directly' [dʒɪɛkli]) but it'll be directly, [dʒɪɛkli] yeah, always, yeah, the lady I live with now hates it, "could you do this for me?" "yes, directly" [dʒɪɛkli] her knows bloody well it isn't going to get done; 0:38:33 that particular gentleman in question would perhaps [pɪəps] deliver the milk at five o'clock in the afternoon 'cause he might've stopped for a*

*pint of cider or two at dinner time, you know, well he wouldn't be able to get away with it now, would he? (no) on an old bike with no brakes (sad, isn't it?) yeah, 'cause nobody didn't get poisoned, you know; 0:42:59 and it didn't matter if you couldn't get home because the local police'd [plɪ:səd] be turning up anyway to make sure everyone and that was my dad)*

**definite article reduction**<sup>10</sup> (0:38:33 *that particular gentleman in question would perhaps deliver the milk at five o'clock in the afternoon [ðɑ:ftɪŋ:n] 'cause he might've stopped for a pint of cider or two at dinner time, you know, well he wouldn't be able to get away with it now, would he? (no) on an old bike with no brakes (sad, isn't it?) yeah, 'cause nobody didn't get poisoned, you know; 0:44:24 you can't say, "bugger off don't buy the houses" [ðəvzəz] and if you got a house and you want to sell hine we won't benefit from that)*)

**it reduction**<sup>10</sup> (0:32:36 *two good-looking men in a room that's all it is [tɪz]; 0:35:52 (it's either next Christmas or next Easter whichever comes last) could be and I didn't say which year it would [twɪd] be (it'll be 'directly') but it'll be directly, yeah, always, yeah, the lady I live with now hates it, "could you do this for me?" "yes, directly" her knows bloody well it isn't [tɪdɪŋ] going to get done; 0:49:41 and when he give it up [gɪv dʌp] he was asked by the local authority could he please keep a token amount meaning like half a dozen perhaps to drive through the town twice a day because it was a thing that visitors used to come and see; 0:43:23 you actually got a lift on purpose, did thee (well, yeah) 'cause I had several lifts but it wasn't [twʌdɪŋ] in discos; 0:51:33 so he was stood there he was moaning about my dog barking and the the cow shit rolling the tarmac up, you know, and I had to point out to hine that it's been happening for a long time and it'll probably continue to happen and if he didn't like it piss off 'cause it was [twɔz] happening fore ever he bought thick house (yeah) (that's right) and thankfully they've gone)*)

**L-deletion** (0:40:07 *and I always [ɔ:wɪz] remember him saying, "have you got a drink?" and when we went in and we hadn't, you see, he said, "where's that damned serving wench?" that was the way he used to talk, wasn't it? (Joan that would've been his missus) he really meant it (oh aye, aye); 0:42:40 there was always [ɔ:wɛɪz] a disco on a Friday or Saturday night (OK) in the town or just a couple miles out of town and now there are none)*)

**frequent TH-deletion** (e.g. 0:02:34 *yeah, but they didn't have no cars, did them, [əm] I mean the car is a revelation really otherwise you just couldn't go anywhere, could you, as far as a horse'd take you that's it; 0:06:24 here you see if I got a word for thee, [i:] you know, like sometimes in the the cider when you get down to the bottom of a barrel you open it and then like a great long string of, you know, like jelly seems to come out that's the 'snarly-gog'; 0:08:38 I mean there isn't many people that drink enough of the appropriate cider left alive now but that used to affect the nose of them [əm] for years and years of dedicated cider drinking you'd end up with a bloody great nose with pits in it; 0:13:26 I hadn't thought about it at all and then I tried to think about it as anybody who would be outside looking in, you know, say like we'm in a goldfish on Ex... goldfish bowl and they'm looking at us and some of the words they wouldn't have a clue about, would them? [wɪdəm]; 0:24:07 yeah, well they isn't pets, you know (no, they're not definitely) they'll have thee [i:] if uh if they'm in a mood to, like, really, yeah; 0:38:19 there'd be no room for characters like that to develop now (no) 'cause if a society wouldn't let them, [əm] would it?; 0:43:23 you actually got a lift on purpose, did thee [i:] (well, yeah) 'cause I had several lifts but it wasn't in discos; 0:46:25 we we have so many petty laws forced upon us by the so we're told and informed that we should take notice of them [əm]; 0:52:34 (but when you come in and it's already established [...] yes, absolutely you don't complain) (but there's certain things that are just part and parcel of country life, aren't they, really like you say) well if they'm there they'm there, isn't them? [ɪnəm])*)

**v-deletion with have** (e.g. 0:01:19 *and what I should've [ʃʊdə] done was not corrected him (yeah) because Pete's got an awful lot of money I should've [ʃʊdə] just let that one slide really, you know, I could've [kʊdəv] had those [...] I could've [kʊdə] done Monday Wednesday Friday, couldn't I, you know;*)



0:14:12 *but Norma's right about the difference you don't have to [ɑ̃ʔə] go very far before it totally changes; 0:21:25 I do believe they're 'trainers' now (yeah) and a bloody sight more expensive than a pair of daps would've [wɔdə] been; 0:38:33 that particular gentleman in question would perhaps deliver the milk at five o'clock in the afternoon 'cause he might've [mɪɪdə] stopped for a pint of cider or two at dinner time, you know, well he wouldn't be able to get away with it now, would he? (no) on an old bike with no brakes (sad, isn't it?) yeah, 'cause nobody didn't get poisoned, you know)*  
**w-deletion with would** (0:02:34 *yeah, but they didn't have no cars, did them, I mean the car is a revelation really otherwise you just couldn't go anywhere, could you, as far as a horse'd [ɔ:səd] take you that's it; 0:42:59 and it didn't matter if you couldn't get home because the local police'd [pli:səd] be turning up anyway to make sure everyone and that was my dad)*

## LIAISON

**frequent linking R** (e.g. 0:02:12 *I had a cleaner and [kli:nə ən] she was the last illegitimate baby to be born in Exmoor House (wow) and her 'cause well she's died now and she, like, that was, like, eighty years ago; 0:08:05 we were sort of given a guided tour of [tʊə əv] Dulverton by a friend and uh he pointed out The Lion tap and, you know, this was presented as as, like, you know, the the den of iniquity of the place; 0:03:16 and so we had our dinner and [dɪnə ən] then we went to sit round the fire and this sleeper went further and further into the fire and [fə:ðə əŋ fə:ðə ɪntə ðə flɪə ən] we all got further and further [fə:ðə əŋ fə:ðə] back against the wall ended up sitting over here with the fire over there [flɪə əvə ðeɪ]; 0:16:00 I was picked up on it at parents' evening and I said, "I don't swear in front the kids I'm really careful" but what I do remember is [ɪmɛmbə ɪz] every time I took summat out the oven I went, "oh shit" because it never rose; 0:21:56 um I had a letter home asking if she could go to see a speech therapist when she was about seven and I thought, "well I didn't think there was a problem" I thought, "fair enough" [fɛɪ ɪnɪf] the school probably knows I'll sign the form and they asked if I would come in afterwards so I went down and saw the speech therapist; 0:47:57 do you know you got to have a stamp on them again now (yeah, yeah) I got few fowls and it and it, you know, no big shakes but s... in the summer there's too many eggs for us [fə ʌs])*

**zero linking R** (0:00:21 *and for about [fə: baʊʔ] four months I actually lived with friends; 0:03:16 and so we had our dinner and then we went to sit round the fire and [flɪə ən] this sleeper went further and further into the fire and we all got further and further back against the wall ended up sitting over here with the fire over there; 0:16:00 I was picked up on it at parents' evening and I said, "I don't swear in front [swɛ: ɪŋfɪʌnʔ] the kids I'm really careful" but what I do remember is every time I took summat out the oven I went, "oh shit" because it never rose)*

**intrusive R** (0:27:26 *we went to uh a party at Reg's house which his son Tony was running and Reg withdrew from all the noise and he went into another room where there was a lovely fellow and [felə ən] he was sitting there getting squiffy; 0:47:57 and I looked up and I just saw him [sɔ:ɪ ɪm] stood there and I thought, "bugger, I didn't know he was working tonight" and he was, like, just pointing and doing that to me and I am trying to walk across the hall dead straight)*

## SUBSTITUTION

### negation

**Z to D with negative** (0:07:06 *cider doesn't [dɔdn] do those quite so much now everything's more and more refined; 0:08:38 I mean there isn't [ɪdn] many people that drink enough of the appropriate cider left alive now but that used to affect the nose of them for years and years of dedicated cider drinking you'd end up with a bloody great nose with pits in it; 0:24:07 yeah, well they isn't [ɪdn] pets, you know (no,*

*they're not definitely) they'll have thee if uh if they'm in a mood to, like, really, yeah; 0:35:52 (it's either next Christmas or next Easter whichever comes last) could be and I didn't say which year it would be (it'll be 'directly') but it'll be directly, yeah, always, yeah, the lady I live with now hates it, "could you do this for me?" "yes, directly" her knows bloody well it isn't [tɪdɪŋ] going to get done; 0:41:28 that's one thing that has changed a lot really, isn't it, is the pubs, you, there isn't [ɪdɪŋ] a pub any more where you can go in and have the crack after work; 0:43:23 you actually got a lift on purpose, did thee (well, yeah) 'cause I had several lifts but it wasn't [twʌdɪŋ] in discos)*

**metathesis** (0:12:26 *and we use different words in North Devon say for 'run' you would say 'rin' Queen's English would be 'run' and um here they rearrange the letters and it's 'run' [æ:n] 'U' 'R' 'N'; 0:12:51 the kids is out playing, like, "come in here running [æ:nɪŋ] and tearing about you little buggers, get in here" simple as that, isn't it?*)

## EPENTHESIS

**J-onglide**<sup>10</sup> (0:12:51 *the kids is out playing, like, "come in here [jæ:] running and tearing about you little buggers, get in here" [jæ:] simple as that, isn't it?; 0:13:00 yeah, but I don't find it strange that's how it suddenly dawned on me lying in the bath-tub at night I started to chuckle and I shouted to um oh what's the word oh her'll be my stepdaughter when I gets married I suppose and I said, "here, [jæ:] go and get a pencil and paper a minute and don't come in here [jæ:] 'cause I'm in the bath at least wait till you'm twenty"; 0:17:16 I was up on the old and uh well just, you know, gathering some sheep on a Sunday morning clear and beautiful Sunday morning bit of frost about hear [jæ:] the church bells everything else and I don't know why but my dog wouldn't have it, you, her just took they ewes all over the place bar in the right place so I was letting rip, cor; 0:19:59 'hot', see (yeah) that'd be 'heat' [jæt] (oh, of course it would I've heard that) [...] (yes, I've heard my father-in-law say that, you know, when you're talking about the silage plant he says) "you're heating [jɛdɪŋ] up" ("he's heating [jɛtɪŋ] up") yeah, that'd be right, yeah; 0:34:44 eh yeah, here's [jæ:z] another one you'm considered a 'dough-bake' if you don't talk like do you know what a 'dough-bake' is [...] uh yeah, a 'dough-bake' is somebody perhaps not as sharp as they could be ('country bumpkin' sort of thing [...]) "you dough-bake bugger" is the way to describe somebody whose just dropped mother's best vase or something)*

## +/- VOICE

**fricative voicing**<sup>10</sup> (0:13:26 *I hadn't thought [ðɔ:d] about it at all and then I tried to think about it as anybody who would be outside looking in, you know, say like we'm in a goldfish on Ex... goldfish bowl and they'm looking at us and some of the words they wouldn't have a clue about, would them?; 0:19:39 (now 'unwell' you've got 'not' 'not too fitty' [vɪti] there) yeah, 'not too fitty' [vɪdi] yeah (that's what I've got [...] yeah, 'not fitty' [vɪti]); 0:19:59 ('hot', see) yeah (that'd be 'heat') (oh, of course it would I've heard that) [...] yes, [jɛz] I've heard my father-in-law say [zɛɪ] that, you know, when you're talking about the silage plant he says [zɛz] ("you're heating up") "he's heating up" (yeah, that'd be right, yeah); 0:17:31 anyway I saw my next-door neighbour who was coming out the church which is happen about three [dɪi:] mile away the church is he said to me he come up and he said, "do you know?" he said, "I had to say to Fred Burnell tother day that your dog had the same initials"; 0:18:40 (I mean for example like you can say to your wife maybe, "you stupid cow" but you wouldn't say, "you stupid cat" would you I mean) I don't think [ðɪŋk] I'd get away with either, you; 0:20:44 'unattractive'? ('unattractive', yeah) I 'sour-faced [zəvəfe:st] old bugger' I got; 0:25:27 how about a 'nestle-tripe' [nɛzʔtɪɪp] or a 'nestle-tripe'? [nɪzʔtɪɪp] (oh, yeah) (yeah, that's a little skentered down to naught sort of little) 'runt' (y...*

young'un, isn't it?); 0:25:53 so you wanted summat peculiar to the area so that's one or two I thought [ðɔ:d] of; 0:28:25 (and he said, "it happened so often I started looking at all the children" he said, "you could see you could see the bloodlines running" you know and then you find somebody's marrying their half-brother with no idea) yeah, we all got cars now though and so on [zou ən]; 0:44:24 you can't say, "bugger off don't buy the houses" and if you got a house [əvz] and you want to sell hine we won't benefit from that; 0:47:57 do you know you got to have a stamp on them again now (yeah, yeah) I got few fowls [vəʊtɜz] and it and it, you know, no big shakes but s... in the summer there's too many eggs for us; 0:51:06 I actually had a bit of a fall-out [vɔ:ləʊt] with a chap where I was living once and he he was very nice him and his wife when they first moved in and about six months later he started to get a bit pissy because he was living in the country and didn't understand it)

## WEAK-STRONG CONTRAST

**vowel reduction** (0:39:17 (and he'd sold a fellow uh a horse and um he hadn't paid up) well he was called Philip too, wasn't her? [wʌnə:] (he was called Philip); 0:43:23 you actually got a lift on purpose, did thee (well, yeah) 'cause I had several lifts but it wasn't [twɒdn] in discos)

## LEXICALLY SPECIFIC VARIATION

**again(st)** (0:03:16 and so we had our dinner and then we went to sit round the fire and this sleeper went further and further into the fire and we all got further and further back against [əgeɪnst] the wall ended up sitting over here with the fire over there; 0:04:31 he um hoisted his flag and he blew the hounds into cover always and when he left he ceremoniously at the end of the day he pulled down the pulled down the flag and blew the hounds out again [əgeɪn]; 0:47:57 do you know you got to have a stamp on them again [əgeɪn] now (yeah, yeah) I got few fowls and it and it, you know, no big shakes but s... in the summer there's too many eggs for us)

**because** (0:16:00 I was picked up on it at parents' evening and I said, "I don't swear in front the kids I'm really careful" but what I do remember is every time I took summat out the oven I went, "oh shit" because [bɪkʌs] it never rose; 0:51:06 I actually had a bit of a fall-out with a chap where I was living once and he he was very nice him and his wife when they first moved in and about six months later he started to get a bit pissy because [bɪkəz] he was living in the country and didn't understand it)

**either** (0:18:40 (I mean for example like you can say to your wife maybe, "you stupid cow" but you wouldn't say, "you stupid cat" would you I mean) I don't think I'd get away with either, [ɪ:ðə] you; 0:35:52 it's either [ɪ:ðə] next Christmas or next Easter whichever comes last (could be and I didn't say which year it would be) (it'll be 'directly') (but it'll be directly, yeah, always, yeah, the lady I live with now hates it, "could you do this for me?" "yes, directly" her knows bloody well it isn't going to get done)

**often** (0:28:25 and he said, "it happened so often [ɒftən] I started looking at all the children" he said, "you could see you could see the bloodlines running" you know and then you find somebody's marrying their half-brother with no idea (yeah, we all got cars now though and so on))

**pronunciation** (0:14:41 I was working with some boys back-along chitter chitter-chat shall we say and their their pronunciation [pɹənəʊnsiɪʃən] and arrangement of words is totally different to what ours is course they'm wrong)

**says** (0:19:59 ('hot', see) yeah (that'd be 'heat') (oh, of course it would I've heard that) [...] yes, I've heard my father-in-law say that, you know, when you're talking about the silage plant he says [zɛz] ("you're heating up") "he's heating up" (yeah, that'd be right, yeah);

## GRAMMAR

### DETERMINERS

**definite article reduction**<sup>10</sup> (0:38:33 *that particular gentleman in question would perhaps deliver the milk at five o'clock in th' afternoon 'cause he might've stopped for a pint of cider or two at dinner time, you know, well he wouldn't be able to get away with it now, would he? (no) on an old bike with no brakes (sad, isn't it?) yeah, 'cause nobody didn't get poisoned, you know; 0:44:24 you can't say, "bugger off don't buy th' houses" and if you got a house and you wanna sell hine we won't benefit from that*)

**zero indefinite article** (0:47:57 *do you know you got to have a stamp on them again now (yeah, yeah) I got \_few fowls and it and it, you know, no big shakes but s... in the summer there's too many eggs for us*)

**demonstrative they** (0:17:16 *I was up on the old and uh well just, you know, gathering some sheep on a Sunday morning clear and beautiful Sunday morning bit of frost about hear the church bells everything else and I don't know why but my dog wouldn't have it, you, her just took they ewes all over the place bar in the right place so I was letting rip, cor*)

**demonstrative thick** (0:51:33 *so he was stood there he was moaning about me dog barking and the the cow shit rolling the tarmac up, you know, and I had to point out to hine that it's been happening for a long time and it'll probably continue to happen and if he didn't like it piss off 'cause it was happening fore ever he bought thick house (yeah) (that's right) and thankfully they've gone*)

### NOUNS

**zero plural** (0:17:31 *anyway I saw me next-door neighbour who was coming out the church which is happen about three mile away the church is he said to me he come up and he said, "do you know?" he said, "I had to say to Fred Burnell tother day that your dog had the same initials"*)

### PRONOUNS

**2<sup>nd</sup> person thee**<sup>10</sup> (0:06:24 *here you see if I got a word for thee, you know, like sometimes in the the cider when you get down to the bottom of a barrel you open it and then like a great long string of, you know, like jelly seems to come out that's the 'snarly-gog'; 0:24:07 yeah, well they idn pets, you know (no, they're not definitely) they'll have thee if uh if they'm in a mood to, like, really, yeah; 0:25:40 how about "aye, well there thee are, see" that means 'no matter what've happened it's too late, isn't it' 'job's done, isn't it')*

**gendered pronoun** (0:19:59 (*'hot', see*) *yeah (that'd be 'heat') (oh, of course it would I've heard that) [...] yes, I've heard my father-in-law say that, you know, when you're talking about the silage plant he says ("you're heating up") "he's [= 'silage'] heating up" (yeah, that'd be right, yeah)*)

**historic hine**<sup>10</sup> (0:44:24 *you can't say, "bugger off don't buy th' houses" and if you got a house and you wanna sell hine we won't benefit from that; 0:51:33 so he was stood there he was moaning about me dog barking and the the cow shit rolling the tarmac up, you know, and I had to point out to hine that it's been happening for a long time and it'll probably continue to happen and if he didn't like it piss off 'cause it was happening fore ever he bought thick house (yeah) (that's right) and thankfully they've gone*)

**frequent pronoun exchange** (e.g. 0:02:34 *yeah, but they didn't hae no cars, did them, I mean the car is a revelation really otherwise you just couldn't go anywhere, could you, as far as a horse'd take you that's it; 0:11:36 one thing I thought was funny was it's and they still do it now they say it when somebody's done something and it c... it can be a man and they say, "oh, did her?" (oh, yes) and that can be a man as well as a woman 'her' (that's typical) yeah, that's um a funny one, isn't it, and that thing about "where's*

*it to” if you’ve lost something (oh, yes) we never said that in Gloucester; 0:13:00 yeah, but I don’t find it strange that’s how it suddenly dawned on me lying in the bath-tub at night I started to chuckle and I shouted to um oh what’s the word oh her’ll be me stepdaughter when I gets married I suppose and I said, “here, go and get a pencil and paper a minute and don’t come in here ’cause I’m in the bath at least wait till you’m twenty”; 0:13:26 I hadn’t thought about it at all and then I tried to think about it as anybody who would be outside looking in, you know, say like we’m in a goldfish on Ex... goldfish bowl and they’m looking at us and some of the words they wouldn’t have a clue about, would them?; 0:17:16 I was up on the old and uh well just, you know, gathering some sheep on a Sunday morning clear and beautiful Sunday morning bit of frost about hear the church bells everything else and I don’t know why but my dog wouldn’t have it, you, her just took they ewes all over the place bar in the right place so I was letting rip, cor; 0:22:45 (as long as she can communicate I suppose that’s the important thing, isn’t it?) oh, her can communicate all right; 0:35:52 (it’s either next Christmas or next Easter whichever comes last) could be and I didn’t say which year it would be (it’ll be ‘dreckly’) but it’ll be dreckly, yeah, always, yeah, the lady I live with now hates it, “could you do this for me?” “yes, dreckly” her knows bloody well it idn going to get done; 0:39:17 (and he’d sold a fellow uh a horse and um he hadn’t paid up) well he was called Philip too, wasn’t her? (he was called Philip); 0:52:34 (but when you come in and it’s already established [...]) yes, absolutely you don’t complain) (but there’s certain things that are just part and parcel of country life, aren’t they, really like you say) well if they’m there they’m there, isn’t them?)*

**possessive me** (0:13:00 yeah, but I don’t find it strange that’s how it suddenly dawned on me lying in the bath-tub at night I started to chuckle and I shouted to um oh what’s the word oh her’ll be me stepdaughter when I gets married I suppose and I said, “here, go and get a pencil and paper a minute and don’t come in here ’cause I’m in the bath at least wait till you’m twenty”; 0:26:27 (and we’re all called ‘maid’ collectively [...]) I get called it quite a bit with people behind the bar [...] if they can’t remember me name they just refer to me as ‘maid’; 0:51:33 so he was stood there he was moaning about me dog barking and the the cow shit rolling the tarmac up, you know, and I had to point out to hine that it’s been happening for a long time and it’ll probably continue to happen and if he didn’t like it piss off ’cause it was happening fore ever he bought thick house (yeah) (that’s right) and thankfully they’ve gone)

**regularised reflexive** (0:51:17 and one day he was beside of hissself about the dog had been barking in the night)

**relative that** (0:04:08 and he went down there and there was an old labourer down there uh chopping down wood that was called Fred Quartley; 0:08:38 I mean there idn many people that drink enough of the appropriate cider left alive now but that used to affect the nose of them for years and years of dedicated cider drinking you’d end up with a bloody great nose with pits in it; 0:30:21 some of the incomers that come in to the area we call ‘the bettermost folk’)

## VERBS

### present

**generalisation of 3psg <-s>** (0:13:00 yeah, but I don’t find it strange that’s how it suddenly dawned on me lying in the bath-tub at night I started to chuckle and I shouted to um oh what’s the word oh her’ll be me stepdaughter when I gets married I suppose and I said, “here, go and get a pencil and paper a minute and don’t come in here ’cause I’m in the bath at least wait till you’m twenty”)

**be – frequent am generalisation**<sup>10</sup> (e.g. 0:13:00 yeah, but I don’t find it strange that’s how it suddenly dawned on me lying in the bath-tub at night I started to chuckle and I shouted to um oh what’s the word oh her’ll be me stepdaughter when I gets married I suppose and I said, “here, go and get a pencil and paper a minute and don’t come in here ’cause I’m in the bath at least wait till you’m twenty”; 0:13:26 I hadn’t thought about it at all and then I tried to think about it as anybody who would be outside looking

*in, you know, say like we'm in a goldfish on Ex... goldfish bowl and they'm looking at us and some of the words they wouldn't have a clue about, would them?; 0:14:41 I was working with some boys back-along chitter chitter-chat shall we say and their their pronunciation and arrangement of words is totally different to what ours is course they'm wrong; 0:24:07 yeah, well they idn pets, you know (no, they're not definitely) they'll have thee if uh if they'm in a mood to, like, really, yeah; 0:31:37 well 'clats' well 'clats' ('clat') I mean if you'm 'scatting up clats' then you'm 'banking', isn't it, like (on a 'banking up a hedge') aye, so that's 'scatting up clats' but if you'm 'scatting back the clats' that means you'm out hunting and you'm 'getting on with it' fair, like, really your horse is 'scatting back the clats'; 0:32:01 but as I keep telling lots of them they gotta remember that when they come down here they'm the buggers who got the funny accent not me; 0:34:44 eh yeah, here's another one you'm considered a 'dough-bake' if you don't talk like do you know what a 'dough-bake' is [...] uh yeah, a 'dough-bake' is somebody perhaps not as sharp as they could be ('country bumpkin' sort of thing [...]) "you dough-bake bugger" is the way to describe somebody whose just dropped mother's best vase or something; 0:52:34 (but when you come in and it's already established [...] yes, absolutely you don't complain) (but there's certain things that are just part and parcel of country life, aren't they, really like you say) well if they'm there they'm there, isn't them?)*

**is generalisation** (0:04:50 *yeah, I remember him his (do you?) yeah, his grandchildren's the same age as me; 0:12:51 the kids is out playing, like, "come in here running and tearing about you little buggers, get in here" simple as that, isn't it?; 0:24:07 yeah, well they idn pets, you know (no, they're not definitely) they'll have thee if uh if they'm in a mood to, like, really, yeah; 0:32:22 (so you don't get bothered then if they look down their nose at you then?) they isn't tall enough for that)*

**have – have generalisation** (0:25:40 *how about "aye, well there thee are, see" that means 'no matter what've happened it's too late, isn't it' 'job's done, isn't it'*)

### **past**

**zero past** (0:17:31 *anyway I saw me next-door neighbour who was coming out the church which is happen about three mile away the church is he said to me he come up and he said, "do you know?" he said, "I had to say to Fred Burnell tother day that your dog had the same initials"; 0:49:41 and when he give it up he was asked by the local authority could he please keep a token amount meaning like half a dozen perhaps to drive through the town twice a day because it was a thing that visitors used to come and see)*

**be – was generalisation** (0:31:53 *but if you was to say that to a lot of the visitors who come down here hunting or whatever they'd look at you as though you as they do (as they do) as uh as though you come from a different planet)*

### **compounds**

**simple past with progressive meaning** (0:47:57 *and I looked up and I just saw him stood there and I thought, "bugger, I didn't know he was working tonight" and he was, like, just pointing and doing that to me and I am trying to walk across the hall dead straight; 0:51:33 so he was stood there he was moaning about me dog barking and the the cow shit rolling the tarmac up, you know, and I had to point out to hine that it's been happening for a long time and it'll probably continue to happen and if he didn't like it piss off 'cause it was happening fore ever he bought thick house (yeah) (that's right) and thankfully they've gone)*

**zero auxiliary have** (0:06:24 *here you see if I \_ got a word for thee, you know, like sometimes in the the cider when you get down to the bottom of a barrel you open it and then like a great long string of, you know, like jelly seems to come out that's the 'snarly-gog'; 0:28:25 (and he said, "it happened so often I started looking at all the children" he said, "you could see you could see the bloodlines running" you know and then you find somebody's marrying their half-brother with no idea) yeah, we \_ all got cars now though and so on; 0:20:44 'unattractive'? ('unattractive', yeah) I 'sour-faced old bugger' I \_ got; 0:32:01*



*but as I keep telling lots of them they \_ gotta remember that when they come down here they'm the buggers who \_ got the funny accent not me; 0:44:24 you can't say, "bugger off don't buy th' houses" and if you \_ got a house and you wanna sell hine we won't benefit from that; 0:47:57 do you know you \_ got to have a stamp on them again now (yeah, yeah) I got few fowls and it and it, you know, no big shakes but s... in the summer there's too many eggs for us)*

**invariant there is** (0:08:38 *I mean there idn many people that drink enough of the appropriate cider left alive now but that used to affect the nose of them for years and years of dedicated cider drinking you'd end up with a bloody great nose with pits in it; 0:52:34 (but when you come in and it's already established [...] yes, absolutely you don't complain) but there's certain things that are just part and parcel of country life, aren't they, really like you say (well if they'm there they'm there, isn't them?)*)

**alternative word order with ever** (0:51:33 *so he was stood there he was moaning about me dog barking and the the cow shit rolling the tarmac up, you know, and I had to point out to hine that it's been happening for a long time and it'll probably continue to happen and if he didn't like it piss off 'cause it was happening fore ever he bought thick house (yeah) (that's right) and thankfully they've gone)*

## NEGATION

**multiple negation** (0:02:34 *yeah, but they didn't hae no cars, did them, I mean the car is a revelation really otherwise you just couldn't go anywhere, could you, as far as a horse'd take you that's it; 0:38:33 that particular gentleman in question would perhaps deliver the milk at five o'clock in th' afternoon 'cause he might've stopped for a pint of cider or two at dinner time, you know, well he wouldn't be able to get away with it now, would he? (no) on an old bike with no brakes (sad, isn't it?) yeah, 'cause nobody didn't get poisoned, you know; 0:44:11 everybody knew me as the copper's daughter never bloody told me nothing, you know, "the old copper's daughter I'm not saying nowt" you know)*

**alternative negator** (0:07:06 *cider dudn\* do those quite so much now everything's more and more refined; 0:08:38 I mean there idn many people that drink enough of the appropriate cider left alive now but that used to affect the nose of them for years and years of dedicated cider drinking you'd end up with a bloody great nose with pits in it; 0:24:07 yeah, well they idn pets, you know (no, they're not definitely) they'll have thee if uh if they'm in a mood to, like, really, yeah; 0:35:52 (it's either next Christmas or next Easter whichever comes last) could be and I didn't say which year it would be (it'll be 'dreckly') but it'll be dreckly, yeah, always, yeah, the lady I live with now hates it, "could you do this for me?" "yes, dreckly" her knows bloody well it idn going to get done; 0:43:23 you actually got a lift on purpose, did thee (well, yeah) 'cause I had several lifts but it wadn\* in discos)*

## PREPOSITIONS

### deletion

**zero of** (0:14:41 *I was working with some boys back-along chitter chitter-chat shall we say and their their pronunciation and arrangement of words is totally different to what ours is \_ course they'm wrong; 0:42:40 there was always a disco on a Friday or Saturday night (OK) in the town or just a couple \_ miles out of town and now there are none)*

**preposition deletion – other** (0:16:00 *I was picked up on it at parents' evening and I said, "I don't swear in front \_ the kids I'm really careful" but what I do remember is every time I took summat out \_ the oven I went, "oh shit" because it never rose; 0:17:31 anyway I saw me next-door neighbour who was coming out \_ the church which is happen about three mile away the church is he said to me he come up and he said, "do you know?" he said, "I had to say to Fred Burnell tother day that your dog had the same initials")*

### insertion

**locative to** (0:11:36 *one thing I thought was funny was it's and they still do it now they say it when somebody's done something and it c... it can be a man and they say, "oh, did her?" (oh, yes) and that can be a man as well as a woman 'her' (that's typical) yeah, that's um a funny one, isn't it, and that thing about "where's it to" if you've lost something (oh, yes) we never said that in Gloucester*)

**otiose of** (0:51:17 *and one day he was beside of hisself about the dog had been barking in the night*)

### substitution

**in [= on]** (0:26:14 *and they used to say when I first came here if you put something on the bottom of the stairs for the next person to take up they used to say, "put it in the stairs"*)

**off [= from]** (0:34:36 *you got to be mid-Atlantic not American or English anything that comes off a movie*)

## ADJECTIVES

**alternative <-en> suffix** (0:17:55 *swearing is more acceptable I surprised myself on this form it said, like, 'drunken' or something (oh, yeah) and I put 'pissed'*)

## ADVERBS

### complementisers

**as [...] as** (0:22:45 *as long as she can communicate I suppose that's the important thing, isn't it? (oh, her can communicate all right)*)

## DISCOURSE

**utterance final like** (0:24:07 *yeah, well they idn pets, you know (no, they're not definitely) they'll have thee if uh if they'm in a mood to, like, really, yeah; 0:31:37 well 'clats' well 'clats' ('clat') I mean if you'm 'scatting up clats' then you'm 'banking', isn't it, like (on a 'banking up a hedge') aye, so that's 'scatting up clats' but if you'm 'scatting back the clats' that means you'm out hunting and you'm 'getting on with it' fair, like, really your horse is 'scatting back the clats'*)

**utterance final see** (0:19:59 *'hot', see (yeah) that'd be 'heat' (oh, of course it would I've heard that) [...] (yes, I've heard my father-in-law say that, you know, when you're talking about the silage plant he says) "you're heating up" ("he's heating up") yeah, that'd be right, yeah; 0:25:40 how about "aye, well there thee are, see" that means 'no matter what've happened it's too late, isn't it' 'job's done, isn't it'*)

**utterance internal like** (0:02:12 *I had a cleaner and she was the last illegitimate baby to be born in Exmoor House (wow) and her 'cause well she's died now and she, like, that was, like, eighty years ago; 0:08:05 we were sort of given a guided tour of Dulverton by a friend and uh he pointed out The Lion tap and, you know, this was presented as as, like, you know, the the den of iniquity of the place); 0:17:55 swearing is more acceptable I surprised myself on this form it said, like, 'drunken' or something (oh, yeah) and I put 'pissed'; 0:47:57 and I looked up and I just saw him stood there and I thought, "bugger, I didn't know he was working tonight" and he was, like, just pointing and doing that to me and I am trying to walk across the hall dead straight*)

**intensifier dead** (0:47:57 *and I looked up and I just saw him stood there and I thought, "bugger, I didn't know he was working tonight" and he was, like, just pointing and doing that to me and I am trying to walk across the hall dead straight*)

**quotative like** (0:02:04 *so I came home on the school bus and came over the bridge and was like, "oh, whoa, nobody said" and I've never lived it down since actually; 0:12:51 the kids is out playing, like, "come in here running and tearing about you little buggers, get in here" simple as that, isn't it?; 0:22:31*)

*but now that she's doing a bit of amateur dramatics when she is speaking on stage it's appalling and I'm like, "will you say 'that'?" you know and things like that because she never sounds her last letters)*

**quotative go** (0:00:52 *and all I saw was this huge house, "Christ, are we living there?" and they went, "no it's the little one on the side";* 0:16:00 *I was picked up on it at parents' evening and I said, "I don't swear in front the kids I'm really careful" but what I do remember is every time I took summat out the oven I went, "oh shit" because it never rose)*

**invariant tag** (0:31:37 *well 'clats' well 'clats' ('clat') I mean if you'm 'scatting up clats' then you'm 'banking', isn't it, like (on a 'banking up a hedge') aye, so that's 'scatting up clats' but if you'm 'scatting back the clats' that means you'm out hunting and you'm 'getting on with it' fair, like, really your horse is 'scatting back the clats')*

**form of address you**<sup>10</sup> (0:17:16 *I was up on the old and uh well just, you know, gathering some sheep on a Sunday morning clear and beautiful Sunday morning bit of frost about hear the church bells everything else and I don't know why but my dog wouldn't have it, you, her just took they ewes all over the place bar in the right place so I was letting rip, cor;* 0:18:40 *(I mean for example like you can say to your wife maybe, "you stupid cow" but you wouldn't say, "you stupid cat" would you I mean) I don't think I'd get away with either, you)*

**otiose what** (0:14:41 *I was working with some boys back-along chitter chitter-chat shall we say and their their pronunciation and arrangement of words is totally different to what ours is course they'm wrong)*

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