

## Real-time change in onset // over four decades of Glaswegian

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The recent history of English has witnessed substantial changes to liquids, particularly rhotics in coda position, where variants often also carry social meanings for speakers. Much less attention has been paid to liquids in onset position. In many varieties of British English, the lateral // tends to be realised as clear [l] in syllable onsets and dark [ɫ] in syllable codas (e.g. Recasens & Espinosa, 2005; Carter & Local, 2007). In contrast, it is generally accepted that Scottish English //, with the exception of some regional varieties, is dark in all positions (e.g. Johnston, 1997). Recent work has suggested that L-darkness may be best considered as being on a continuum from strongly dark to very clear rather than as a binary distinction (e.g. Recasens & Espinosa, 2005).

At the same time, the realisation of // has been shown to be amenable to sociophonetic variation and change. It is well documented that coda // is undergoing vocalisation towards a high back (un)rounded vowel in many varieties of English (e.g. Wells, 1982, Horvath and Horvath 2001; Dodsworth et al 2006). This change has also been identified in working-class speakers in Glasgow (e.g. Macafee, 1983; Stuart-Smith et al, 2006; Stuart-Smith et al, 2013). Less is known, however, about how degree of darkness may vary in onset // in Glaswegian as a result of social identity and/or sound change over time. Stuart-Smith, Timmins and Alam (2011) found that the onset // produced by Glasgow Asians is clearer than the // produced by Glasgow non-Asians due to the influence of their other language (Punjabi), but that this // was still relatively dark when compared to other accents of English. In addition, Macafee (1983) and Braber and Butterfint (2008) note that whilst // can be velarised in all positions, middle class Glaswegian speakers may use clear // where it occurs in RP, such as in syllable onsets.

This paper examines how onset (in this case word-initial) // varies across elderly (aged 67-90) male and female working-class Glaswegians recorded in the 1970s, 1980s, 1990s, and 2000s. The data are from the analysis of a real-time corpus of Glaswegian speech which contains recordings from a variety of sources such as sociolinguistic and oral history interviews. Glasgow has experienced substantial socio-spatial changes over the course of the 20th century, and this sample approximately captures language acquisition in the 1890s, 1900s, 1910s and 1920s, together with subsequent lifespan changes. The main acoustic indicator of darkness in // is generally taken to be F2 frequency, with darker // having a lower F2 and clearer // having a higher F2 frequency (see, e.g., Recasens & Espinosa, 2005). The present work consists of an acoustic analysis of the F2 of word-initial // carried out following Carter and Local (2007), which segments the lateral and following vowel into four temporal phases: transition into the lateral; the steady phase of the lateral; transition out of the lateral; and vocalic portion. F2 values from the midpoint of the steady phase and average F2 values across the steady phase are reported.

Our analyses to date, based upon around 35 word initial // tokens from eight females (two from each decade) and four males (one from each decade) show that, across phonetic contexts, Glaswegian word-initial // is becoming darker over time, and in a different manner for males and females (the final corpus will comprise at least 24 speakers). Males and females who were born in the 1890s and 1900s, and males who born in the 1910s appear to produce a clearer word-initial // than males who were born in the 1920s and females who were born in the 1910s and 1920s, with the difference between the two groups of females being particularly marked. We discuss these results in terms of potential for personal mobility during both wars and social changes in the city of Glasgow over the 20th century (cf Stuart-Smith, Timmins & Tweedie, 2007).

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