A GRAMMAR OF THE DIALECT
OF
FARNWORTH AND DISTRICT

(Greater Manchester County, formerly Lancashire)

by


Submitted for the degree of Ph.D.,
Department of English Language,
University of Sheffield.

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words not having /c:/ as an alternative, although see the high variants used before /r/. Those variants between the half-open and open positions (i.e. [æ:], [ бук: ] and [ä:]) are the most common, whilst fully open variants are regular, but not as frequent as those just mentioned. The main variants are in an area from front to front of centre. Backed variants (i.e. [g:], [q:], [ бук: ] and [a:]) are regular, but even then not compulsory, before /f, s, θ/; front variants are also possible before these voiceless fricatives. Backed variants are optional in words where /æ:/ is not followed historically by /r/; they may even be encountered before /r/, or where /r/ followed historically, but rather infrequently. It should be noted that at one time there appears to have been a phoneme /a:/ in the dialect, but that the residual traces of it are assigned in this analysis to /a1/.1

/æ:/ is usually quite long, even before a fortis consonant.2 Post-vocalic /r/ is retained more often after /æ:/ than after other vowels, and sometimes colours the vowel throughout its duration. This explains the existence of the more central [3:]-type variants before /r/: heavy centralisation, sometimes combined with raising, is concomitant with /r/-colouring, and the [3:]-types seem to represent the most extreme form of this development.3

1. The use of [3:]-types before /r/ is probably more widespread in the less populous areas around the outskirts of Bolton, where /r/ is sometimes used more extensively in final post-vocalic and preconsonantal positions - cf. section 5.5.21.1.
2. Now that there is no remaining open, back, unrounded phoneme of any definite status, it is possible for modified speakers to use more backed variants of /æ:/ without much danger of confusion. Cf. sections 5.4.2. and 5.2.5.4.3. Gimson (1974: 110) makes the same observation in respect of RP /a1/. Both are slightly shorter before fortis consonants, but the shortness is not as noticeable as in the case of other long vowels.
4. Cf. sections (ii) and (iii) of the Variants below.
Whether [ə']: -types were previously variants of an 
/a:/ phoneme occurring before /r/ is a speculative consideration. 
At any rate, raised variants are now in the majority, and are 
often used by speakers who do not use post-vocalic /r/:

[əːv] 'serve'; [kəːd] 'card'; etc.¹

There is therefore no restriction on [ə:] -type variants, and 
the phoneme symbol is therefore very much in order, despite 
its proximity to the neighbouring phoneme /ɛ:/.

For speakers who regularly preserve /r/ after /ə:/, 
/ə:/ does not occur before /l/. Speakers who do not use 
post-vocalic /r/, however, use /ə:/ before /l/:

/'steɪlɪŋ/ 'starling'; /'meɪlɪ/ 'Marlowe'; etc.

/ə:/ occurs in stressed and relatively weakly stressed 
syllables:

/mə:(r)ps/ 'marbles'; /'vəːrə(r)nɪ/ 'very near';
/'hɛd-ə:-/ 'head-ache'; /'kɛːzə(r)zɛr/ 'Kearsley';
/kəː(r)/ 'sit'; /'hɑːlfpəst/ 'half-past'; /əːfθə'neɪn/ 
'afternoon'; etc.

In addition to words which compulsorily contain /ə:/, 
there is a large group of words in which variants of /ə:/ 
alternate with or overlap with variants of /ɛ:/;² /ɛ:/ is now 
the more usual phoneme for my informants.³ Not surprisingly, 
however, there is an uninterrupted run of variants between 
/ɛ:/ and /ə:/,⁴ and variants such as [ɛ:] and [ə:] are common

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¹ Cf. further the Variants below.
² See section 5.2.4.1, and the minimal pairs listed there.
   Cf. further sections 5.2.4.2.(iv) and 5.2.5.2.(iii).
³ Cf. section 5.2.4.2., especially the minimal pairs 
   distinguishing /ɛ:/ from /ə:/.
⁴ Cf. sections 5.2.4.2.(iv) and 5.2.5.2.(iii), and Fig. 4.
in words which take either phoneme. Minimal pairs which
distinguish /œː/ from /ɛː/ are given in the discussion of
/ɛː/.

A few words are found with /œː/ and /ɛː/ as alternants.
In such cases, /œː/ would appear to be the older variant.
Examples:

/œː(r)v/ 'serve'; /œː(r)men/ 'sermon';
/œː(r)n/ 'learn'; etc.

Phonemic overlap between high, central, variants of /œː/
and variants of /ɛː/ is largely avoided due to the rounded quality
of the latter.

5.2.5.2. Variants:

(i) Front variants: [aː] [ɔː] [ɤː] [ɛː]: All regular
variants - [aː]: ['faːjnweθ] 'Farnworth';
['faːmlaːnd] 'farmland'; ['maːkt']
'market'; [dʒaːz] 'jars'; ['afθe]
'after'; [waːpʰ] 'warp'; [laːst'] 'last';
[p'aːst'] 'past'; ['waːdʁoːbz] 'wardrobes';
['faːmɛɾ] 'farmers'; [ɡaːs] 'grass'; etc.

[ɔː] [sɔːvd] 'served'; [ɔː] 'our'; ['fɔːneθ]
'Farnworth'; [kʰaːv] 'calf'; ['fɔːme]
'farmer'; etc.

[ɤː] [stɛːstʰ] 'start'; ['mɛːkʊθ'] 'market';
['fɛːneθ] 'Farnworth'; ['wɛːnɪn] 'warning';
etc.

[ɛː] [sɛːv] 'serve'; ['meːmɛːkɔ] 'Monaco';
[gɛːs] 'grass'; ['bɛːstɪn] 'bursting';
[kɛːt] 'sit'; ['lɛːnɪn] 'learning';
[je:d] 'heard'; ['we:stɔŋ] 'Warton';
[k'æ:d] 'card'; etc.

(ii) Centralised variants: [æ:], [e:]: Regular variants, especially before /r/, but in other environments too.

[æ:] ['dæ:senɛç'] 'dare not'; [jæ:] 'year';

[e:] [k'ɛ:nt] 'can't'; ['stæ:stɔd] 'started';
[jæ:z] 'ears'; ['kʰæ:pɛt] 'carpet';
[k'ɛ:stɔt] 'carpet'; [ë:s] 'house';
[ë:j] 'our'; [læ:nt] 'learned'; etc.

(iii) High front and central variants: [ɪ:], [ɛ:], [ɔ:], [ɔ:]:
High front variants may occur in words which have /ɛ:/ and /æ:/ as alternants, e.g. [k'ɛ:nt] 'count'; [ɛ:] is a regular variant of /ɛ:/.
In other words high front and central variants are less frequent than those variants in sections (i) and (ii), and occur mainly before /r/. Examples:
[ˈɡɛ:stɔn] 'garden'; [jɛsɔtɔm] 'head-ache';
[wɔ:jm] 'warm'; [jɛ:jɛz] 'ears';
[kɛ:jɛt] 'cart'; [kɔ:jɛt] 'carpet';
[kɛ:nt] 'can't'; etc.

(iv) Back variants: [a:], [ɔ:], [ɔ:], [ɔ:]: Less frequent than the variants in sections (i) and (ii), but regular before the voiceless fricatives /f, s, θ/: [sɛ:fs] 'shafts'; ['pɛdɔŋ] 'pardon'; [ˌsɛ:fɔrzi] 'safaris';

1. Cf. the parallel /ɔ:/ before /f, s, θ/ - sections 5.2.6.1., 5.2.6.3. (subsection 4(b)).
Diphthongal variants and variants with off-glides:
These variants may occur before word-final /r/ when the next word begins with a vowel, or in place of historical /r/, and occasionally in other words. Examples: [me'ə] 'never'; [nə'ə] 'never'; [Jə'gə'ədz] 'regards'; [kə'ətəz] 'carters'; [ə'jə'n] 'our eyes'; etc. [ə'd] 'hard'; [me'ə] 'never'; [me'ə'təf] 'market'; etc.

5.2.5.3. Comparative Distribution:

Section 1. Corresponding to RP /au/:
Also with /ɛ:/ in the dialect in all cases:
/ɛ:t/ 'out'; /pə:nd/ 'pound'; /ðæ:/ 'thou';
/æ:s/ 'house'; /kæ:nt/ 'count'; /me:/ 'now';
/klemd/ 'cloud'; and many others.²

Section 2. Corresponding to RP /auə/ (> [a:ə] etc.³):
/ə:(r)əz/ 'ours'; /flem:(r)/ 'flower; flour';
/ə:(r)/ 'hour'; /æx:(r)/ 'sour'; /jæ:(r)/
'shower'; /te:(r)/ 'tower'; etc. These forms may also have /ɛ:/.

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1. Cf. further section 5.4.(iv).
2. Cf. section 1 of 5.4.2.3.
4. Cf. section 2 of 5.4.2.3.
Section 3. Corresponding to RP /ɜː/: 
Also with /eː/ in all cases: /s æː(r)v/ 'serve'; /s æː(r)men/ 'sermon'; /luː(r)n/ 'learn'; /jæː(r)/ 'year' (also with /a, e/); /w æː(r)k/ 'work' (noun only. Also with /e/); /jæː(r)d/ 'heard'; /jæː(r)bz/ 'herbs'; /breːst/ 'burst' (forms with /e, eː/ are also used, in which case the /r/, if retained, is post-vocalic after /eː/; after /e/ it will not be retained).

Section 4. Corresponding to RP /ɛə/:
/jæː(r)/ 'hear'; /jæː(r)z/ 'ears'. Also with /ɛ, ɛː, a, e, eː/ in both cases.

Section 5. Corresponding to RP /ɔː/ after /w/ and before historical /r/:
/w æː(r)tʰe(r)z/ 'three-quarters';
/w æː(r)tʰd/ 'thwarted'; /w æː(r)m/ 'warm';
/w æː(r)nɒn/ 'warning'; /kw æː(rt)/ 'quart';
/w æː(r)p/ 'warp'; /w æː(r)/ 'war';
/w æː(r)dɪl/ 'Wardley'; /w æː(r)tn/ 'Warton';
/w æː(r)ɒrə:boz/ 'wardrobes' etc.

Section 6a. Corresponding to RP /aː/ before /f, s, θ/:
/glæːs/ 'glass'; /ɡræːs/ 'grass';
/plæːsθe(r)/ 'plaster'; /ʃæːfts/ 'shafts';
/pæːsʌn/ 'passing'; /ˈbeːskɪt/ 'basket';
/greːft/ 'graft'; /læːst/ 'last';
/ˈɒfæːst/ 'half-past'; /ˈfeːsn/ 'fasten';
/æːfθeˈnɪn/ 'afternoon'; /ˈɒræːft/ 'draught';
/pæːθ/ 'path'; /ˈbeːθ/ 'bath'; etc.

1. This correspondence parallels the correspondence between dialect /a/ and RP /ɜː/ after /w/, although /r/ is not a crucial part of the environment in this latter case. Cf. section 6 of section 5.3.3.3.
Section 6(b). Corresponding to RP /a:/:

/ˈkæːnt/ 'can't' (also with /əə/); /ˈkæː(r)t/ 'cart'; /ˈkæː(r)pit/ 'carpet'; /ˈɡæː(r)dn/ 'garden'; and very many others.

Section 7. Corresponding to RP /əə/:

/ˈkæː(r)/ 'care' (also with /eː, e/); /ˈdæː(r)/ 'dare' (also with /a, e, eː/); /ˈskæː(r)d/ 'scared' (also with /eː/).

Section 8. Corresponding to RP /eVə/:

/ˈeː(r)/ 'ever'; /ˈnæː(r)/ 'never'; both also with /ɛː/.

Section 9. Corresponding to RP /əu/:

/ˈnæː/ 'no' (also with /ɛː, əv, oː, eː/).

Section 10. Corresponding to RP /ɛː/:

/ˈplæːsθək/ 'plastic'; /ˈplæːsθəsiːn/ 'plasticine'.

Section 11. Corresponding to RP /eɪ/:

/ˈbeːθ/ (v.tr. and refl.) 'bathe'.

5.2.5.4. Modification:

Phonetically speaking, [æː]-type variants may be retained, or, with some speakers, a greater number of [aː]- or [ɐː]-types may be used. [aː] is also a common variant amongst modified speakers - this is not surprising, as [aː] is heard a lot in other parts of the North-West. The shortening of section 6(a) forms to /a/, whilst bringing the dialect into line with North-Western speech in general, is a modification away
from RP.¹

Distributionally:

Section 1 → /ʒy/
Section 2 → /ʒy(w)ə/
Section 3 → /eː/, or /e/ in the case of year and work
Section 4 → /əə/
Section 5 → /ɔə/ (or /oː/)
Section 6(a) → /a/
Section 6(b) retains /æː/
Section 7 → /eː/²
Section 8 → /ɛvə/ (although such common words as ever and never do not always modify)
Section 9 → /ɔː/
Section 10 → /a/
Section 11 → /a/

5.2.6. /ɔː/

5.2.6.1. Description:

Fig. 6. - /ɔː/ and variants

1. See Knowles (1976: 4) and Shorrocks (1977c). The tendency to see the North as marked off from the South by the use of a short vowel before /s, t, θ/ (as also in Wakelin (1972a: 86)) is based on a slight oversimplification.

2. Or [ɛː], [ɛə] etc. See the discussion of the modification of /eː/, section 5.2.8.4.
/ɔ:/ is a long, back, rounded, tense, half-open vowel. It is typically on or above the half-open position - lowered variants are less frequent. /ɔ:/ may be back, or slightly centralised. The degree of lip-rounding is variable, depending upon both the phonetic context and the individual speaker.

/ɔ:/ occurs in stressed and relatively weakly stressed syllables. Examples:


/pɔ:/ 'kick'; etc.

/ˈplatform/ 'platform'; /ɔ:'riːt/ 'all right';

/ɔ:tˈgeðə(r)/ 'altogether'; /'diːskloːθ/ 'dishcloth'; etc.

/ɔ:/ traditionally occurs before the voiceless fricatives /f, s, θ/, although occasionally a residual speaker will use the modification to /ɔ/. /ɔ:/ has been recorded in a number of other contexts,³ where it is not established as regular. In such words /ɔ/ is to be regarded as more normal.

/ɔ:/ is very rare before /l/. Many words which have /l/ in RP after /ɔ:/ do not do so in the dialect. Examples:

/fɔːt/ 'fault'; /kɔːd/ 'called'; /wɔːz/ 'walls'; etc.⁴

/ɔ/ has been noted in /ˈtoːlet/, although this word is also pronounced with /ɔɪ/ and /ɔː/. /ɔ:/ may occur before /l/ in /r/-less pronunciations of /mɔːl/ 'Morley', /tʃɔːl/ 'Chorley', and also in /ɔːlɛz/ 'always', although these last

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1. Cf. sections 5.2.6.3, 4(b) and 5.2.5.3, 6(a).
2. See the Modification below. The degree of fluctuation varies somewhat from one word to another.
3. See section 4a of the Comparative Distribution below.
4. Further examples will be found in the discussion of /l/- cf. section 5.5.19.7(d).
three more often have /əe/, and the /l/ is optional in always. /ɔ:/ is also rare before /r/, e.g. /fɔ:rtə/ 'forty'.

Historical /ɔ:/ + /r/ tends nowadays to be /əe/, due to the recession of post-vocalic /r/.' /ɔ:/ is a possible alternative to /əe/, however, when post-vocalic /r/ has been lost, e.g. /rɛkˈɔ:de/ 'recorder', although pronunciations with /əe/ are more usual.

/ɔ:/ sometimes occurs where /ɔt/ would be more normal, perhaps due to the low prominence of the second element of the /ɔt/ diphthong: /'tɔ:lets/ 'toilets'; /'dɔ:ne(r)z/ 'joiners' (more traditionally with /ɛt/). In examples with off-glides, the borderline between /ɔ:/ and /əe/ is not very clear in a number of cases. In the environment /w - (r)/, the dialect often has /ʍ/, e.g. /wɔ:z(r)/ 'war'.

5.2.6.2. Variants:


(ii) [ʊ:] [ɬ]: Centralised variants. Regular in all positions. Examples: [ʊːf] 'off'; [kʊ:v] 'calf'; [eɪkʊ:s] 'across'; etc. ['gʊːmls] 'stupid' (gaumless or gormless); [ɬʊːpnl] 'halfpenny'; [wʊːz] 'walls'; etc.

1. For more detailed discussion, see section 5.4.6.1. The word forty is phonemicised as /fɔ(ə)rət/ for the dialect system as a whole.
2. Cf. section (v) of the Variants below, and further section 5.4.6.1.
3. For further examples see section 5 of the Comparative Distribution of /ʍ/, section 5.2.5.3.
(iii) Lowered variants, e.g. [ᵻː]: rare in the residual dialect. Examples: ['fᵻːwɛd] 'forward' (but this form shows signs of modification, cf. /'foːrɛd/); [vːf] 'off'. [ᵻː] is more common in modified speech, and I noted it quite frequently in the speech of some schoolchildren, where even [aː] was reached, since lowered variants are also sometimes fronted to varying degrees.

(iv) Half-long variants, e.g. [ɔᵻː]: a number of half-long variants have been noted in words which more normally have /ɔ/, but which have also occasionally been transcribed long.¹ Examples: [dʒɔ'rɛbz] 'jobs'; [eˈkoʊk] 'o'clock'; [stɔp] 'stop'; etc.

(v) Variants with off-glides:
(1) In words more usually having /ɔː/: ['ɛn'dʒɔːmɛnt] 'enjoyment'; [bɔːd] 'boiled' (modified form; residual form has /ɛl/); ['tʃoːstz] 'choices'.

(2) In words which would more normally have /ɔe/ in the absence of historical /r/: ['θoːsɪz] 'the horses'; [kɔːp] 'corpse'; [woː[ə]n] 'worn'.

(3) Before /l/, although /l/ does not usually occur after /ɔ:/ in residual speech: [stɔl] 'stall'; [ɔl] 'all'; ['mɔːltn] 'mauling'.

(4) In other words, intermittently: [ɔːf] 'off'; [mɔːs] 'moss'.

¹. Cf. section 4(a) of the Comparative Distribution.
5.2.6.3. Comparative Distribution:

Section 1. Corresponding to RP /ɔː/:

(a) /fɔːt/ 'fault'; /sɔːt/ 'salt'; /fɔːs/ 'false'; /'ɔːtθe(r)/ 'alter'.

(b) In words which more often have /ɔː/ in the dialect:

/ɔːs/'horse'; /rɪ'kɔːdər/ 'recorder'; etc. In the event of a speaker's retaining post-vocalic /r/, /ɔːr/ is a possible phonemicisation for that speaker.

(c) Words given here in section 4(b) with dialect /ɔː/ before /f, s, θ/, also contain /ɔː/ in the speech of more conservative RP speakers. In the case of those speakers, dialect /ɔː/ corresponds to RP /ɔː/.

Section 2. Corresponding to RP /aː/:

/kɔːnt/ 'can't' (also with /eː/, /ɔː/);
/kɔːv/ 'calf'; /ɔːv, ɔːf/ 'half' (also with /eː/, /æː/).

Section 3. Corresponding to RP /əʊuː/:

More often with /ɔː/ in all cases:
/'kloːðın'/ 'clothing'; /'mɔːzəl/ 'Mosley';
/naː/ 'know; no'. (In modified speech there are more such forms with [ɔː] due to the lowering of /ɔː/).

Section 4. Corresponding to RP /uː/:

(a) Words having /ɔː/ irregularly, more usually with /ɔː/:

1. Cf. /ɔː/, Description, section 5.4.6.1.
2. /ɔə(r)/ is the solution adopted here for the system as a whole - cf. section 5.4.6.1.
3. But where the length cannot be obviously attributed to a particular stress pattern, or a following pause. There appears to be a preponderence of these forms before bilabial stops.
(b) Regular occurrences of /ɔ:/ before the voiceless fricatives /ʃ, θ, s/, (which are also the environments of long /æ:/ in words which have short /a/ in N.S.):

/daːf/ 'doff'; /daːfe(r)/ 'doffer';
/eˈlɔːft/ 'aloft'; /sɔːft/ 'soft';
/sɔːflɪ/ 'softly'; /ˈɔfɛn/ 'often;
/ɔːf/ 'off'; /ˈkoːft/ 'coffee'; /diːʃkləθ/ 'dishcloth'; /brɔθ/ 'broth' (cf. also the voiced /ˈbrɔːdθ/ 'broth-head, fool');
/froθ/ 'froth'; /kroʊs/ 'cross'; /eˈkroʊs/ 'across'; /mɔ:s/ 'moss'; /'kroʊspiːs/ 'cross-piece'; /froʊst/ 'frost'; /tɔs/ 'toss'; /lɔst/ 'lost'; /koʊst/ 'cost'; etc.

(c) With /ɔ/ or /ɔː/: /eˈkoːz, bɪˈkoːz/ 'because'.

Section 5. Corresponding to RP /əʊv/:
/kwɔːp, kɔːp/ 'Co-op.'.

Section 6. Corresponding to RP /ər/:
/ˈɔːpm/ 'halfpenny'; /əriː(j)ɔːpms, θəriː(j)ɔːpms/ 'three-halfpence';
/'skroʊpʌn/ 'scraping'.

Section 7. Corresponding to RP /ɔi/:

These words more often have /ɔi/ in the dialect: /ˈtɔːlet/ 'toilet'; /ˈɛnˈdʒɔːmɛnt/ 'enjoyment'; /boʊld/ 'boiled' (usually

1. Cf. section 5.3.4.1.

Section 8. Corresponding to RP /uː/:  
/loːz/ 'lose'.

5.2.6.4. Modification:

Phonetically, lowered variants with some loss of rounding, e.g. [vː:], become more frequent. Such variants may also be fronted to varying degrees in the general direction of [aː:], but seldom arrive at this extreme point.

Distributionally:

Section 1(a) —> /ɔː/ + /l/  
(b) retains /ɔː:/  
/c/ —> /ɔ/  

Section 2 —> /ʍː:/  

Section 3 retains /ɔː:/  

Section 4(a) retains /ɔː:/  
(b) —> /ɔ/  
(c) retains /ɔː:/  

Section 5 retains /ɔː:/  

Section 6 —> /eː:/  

Section 7 retains /ɔː:/  

Section 8 —> /yː:/  


5.2.7. /o:/

5.2.7.1. **Description:**

\[ \text{Fig. 7. - } /o:/ \text{ and variant} \]

/o:/ is a long, tense, pure, rounded, back vowel on the half-close position. The vowel is sometimes slightly centralised, the main variants being [o:] and [ö:]. It is very close in quality to NHG /o:/.

/o:/ occurs in stressed and relatively weakly stressed syllables. Examples:

- /lo:n/ 'lane'; /lo:s(e)n/ 'loosen'; /no:n/ 'none; not'; /sa:klo:n/ 'cyclone'; /fo:'ti:n/ 'fourteen' (also with /oe/); /pi:po:l/ 'peep-hole'; etc.

However, there are restrictions on the occurrence of dialect /o:/ in weakly stressed syllables when compared with the distribution of RP /eu/. In word-final, open, relatively weakly stressed syllables, the dialect never has /o:/, but rather /e/ or /ø/ corresponding to RP /eu/. Examples:

- /'rosko/ 'Roscoe'; /'pilə/ 'pillow';
- /'sale/ 'shallow'; etc. Note also: /'ne'vembe(r)/ 'November'; /e'tel/ 'hotel'.

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1. The final syllables are therefore **unstressed** in the dialect. For further examples see section 6(b) of section 5.3.5.3, and section 6 of section 5.3.6.3.
/o:/ is of limited distribution before /r/, or in words which have now lost historical, post-vocalic /r/.\(^1\)

/\o/ is now more usual, although /o:/ can sometimes occur in such words.\(^2\) An off-glide of a schwa-type can occasionally obscure the boundary between /o:/ and /\o/. Examples:

[bo:əd] 'bored'; [p'\o:ək] 'pork'; [im'p'\o:əpt] 'important'; etc.

There is an area of overlap between the /o:/ and /\e/ phonemes, due to the fact that /\e/ is gradually being replaced by /o:/ in those words which have /\e\u2013u/ in RP.\(^3\)

In modified speech, forms may begin to overlap with /\o/ due to lowering of /o:/.\(^4\)

5.2.7.2. Variants:

(i) [o:], [ö:] These are the main variants. [o:] is the more representative of the phoneme. Examples: [k'o:ʃ] 'of course'; [qo:t] 'cote'; [lo:n] 'lane'; etc.

[\föp\ms] 'fourpence'; [jö:d] 'road'; [sö] 'sew'; etc.

(ii) [\o:], [ö:], [u̯o], etc. Variants between /o:/ and /\e/, or overlapping with /\e/. Examples:

[k'ø:t] 'coat'; [ö:n] 'own'; [stu̯n] 'stones'; [bø:t] 'boat'; etc.\(^5\)

(iii) [\o:] Variants with a schwa off-glide. Occur

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1. For fuller discussion, see section 5.4.7.1. My phonemicisation for the system as a whole is /o\u027e(r)/.
2. For examples, see section 4 of the Comparative Distribution below.
3. Cf. section (ii) of the Variants below; sections 5.4.8.1. and 5.4.7.3(iii).
4. Cf. section (vi) of the Variants and the Modification below; and section 3 of section 5.2.6.3.
5. For further examples see sections 5.4.8.1. and 5.4.7.2(iii).
a) in words which also have /ɔ:/:
  [boːd] 'bored'; [ɪm'pɔːnt] 'important';
  [pʰɔk] 'pork'; etc. and b) before /l/,
  e.g. [kʰɔl] 'coal' - but see the next
  subsection.

(iv) [ɔo] etc. Before /l/: [tʰɔːd] 'told'; [kʰɔl]
  'coal'; etc.

(v) [duː] etc. More typical of modified speech. Examples:
  [ɔːd] 'old'; [lɒf] 'loaf'; [ˈəʊnt]
  'only'; etc.

(vi) [ʊː], [ʊː], [ɔː], etc. Lower variants which are typical
  of modified speech. Examples: [ðɔː] 'though';
  [jɛ npː] 'you know'; [tʃpː] 'so'; [soː]
  'so'; [npː] 'no'; [ŋpːt] 'ghost'; etc.

(vii) [øː] etc. Variants with heavier centralisation, and
  possibly some loss of lip-rounding at times.
  Again, more typical of modified speech.
  Example: [dɔːnt] 'don't'.

5.2.7.3. Comparative Distribution:

Section 1. Corresponding to RP /au/:

/no:/ 'know'; /lɔːf/ 'loaf'; /boːt/ 'boat';
/kɔːl/ 'coal'; /kɔːt/ 'cote; coat'; and
very many more. Many of the words in this
class can also be pronounced with /əɑ/,1
such as the last three examples given here.

Section 2. Corresponding to RP /æəː/:

An optional form of 'going' uses /oː/:
/ɡoːnə/ 'going to'; /ɡoːnəf/ 'going to
have to'.
Section 3. Corresponding to RP /ɔ/:  
/noːn/ 'not'.

Section 4. Corresponding to RP /ɔː/:  
All of these forms also have /ɔ/ in the dialect and are most likely to be pronounced without post-vocalic /r/, even by speakers who use /r/ after other vowels: /'foːpms, 'foːpms/ 'fourpence'; /foː'fiːt/ 'four feet'; /'foːtɪːn/ 'fourteen'; /boːd/ 'bored'; /ɪm'pɔːnt/ 'important'; /'foːmɔn/ 'foreman'; /'koːs/ 'of course'; /poːk/ 'pork'; /sɔːt/ 'sort'; /spoːts/ 'sports'; etc.

Section 5. Corresponding to RP /uː/:  
/loːs/ 'loose'; /'loːs(e)n/ 'loosen'; /skoːp/ 'scoop'.

Section 6. Corresponding to RP /iː/:  
/skwoːz/ 'squeezed' (pret.); and the modified p.p. /skwɔːz(e)n/ 'squeezed'.

Section 7. Corresponding to RP /eɪ/:  
/loːn/ 'lane'; /ʃɔːmt/ 'shamed, ashamed'.

Section 8. Corresponding to RP /aɪ/:  
/dəv/ 'dived'; /'noːðe(r)/ 'neither' (also with /eː, aɪ, iː/).

5.2.7.4. Modification:

Phonetically, lowering to or towards /ɔː/, increased centralisation, and diphthongisation are all indicative of
modified speech. Examples will be found in sections (v), (vi) and (vii) of the Variants above. Lowering and centralisation are sometimes accompanied by some loss of rounding. Lowering is perhaps the most widespread device of the three. However, a good many modified speakers make little or no phonetic modification to the phoneme at all, and the quality remains around C[o] in such cases.

Distributionally:

Section 1 retains /o:/
Section 2 retains /o:/
Section 3 → /ɔ/
Section 4 retains /o:/, or → /ɔɛ/
Section 5 → /y: /
Section 6 retains /o:/
Section 7 → /e:/
Section 8 → /æ/

5.2.8. /e:/

5.2.8.1. Description:

Fig. 8. - /e:/ and variants (simplified)
/e:/ is a long, rounded vowel. Its height varies between the half-close and half-open positions. The position of the vowel varies also between front and centre. The vowel is consequently of variable tension. Front variants are fully tense; [e:], although placed much closer to the central area (see Fig. 8), is nonetheless not quite in the central area generally speaking, and therefore very few realisations of this phoneme are as lax as RP /3:/.

/e:/ is typically rounded - variants pronounced with spread lips are in a decided minority. The phoneme symbol is really a label for a group containing many variants.¹ [ɛː, ɛɹ, ɐi, ɐɻː] are typical realisations which enjoy the least restricted distribution: [e:] is a cover symbol for variants of this type, in as far as it is given as the phonemic norm.²

When transcribing, it was not always easy to distinguish traces of /r/-colouring from the roundness and tension of this vowel; the approximate vowel resonance of /r/ is [e].

/e:/ occurs in stressed and relatively weakly stressed syllables. Examples:

/skwɛ:(r)z/ 'squares'; /'de:(r)bɪ/ 'Derby';
/weːnt/ 'won't'; /'fɪɡe:(r)z/ 'figures';
/'sliːpe:(r)z/ 'sleepers'; /'neːbe:(r)z/ 'neighbours'; /'mɪliːneː(r)/ 'millionaire';
/'rɪbɛ:(r)b/ 'rhubarb'; etc.

In relatively unstressed syllables (figures, sleepers, neighbours, etc.)

¹. See the Variants below.
². In the Variants below, precise values are given, however, and [e:] has there a much more restricted meaning: it is a rounded vowel in the central area, or fractionally to the front thereof.
etc.), /e:/ is in free variation with /e/. The latter is the more common.

In stressed syllables, /e/ and /e:/ are sometimes in free variation. The reader should consult the words listed in sections 1(a), 1(b), 2 and 8 of the **Comparative Distribution** of /e/. In these words the likelihood of one phoneme or the other depends upon the phonetic environment: short /e/ is almost - but not quite - compulsory in the residual dialect, when a voiceless consonant follows (my informants do not use /r/ between /e/ and a voiceless consonant in words such as shirt, skirt, circle etc.); before /r/ (when word-final or followed by a vowel) or zero (i.e. in words such as fair, stirring, or fair without historical /r/), /e:/ is the more usual, although there are exceptions with certain speakers and in certain words, which may be pronounced with either /e/ or /e:/; /e/ is not encountered in stressed syllables before a voiced consonant (historically /r/+ voiced consonant). Indeed, /e/ hardly appears before voiced consonants in any group of words at all in stressed syllables except a) before /r/ as I have just stipulated; b) before /r, l/ in words such as Billy, where it is in free variation with /l/; c) in the word /blemun/ 'blooming' where it is in free variation with /o/; and d) in a number of compounds such as /'de(r)ne:l/ 'doornail'. Before historical /r/ + /s/, the more residual dialect has

1. See section 5.3.6.3.
2. For further examples see section 1(b) of the **Comparative Distribution** of /e/, section 5.3.6.3. In the event of /e:/, /r/ may follow if the speaker uses post-vocalic /r/. There are more occurrences of /e:/ in modified speech, but even then they remain in the minority before voiceless consonants.
3. Cf. section 2 of the **Comparative Distribution** of /e/, and the **Description**, section 5.3.5.
4. See the **Description** and section 3 of the **Comparative Distribution** of /e/, section 5.3.6.
/œ/, e.g. /nəs/ 'nurse',\(^1\) and less often /e/, whilst modified speakers have /œ/, and less often /eː/. Some minimal pairs which distinguish /e/ from /eː/ are given in the discussion of /e/.\(^2\) In cases such as [dɛː] 'dare', it may be difficult to decide which phoneme is involved.

There are a number of words - traditionally containing /œː/ as far as one may ascertain - in which /œː/ or /eː/ may now be said to be equally valid. The direction of modification is towards /eː/. Examples:

/'ke:(r)zlt/, 'kæ:(r)zlt/ 'Kearsley';
/se:(r)v, æm:(r)v/ 'serve'; /e:(r)bz,
je:(r)bz/ 'herbs'.

The same phonemes are in free variation in *care*,\(^3\) *year*,\(^3\) *murps*\(^4\) 'marbles', *sermon, work*\(^4\) (noun only), *learn, dare, heard*.

Cases of possible confusion between /œː/ and /eː/ are very occasional. Some speakers sometimes use a very high variant of /œː/ before /r/: [ɔːl] or even [ɑːl] (rare). Such a high variant may overlap with the [ɔːl] variant of /eː/.

But as the latter is also rare, in its unrounded form, especially in stressed syllables, there is very little opportunity of confusing the two phonemes. Variants of /eː/ are normally at least a shade more rounded than those of /œː/, and a following /r/ is not as prominent as it is after /œː/. Thus:

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1. For further examples see /œ/, section 5.3.5.3, subsection 3.
2. See the Description of /e/, section 5.3.6.1.
3. Also pronounced with short /e/.
4. Pronounced with /e/ more often than /eː/.
'warm' ≠ 'worm'  
\[
[w:\ddot{e}: (\ddot{e})m, \ddot{w}: (\ddot{e})m, w:\dddot{j}m, (w:\dddot{e}:j)m] \neq [(w:\ddot{e}':(\ddot{e})m), w:\ddot{e}:(\ddot{e})m, etc.]
\]

Very high variants of /æ:/ are not common in my corpus.  
/æ:(r)/ is also kept distinct from /ɛ:/ + /r/. Minimal pairs are given in the discussion of /ɛ:/.

5.2.8.2. Variants:

It will be noted that the phoneme occupies a large area on the vowel chart (Fig. 8). The number of variants is therefore considerable.

(i) Variants around [æː]: [ϕː] [ɛː] [ɔː] [œː] [œːː], etc.:  
Regular variants in stressed syllables, and especially after bilabials. Examples:  
['s\ddot{w}:j\dot{a}n] 'swearing'; [m\ddot{w}:j] 'mayor';  
[w\ddot{e}:dz] 'words'; [\ddot{u}p'w:\ddot{e}':j\ddot{e}] 'repair the';  
[p\ddot{n}p'æːd\ddot{e}] 'prepared'; [b\ddot{e}ːnd\ddot{e}n] 'Burnden';  
[s\ddot{w}:j\dot{e}] 'square'; [m\ddot{p}:j\dot{a}] 'Mary'; etc. 
However, these variants are also encountered other than after bilabials, and occasionally in relatively weakly stressed syllables:  
[\ddot{e}ːj\ddot{a}], [œːːj\ddot{a}] 'area'; [\ddot{e}ːd] 'heard';  
[m\ddot{w}:\ddot{a}n\ddot{e}:\ddot{m}] 'millionaire'; [k\ddot{s}:z\ddot{l}] 'Kearsley'; [\ddot{m}t\ddot{\ddot{c}}:\k\ddot{a}] 'Fairclough';  
[ϕː] 'air'; [ɔːː] 'there'; etc.

(ii) Variants around [oː]: [ɔː], [ɔː], [œː], [œːː], etc.  
Regular variants in stressed syllables, and occasionally in relatively weakly stressed syllables. Examples:  
[j\ddot{a}t'\ddot{c}ːn] 'return';  
[t'\ddot{c}ːn] 'turn'; [ɔːn] 'earn'; [k'\ddot{c}ː, te'k\ddot{e}] 'caretaker'; [b\ddot{e}:d] 'bird'; [d\ddot{e}:nt\ddot{e}] 'don't';

1. See section 5.2.4., Description.


One case of [əː] in a stressed syllable was noted: [θət] 'thirty'.

(v) Diphthongal variants: [æe] etc.: May occur before /l/, e.g. [æe] 'Earl'.

(vi) Variants with off-glides: Examples: [pæt] 'pearl'; [tʃənt] 'turn'; [səvən] 'serving'; etc.

(vii) Variants with on-glides: Rare. Examples: [ʃə:] 'share'; [ʃəd] 'shared'.

1. See section 5.4(iii) for further examples.
Section 1. Corresponding to RP /\3:/:

/fe:(r)/ 'fir; fur'; /e:(r)/ her, 'she, her' (emphatic, otherwise /e(r)/);
/me:(r)/ 'myrrh'; /ke:(r)dz/ 'curds';
/we:(r)dz/ 'words'; /'ge:(r)de:(r)z/ 'girders'; /pe:(r)/ 'purr'; /ste:(r)/ 'stir'; etc. Most other cases of RP /\3:/ have /e:/ in the dialect, except: a) words usually pronounced with short /e/, as outlined in the Description here;  b) words also pronounced regularly with /e:/ in the dialect: /'se:(r)men/ 'sermon'; /se:(r)v/ 'serve'; /le:(r)n/ 'learn'; /e:(r)bz/ 'herbs'; /we:(r)k/ 'work' (noun; /e:/ and /e/ much more likely); /je:(r)d/ 'heard'; /je:(r)/ 'year'; c) words sometimes pronounced with /e/, sometimes with /e:/, as mentioned in the Description here; and d) words cited as having other (regular or more regular) phonemes - /brtd, be:(r)d/ 'bird'; /fost, fest, fe:(r)st/ 'first'; /woe, wee, we:(r)e/ 'worth'; etc.

Section 2. Corresponding to RP /e\#/:

/'m\#l\#ne:(r)/ 'millionaire'; /fe:(r)/ 'fare; fair'; /ske:(r)d/ 'scared'; /skwe:(r)/ 'square'; /e:(r)/ 'air; hare; hair/;
/'swe:rn/ 'swearing'; /me:(r)/ 'mayor; mare'; /je:(r)/ 'share'; /ste:(r)/ 'stair; stare';
/ke:(r)/ 'care' (also with /e:/); /de:(r)nt/ 'daren't' (also with /e:, e:, e+s, a+s/); etc. Most other cases of RP /e\#/ have /e:/ as the

1. Cf. also section 1 of the Comparative Distribution of /e/, section 5.3.6.3.
regular correspondence in the dialect, except a) words pronounced, or occasionally pronounced, with /e/; b) a few words having other phonemes, e.g. /tʃiə(r)/ 'chair'.

Section 3. Corresponding to RP /əʊ/: /deːnt/ 'don't'; /weːnt/ 'won't' (less often with /e:/).

Section 4. Corresponding to RP /ə/: All of the following also have /e/: /'fɪɡə(r)z/ 'figures'; /'neɪbə(r)z/ 'neighbours'; /'ɡɜːdə(r)z/ 'girders'; /'blɪstə(r)z/ 'blisters'; /'sləbə(r)z/ 'slubbers'; /'kreɪka(r)z/ 'crackers'; /'sliːpə(r)z/ 'sleepers'; /'hʌndə(r)z/ 'hundred'; /'wændə(r)z/ 'Wanderers'; /'dɑːnə(r)z/ 'dancers'; /'ˈmeɪnə(r)z/ 'miners'; etc.

Section 5. Corresponding to RP /ɔː/: /'meː(r)/ 'more' (also with /əʊ/, modified form /ɔː/); /dɛː(r)/ 'door' (also with /e, əʊ/ and modified /ɔː/); /fɛː(r)/ 'for' (also with /e, ɔ, əʊ/ and /frə/).

Section 6. Corresponding to RP /zə/: /rɛː(r)d/ 'reared'; /kwiː(r)/ 'queer'; /jɛː(r)/ 'hear; ear' (also with /e, a/ and /æ:/).

1. Cf. section 2 of the Comparative Distribution of /e/, section 5.3.6.3.
Section 7. Corresponding to RP /a:/:

/'de:(r)bı/ 'Derby'; /'de:(r)bıje(r)/ 'Derbyshire'; /kle:(r)k, tle:(r)k/ 'clerk' (also with /e/); /'ry:be:(r)bı/ 'rhubarb'.

Note also /me:(r)ps/ 'marbles' (also with /e, a, ə:/).

Section 8. Corresponding to RP /ʌs/:

/me:nt/ 'mustn't'.

5.2.8.4. Modification:

With some speakers no significant modification of the phonetic quality is discernible. Others use a greater quantity of [æ]-type variants, but usually inconsistently. Those who modify in a direction reminiscent of RP /ɛə/ use variants around [ɛː] or [ɛ ə], but whether such variants should be assigned to /ɛː/ (which might otherwise no longer be a phoneme for modified speakers), ¹ or an /ɛə/ phoneme set up for some speakers, is perhaps a question for a more specialised study of the modified speech of the area. At any rate, when [ɛː]- or [ɛ ə]-types are used, the speaker usually fails to distinguish, or fails consistently to distinguish, such pairs as fur ≠ fair. This situation parallels the failure of some modified speakers to distinguish pairs containing /u/ and /ʌ/ after modifying their dialect /o/ toward /ʌ/, ² or the situation in the modification of strong verbs of the drink-drank-drunk pattern. ³

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¹. See further section 5.2.4.4.
². Cf. section 5.3.5.4.
³. In such verbs the dialectal /drıŋk, ɔrɒŋk, ɔrɔŋk/ pattern, which is retained by some modified speakers in the form /drıŋk, drónk, drónk/, gives way to /drtnk, drank, drank/ on the part of some other modified speakers.
Distributionally:

Section 1 retains /e:/, or possibly → [ɛ:], [ɛˑ], etc.
Section 2 retains /e:/, or → [ɛ:], [ɛˑ], etc.
Section 3 retains /e:/, or → /o:/
Section 4 → /e/ (hundred → /u/)
Section 5 more, door → /ɔə/; for → /ɔ, ɔə, ɔ/
Section 6 → /æ/
Section 7 → /æ:/
Section 8 → /ɔs/

5.3. **Short Vowels:**

There are six short vowel phonemes in the dialect:

/ɛ, e, a, ɔ, ɔ, ə, e/

From a comparative point of view, it is interesting to note that /e/ occurs in stressed as well as unstressed syllables, and that it may even contrast with /e:/.

Dialect /ɔ/ corresponds to both RP /u/ and /ʌ/, e.g. /pol/ 'pull', /kɔt/ 'cut', etc. /ɔ/ features extensively in unstressed syllables where it is in free variation with /e/: /ɔm/ 'them'; /'gre:jɔm/ 'Graham'; /ɔ:lɔs/ 'always'; /'somɔt/ 'something'; etc.

Short vowels may lengthen and sometimes become diphthongised when they occur in a word before a pause, or when a word is said slowly, whether due to hesitation or emphasis.

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1. See section 5.3.6.1. for details.
5.3.1.  \( /\tilde{a}/ \)

5.3.1.1. **Description:**

\( /\tilde{a}/ \) is an unrounded, short vowel, typically a little to the front of the central region. The vowel is fairly high, the least restricted variant [\( \tilde{a} \)] being just above the half-close position, and relatively lax. However, due to the general accentual pattern of the dialect, final unstressed \( /\tilde{a}/ \) is frequently not as lax as its RP equivalent: note the variants [\( \hat{e}, \hat{e} \cdot \tilde{a} \)] below, both of which occur word-finally. These variants are both characterised by a slight degree of tension.

\( /\tilde{a}/ \) occurs in all positions within the word, in stressed, relatively weakly stressed or unstressed syllables. Examples:

\[ /\text{wi}/ 'with'; /'\text{ive}(r)/ 'ever'; /'\text{vCnt}/ 'event'; /'f\tilde{a}\text{e}(r)z/ 'feathers'; /'g\tilde{a}/ 'give'; /'wag\text{on}/ 'waggon'; /'pr\tilde{a}\text{t}\text{t}/ 'pretty; fairly, quite'; /'in'; /'m3\text{in}/ 'imagine'; /'m\text{y}/ 'my' (unstressed); /'\text{rib}\text{on}/ 'ribbon'; /'\text{fil}/ 'fill'; etc. \]

Note the presence of \( /\tilde{a}/ \) in open syllables. The word \( /g\tilde{a}/ \)
'give' can take a surprising degree of stress without sounding as if it contained /i:/ or /e:/.

/e/ can appear before /l/ in free variation with /i/ in some words.¹ /i/ does not usually occur before /r/.²

5.3.1.2. Variants:

(i) [ɪ] Occurs in all positions, especially in stressed syllables, but is rare in the environment of /l/. Examples: [kidz] 'kids'; ['jɪbɪn] 'ribbon'; ['ɪndʒən] 'engine'; etc.

(ii) [ɨ] Occurs occasionally due to heavy stress, but especially before /j/ or [ɛ]: [ɡil ɛs] 'give you'; [bɪ+jɪ'noʊə] 'be another'; [wɪ+ɛm] 'with him'; etc.

(iii) [œ] A slightly lower variant than [ɪ] or [ɨ] on the half-close position. Occurs in stressed syllables, but more especially in final open syllables:³ [sɛks] 'six'; ['məŋkə] 'monkey'; [pə'ɡə] 'piggy'; ['ləkə] 'lucky'; etc.

(iv) [ə] Typical in (a): Unstressed syllables, apart from final, open, unstressed syllables: ['kɒsən] 'cursing'; ['lɛrəfən] 'laughing'; [wed] 'we'd' (unstressed); [rəm] 'him' (unstressed); ['swɪ'ʃən] 'swearing';

¹. Cf. section (vii) of the Variants, and sections 5.3.6.1., 5.3.6.3, subsection 3(b).
². Cf. further sections 5.3.6.1. and 5.3.6.3. subsection 3(a).
³. Cf. remarks on the accentual pattern of the dialect in section 5.3.6.1.
Like [ɛ] it occurs in final, open, relatively unstressed syllables, especially before a pause, or if the speech is slow (hesitation, emphasis, rhythm, or whatever). Examples: [bɛ.ɪ] 'be'; ['mɛ.ɪnlɛ.ɪ] 'mainly'; ['t'wɛntɛ.ɪ] 'twenty'; ['ʃɪ.əlɛ.ɪ] 'really'. It may also occur in a stressed syllable before a pause, or due to such factors as hesitation or intonation: [tʃɛ.ɪps] 'chips'; [dɛ.ɪdʃ] 'did'.

Occurs sometimes word-finally in open syllables, although more with some speakers than others - the variant is more widely used in modified speech. Examples: ['mɔndɛ] 'Monday'; ['dɛ.ɪ:dɛ] 'dairy'; ['ʃɪ.əlɛ]'really'; etc. Occurs sometimes in stressed syllables, again more so with some speakers, particularly modified ones. Four words containing [ɛ] across several speakers...
are: ['fɪfti] 'fifty'; [lɪft] 'lift';
['spɪnə] 'spinner'; ['dɪdnt] 'didn't'.

(vii) [ə],[e], etc. These may occur before /l/, and at
this point the phoneme overlaps with /e/. Examples: [stəl] 'still'; ['vələdʒ] 'village'; ['weɪfərəd] 'Wilfrid'. In some
unstressed syllables there is free variation
between /i/ and /e/. Examples:
/'spɒtsl, 'spotsl/ 'spotless'; /mɪʃi:n, me'ʃi:n/ 'machine'; /'ɔrɛntʃi:bo:n, 'ɔrɛntʃe:bo:n/ 'a kind of coal';
/'be:(r)ndən, 'be:(r)ndən/ 'Burnden'; etc.

Whilst some uses of /i/ are essential in the dialect in
unstressed syllables - e.g. in /mɪ'sɔl/ 'myself' - there
are very many words in which at least some RP speakers use
/i/ in relatively unstressed syllables, but which could never
have /i/ in the dialect. For instance, the dialect must
have /o/ or /e/ in /'probləm, 'problem/ 'problem'.

5.3.1.3. Comparative Distribution:

Section 1. Corresponding to RP /i/:
/'mɪdʒl/ 'middle'; /'sɪsə(r)/ 'sister';
/'mɔndʒl/ 'Monday'; /'mɪnts/ 'minutes';
and very many others.

Section 2. Corresponding to RP /e/:
/'ɛndʒən/ 'engine'; /'sɪməθɪŋ/ 'cemetery';

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1. There are some dialect words which have /e/ where RP has /i/
(see section 5.3.2.3, subsection 3(b)), and possibly others too
had /e/ in the past. It is conceivable that one or two [ə]
ocurrences reflect this correspondence, although this cannot
be proven.
2. Cf. sections 5.3.6.1. and 5.3.6.3, subsection 3(b).
3. Cf. further sections 4, 6, and 7 of the Comparative
Distribution.
Also with /ei/ in the dialect: /'ive(r)/ 'ever'; /'ntve(r)/ 'never'; /'fiðe(r)z/ 'feathers'; /'gt/ 'get'; /'lt/ 'let' (more often with /i:/:)

Section 3. Corresponding to RP /æ/:
Also with /ə/ in the dialect: /'sitʃ/ 'such'; /'mitʃ/ 'much'.

Section 4. Corresponding to RP /æ/:
/'sɔ:fɪ/ 'sofa'; /'θrɪpni/ 'threepenny';
/'kɔm ni/ '(Mosley) Common'; /'wɛɡn/ 'Wigan'; /'æŋktʃe/ 'handkerchief';
/'ribn/ 'ribbon'; /'wɛɡn/ 'waggon';
/'pe:(r)lɛmɛnt/ 'parliament'.

Section 5. Corresponding to RP /iː/:
/'wɛk/ 'week'; /'sɪtʃ/ see thee 'look!', etc.;
/'plɛnz/ 'peelings'; /'plɛt/ 'peeled';
/'plɛn/ 'peeling' (also with /ə/); /'sɛn/ 'seen'.

Section 6. Corresponding to RP /æː/:.
/'ɡɑrtdʒ/ 'garage'; /'mɛrdʒ/ 'mirage'.

Section 7. Corresponding to RP /ɑː/:
(a) /'fɔð(r)ntʃ/ 'fortnight'.
(b) /'mɪ/ 'my'; /'mɪ'sɛl/ 'myself'; /'bɪ/ 'by'.

Section 8. Dialect /dɛn/ corresponding to RP /dn/:
/'ɡæ:(r)dɛn/ 'garden'; /'mɪdɛn/ 'midden'.

Section 9. Corresponding to RP /ɔː/:.
/'sɛlʃə ɔ(r)/ 'Halshaw Moor'; /'sɛn/ 'saw'. 
Section 10. Dialect /rə/ corresponding to RP /s:(r)/:
/brəd/ 'bird'.

Section 11. Corresponding to RP /eI/:
/glt, giv, gin/ 'gave'; /siz/ 'says'
(and other forms of to say).

Section 12. Corresponding to RP /æ/:
/sæt/ 'sat'; /spæt/ 'spat'.

5.3.1.4. Modification:

Phonetically there is an increase in the use of the [ə] variant in modified speech, especially word-finally,
where it can have a very lax quality indeed. I have noticed
it particularly amongst women speakers. Fewer occurrences
of [ə] would be detected in the case of a speaker who had
modified /l/ by 'lightening' it, i.e. giving it a less velar
quality.

Distributionally:

Section 1 retains /ɪ/
Section 2 —> /ɛ/
Section 3 —> /ɔ/
Section 4 —> /e/ in most cases, but /ɪ/
might be retained, especially in threepenny and parliament.
Section 5 see thee retains /ɪ/ if still used;
week retains /ɪ/ (by virtue of being
a common word), or more probably —> /i:/; other cases —> /ia/.
Section 6 retains /ɪ/ (or —> /æ:/)
Section 7 (a) → /aɪ/
   (b) retains /ɪ/ (or → /e/ in the words my and myself)

Section 8 garden retains /dɪn/ or → /dn/
   midden retains /dni/

Section 9 → /e/

Section 10 → /e:(r)/

Section 11 retains /ɪ/-¹ or → /e: /

Section 12 retains /ɪ/, or → /a/

5.3.2. /ɛ/

5.3.2.1. Description:

/ɛ/ is a short, unrounded, front vowel, whose main variant is very close to C[ɛ]. It is on or fractionally below the half-open position. Typical front variants are a little more tense than /ɪ/. Lowered and centralised variants of /ɛ/ ([œ, ɔ, ɛ]) before /r, 1/ overlap with raised and centralised variants of /a/ before /r, 1/, especially /r/.

1. Only, however, in the form /gɪv/ of the three forms of gave, as the other forms are not used in modified speech.
Some words containing such variants may be interpreted as containing either phoneme. Examples of such words from the corpus appear under /a/. Whilst the phonetic quality of a variant such as [ä] (especially before /r/, which is more likely to cause raising and centralisation than lowering) permits phonemicisation as /a/, alternative pronunciations with [ɔ, ø] etc. suggest that it is also reasonable to attribute /ɛ/ to these words; the direction of modification is towards /ɛ/.

Some centralised variants of /ɛ/, e.g. [ɔ] before /r/, and, to a lesser extent /l/, overlap with variants of /e/. /ɛ/ occurs in stressed syllables, and also in syllables which often seem to carry a marked secondary stress. Examples:

/sθɔrt/'tight'; /ɛgzs/'eggs'; /ɛn'kɛrədʒ/ 'encourage'; /ncb/ 'peak (of cap)'; /ɪm'prɪv:ment/ 'improvement'; /ʃɛd/ 'shed'; etc. There are interesting occurrences of /ɛ/ in open monosyllables: /ɛ/ 'eh'; /ɛs/ 'say'; /ðɛ/ form of 'thou'; /jɛ/ 'yes'; [je] form of 'hear'.

Note:
Dialect /ɛ:/ and /ɛ:(r)/ are shortened to /ɛ/ in: /'nɛdɛn/ 'now then'; /nɛ'mænd/ 'never mind'.

5.3.2.2. Variants:

(1) [ɛ]

The normal variant, but it does not often occur before /r, l/. Examples: [t'ɛn] 'ten'; ['sɛθɔdʒ] 'Saturday'; ['jɛvɪli?] 'rivet'; etc.

1. See subsection 2(b) of section 5.3.3.3; and sections 5.3.2.2(v, 5.3.3.2(11), (v), (vi) and (ix).
2. Cf. variants of /a/ before /r/, section 5.3.3.2(11), (v), (vi) and (ix). Note similarly variants of /ɛ:/ before /r/ - section 5.2.5.2(1), (ii) and (iii).
3. Cf. subsections (ii) and (iii) of the Variants, and section 5.3.6.1.
(ii) [ɛ] Variant with slight centralisation, occurs in free variation with [ɛ] and is common in words which receive relatively less stress within the 'sentence'. As the centralisation increases, the distribution becomes more typical of the next variant.

(iii) [ʒ] Occurs before /r, l/, especially /r/. Examples: ['dʒɜːr] 'jerry'; ['pʒɜːr] 'Perry'; [tʃɪlv] 'twelve'; [ʃɜːl] 'well'; etc. Centralisation is greatest with the more markedly retroflex realisations or /r/.

(iv) [ɛ] This slightly lowered variant is not used in so consistent a manner as to allow of a precise distributional specification, but it seems to appear with some regularity before /l, r, n/, and sporadically in other contexts. Examples: ['fɛləz] 'fellows'; [lɛt] 'let'; [sɛnd] 'send'; etc.

(v) [ɛ], [œ], [ä] These variants occur before /l, r/. Examples: [wɛl] 'well'; ['vɛl] 'very'; [tælz] 'tells'; ['sældom] 'seldom'; etc.

(vi) [ɛː], [ɛː] The short vowel may be lengthened before pauses, or due to hesitation, emphasis, or intonation.

The most general features of the variants may be summarised as follows: lowering and centralisation of /ɛ/ occur before /r, l/.
5.3.2.3. Comparative Distribution:

Section 1. Corresponding to RP /e/:  

(a) /vɛt/ 'vet'; /'pɛnɪ/ 'penny'; /ɛgz/ 'eggs'; and very many others.

(b) /'vɛrv/ 'very'; /'fɛlə/ 'fellow'; etc. This second subgroup also appears under /a/, where it is more fully listed.¹

Section 2. Corresponding to RP /ə/:  

/θrɛpms/ 'threepence'; /iɛnθe(ɹ)r.te:niːmɛnt/ 'entertainment'; /dɪ'pɛ:(r)tɪmɛnt/ 'department'; /eɪ'tʃiːvɪmɛnt/ 'achievement'; /ɪm'prɪvɪmɛnt/ 'improvement'; /spɛk'tɛklz/ 'spectacles'; etc.

Section 3. Corresponding to RP /ɪ/:  

(a) /ɛn'kəridʒ/ 'encourage'; /ɛm'plɔɪ/ 'employ', etc. /'fɔrɛd/ 'forehead'; /ɛkə'mæk/ 'economic'; /ɛɡ'zækt/ 'exact'; etc.

(b) This subgroup also has /ɪ/ in the dialect: /rɛvɪt/ 'rivet'; /mɛsθe(ɹ)r/ 'mister'; /sərɛŋ/² 'string'; /spɛl/ 'spill' (noun, when meaning 'taper').

Section 4. Corresponding to RP /æ/:  

/ˈsɛtət, 'sɛθe(ɹ)rədɪ/ 'Saturday'; /ɛs/ 'ash'; /slɛk/ 'slack (coal)'; /'bɛlkəθe(ɹ)r/ 'bladder'; /rɛdɪʃəs/ 'radishes'; /ɛz/ 'has'; /'blɛɡbrɪ/ 'blackberry'; /'blɛɡbe(ɹ)n/ 'Blackburn'; /'kɛkl, 'kɛtɪl/ 'cackle'. These words also have /a/ in the dialect, except /ɛʃ/ which has /ɛt/.

1. See subsection 2(b) of section 5.3.3.3.
2. [ŋ] is an allophone of /n/ before /k, g/ - cf. section 5.5.18.
Section 5. Corresponding to RP /iː/: 
/ˈɛtn/ 'eaten'; /ˈjezə(r)/ 'easier'; 
/klɛn,tlɛn/ 'clean'; /lɛv/ 'leave'; 
/plɛz/ 'please'; /tʃɛp/ 'cheap'; /tʃɛt/ 'cheat'; /bʒɛt/ 'beat'; /bʒɛtn/ 'beaten'.

Section 6. Corresponding to RP /ɛr/: 
/ɛ/ 'eh'; /ɛt/ 'ate'; /ˈmɛbiː/ 'maybe'; 
/mɛk/ 'make' (usually with /eː/); /sɛ/ 'say'; /tɛk/ 'take' (also with /a/); 
/tʃɛn/ 'chain'; /ˈwɛskɔt/ 'waistcoat'.

Section 7. Corresponding to RP /ɒ/: 
/ˈɡɛtn/ 'got' (p.p.).

Section 8. Corresponding to RP /aː/: 
/mɛt/ 'might' (vb.).

Section 9. Corresponding to RP /ɔː/: 
/ˈkwɛtθe(r)/ 'quarter' (also with /æː, ɔː, a, eː/).

Section 10. Corresponding to RP /au/: 
/ˈnɛðɛn/ 'now then'.

Section 11. Corresponding to RP /ruː/: 
/ˈfɛbrɪːər/, more often /ˈfɛbɹjːər/ 'February'.

Section 12. Corresponding to RP /əʊ/: 
/jɛ(r)/ 'hear; ear' (more often with /a, æː, ɛː, e, eː/).
5.3.2.4. Modification:

Phonetically, the vowel is usually very fronted in modified speech, and the main variant for some speakers would be the slightly more open [Æ]. Sometimes [ə] is reached. The vowel features very strongly in words carrying secondary stress which are spelt with 'e', e.g. /'konst,kwentltI/ 'consequently'.\(^1\) [ə]-types tend toward [ɛ]-[e] in modified speech.

Distributionally:

- Section 1 retains /ɛ/
- Section 2 retains /ɛ/
- Section 3(a) retains /ɛ/
  - (b) → /ɪ/
- Section 4 → /a/
- Section 5 → /i: /
- Section 6 → /ɛ:/, but *eh, ate, say* and *take* are more likely to retain /ɛ/
- Section 7 → /o/
- Section 8 → /aɪ/
- Section 9 → /ɔ:/
- Section 10 retains /ɛ/
- Section 11 retains /ɛ/
- Section 12 → /ɪə/

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1. Cf. subsections 2 and 3(a) of the Comparative Distribution above.
5.3.3. \(/a/\)

5.3.3.1. Description:

\(/a/\) is a low, front, unrounded, short vowel. The most common variant is somewhat back of front, i.e. [ə], and is fully open. A completely front variant [a] and a somewhat centralised variant [ä] are also very common. Although back variants are much less frequent, their existence is not surprising, for there is no contrasting open back phoneme.

\(/a/\) occurs in stressed and relatively weakly stressed syllables. Examples:

'\(^{'}am/\) 'any'; '/mam/ 'mam, mother'; '/pɛt' 'swad/ 'pea pod'; '/tane(r)/ 'tanner, sixpence (2.1/2p)'; '/kare\,van/ 'caravan'; '/ak'sept/ 'accept'; '/kən\,tam\,l\,'neit\,id/ 'contaminated'; '/snak/ 'sneck, latch'; etc.

'/ja(r)/ 'year', '/ja(r)/ 'hear', '/ja(r)/ 'ear' and '/fa(r)/ 'far' all have the short pronunciation indicated by the phonemic rendering here, although in all cases there are other pronunciations too. Therefore, for speakers who do
not pronounce post-vocalic /r/, /a/ may occur in open syllables in final position. In the dialect, words with reduplicating syllables in children's language end in /a/:

/'dada/ 'dada'; /'mama/ 'mamma'; /'nana/ 'grandmother, mother's aunt, and probably any elderly female relative, or even an unrelated female, who assists in caring for a child'.

Needless to say, these words are used by adults as well as by children. Note also: /a/ 'I'; /a(r)/ 'are'.

Traditionally long /æ:/ occurs before /f, s, θ/ and for most traditional speakers /a/ may be said to occur infrequently in these environments. However, there is some variation from one word to another.

/a/ does not occur before /ʃ/. The [æ, ɛ] and [æ] variants which traditionally occur before /ʃ/ to the total exclusion of [a]-types, are assigned in this analysis to /ɛ/.

/a/ has a somewhat restricted distribution before /m, n/, since in many common words such as /pon/ 'pan', /'ome(r)/ 'hammer', /ɔ/ is used.

5.3.3.2. Variants:

(1) [a] is the most common variant and occurs in all positions. It is less usual, however, in those contexts designated for [a, o, ə, ɪ and ë] below. Examples: [gæm] 'game';

2. Cf. sections 5.2.5.1, 5.2.5.2(iv) and subsection 6(a) of section 5.2.5.3.
3. Cf. section 5.4.1.2(ii) and subsection 6 of section 5.4.1.3.
4. For further examples see subsection 4 of section 5.3.4.3.
['amt] 'any'; ['k'wətθez] 'quarters'; ['p'æpə] 'paper'; etc.

(ii) [ä] Occurs in most contexts (where it is less frequent than [g]), and especially before /r, l/ - although note also the raised and centralised variants in subsection (vi) below. [ä] also occurs in words which are not heavily stressed. Examples: [fæk] 'fact'; [ðæt] 'that'; ['væp] 'very'; [æd'pə] 'help'; [wæl] 'well'; etc.

(iii) [a] The variant occurs in free variation with [æ], although it is less frequent. It is typical of: a) words which often have an even higher variant before /k, g/ and [ŋ] - as in subsection (v); b) full stress; c) modified speech. Examples: ['bæpkin] 'banking'; [mam] 'mam, mother'; [k'amp] 'camp'; ['bæb] 'baby'; [f'laɡ] 'flag'; etc.

(iv) [ə], [æ], [ɔ] Back variants. There is no back open phoneme contrasting with /a/, therefore the existence of optional back variants is not surprising. They are in free variation with [æ], but are in a decided minority by comparison. Their use appears to be largely a matter of idiolect: some speakers do not have them at all, whilst others use them with some frequency, or intermittently. In some idiolects they can even occur before /k/, which usually causes raising of /a/ in the dialect, as will be seen in subsection (v). Examples: [blæk] 'black'; [æs] 'I shall'; ['bækley] 'Brackley'; [læd] 'lad'; [ðæt] 'that'; [plænt] 'plant'; etc.

Raising, together with marked centralisation, is found most frequently before /l/, and also with considerable regularity before /r/. Examples: [tʃɹe,baŋ] 'char-à-banc'; [kɹid] 'carried'; [əɹ, ən] 'Harry'; [fæle] 'fellow'; [wɹ] 'well'; [əɹtʃə] 'Halshaw'; [ɹəts] 'else'; [pɹts] 'pals'; etc.

A rounded variant is sometimes encountered: a) before /m, n/, in which respect it must be borne in mind that some words which sometimes appear with /a/ also have /ə/;¹ and b) after /w/. Examples: [fa'mlʃ] 'family'; [ɡʃənˈtʃ] 'grant'; [waʃliʃʃ] 'whatsit'; [sgm] 'Sam'; [dʒəm] 'jam'; [laʃnd] 'land'; etc.

Lengthened variants may occur due to a

¹. Cf. especially subsection 4 of section 5.3.4.3, and further section 5.3.4.2(v).
pause, hesitation, or a particular intonation pattern. Occasionally I have transcribed a lengthened form for which I cannot see any apparent explanation, e.g. [tˈaːps] 'taps'.

(ix) [ɛ], etc. Occasionally a word contains a very high variant before /r/: ['kɛɾd] 'carried'; ['kɛɾ] 'carry'; [fʒɛnd] 'far end'. In these cases the variants are more reminiscent of /ɛ/, and one is reminded of some variants of /æ:/ before /r/. 1

5.3.3.3. Comparative Distribution:

Section 1. Corresponding to RP /æ/:
/bæk/ 'back'; /'kærəvən/ 'caravan'; /tʃæp/ 'chap'; and very many others.

Section 2. Corresponding to RP /ɛ/:
(a) /'ænɪ/ 'any' (also with /ɔ/); /'ænɪˈjəʊ/ 'anyhow' (also with /ɔ/); /'ævrɪˌθɪŋ/ 'everything'; /lænd/ 'lend' (also with /ɔ/); /lænt/ 'lent' (vb.).

(b) The following occurrences of /a/ before /l, r/ overlap allophonically in the dialect with allophones of /ɛ/ and either phoneme may be assigned to the words: /'sælər/ 'celery'; /æls/ 'else'; /'fæl/ 'fellow'; /əl(t)θ/ 'health'; /tæl/ 'tell'; /ɪzˈsæl/ 'himself'; /wɔl/ 'well'; /ælp/ 'help'; /ˈvɑːr/ 'very'; /bælt/ 'belt'; /ˈbæl/ 'belly'; /ˈjæl/ 'yellow'; etc.

1. Cf. section 5.2.5.2(iii).
(c) Note also /snak/ 'sneck, latch', which often has [כ] in other varieties of English and Scottish.

Section 3. Corresponding to RP /eə/:
/'make(r)/ 'maker' (also with /eː/);
/'fave(r)z/ 'favours'; /gam/ 'game';
/'pape(r)/ 'paper'; /'waknɪn/ 'wakening';
/tak/ 'take' (also with /c/ but /a/ appears to be the more traditional); /'tæn, 'takn/ 'taken'; /'bæbi/ 'baby'; /'akn(r)ɪn/ 'acorn'; /gan/ 'gave'.

Section 4. Corresponding to RP /æː/:
/fa(r)/ 'far' (also with /æː/); /ba(r)/
'bar' (also with /æː/); /'antz/ 'aunties';
/at/ 'art, art thou?'; /'padn/ 'pardon'
(also with /o, æː/); /'dærn/ 'Darwen';
/a(r)/ 'are'.

Section 5. Corresponding to RP /ɪə/:
/'jɑrə, 'jɑrəl/ 'ear-hole'; /ja(r)/ 'ear; hear' (also with /ɛː, eː, ɛː, ɛ, eː/).

Section 6. Corresponding to RP /ʊ/ after /w/:
/,waˈrɪzɪt/ 'what is it?'; /'wanər(ə)r/ 'Wanderers'; /want/ 'want'; /'wɔtsɪt/ 'whatsit'; /'kwɔrt/ 'quarry'; /'wɔtsɪ/ 'watch'; etc.
Note also: /'pɛɪə'swad/ pea-swad 'pea-pod', which is rendered in Northern Standard with /ɔ/.

Section 7. Corresponding to RP /ɔː/: 
/'kwɔtθe(r)/ 'quarter' (also with /ɛ, ɛː, ɔː, eː/); /'waθe(r), 'wɔtθe(r)/ 'water' (more usually with /eː/).
Section 8. Corresponding to RP /a1/:  
/a/ 'I'; /am/ 'I'm'.

Section 9. Corresponding to RP /3ː/:  
/jə(r)/ 'year' (also with /mː/, e, eː/).

Section 10. Corresponding to RP /ə/:  
/ak'sempt/ 'accept'.

5.3.3.4. Modification:

Phonetically there is a general movement towards C[a]. The variants [a, ə, ɔ] are extremely rare in modified speech; high central variants are usually absent due to the less retroflex character of /r/; and rounded variants are hardly in evidence, as such variant forms as /mən, man/ 'man' only exist for the speakers of more residual dialect.

Distributionally:

Section 1 retains /a/
Section 2(a) → /ɛ/  
(b) → /ɛ/, but some slight degree of overlap still remains  
(c) retains /a/ if the word is used at all
Section 3 → /eː/
Section 4 retains /a/, except → /æ:(r)w/ in Darwen
Section 5 → /æ/  
Section 6 → /ɔ/  
Section 7 → /ɔː/
Section 8 retains /a/, or \( -> /a/\)
Section 9 \( -> /e, e:/\)
Section 10 retains /a/

5.3.4. \( /o/ \)

5.3.4.1. Description:

\( /o/ \) is a short, rounded, back, half-open vowel. The vowel is decidedly higher than RP /o/, and also more rounded, although the degree of rounding naturally depends upon the phonetic environment. The main variant is very close to C[o].

\( /o/ \) occurs in stressed and relatively weakly stressed syllables. Examples:

/fo(r)/ 'for'; /kɒndəktor/ 'conductor';
/mon/ 'man'; /'ɔn/ 'any'; etc.

As in the case of /ɛ/,\(^1\) there is often a marked impression of secondary stress in syllables containing /o/, but not carrying

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1. Cf. section 5.3.2.1.
the main word stress. Examples:

'/kon'dokə(r)/ 'conductor'; '/kon'demd/
'condemned'; '/kon'daɪ(e)nz/'conditions';

etc.

Occurrences of /ɔ/ in open syllables\(^1\) are: /ɔ/ 'on'
(but only when the next word begins with a consonant);
/ʃɔ(r)/ 'for' (when pronounced without the /r/, which is
usually the case); /'tɔ'toʊ/ 'toffee, sweet' (children's
word).

/ɔ/ has a restricted or intermittent distribution
before certain consonants where /ɔ/ appears in correspondence
with RP /ɔ/ and ME /ɔ/. Examples: /dɔg/ 'dog'; /lɔŋ/
'long'; etc. A detailed treatment is given under /ɔ/.\(^2\)

Variants of /ɔ/ and /o/ overlap and the boundaries between
the two phonemes are sometimes anything other than clear.\(^3\)

/ɔ/ does not usually occur traditionally before
/f, s, θ/ where the dialect has /ɔː/. Examples: /broːθ/
'broth'; /ɔːʃ/ 'off'; /toːs/ 'toss'; etc.\(^4\)

More marginally, a few words which are normally pronounced with /ɔ/ have been
transcribed occasionally with [ɔː] in contexts where there
is no reason to expect lengthening. In such cases, phonemici-
sation with /ɔː/ is possible although /ɔ/ is more usual.
This lengthening seems to occur most often before /p/:

\(^1\) Cf. Gimson (1974: 112).
\(^2\) See subsection 4 of section 5.3.5.3 for a full discussion.
\(^3\) Cf. subsection 4 of sections 5.3.5.3 and 5.3.4.2(iii) and (iv)
\(^4\) See section 4(b) of section 5.2.6.3. for further examples.
/tɔ:p/ 'top'; /stɔ:p/ 'stop'; /'ɔ:plʌkən/ 'hop-picking'; etc. Occasionally /ɔː/ also occurs before other consonants: /'e,klo:k/ 'o'clock'; /lɔ:t/ 'lot'; etc.¹

/ɔː/ is not usually met before the combination /lt/ in common words. NS /ɔː/ + /lt/ is rendered by /ɔːː/ + /t/ in the dialect, e.g. /sɔːt/ 'salt'; etc.²

/ɔː/ has a rather restricted distribution after /w/ where /a/ is often used, e.g. /watʃ/ 'watch'; etc.³ Cf., however, /wɔm/ 'home'.

5.3.4.2. Variants:

(i) [ɔː]

(ii) [ɔː]
A normal variant occurring especially in words which are not heavily stressed within the utterance. Examples: [ˈkələri] 'colliery'; [ˈbɔbɪn] 'bobbin'; [ˈe,kloʊkᵊ] 'o'clock'; etc.

(iii) [ɔ], [ɔː]
Raised variants occur quite frequently and have been noted especially before /p, b, n, k and t/. A raised and centralised variant has been noted before the same phonemes and also /ks/.⁴ Examples: [kʰɔkʰ] 'cock'; [nɔf] 'not'; [dʒɔn] 'John'; [nɔb] 'knob'; [bɔks] 'box'; [stɔp] 'stop'; etc.

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¹. Cf. subsection 4(a) of section 5.2.6.3.
². Cf. section 5.2.6.1, and subsection 1(a) of section 5.2.6.3.
³. Cf. section 5.3.3.3, subsection 6 for further examples.
⁴. Cf. the higher variants in subsection (iv) and the environments given for occurrences of /ɔː/ in subsection 4 of section 5.3.5.3 - 4B and especially 4C.
These very high variants are around C[o] and at this point we are within the territory of the /o/ phoneme.¹ Note under /o/ those words which correspond to RP /o/ and ME and NS /ɔ/.² Examples: [t'ɔp] 'top'; ['bobbe t'ɛ:] 'bob or two'; ['bɔksn] 'boxing'; etc.

Lowered variants occur infrequently in the traditional dialect. Examples: ['fɔjum] 'for him'; [dɔn] 'John'; [fɔ] 'for'; etc. Lowered variants become much more common in modified speech. They may also occur in words which also have /a/, or which modify to /a/: ['pɔdɔn] 'pardon'; [stænd] 'stand'; etc.

/ɔ/ seems to lengthen quite readily before a pause or hesitation, or due to intonation, or, as far as I can ascertain, in a word at the end of any phrase or sense-unit. It is perhaps not implausible to suggest that the lengthening of a short vowel could itself constitute a pause or hesitation of sorts.

5.3.4.3. Comparative Distribution:

Section 1. Corresponding to RP /ɔ/:

/dɔb/ 'job'; /fɔrd/ 'forehead';
/'kɔlɛri/ 'colliery'; /skɔn/ 'scone';
/jɔp/ 'shop'; and very many more.

1. Cf. section 5.3.5.2.
2. Cf. subsection 4 of section 5.3.5.3.
Section 2. Corresponding to RP /əʊ/:  
/kəʊm/ 'comb'; /ˈspoken/ 'spoken';  
/ˈbroʊkn/ 'broken'; /ˈɔpn/ 'open';  
/ˈfroʊzn/ 'frozen'; /ˈwʊrn/ 'woven';  
/wəm/ 'home' (also with /o/); /eˈwom/ 'at home' (also with /o/).

Section 3. Corresponding to RP /ɔː/:  
Also with /əʊ, ɔː/: /fɔ(r)/ 'for' (also with /ə/); /ˈfɔtɪ/ 'forty'; /ɔ/ only:  
/ˈfɔre(r)d/ 'forward(s)'.

Section 4. Corresponding to RP /æ/ before nasals, especially /n/:  
/ˈsɒnd/ 'sand'; /ˈstɒnd/ 'stand'; /kɔn/ 'can'; /mɔn/ 'man'; /ˈgrɒnˌfeɪʊ(r)/ 'grandfather'; /ˈgrɒnˌməʊʊ(r)/ 'grandmother';  
/ˈbɒŋksmɔn/ 'banksman'; /ɒnt/ 'hand';  
/ˈɔŋðə(r)/ '-hander'; /ˈɔndə(r)/'-handed';  
/ˈɔŋkl/ 'ankle'; /ˈspɒn/ 'span'; /ˈɔnʊ(r)ət/ 'answered'; /ˈmɔntˌdʒə(r)/ 'manager';  
/ˈɔnfɔl/ 'handful'; /ˈɒnəl/ 'handle'; /ˈpɒn/ 'pan'; /ˈpɒŋkə:k/ 'pancake'; /ˈlɒnd/ 'land';  
/ˈlɒnd/ 'lend' (also with /a/); /ˈome(r)/ 'hammer'; etc.

Section 5. Corresponding to RP /e/:  
/fət, fətʃ/ 'fetch'; /ˈrɒsl/ 'wrestle'  
(similarly all derivative forms); /ˈɔn/ 'any' (similarly in compounds); /ˈmɔn/ 'many'; /ˈlɔnt/ 'lent' (vb.).

Section 6. Corresponding to RP /e/:  
/ˈkɒnˈdəmd/ 'condemned'; /ˈkɒndɪʒ(ə)nz/ 'conditions'; /ˈkɒndəkə(r)/ 'conductor';  
etc.
Section 7. Corresponding to RP /aː/:  
/brɔːs/ 'brass' (more usually with /æː/);  
/'fɔsn/ 'fasten' (more usually with /æː/);  
/'lɔðə(r)/ 'lather'.

Section 8. Corresponding to RP /iː/:  
/'skwɔzn/ 'squeezed' (p.p.).

Section 9. Corresponding to RP /ɪː/:  
/'ɔrʊvn/ 'driven'.

5.3.4.4. Modification:

In modified speech, variants below ɔ[ɔ] become normal. A degree of unrounding is customary, and fronting towards [a] is frequent. Typical variants are in the range [ə]-[a]. The raised variants disappear altogether in strongly modified speech.  

Distributionally:

Section 1 retains /ɔ/
Section 2 → /ɔː/
Section 3 → /ɔə/ (although for can retain /ɔ/)
Section 4 → /a/
Section 5 → /ɛ/
Section 6 retains /ɔ/
Section 7 → /a/
Section 8 → /ɔː/
Section 9 → /ɪ/

In section 6, /ɔ/ remains in syllables taking secondary stress
in what is, in fact, a rather large group of words. /ɔ/ is also used in NS in a number of words spelt with 'o', where RP has /ə/ and the dialect /e/ or /ɔ/, e.g.

NS /'pɔlən/ 'pylon' - dialect /'pɔlən/ - RP /'pələn/. ¹

One might compare the NS form both with the written form of the word and with US /'pælən/. It is impossible to distinguish one influence from the other as both are plausible. It is currently the case that American full-vowel pronunciations are common in radio, cinema and television.² I recall also how one informant told me that he and his friends were utterly amazed when they heard the first talking pictures, as they had never heard an American speak before. They went around for weeks afterwards imitating this strange accent. In less familiar words, to which people nowadays are increasingly exposed due to the greater amount of information available in the world, and due to increased communications, trade, travel, education and so on, informants may be unsure of aspects of pronunciation and may well be influenced by the written form in cases where they are familiar with it. The prestige of the written language in schools, and education at large, is a factor which must also be considered.

1. There is nothing absolute about these forms: NS and the dialect can also have /e/ in this word.
2. Although the influence of the written word may be discernible here too, at least in some cases, as broadcasters are usually reading.
5.3.5.1. Description:

\[ \text{\small \text{Fig. 13. - } /o/ \text{ and variants} } \]

\( /o/ \) is a high, back, rounded, short vowel. The most common variants are on or above the half-close position. Typical variants in stressed syllables are pronounced very far back – indeed, on this particular count \( /o/ \) or \( /u/ \) might well have made an appropriate phonemic symbol. However, the phoneme also has variants which are somewhat centralised, especially in its widespread use in relatively unstressed syllables, and modification may also lead to some degree of centralisation. \( /o/ \) therefore seems the best symbol to cover the range of variants. The tongue is quite tense when the back variants are pronounced.

\( /o/ \) has a wider distribution within the word than its common RP equivalents. It occurs initially, medially and finally in open syllables.\(^1\) Examples:

\(^1\) Cf. RP \( /A/ \) and \( /u/ \), Gimson (1974: 107, 117).
/əp/ 'up'; /'overn/ 'hovering'; /fɒst/ 'first'; /strom/ 'strong'; /rɒk/ ruck 'slag heap' (also with /v/); /'flozzə(r)/ 'e.g. a cotton cop, spindle or bobbin from which the cotton is overflowing'; /'mɔzn/ 'muzzy'; /'somət/ 'something'; /'wɔmn/ 'woman'; /sɔt/ 'soot'; /də/ 'do' (also with /v/); /ɡə/ 'go' (also with /v/); /'jaʊ/ 'yellow'; /pɔns/ 'kick'; /'ɔləs/ 'always'; /mən/ 'must'; /'pɛ:(r)t/ 'apart'; etc.

/ə/ appears to have been the traditional vowel in syllables which are relatively unstressed,\(^1\) rather in the manner that /ə/ functions in RP as a reduced vowel. Nowadays /e/ and /ə/ are in free variation in relatively unstressed syllables. A range of variants intermediate between [u] and [ə, ə] is found to occur in syllables which are relatively unstressed in addition to /ə/ and /e/. Examples of /ə/ in syllables not carrying the main word stress:

/'wɔmn/ 'woman'; /'somət/ 'something'; /'jaʊ/ 'yellow'; /'vakəm/ 'vacuum'; /'ləndən/ 'London'; /'dəmənzə/ 'dominoes'; /'switə(r)ələnd/ 'Switzerland'; /'bərkəs/ 'breakfast'; /'ɪnsədənt/ 'incident'; /'wi:vərəm/ 'Weaverham'; /'prəbləm/ 'problem'; /'bæntəms/ 'bantams'; etc.\(^2\)

In final consonant clusters, /l/ is often syllabic, and its quality is reminiscent of /ə/; on other occasions, /ə/ can be heard before /l/, e.g. /'pi:pl, 'pi:pəl/ 'people'. /ə/ and /e/ perhaps occur most frequently between /i/ and /n/, e.g. /di'tenʃən/ 'detention'.\(^3\)

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1. Cf., however, the occurrence of /ə/ and /ɛ/ in syllables carrying secondary stress, sections 5.3.4.1. and 5.3.2.1. respectively.
2. See also /ɛ/, section 5.3.6.1.
3. Cf. section 17 of the Comparative Distribution below.
There is some overlap between /o/ and /ɔ/ which will be the subject of attention in the Comparative Distribution below.

5.3.5.2. Variants:

(i) [ɔ],[ö],[ʊ],[ü], etc. These variants all occur in free variation with each other, and particularly in stressed syllables. However, the very high and backed variants [ü] and [ʊ] are somewhat more typical of certain environments: 1) in the environment of [q] and [G], especially if these variants precede the /ɔ/: ['qupɔ] 'couple'; [qum] 'come'; [Güm] 'gum, God'; and 2) in the environment of bilabials: [p'v bɔ] 'pub'; ['wʊmən] 'woman'; [ʊp'] 'up'; [bʊm] 'bum'; etc. It should be stressed that these environmental considerations reflect a tendency, and no more; they do not define a clearly delimited subclass. Other examples: ['mɔn] 'money'; [wom] 'home'; and, using the cover symbol [ɔ] for variants around [ɔ] and [ö]: [mɔs] 'moss'; [stɔ'kɔ] 'stuck'; [boks] 'box'; ['tɔŋ:] 'thinking' (jovial form); etc. These variants may also occur in syllables which are relatively unstressed: ['sɔmɔtə] 'something'; ['p'ɛ:vɔmɔntə] 'pavement'; ['ɔhɔnt] 'Holland'; etc.

(ii) [ö],[ø], and variants between [u] and [e]: These variants are common in syllables which do not carry the primary word stress, or in words which are very weakly stressed within the utterance as a whole. Examples: [bʊɔ]
'but' (weak stress); [kʌm] 'come' (weak stress); [θɪm] 'them' (weak stress); [ə'leɪnprəns] 'elevenpence'; ['præstən] 'Preston's'; [dʌθ] 'do the' (unstressed); ['ŋlənd] 'England'; ['ləmən] 'lemon'; etc.¹

(iii) See the variants given under /ɔ/.²

5.3.5.3. Comparative Distribution:

Section 1. Corresponding to RP /u/:
(a) /brok/ 'brook'; /krokt/ 'crooked'; /sot/ 'soot'; /'bləmən/ 'blooming' (also with /ə/). These words also have /yː/, although less frequently.
(b) /pot/ 'put'; /fəl/ 'full'; /′wəmən/ 'woman'; /gəd/ 'good'; /wəd/ 'wood'; etc.

Section 2. Corresponding to RP /ʌ/:
(a) /′məŋ/ 'among'; /wən/ 'one' (also with /ɔ/); /′nəθən/ 'nothing'; /təŋ/ 'tongue'; /′skændərən/ 'scandalmonger'; /′məŋreə/ 'mongrel'; /′ɛt(ə)rnər/ 'ironmonger'. These words have /ɔ/ in NS.
(b) /′məθə(r)/ 'mother'; /stək/ 'stuck'; /′jənɡsθə(r)/ 'youngster'; and many others. These words have /ɔ/ in NS.

Section 3. Corresponding to RP /ɜː(r)/:
/fəst/ 'first'; /′wɔsli/ 'Worsley'; /bəst/

1. Cf. also /e/, section 5.3.6.2(iv) for the more heavily centralised and lowered variants shading imperceptibly from [o] and [u] into variants of /e/.
2. Cf. section 5.3.4.2(iii) and (iv).
Section 4. Corresponding to RP /o/:

This group is particularly problematic, as there is an area of overlap with the dialect /ɔ/-phoneme so that it is not always clear which phoneme is being used in a given case, nor is it clear to exactly what extent one should restrict the distribution of /ɔ/.

The problem has been touched upon in the description of the /ɔ/-phoneme, both in terms of distribution,¹ and of phonetic variants.² It will be treated in greater detail here.

It seems necessary to distinguish the regular occurrences of /ɔ/ from the optional ones, and these two in turn from the more isolated ones. Only in this way can an accurate picture be obtained of (a) the distribution of /ɔ/, and (b) the resultant restrictions on the distribution of /ɔ/.

A. COMPLETELY REGULAR OCCURRENCES OF DIALECT /ɔ/ CORRESPONDING TO RP /o/:

(i) Before /ng/:

/rɔng/ 'wrong'; /e'long/ 'along'; /lɔng/

1. Cf. section 5.3.4. Description.
2. Cf. section 5.3.4.2(iv).
'long'; /b\'lɒŋ/ 'belong'; /s\'trɒŋ/ 'strong'; /r\'trɒŋ\'roːd/ 'wrong-roaded'; /ɜːlɒŋg\'lez/ 'Harry-longlegs, crane fly'; /\'dæd\'lɒŋg\'lez/ 'daddy longlegs'; and other compounds containing long, strong and wrong.

(ii) Before /g/: 
/t\'lɒg, k\'lɒg/ 'clog'; /d\'g/ 'dog'; /f\'g/ 'fog'; /f\'rɒg\'z/ 'frogs'; /t\'rɒg\'z/ 'togs = clothes'; /\'ɛd\'ʒɒg/ 'hedgehog'.

(iii) Before /m/: 
/t\'m/ 'Tom'; /\'tɒm/ 'Tommy'; /\'b\'m\'feɪ\(j\)\e(r)/ 'bonfire'; /\'b\'m/ 'bonfire' (children's word). /\'b\'m\'feɪ\(j\)\e(r)/ could be assigned to a category headed with /n/, but the distinction between /m/ and /n/ is neutralised before /f/. 

(iv) Before /v/: 
/'əv\(r)/ 'hover'; /'əv\(r):k\æ:f\t/ 'hovercraft'; /'əv\(l)/ 'hovel'; /'k\əv\(e)n\'t\rɪ/ 'Coventry'.

(v) Before /d/: 
/\θ\'rod/ 'trod'.

B. OCCURRENCES OF DIALECT /ɔ/ CORRESPONDING TO RP /\ð/, WHICH ARE REGULAR, BUT IN FREE VARIATION WITH /ɔ/: 

(i) Before /nk/: 
/'d\əŋk\(e)/ 'donkey'.

(ii) Before /n/: 
/'ʃən/ 'shone'.

(iii) Before /m/: 
/from/ 'from' (also /fe(r), fre/).

(iv) Before /ks/: 
/boks/ 'box'; /boksɪn bʊːd/ 'boxing booth'; /boksɪn deː/ 'Boxing Day'; 
/stoks/ 'stocks'.

(v) Before /l/: 
/l'ɒlv/ 'evolve'; /ˈəlɛdɪz/ 'holidays'.

(vi) In syllables not carrying the main stress: 
/e:dʒkroft/ 'Agecroft'; /ˈθɔː(r)nɪˌkroft/ 'Thorneycroft'.

C. ISOLATED OCCURRENCES OF DIALECT /ɔ/ 
CORRESPONDING TO RP /ɔ/: 
These have been noted in words such as: bob, job, top, proper; yonder, Donald; plank; o'clock, dock; God; moss, throstle; porridge. In these examples the appearance of /ɔ/ before /n/, /nk/ and /d/ is supported by more definite occurrences in these environments in sections A and B. The bulk of the isolated occurrences noted are before /p/, /b/, /k/ and /n/: this constitutes a very similar list of environments to that given for raised variants of /ɔ/. 2

Within the dialect itself, /ɔ/ alternates with /ɔ/ in

1. These two appear to be genuine /ɔ/ forms. They do not alternate with /e/ as /ɔ/ does in its capacity as reduced vowel, and they modify to /ɔ/. In forms where /ɔ/ occurs in unstressed syllables (with /e/ in free variation) - /ˈbɒŋksmən/ 'banksman'; /ˈfoːmən/ 'foreman' - we are dealing with a regular feature of relatively unstressed syllables rather than any tendency for the /ɔ/ in man to become /ɔ/.

2. See section 5.3.4.2(iii) and (iv).
Furthermore, in comparison with NS /ɔ/, there are occurrences of dialect /ɔ/, especially before /ng/, which correspond to /ʌ/ in RP;¹ and occurrences of dialect /o/ optionally in words such as /kɒm'ple:nts/ 'complaints'.

The occurrences of /o/ in sections A, B and C suggest that there is substantial exclusion of /ɔ/ before some phonemes (e.g. /g/) in common dialect words; optional exclusion before others (e.g. /ks/), which is also partial in terms of the number of words involved; and that beyond these two classes there are an appreciable number of isolated cases, some of which are also marginal due to the overlap between variants of /ɔ/ and /o/.²

Section 5. Corresponding to RP /ə/: /o'pe:(r)t/ 'apart'; /'bonksmən/ 'banksman'; /ad ɔm/ 'had them'; /o'levnpəns/ 'elevenpence' /'krɪsməs/ 'Christmas'; /'ɪŋglənd/ 'England'; /'ləmən/ 'lemon'; /'ləndən/ 'London'; and many others.

Sometimes a speaker of residual dialect will use /ɔ/ in syllables not carrying the primary stress where a more modified speaker would use /ɔ/ or /ɛ/: /kɒm'ple:nts/ 'complaints'; /e'mjɪ:zmont/ 'amusement'; etc. Nowadays, /ɛ/ is in free variation with /ɔ/ in all such cases.³

1. For examples see section 2(a) of this Comparative Distribution
2. Cf. section 5.3.4.2(iii) and (iv). The overlap between /ɔ/ and /o/, and the wide range of phonetic contexts in which /o/ corresponds to RP /ɔ/, NS /ɔ/ and ME /o/, make any explanation of the development of dialect /o/ in such words extremely complicated - cf. Ford (1974), Wright, P. (1976: 52f), and Shorrocks (1977b).
3. Cf. section 5.3.6.1.
Section 6. Corresponding to RP /əʊ/:  
(a) /əʊ/ 'go' (also with /ə:/); /ʊm/ 'home' (less often with /ʊ/); /eʊm/ (less often with /ʊ/).  
(b) /ˈrɒskə/ 'Roscoe'; /ˈdɒmɪnəʊs/ 'dominoes'; and all cases of RP /əʊ/ in final, open, unstressed syllables.  
1 /e/ is now slightly the more usual in this context, but /ʊ/ is still permissible in all cases.

Section 7. Corresponding to RP /au/:  
/əʊn/ 'bound'; /fən/ 'found'; /wʊn/ 'wound'; (forms with /Ci/ and final /d/ are possible in all three cases).

Section 8. Corresponding to RP /u/:  
/əʊ/ 'do' (stressed and unstressed; also with /ə:/), and in relatively unstressed syllables in July, fortune, statue, tissue, etc.  
2

Section 9. Corresponding to RP /e/:  
/ˈʃəln/ 'shelling'.

Section 10. Corresponding to RP /æ/:  
/plənk/ 'plank' (more normally /ə/); /ˈdʒənəp/ 'Dewsnap' (normally /ə/); /drənk/ 'drank'; /rən/ 'ran'; /rɔŋ/ 'rang'; /sənk/ 'sank'; /sɔŋ/ 'sang'; /spən/ 'span'; /sprɔŋ/ 'sprang'; /stənk/ 'stank'; /swəm/ 'swam'.

1. For a fuller list see subsection 6 of section 5.3.6.3.
2. /e/ may also be used in these unstressed syllables. Forms are given in subsection 9 of section 5.3.6.3.
Section 11. Corresponding to RP /ɪ/: 
/ət/ 'sit' (/ɪ/ is more usual).

Section 12. Corresponding to RP /jʊə/: 
/'vækəm/ 'vacuum'.

Section 13. Corresponding to RP /uə/ in relatively unstressed syllables:
In visualise, eventually, aperture, etc.¹

Section 14. Corresponding to RP /wɪ/: 
/'ɔ:los/ 'always'.

Section 15. Corresponding to RP /ju/ in relatively unstressed syllables:
In regulations, celluloid, deputies, ambulance, etc.²

Section 16. Corresponding to RP /eɪ/: 
/kəm/ 'came' (also with /r/).

Section 17. Corresponding to RP consonant clusters:
/a/ (or /e/) appears optionally in some consonant clusters. In final consonant clusters, /l/ has a quality which is reminiscent of /ɔ/, or unrounded /o/, and is sometimes preceded by this vowel, as explained in the Description above. /ɔ/ may also appear in the environment /j-n/. Examples:

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¹ These words also have /e/. Forms are given in subsection 10 of section 5.3.6.3.
² These words also have /e/. Forms are given in subsection 7 of section 5.3.6.3.
/'pi:pol/ 'people'  cf. RP /-pl/
/'sk'esp'mol/ 'exceptional'  cf. RP /-snl/
/'dt'cnj0n/ 'detention'  cf. RP /-sn/
See further under /e/.¹ A vowel would not be interposed in the clusters /fn, vn, dn, tn, dl, tl/.²

5.3.5.4. Modification:

The main variant sometimes modifies to a variant in the [æ]-[e] or [u]-[e] ranges. However, not all speakers modify this phoneme, and some retain a very backed /œ/ despite modifying other aspects of their speech. In syllables not carrying the main stress, /e/ is used more than /œ/, and intermediate variants also occur. The problem of overlap between /œ/ and /œ/ largely disappears. /œ/ is lower in modified speech and more widely distributed. Two important sections from the Comparative Distribution, 2(a) and 4, both convert to /œ/.

There are occasional modifications in the directions of [ʌ], [ɔ] and [ɔ]. Such modifications are extreme by the standards of my informants, and only one lady had decided inclinations in these directions. When modification of this type occurs, it is likely that RP /ɔ/ and /u/ will not be distinguished, or not be consistently distinguished, just as the dialect uses /œ/ for both these phonemes in substantial groups of words.

¹. Cf. section 5.3.6.1.
². /be:(r)nden/ 'Burnden' is an exception, no doubt because of the /n/ which precedes the /d/.
Distributionally:

Section 1(a) $\rightarrow /\gamma:/$

(b) retains /a/

Section 2(a) $\rightarrow /\alpha/$ (nothing sometimes retains /a/)

(b) retains /a/

Section 3 $\rightarrow /e/$ (less often /e:/; /brɔn/ $\rightarrow /\text{be:}(r)n/$).

Section 4 $\rightarrow /\alpha/$

Section 5 $\rightarrow /e/$

Section 6(a) retains /a/ (if the words are use,

(b) $\rightarrow /e/$, or, more extremely,

$\rightarrow /o:/$

Section 7 $\rightarrow /\gamma/\ (\text{add final }/d/)$

Section 8 $\rightarrow /e/$ or /\gamma:/

Section 9 $\rightarrow /e/$

Section 10 $\rightarrow /a/$, or - in the case of the preterites - more likely retains /a/

Section 11 $\rightarrow /\gamma/$

Section 12 $\rightarrow /e/$ or /j\gamma:/

Section 13 $\rightarrow /e/$ or /\gamma\varepsilon/$

Section 14 $\rightarrow /e/$ or /\varphi/  

Section 15 $\rightarrow /e/, /\jmath\varepsilon/\l/ or /j\gamma:/$

Section 16 retains /a/, or $\rightarrow /e:/$

Section 17. As in the dialect, but with greater use of /e/ rather than /a/
5.3.6.1. Description:

Fig. 14. - /e/ and variants (simplified)

/e/ is a short vowel which varies between front and centre and between half-open and half-close. It is typically rounded, even if sometimes only slightly so. It is tenser than RP /ə/, being used in stressed syllables; even when used in relatively unstressed syllables it still tends to be tenser than /ə/. For instance, there is no decidedly low variant in word-final position to parallel the word-final variant of /ə/ in RP - rather, the dialect uses a higher and usually tenser and more rounded variant such as [ə].

This tendency is due to the different accentual pattern of the dialect (which unfortunately lies outside the scope of this segmental analysis), and to the preglottalisation and

gemination of medial consonants. Thus, in [ˈsɛlprər hə] 'slipper', the first syllable is heavily stressed, there is a hold between the syllables and, when the second syllable is pronounced, slight tongue tension is evident in the realisation of the vowel.

As the phonemic symbol, /e/ is a cover symbol or label for numerous variants occupying a large area of phonetic space.¹ As a phonetic symbol, it has the quality of the variants [ə], [ɛ], [ɛ] and [e], i.e. it is a rounded vowel in or just to the front of the central area. As a cover symbol for such common variants it is taken to represent the phonemic norm.

/e/ occurs in all positions within the word, including syllables carrying the main word stress. In words such as /sket/ 'skirt', /r/ is not included even as optional, for none of the informants uses historical post-vocalic /r/ in the environment /e/ - voiceless consonant.² Examples:

/et/ 'hurt'; /e'ke(r)/ 'occur'; /bet/ 'Bert';
/de(r)/ 'door'; /de(r)/ 'dare'; /wek/ 'work';
/'lert/ 'lorry'; /'settınlt/ 'certainly'; /je(r)/ 'year'; /'tetkə, 'tekə'/ 'turkey'; /'θettə/ 'thirty'; /'θet'ti:n/ 'thirteen'; /tʃetʃ/ 'church';
/'set/ 'shirt'; /sket/ 'skirt'; /'fe:ðe(r)/ 'father';
/'aksədent/ 'accident'; /e'kəz/ 'because'; /e'ko:d/ 'because'; /e'fə:ə(r)/ 'afore, before'; etc.

/e/ occurs frequently in unstressed syllables where it is in free variation with /ə/, e.g. /'jale, 'jalo/ 'yellow'.³

1. Cf. the Variants and Fig. 14.
2. Note, however, the possibility of /r/ in an unstressed syllable: /'pכmbe(r)tn/ 'Pemberton'; /'boge(r)t/ 'buggered = broken, tired'; etc.
3. Cf. sections 5.3.5.1. and 5.3.5.3.
In syllables carrying secondary stress, however, /ɔ/ and /e/ are often met rather than a reduced vowel.¹

In stressed syllables, the occurrence of /e/ and /ɔ/ in free variation is restricted to those words in section 3 of the Comparative Distribution of /ɔ/, (except for the word /bron/ 'burn'), e.g. /wɔθ, weθ/ 'worth'.² This class of words apart, the two phonemes do not occur in free variation in stressed syllables. Examples of minimal pairs distinguishing /ɔ/ and /e/:

'ʃoʊ' /dɔ/ ≠ /de(r)/ 'door; dare'
'ʃut' /dʒɔt/ ≠ /dʒæt/ 'jerk'
'ʃhut' /ʃɔt/ ≠ /ʃæt/ 'shirt'
'huʃ' /ʃt/ ≠ /ʃt/ 'hurt'
(stressed) 'but' /bot/ ≠ /bet/ 'Bert'
'ʃit's cut' /skɔt/ ≠ /skæt/ 'skirt'
'ʃuck' /bɔk/ ≠ /bek/ 'fool'
'duck' /dɔk/ ≠ /dek/ 'dirk = spindle used by boys for throwing, or as a dagger'
'tuck' /tɔk/ ≠ /tek/ 'Turk'

When a word is not strongly stressed within an utterance, /e/ occasionally appears for a more usual /ɔ/: /dʒɛst/ 'just'; /'dɛsɪ:/ 'does (thou) see?'; /steθ/ 'stood'; /'teθe(r)/ 'toθer = other'; etc.

To some extent, /e/ and /e:/ are in free variation. Two distinct cases are involved: 1) in some stressed syllables before historical /r/ (word-final, or followed by a vowel), e.g. /sle(r), sle:(r)/ 'slide'; 2) in words having an -er(s),

¹. Cf. sections 5.3.4.1. and 5.3.2.1. respectively.
². Cf. section 5.3.5.3.
relatively unstressed ending, e.g. /'wanɔrez, 'wanɔre:(r)z/ 'Wanderers'. Since the difference between /e/ and /e:/ in stressed syllables is often purely one of length, the occurrence of half-length variants causes problems for the phonemicist. To which phoneme should he assign a variant such as the one in [ʃɔ:'r] 'share'? The existence of both short and long variants in other occurrences of the same word makes it clear that either phoneme may be used, but the intermediate case remains indeterminate. The number of minimal pairs differentiating /e/ from /e:/ is not great, but there are at least some:

'Billy' /'beli/ ≠ /'be:(r)li/ 'barely'
'spirit' /'spirɪt/ ≠ /'spɪrɪt/ 'spare it'
'furry' /'fɜri/ ≠ /'fe:ri/ 'fairy'
'hurry' /'hɜri/ ≠ /'e:ri/ 'hairy'
'worry' /'wɜri/ ≠ /'we:ri/ 'wary'
'worried' /'weri/ ≠ /'we:ri/ 'wear it'
'curry; Curry' /'kɜri/ ≠ /'ke:ri/ 'Carey'
'her, she' /e(r)/ ≠ /e:(r)/ 'air; hair; hare'
'dare he?' /'dɛri/ ≠ /'de:ri/ 'dairy'
'Murray' /'mɜri/ ≠ /'me:ri/ 'Mary'

/e/ may occur before /r/, and to a lesser extent /l/, in words which on other occasions sometimes have variants more obviously belonging to the /e/ phoneme, e.g. /'dʒɛri/ 'jerry', which also occurs with [ɛ], [ɛ] and [ɔ]. It is impossible to draw a clear line between variants of /e/ and /ɛ/ in the environments specified. Definite instances of /e/ are to

1. Cf. further section 5.2.8.1.
2. Cf. O'Connor (1973: 154): "So /e/ must be considered to be a separate phoneme in RP, though in many other accents, e.g. Yorkshire, Lancashire, American, this is not so." /e/ contrast: with /o/ and with /e:/, and is accounted a separate phoneme in this analysis.
be found in /'sterilised/ and /'Beryl'.1
/e/ also overlaps somewhat with /l/ before /l/, especially if there is a preceding bilabial. Examples:

/'belv/ 'Billy'; /'welfrid/ 'Wilfrid';
/'pelkz/ 'Pilky's = Pilkington's';
/'sterilised/ 'stirrup'; /'spertt/ 'spirit';
/'skwerel/ 'squirrel'; /de'rzkθe(r)/
'director'.

/e/ before /r/ in the following words is relatively clear-cut - variants nearer to /l/ are not usual, except in modified speech:

/'mer1.d3/ 'mirage'; /'spertt/ 'spirit';
/'sterep/ 'stirrup'; /'mer1kl/ 'miracle';
/'skwerel/ 'squirrel'; /de'rzkθe(r)/
'director'.

/e/ and /o/ are both sometimes used between consonants which can also occur as consonant clusters:

/'takele(r)/ 'tackler'; /'fckeltt/ 'fettle it, mend it'; /'d3cnkelt/ 'gently'; /'le:berez/ 'labourers'; etc.2

A trace of [e] occasionally appears in consonant clusters at moments of great emphasis:

[b^'lodl] 'bloody'; ['p^'jo:te] 'potatoes'.

5.3.6.2. Variants:

During the course of transcription, very many variants were noted which are now brought together under /e/:

[œ, ð, ɸ, ø, ʌ, ø, ø', ɔ, ɔ', ɔ, æ, a, æ, ɒ, ɒ', ʌ]. Phonemically

1. Cf. sections 5.3.2.1, 5.3.2.2(ii) and (iii), and subsection 5 of the Comparative Distribution.
2. Cf. sections 5.3.1.1, 5.3.1.2(vii), 5.3.6.3, subsection 3(b).
3. Cf. sections 5.3.5.1, 5.3.5.3, subsection 17.
/e/ represents all of these; phonetically, [e] represents the common variants in the area [e', æ', ə', ə']. Not unexpectedly, a discrete set of restrictions cannot be given for each variant which would serve to distinguish it from every other variant: rather, there is considerable overlap amongst these variants in respect of their distribution. They are therefore rearranged here under several more general heads in order to present the major discernible tendencies.

(i) Variants towards [æ]: [æ],[ã],[ɐ],[ɐ],[ã]
These occur in stressed syllables, and are often preceded by a bilabial. Examples:
[p'æ] 'pair'; [wæst] 'worst'; [wɔk] 'work'; [bær] 'bear'; [bæt?] 'Bert'; ['stাউn] 'staring'; ['ʃə] 'share'; etc. Occasionally, such variants may occur in a relatively unstressed syllable, especially after a geminate.

(ii) Variants towards [ɔ]: [ɔ],[ɔ],[ɔ],[ɔ],[ɔ],[ɔ]
These occur in stressed syllables. Examples:
[ɔ] 'she'; [jɔ] 'year'; ['dɔtʃ] 'dirty'; ['wɔktin] 'working'; [skɔt's] 'skirts'; ['prɔtʃ] 'perches'; [stɔ] 'stir'; [dɔ] 'door'; [dɔ] 'dare'; ['zɔtʃ] 'hurt'; [ʃɔt's] 'shirts'; etc. Occasionally, such variants may occur in relatively unstressed syllables, especially after a geminate, e.g. ['stɔwɔktʃ] 'start work at'.

(iii) Variants towards [ə]: [ə],[ə],[ə],[ə],[ə],[ə], and in unstressed syllables only [ə] and (rare) [ə]
These occur in:

1) stressed syllables: [ʃʃˈfəs] 'shirts'; ['θθtɔːtʃ] 'thirteen'; [ætʃ] 'hurt'; [dɛtʃ] 'dirt'; [ʃbtn] 'hear the'; etc.

2) unstressed syllables: [ˈdɪnə] 'dinner'; [ˈʃɔpʃfə] 'Shropshire'; [ˈmʊstʃʃ] 'mustard'; [bʊt] 'but' (unstressed); [ˈbæwə] 'Barrow'; etc.

(iv) Variants between /e/ and /ə/: [ˈʃə], [ϕə], etc.¹

These occur in relatively unstressed syllables and words which are relatively unstressed within the utterance. They may also be encountered in stressed syllables where /e/ and /ə/ are in free variation.²

Examples: [ˈɪنسəˈdent] 'incident'; [ˈnɛksdə] 'next door'; [tʰ'n] 'ton'; [tʰ'н] 'ton'; [wɔ'də] 'would'; [pʰˈkastənз] 'Preston's'; [wɔθ] 'worth'; etc. Variants such as these are common in modified speech.

The exact phonetic quality of word-final /e/ can sometimes be difficult to ascertain, especially at the end of an utterance when the voice is falling or if a tape is of poor quality. Whilst this observation applies, of course, to the degree of rounding and tension, it also applies very much to the question of /r/-colouring. All shades of final /r/ are met with from a full /r/ to no /r/ at all. In contexts such as those just mentioned, it is sometimes impossible to decide whether or not there is /r/-colouring.

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1. Cf. section 5.3.5.2(ii).
2. Cf. Description above.
5.3.6.3. Comparative Distribution:

Section 1. Corresponding to RP /ʒ/:

(a) Also long in the dialect: /ste(r)/ 'stir'; /slur(r)/ 'slur, slide'; etc.

(b) Almost always short in the dialect: /'wekkən/ 'working'; /wek/ 'work' (also /ə:/ when a noun); /e(r)/ 'she, her' (stressed); /je(r)/ 'year' (also with /ə:, a, e:/); /bek'ncd/ 'Birkenhead'; /'settənlɪ/ 'certainly'; /'sekkl/ 'circle'; /'tekɪ, 'tekɪ/ 'turkey'; /e'ke(r)/ 'occur'; /'peppes/ 'purpose'; /'dessent/ 'daren't' (also with /ɔ, a, ə:/); /we(r)/ 'were' (stressed); /'wɛnt/ 'weren't thou?'; /et/ 'hurt'; /beθ/ 'birth'; /'θɛtɪ/ 'thirty'; /'θɛtɪ:n/ 'thirteen'; /'dɛtɪ/ 'dirty'; /'θɛstɪ/ 'thirsty'; etc.

(c) More often with /ə/ traditionally: /nɔs/ 'nurse'; etc. ¹

Section 2. Corresponding to RP /sə/:

Before /r/, or historical /r/: /de(r)/ 'dare'; /'berɪn/ 'bearing'; /pe(r)/ 'pair'; /ʃe(r)/ 'share'; /'skərɪn/ 'scaring'; /'stɛrɪn/ 'staring'; etc. These words also have /e:/ and dare and scare also have /ə:/.

Section 3. Corresponding to RP /ɹ/:

(a) Before /ɹ/: /'merɪdʒ/ 'mirage'; /'spɛrɪt/ 'spirit'; /'stɛrɪp/ 'stirrup'; /'mɛrɪkl/ 'miracle'; /'skwerel/ 'squirrel'.

¹. See the words given in section 3 of section 5.3.5.3.
(b) Before /l/: /'belt/ 'Billy'; /'welfrid/ 'Wilfrid'; /'pelkiz/ 'Pilky's = Pilkington's' /'3ytbeldn/ 'out-building'; etc. Also with /t/ in the dialect.

(c) Unstressed: /'aksedent/ 'accident'; /'insedont/ 'incident'; etc.

Section 4. Corresponding to RP /A/: 
Before /r/: /'erl/ 'hurry'; /'sn'kerid3/ 'encourage'; /'kerl/ 'Curry; curry'; /'Gere/ 'thorough'; /'wert/ 'worry'; etc.

Section 5. Corresponding to RP /e/: 
Before /r/: /'sterelaizd/ 'sterilised'; /'berel/ 'Beryl'; /'d3erel/ 'Gerrard'; and optionally in many other words before /r/.

Section 6. Corresponding to RP /əu/ (relatively unstressed):
/ʼjare/ 'ear-hole'; /'dcpel/ 'depot'; /e'tel/ 'hotel'; /'ptl/ 'pillow'; /'roskez/ 'Roscoe's'; /'mekd/ 'meadow'; /'pjane/ 'piano'; /te'me:tez/ 'tomatoes'; /'fale/ 'fellow'; /'fole/ 'follow'; /'fale/ 'shallow'; /'wile/ 'willow'; /'mnez/ 'minnows'; /'wndez/ 'windows'; /'nevmb3(e)r/ 'November'; /'wsket/ 'waistcoat'; etc. All words ending in /əu/ in RP when the syllable is not carrying the main word stress end in /e/ in the dialect. All these words may also have /ə/.

Section 7. Corresponding to RP /ju/ (unstressed):
/ʼregelə:zen/ 'regulations'; /'selə:loid/ 'celluloid'; /'dpetlz/ 'deputies'; /'ambelens/ 'ambulance'; etc. /ə/ is also possible in these words.
Section 8. Corresponding to RP /ɪə/:  
/ˈkweɪ(r)/ 'queer' (also with /e/); /ˈjeɪ(r)/ 'year' (also with /eɪ, æ, æː/; /ˈjeɪ(r)/ 'hear; ear' (also with /a, æː, e, eː/).

Section 9. Corresponding to RP /uː/ (relatively weakly stressed):  
/dʒeɪˈlɑː/ 'July'; /ˈfoʊtʃen/ 'fortune'; /ˈstætʃe/ 'statue'; /ˈtɪʃeɪ/ 'tissue'; etc. /ə/ is also possible in these words.

Section 10. Corresponding to RP /ʊː/ (unstressed):  
/ˈvɪʒəˌlæv/ 'visualise'; /ˈvɛntʃə/ 'eventually'; /ˈæpətʃe/ 'aperture'; etc. /ə/ is also possible in these words.

Section 11. Corresponding to RP /ɔː/:  
(a) Also with /rə/, except corridor: /də(r)/ 'door'; /ˈdɛə(r)neːl/ 'door-nail'; /ˈdɛə(r)noʊb/ 'door-knob'; /nəˈdɛə(r)z/ 'indoors'; /ˈnɛksdə(r)/ 'next door'; /ˈkɔrɪdə(r)/ 'corridor'.

(b) Place-names and personal names ending in -shaw: /ˈbrædʃe/ 'Bradshaw'; /ˈælʃe/ 'Halshaw'; etc.

(c) Place-names and personal names ending in -all: /ˈrɒsəl/ 'Rossall'; /ˈnɔtə/ 'Nuttall'; etc.

Section 12. Corresponding to RP /æː/:  
/ˈprɛmətʃeɪ/ 'premature'; /ˈbrəðə(r)/ 'brother'; /eˈlæv/ 'alive'; and very many others. /ə/ may also be used in the dialect.
Section 13. Corresponding to RP \( /\theta/\):
\[ 'lər\thetaz\] 'lorries'.

Section 14. Corresponding to RP \( /u/\):
\[ 'blem\in\] 'blooming' (also with \( /ə\)/); 
\[ 'weste(r)\] 'Worcester, Worcester apple'; 
\[ 'weste\(\theta\)\] 'Worcestershire'; 
\[ 'west\(d\)\] 'worsted'.

Section 15. Corresponding to RP \( /i:\theta/\):
\[ 'ankt\(t\)\] 'handkerchief'.

Section 16. Corresponding to RP \( /\j\\theta/\):
\[ 'kol\(e\r\)\] 'colliery'.

Section 17. Corresponding to RP \( /\wiz/\):
\[ 'o\(lez\] 'always' (also with \( /ə\)/).

Section 18. Corresponding to RP consonant clusters:
\[ 'd\(\j\)nk\(e\r\)\] 'gently'; 
\[ 'f\(\j\)k\(e\r\)\] 'fettle
it, mend it'; 
\[ 'le\(\j\)ber\(e\r\)\] 'labourers';
\[ 'tak\(e\(\j\)\)\] 'tackler'; etc. Consonant clusters without an intervening \( /e/\) or \( /\omega/\) are also found.\(^1\)

Section 19. Corresponding to RP \( /e\(\j\)\)/:
\[ 'kro\(\j\)\] 'crochet'; 
\[ 'f\(\j\)\(\j\)\] 'foyer'.

Section 20. Corresponding to RP \( /\alpha/\):
\[ 'klek\] 'clerk'.

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1. Cf. section 5.3.5, Description and Comparative Distribution, section 17.
5.3.6.4. **Modification:**

The very front, rounded, tense variants around [ɛ] and [œ] are modified by some speakers who use a greater number of more centralised and less rounded variants. The modification of /e/ is seldom as consistent as that of some other sounds. Phonetically, some speakers hardly modify the sound at all. Variants overlapping with /ɛ/ and /ɜ/ sometimes give way to variants which more obviously belong to /ɛ/ and /ɜ/ respectively.

The use of short /e/ in stressed syllables before voiceless consonants tends to persist in modified speech. Sometimes /e:/ is substituted, but the substitution is erratic.

**Distributionally:**

Section 1(a) \(\rightarrow /e:/ or /ɛ/\) is retained
(b) retains /ɛ/ or \(\rightarrow /e:/\). If the medial consonantal gemination in **certain**, **circle**, **turkey**, **purpose**, **thirty**, **thirteen** **dirty** is lost, then \(\rightarrow /e:/\); if it is retained, retain /ɛ/.

/ˈwɛnt/ \(\rightarrow /wen\ ʃu/ 'weren’t you’.

(c) retains /ɛ/ or \(\rightarrow /e:/\)

Section 2 retains /ɛ/ or \(\rightarrow /e:/\) (or \(\rightarrow [ɛ:, ɛ'ə])\).

Section 3(a) retains /ɛ/ or \(\rightarrow /ɜ/\)
(b) retains /ɛ/ or \(\rightarrow /ɜ/\)
(c) retains /ɛ/ or \(\rightarrow /ɜ/\)

1. Cf. section 5.2.8.4.
Section 4 retains /e/

Section 5 retains /e/ or → /ɛ/

Section 6 retains /e/ or → /oː/

Section 7 retains /e/ or → /je/ or [jɛr]

Section 8 → /wə/

year retains /e/ or → /eː/

Section 9 retains /e/ or → /ɪː/

Section 10 retains /e/ or → /ʊə/

Section 11(a) → /ɔʊ/ (/e/ can be retained in corridor)

(b) retains /e/ or → /ɔː/

(c) retains /e/ or → /ɔː/ (+ /l/ if required)

Section 12 retains /e/

Section 13 retains /e/ or → /ɔ/

Section 14 blooming retains /e/ or → /ɪː/

Worcester, Worcestershire retain /e/ or → /ɔ/

worsted retains /e/

Section 15 retains /e/ or → /ɪːf/

Section 16 retains /e/

Section 17 retains /e/ or → /wɜː/

Section 18 as in the dialect

Section 19 retains /ɛ/

Section 20 retains /e/ or → /ɛː/ or → /wɜː/
5.4. DIPHTHONGS:

There are eight diphthong phonemes in the dialect: /ɛɪ, aɪ, ɔɪ, ɔə, ɔɛ, ɔœ, œœ/

Of these, /œœ/ and /œœ/ are described as diphthong phonemes entering the system under the recession of post-vocalic /r/.

It is conceivable that a phonemic inventory for an earlier stage of the dialect might dispense with /œœ/ and /œœ/, but as /ɔː+r/ and /ɔː+r/ are now unusual, it is necessary to include /œœ/ and /œœ/ as additional identifiable phonemes.¹

Both /ɔɪ/ and /œɪ/ have back variants ([ɔːʰ, əːʰ] etc), as there are no contrasting phonemes moving to/from back positions.² /æɪ/ is now firmly established in the dialect, but may have entered the system under the influence of varieties of English closer to RP, and in this analysis subsumes a possible earlier /ɑː:/ phoneme.³ Comparatively speaking, /ɛɪ/ could probably be described as the most distinctive diphthong phoneme in the dialect: /wɛɪ/ 'weigh' ≠ /weː:/ 'way', etc. However, /œœ/ and /œœ/ also yield 'extra' distinctions from a comparative point of view.

The diphthong phonemes are falling diphthongs, i.e. the first element is the more prominent by virtue of having greater length and greater stress. However, when rising variants, or variants with elements of approximately equal prominence occur, they will be mentioned under the appropriate phoneme. Just as vowels tend to be shorter before fortis

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1. Cf. sections 5.4.6.1. and 5.4.7.1.
2. Cf. sections 5.4.4.1 and 2, and 5.4.8.1 and 2.
3. Cf. section 5.4.2.
consonants, so too with diphthongs. This state of affairs accords with that in RP, and I have not felt it necessary to give short and long variants under each phoneme.

Diphthongs not accorded phonemic status:

Diphthongs are to be found in the transcriptions which have not been accorded phonemic status. Apart from those which are readily assignable to phonemes in the inventory, two classes of such diphthongs may be mentioned here:

1) Diphthongal variants of relatively pure vowel phonemes. These are specified under the phoneme in question. It is conceded, however, that some analysts might prefer to phonemicise /iː/ rather than /i:/, for instance. The phonemicist's decision in such cases decides the number of long vowel and diphthong phonemes in the dialect.

2) Diphthongs of low frequency of occurrence and/or highly restricted distribution.

The second class will be discussed here.

(i) [ɬɪ], [uɪ], etc. This type of diphthong is encountered in free variation with vowel groups containing a [w]-glide in present participles: [ˈbɹɪŋ] 'brewing'; [ˈdɹɪŋ] 'doing'; [ɡɪˈrɪŋ] 'going'; etc. Vowel groups containing [w] are at least as likely to occur: ['ɡwɜːn, 'ɡɪwɜːn], etc. 'going'; etc. In a word which is not a present participle, the vowel group is the more likely: ['sɪˈwɪt'] 'suet'. Phonemic solution: /ɬɪː/ or /uː/.
(ii) [oː], etc. Similarly, [oː]-type diphthongs may occur in present participles, e.g. [gɑːnt] 'going to'. Again, however, a vowel group containing [w] is at least as likely, e.g. ['gɔːwnt] 'growing'. There is one word which is not a present participle in which [oː] is sometimes used: [moːst] 'most' (more often with /rə/). Phonemic solution: /oː/ or /oːw/. 

(iii) [eː], etc. occur sometimes before /l/, especially [ɨ]. Examples: [wʊˈəl] 'world'; ['ɜːəli] 'early' ['ʃəli] 'early'; [gʊˈəl] 'girls'; [gəˈəl] 'girls'; etc. A relatively pure long vowel, or vowel + schwa-type off-glide, is also used in forms such as [tʃən] 'turn', the schwa off-glide might possibly suggest a trace of diphthongisation reflecting historic post-vocalic /r/. However, there is no evidence to suggest any /eː/ ≠ /e:/ contrast. [eː] etc. are therefore accounted variants of /e:/.

(iv) [ɛː] etc. and [æː] etc. These two types may be treated together, since /ɛː/ and /æː/ often occur in the same words (/dɛːn, dæːn/ 'down'; etc.). These diphthongs arise in contexts analogous to those for /oʊ/ and /æʊ/, i.e. when speakers no longer pronounce historical post-vocalic /r/: e.g. [məˈə, nəˈə, nɛˈə], etc. 'never'. Similarly: [ɨˈə] 'our'; [ɛː] 'ever'; [fləˈə] 'flour', and [ɻəˈə] 'hour'; etc. (Note also before /r/+ vowel: [nəˈə] 'never earned'; ['flərə] 'floury'; etc.). Such forms might suggest the contrasts 'our; hour' /ɨə/ ≠ /ɛː/ 'ah' 'never' /ɨə/ ≠ /ɛː/ 'no; now' 'never' /nɛə/ ≠ /nɛː/ 'now'
However, the diphthongisation is generally not so clear as in the case of /œ/ and /œ/. Long pure vowels and relatively pure vowels, and long vowels with schwa off-glides occur more frequently. It therefore seems advisable to treat the long vowel variants as the norm, and to describe diphthongal variants such as [e'œ] as being in free variation therewith in the contexts indicated in sections 5.2.4.2(1) and (ii) and 5.2.5.2(v). An appropriate and economical phonemicisation for the system is then:

/ʌ(r), ʌ(ːr)/ 'flower; flower'
/ɛ(ːr), ɛ(ːr)/ 'our; hour; ever'
/ɛ(r), e(ːr)/ 'never'
etc.

[œ], etc. This type of diphthong occurs most noticeably before [i], and sometimes also before /r/. Due to the phonemic status of the centring diphthongs /œ, ʌœ, œ, œ/, it is relevant to ask whether [œ] ever contrasts with /e:/ when post-vocalic /r/ is not pronounced. The number of word pairs in which a contrast /œ/ ≠ /e:/ might be observed is highly restricted. In the words gayer, greyer, layer payer, player, stayer and sprayer, which theoretically might contrast with pay, grey, etc., I tend to hear two syllables on those occasions when post-vocalic /r/ is not pronounced. Such forms can be phonemicised as vowel groups, sometimes with and sometimes without an appreciable [j] glide, e.g. /'leːe(ːr)/ and /'leːje(ːr)/ 'layer'.

1. Cf. sections 5.2.3.1. and 5.2.3.2(1).
5.4.1. /ɛ1/

5.4.1.1. Description:

In this diphthong the first element is not particularly long, and the prominence of the second element is only a little less than that of the first. Under appropriate conditions of stress and intonation, the two elements have approximately equal prominence.\(^1\) The interrogative /ɛ1/ 'I beg your pardon?' is a rising diphthong. The diphthong moves from a position around or a little to the centre of C[ɛ] to a high front variety of [ɪ]. The allophone [ɛ1] moves to approximately the same position from a slightly lower starting point [æ, ø]. The tongue is tense when this phoneme is pronounced.

Within the word /ɛ1/ tends to occur in stressed syllables: Cf., however, the well established import /'my:stɛ1s/ 'moustache'  

\(^1\) The diphthong contrasts very much with dialect /aɪ, ɔɪ/ in this respect. These latter diphthongs can have quite a prominent second element in towns not far from Bolton, but in our area they have a short second element of low, sometimes extremely low, prominence.
and the compounds: tea-break, overdrive, potash, etc. although /'potcıs/ 'potash' perhaps hardly strikes the speaker as a compound. /ei/ may occur in open syllables: /peı/ 'pea; Pee (= Peter)'; /ei/ 'hey; Hey; pardon?; high'; /keı/ 'key'.

/ei/ sometimes occurs directly before /r, 1/, especially if another syllable follows, e.g. /'bete(r)/ 'boiler', but often /je/ or /e/ intervenes between /ei/ and /r, 1/. Examples:

/'je(r)n, 'te(r)n/ 'iron'; /te(r)n/ 'Irish';
/'je(r), 'te(r)l/ 'soil'; /te(l)/ 'oil; paraffin';
/'je(r), 'te(r)/ 'fire'; /te(r)/ 'steal'.

Before [i], /a/ may be used in place of /e/. Raised forms of [j], [e] and [o] are often found in the transcriptions in such vowel-and-glide groups, e.g. ['jeı] 'oil'.

Comparatively, we may note that Hargreaves gave a diphthong aı before ı for Adlington. Of the phonetic quality he observed: "The ı is high-front-narrow and is long."

5.4.1.2. Variants:

(i) [eı],[eı],[ı], [eı] These are all normal variants which may occur in any position. However, in the most traditional speech there is a marked tendency for only [eı]-types to occur before /ʃ/. Examples: [weık] 'break'; [p'ız] 'peas'; [ıı 'tı] 'dry'; [ıı 'tı] 'right'; etc.

(ii) [eı],[eı] These variants are strictly defined. They occur only as allophones before /ʃ/. Examples:

[k'esı] 'cash'; [p'ısı] 'potash'; [flıı] 'flash'; [k'ıı] 'crashing'; etc.

[eı]-types are also possible before /ʃ/, although they are less frequent.

1. Hargreaves (1904: 2).
5.4.1.3. Comparative Distribution:

Section 1. Corresponding to RP /eɪ/:

/eɪ/ 'hey; Hey'; /weɪ/ 'weigh', /eɪt/ 'eight';
/brɛt/ 'break; brake'; /grɛt/ 'great';
/tʃɛnt/ 'change'; /sɔrɛt/ 'straight';
/eɪt/ 'ate'.
Note also: /stɛel/ 'stale = shaft, handle'.

Section 2. Corresponding to RP /aɪ/:

/eɪ/ 'high'; /eɪ(n)ə(r)/ 'iron';
/eɪn(r)/ 'Irish'; /bɛɪ/ 'buy'; /ɔrɛ/ 'dry'; /ɔrɛv/ 'drive'; /mɛɪz(r)/
'miser'; /fɛɪt/ 'fight'; /fɛɪ(n)ə(r)/
'fire'; /ɛɪn/ 'hiding'; /tʃɛn/ 'China
/ɛnt/ 'right' (more often with /i:/);
/ʃɛn/ 'shine'; /mɛs/ 'mice'; /ɛtʃs/
'lice'.

Section 3. Corresponding to RP /ɔɪ/:

/eɪ(j)ə(r)/ 'oil; paraffin'; /bɛɪəl/ 'boil';
/bɛt(ə)le(r)/ 'boiler'; /dʒɛn/ 'join';
/dʒɛn(r)/ 'joiner'; /nɛz/ 'noise';
/pɛzn/ 'poison'; /ʃɛ(j)ə(r)/ 'soil';
/bɛɪ/ 'boy' (also with /ɔ/); /mɛtə(r)/
'moider'; /pɛtʃn/ 'poisonous'.

Section 4. Corresponding to RP /iː/:

/wɛɪv/ 'weave'; /ɡrɛnːs/ 'greenhouse'
(also with /eː, iː/); /bɛinz/ 'beans';
/wɛiv(r)/ 'weaver'; /kɛt/ 'key'; /spɛtʃk/
'speak'; /ɛtʃ/ 'eat'; /rɛtʃ/ 'reach';

1. In those varieties of English in which the word is still
  known, [eː] or [eːtʃ] is a customary pronunciation, cf. Geddie

2. moider is classed as a dialect word — cf. e.g. Geddie (1970:
  685). In modified speech, /'mɛtə(r)/ —> /'maɪdə(r)/.
/niːd/ 'knead'; /blɛtʃ/ 'bleach'; /pɛt/ 'pea; Pee'; /tɛtʃ/ 'teach'; /mɛt/ 'meat, food'; /prɛtʃ/ 'preach'; /'stɛtel/ 'steal'; /lɛn/ 'lean'; /skwɛtʃ/ 'squeeze'.

Section 5. Corresponding to RP /e/:
/'ɛvɪ/ 'heavy'; /'ɛvɪn/ 'heaving';
/'θrɛd/ 'tread'; /'rɛtʃ/ 'retch'; /'frɛʃ/ 'fresh'.

Section 6. Corresponding to RP /æ/ before /ʃ/:
/kɛʃ/ 'cash'; /ɛʃ/ 'ash'; /gæʃ/ 'gash';
/splɛʃ/ 'splash'; /flɛʃ/ 'flash'; /lɛʃ/ 'lash'; etc.

Section 7. Corresponding to RP /ɒ/ before /ʃ/ and after /w/:
/wɛʃ/ 'wash'; /skwɛʃ/ 'squash'.

Section 8. Miscellaneous occurrences of /ɛ/ in words which usually contain a different phoneme:
/lɛv/ 'leave' usually with /ɛ/
/nɛt/ 'night' usually with /iː/
/skwək/ 'skrike' usually with /aɪ/
/'nɛlɪ/ 'nearly' usually with /iə/
/'vɛrɪn/ 'very near, almost' usually with /æ/
/'ʃɛv/ 'shave = slice (n.)' usually with /eː/

Section 9. Corresponding to RP /aɪ/:
/'maɪstʃ/ 'moustache'.
(Note that the accentuation is other than in RP).
5.4.1.5. **Modification:**

All the words in the **Comparative Distribution** contain the straightforward NS equivalent of the RP vowel or diphthong in modified speech except the following words from section 1, which retain /ɛɪ/ even with many highly educated speakers:

- **hey**, **weigh**, **eight**, **straight**. /ɛɪ/ therefore persists in the modified system - /wɛɪ/ 'weigh' ≠ /weɪ/ 'way'; /ɛɪ/ 'hey; pardon?; Hey' ≠ /ɛ:/ 'hay; oh'; /ɛɪt/ 'eight' ≠ /eːt/ 'ate; hate' - but carries a highly reduced functional load.

The phonetic quality is as in the dialect.

**Distributionally:**

- **Section 1** → /ɛː/ except in **hey**, **weigh**, **eight** and **straight**, which retain /ɛ
- **Section 2** → /æɪ/
- **Section 3** → /ɔɪ/, except that /ˈmæɪðə(r)/ → /ˈmaiðə(r)/
- **Section 4** → /iː/, and /ɪə/ in **steal**
- **Section 5** → /ɛ/
- **Section 6** → /ə/
- **Section 7** → /ɔ/
- **Section 8** These words are dealt with under their more customary phonemes
- **Section 9** → /a/

5.4.2. 

/æɪ/

(subsuming a possible relic /aː/)

Although /æɪ/ is now well established in the dialect, it has probably been introduced into the system under the influence of varieties of English which are closer to SE: /æɪ/
has only RP /aɪ/ forms as its comparative reflexes,\(^1\) although
the reverse does not obtain,\(^2\) and it alternates with what
may well be the remnants of an /aː/ phoneme. There are
several possibilities for the phonemicisation of variants
such as [aː] in words such as [læːf] 'life':

1) An /aː/ phoneme might be entered into the inventory
of phonemes, but:

(i) it only occurs in free variation with
/aɪ/\(^3\), and none of my informants uses
it to the exclusion of /aɪ/.

(ii) variants of /aɪ/ shade quite imperceptibly
into monophthongs and back variants.

(iii) it is not kept entirely distinct from
/aʊː/\(^4\), although it unquestionably tends
to be more backed.

2) [aː] etc. might be viewed as variants of /aɪ/,
especially the [aːə]-types, since diphthongal variants shade
imperceptibly into monophthongal ones,\(^5\) and since they are
further in free variation. Also, none of my informants uses
[aː]-types exclusively.

3) [aː] etc. might be viewed as variants of /æː/,
since there is some phonetic similarity, and since the variants
of /æː/ are not kept wholly separate from [aː] etc. The
tendency, however, is for variants of /æː/ to be front, except

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1. An inspection of the Comparative Distribution of other vowel
and diphthong phonemes will reveal that such a restricted
comparative distribution is unusual.
2. Which is precisely as one would expect, if /aɪ/ has been
introduced into the system more recently.
3. Unless the back variants of /æː/ were assigned to /aː/.
   But since back variants of /æː/ are in free variation with
   front ones, it seems undesirable to do this.
4. [aː], for example, occurs in both cases, i.e. as a variant
   of both /æː/ and possible /aː/.
5. See the Description and the Variants below.
before /f, s, θ/, and even then they can also be front, whereas monophthongal variants in free variation with /a1/ are never more front than [a:]. Theoretically, there are contrasts between /æ:/ and possible /a:/:

'shout' /ʃæ:t/ ≠ /ʃaːt/ 'shite'
'half' /æ:v/ ≠ /aːv/ 'hive'
'frown' /fræ:n/ ≠ /fraːn/ 'frying'
'charm' /tʃæ:m/¹ ≠ /tʃaːm/ 'chime'
'town' /təːn/ ≠ /taːn/ 'Tyne'

etc.²

Of these three possibilities for phonemicisation, 3) seems to be rather implausible, 1) is somewhat uneconomical, and would not clearly separate /a:/ from /a1/; 2) is the most accommodating solution. I have therefore treated [a:] etc.³ as variants of /a1/ in this analysis. The lack of prominence of the second element of /a1/ facilitates this solution.

It is interesting to observe in this context that Lodge has noted two front /a:/ phonemes for Stockport: one (phonetic realisation [a:]) corresponding to RP /a:/, the other (phonetic realisation [ã:]) corresponding to RP /a1/⁴. Although the Farnworth dialect displays a more backed form in correspondence with RP /a1/, the situation is in fact similar. Lodge reported that the two phonemes were not kept strictly apart in the Stockport dialect. He noted that there was a modification

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1. Phonemicised for a speaker not using post-vocalic /r/.
2. There are many pairs if /r/ is not pronounced after /æ:/.
   However, a speaker who regularly used /a:/ in the second word of each pair would probably (although not certainly) use post-vocalic /r/ after /æ:/ too. Also, the tendency of the first word of each pair (in those cases where there is no post-vocalic /r/) to be increasingly pronounced with /ɛː/ is a disambiguating factor.
3. I.e. when in free variation with [aːl] etc.
for each phoneme under the influence of SE, and that the modified forms were not confused. I doubt, however, if we can draw any certain conclusions about the internal structure of the residual system simply on the strength of these modified forms which are, by definition, part of a different system.

Lodge was no doubt correct when he observed that the two Stockport /aː/ phonemes were a pressure point within the system and that a change would probably take place even without the influence of RP.¹ In the dialect of Farnworth and district we find that hypothetical /æː/ is going over to /aː/; that a large number of /æː/ words in which /æː/ is not followed by /r/ are going over to /ɛː/ (which under more extreme modification yields to /ɜː/); and that a few more modified speakers are using more backed variants of /æː/, which is increasingly possible as the presumed /aː/ fades.

5.4.2.1. Description:

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A very large number of phones from the transcription are ordered here under /æ/. The arrows in Fig. 16 indicate the major trends, but almost any combination moving from the lower shaded area to the upper one is conceivable.

/æ/ is a falling diphthong. The first element is the longer, and is decidedly more prominent than the second: indeed, the second element is raised in the transcriptions on quite a number of occasions, e.g. [a'z].

The back variants such as [a'ə], [a'ə] and [a'ə] may well be forms of an original /aː/, or alternatively may be viewed as variants of /æ/. Variants with a back starting position usually move only about as far as [ə]. There are also variants from front positions to [ə], especially starting from [a]. A second element around [ə] is typical before /l/.

Variants with front starting positions ([a, ā, ə]) are numerically the more common; although some speakers use a good many back variants, others hardly ever use anything starting further back than [a].

Although the diphthong moves generally in the direction of [l], it does not always quite reach this point.\(^1\) The variant [a'a] is very common. Only the variant [a] with a short first element moves to a relatively high front position.\(^2\)

Occasionally, a slightly higher starting position [a], or even [æ] (extremely rare), is encountered. [æ] particularly is not common, which thing is perhaps not surprising since the

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1. As also with variants of /ɔ/, cf. sections 5.4.3.1. and 5.4.3.2.
2. See the Variants, section (1), and the Modification below.
dialect has a phoneme /ɔt/ with an allophone [ɔt].

The rounded variants in section (ix) of the Variants below may reflect a previous /ɔt/ in certain words. In others, the phonetic environment may well be responsible for the rounding.

Within the word, /ɔt/ may occur in syllables which are relatively weakly stressed, e.g. /pa(ˌ)nte(r)/ 'pioneer', and in open syllables, e.g. /rt'plat/ 'reply', as well as in stressed and closed syllables. /ɔt/ with many traditional speakers does not occur in the environment /v - l/ where /ɔt/ is used.

The phoneme often occurs in present participles simply followed by /n/: [fla'ın] 'flying'; [a:n] 'having'; [a:n] 'eyeing'; [θa'ntc?] 'trying to'; etc. Vowel groups containing a [j] element are equally possible: ['flaʃhjun] 'flying'; etc. [j] is also common after /ɔt/ before /e/, e.g. ['laɪə] 'liar'.

5.4.2.2. Variants:

It has already been observed in the Description that the number of the variants of this phoneme is large. On the whole, the variants do not appear to be environmentally conditioned to any great extent apart from [ɔt].

(1) [ɔt] short first element, fairly high front second element. Occurs before [j]: ['kwaɪə] 'quietly'; ['daɪəlɛkt] 'dialect';

1. Cf. sections 5.4.1.1. and 5.4.1.2(11)
2. Cf. section 5.4.3.3., subsection 2.
(ii) [aˑɪ], etc: Falling diphthongs with front starting positions, used by some speakers more than others, and gaining ground fast, as such variants are preferred by modified speakers. [aˑɪ] may now be considered to be firmly established in the dialect as an optional variant. Examples: [waˑtˑɪ] 'white'; [naˑɪn] 'nine'; [saˑɪd] 'side'; etc.

(iii) [aˑɪ],[aˑɛ],[aˑə]: Diphthongs with a backed front starting position. These are the most common in the dialect. Examples: [stəˑɛ] 'stile'; [təˑɛm] 'time'; [fəˑɛn] 'fine'; [tˑwaˑəs] 'twice'; ['sməˑɪli] 'smiling'; etc.

(iv) Variants with [ə] as second element: These usually have a backed first element, and are common before /l/. Examples: [əˑə] 'I'll'; [stəˑə] 'stile'; [kləˑəm] 'climb'; [waˑə] 'while'; [joˑə] 'vigh = yes (contradictory)'; [maˑə] 'mile'; [kəˑənd] 'kind'; etc. After a long back vowel, a schwa off-glide is quite frequent: [ɪn'səˑəd] 'inside'; [naˑən] 'nine'; ['fəˑəvə] 'fiver'; etc. These are not always easy to distinguish from diphthong variants. Before [ə], the off-glide may have an [o]-quality, e.g. [stəˑə] 'style'.

(v) Variants with a centralised first element: These do not appear to be environmentally conditioned. Examples: [kˑəˑənd] 'kind'; [əˑə] 'I'll'; [tˑəˑəm] 'time'; etc.
(vi) Nasalised variants: The more front variants are particularly prone to a slight to moderate nasalisation with some speakers, even when the phonetic environment does not contain a nasal. Examples: [wã·vãt'] 'white'; [sã·s] 'slice'; [jã·et] 'right'; [sã:n] 'sign'; etc.

(vii) Diphthongs with a back starting position: [a·e],[æ·e] [æ·e], etc. Used frequently by some speakers and hardly at all by others. How far such forms are variants of /a1/, or how far variant of an original /a1/, is a moot point. As in the case of the long vowels in section (viii) these variants seem to occur more frequently in certain very common words. Examples: [jã·t] 'right'; [jæ·e] 'vigh = yes (contradictory)'; [kæ·end] 'kind'; [klæ·em] 'climb'; [ma·e] 'my'; etc.

(viii) [a:],[æ:],[æ:]: Long vowel variants: Of these forms, [a:] is perhaps the most common. The very back forms are not used by some speakers, and hardly by some others. These forms appear to be most often met with in common words, which is perhaps understandable in forms which are on the decline. Examples: [la:R] 'like'; [sa:d] 'side'; [mæ:] 'my'; [æ:m] 'I'm'; [la:f] 'life'; [æ:s] 'ice'; [p'æ:l] 'pie'; [t'æ:m] 'time'; etc. There is no long centralised variant [æ:] of the phoneme /a1/. If there were, confusion with /æ:/ would be rife, especially for a speaker who had lost, or partially lost, historical post-vocalic /r/.

The question of off-glides is discussed in section (iv) above.
(ix) Rounded variants: \([a'\ddot{u}]\), etc. As mentioned in the
Description, these variants may in some
cases reflect earlier /ɔt/ forms, for in
some of the following examples rounding
cannot readily be attributed to the phonetic
environment; in other cases, the environment
is a decidedly possible influence: [a':v]
'I've'; [k'wa'\ddot{u}t', k'wa'\d首t'] 'quiet';
[m\ddot{a}'\ddot{u}] 'mile'; [ɒ:] 'I'; [m\ddot{a}'\ddot{u}] 'my';
[k'w\ddot{a}'\ddot{u}] 'quite'; [t'\ddot{a}nt\ddot{e}, l\ddot{a}'\ddot{u}]z]
'tantalize'; [fa'\ddot{a}\ddot{ed}] 'fired'; [l\ddot{a}'\ddot{e}k\ddot{e},
l\ddot{a}'\ddot{u}] 'like'; [m\ddot{a}'\ddot{u}nd] 'mind'; [a'\ddot{u}]
'I'; [t'\ddot{a}mz] 'times'; [r\ddot{e}'\ddot{e}z] 'rise';
[s\ddot{a}'\ddot{u}]d'] 'side'; [n\ddot{a}'\ddot{u}] 'nice'.

(x) [\ddot{a}'\ddot{u}'], etc. Variants with a raised front first element.
These are infrequent, and appear not to be
environmentally conditioned: [\ddot{a}'\ddot{u}, \ddot{a}'\ddot{o}, \ddot{a}']
'aye'; [\ddot{a}'\ddot{e}] 'eyes' (modified form);
[l\ddot{a}'\ddot{u}] 'like'; etc.

5.4.2.3. Comparative Distribution:

Dialect /a:\/ corresponds only to RP /a\/. Examples:
/lak/ 'like'; /s\ddot{a}d/ 'side'; /w\ddot{a}t/
'white'; and very many more.

5.4.2.4. Modification:

In modified speech there is a sharp decrease in the
number of back variants. The general movement seems to be
towards [a'\ddot{u}] as the main variant, and there is also an increase
in the number of [\ddot{a}] forms - particularly, it would appear,
before /t/: [w\ddot{a}'\ddot{e}] 'white'; [t'\ddot{a}2\ddot{e}] 'tight'; etc. Nasali:
variants also seem to feature more strongly in modified speech.
5.4.3. \(/\circ i/\)

5.4.3.1. Description:

\(/\circ i/\) is a falling diphthong, the first element being noticeably longer and more heavily stressed than the second. It moves from a starting point on or above C[\(\circ\)], and often a little to the centre of these positions, towards [\(\ddot{\imath}\)], although the second element is more often [\(\ddot{\varepsilon}\)], [\(\dddot{\varepsilon}\)] or [\(\dddot{\imath}\)]. Except before /j/, I have noted only one case of a short first element followed by a relatively high front [\(\imath\)] of equal or nearly equal prominence, although just such an /\circ i/ diphthong can be heard more regularly in some surrounding Lancashire towns.

/\circ i/ occurs in both stressed and relatively weakly stressed syllables. Examples:

/\(\ddot{d}\)i's\(\ddot{g}\)ro\(\ddot{i}\)/ 'destroy'; /t\(\ddot{a}\)i/ 'toy'; /'v\(\ddot{i}\)l\(\ddot{i}\)/ 'violin'; /'s\(\ddot{e}\)l\(\ddot{e}\)l\(\ddot{i}\)d/ 'celluloid'; etc.

/\circ i/ occurs in present participles where historical /l/ has been lost after /\(\ddot{o}\)/: /f\(\ddot{o}\)\(\ddot{i}\)/ 'falling'; /k\(\ddot{o}\)\(\ddot{i}\)/ 'calling'.

Fig. 17. - /\circ i/ and variants
/ɔː/ may be replaced by /ɔə/ before /l/, e.g. [t'ɔː.ələt'] 'toilet'. /ɔː/ occasionally appears for /ɔː/,¹ in an apparently unsystematic way, except before /l/ in a word such as /'tɔːlət/ 'toilet', where this development occurs more often. When a long vowel is used, off-glides or traces of a diphthongal second element may sometimes be discerned. Examples:


/j/ often occurs between /ɔː/ and /e/: /'rɔjel/ 'royal'; /'lɔjel(r)/ 'lawyer'; etc.

5.4.3.2. Variants:

Overlap with /ɔə/ and /ɔː/ has been mentioned in the Description above. There is a tendency for the longer [ɔː]-type variants to occur before /l/, although there are not particularly many words in the dialect in which /ɔː/ is directly followed by /l/. Before /j/, the first element of the diphthong tends to be shortened, e.g. ['ʃɔjel] 'royal', when followed by /el/ - but there are few examples of this phenomenon in residual speech, as the common words oil, soil, spoil and boil all have /ɛl/. In section 2 of the Comparative Distribution, /ɔː/ before medial /l/ is represented by normal [ɔːl]-type variants.

The remaining variants are not conditioned by the immediate phonetic environment. First elements or starting

¹. As also for /ɔə/, cf. section 5.2.6.1.
positions are [ɔ, ɔ̃, ɔ̆, ɔ̃] and appear in any combination with the second elements [ẽ, ȷ, æ, i]. Examples:

\[ fɔ̃.in \] 'falling'; \[ dɪ'sẽ.rəd \] 'destroyed';
\[ 'sɛl.ə.ɪd \] 'celluloid'; \[ bɔ̃.j \] 'boy'; etc.

5.4.3.3. Comparative Distribution:

Section 1. Corresponding to RP /ɔi/: 
\[ dɪ'sɛrəd \] 'destroyed'; /bɔi/ 'boy' (also with /ɛi/); /'sɛl.ə.ɪd\] 'celluloid'; /tɔi, 'toy'; etc. etc.

Section 2. Corresponding to RP /aɪ/: 
/'vɔɪ.ət\] 'violet'; /'vɔɪ.ɪn\] 'violin'; /'vɔɪ.ən(t)s\] 'violence'; and sometimes one hears /kwɔte(r)/ 'choir'.

Section 3. Corresponding to RP /wa:/ in words of French origin:
/'rɛsˌvɔɪ\] 'reservoir'; /ɔ:reˈvɔɪ/ 'au revoir' (brought back from France by soldiers in first war); note also /eˈvɔɪ.ə,ˈdɔːjˈpɔɪ/ /ˌavɔɪ.ə ˈdu ˈpoɪs/.

Section 4. Corresponding to RP /ɔː/: 
(a) /ˈlɔɪ.ɪ(r)/ 'lawyer'.
(b) The remainder are possible forms in the dialect, but they are used inconsistently. They may all be replaced by /ɔː/, and occasionally /ɔː/: /kɔɪn/ 'corn'; /ɔɪn/ 'horn'; /ɔɪs/ 'horse'; /dʒɔɪdʒ/ 'George'; /ˈmɔɪnɪn/ 'morning'.

5.4.3.4. Modification:

/ɔɪ/ either remains the same phonetically in modified speech, or has a lowered and somewhat unrounded first element, i.e. [ɾi'], usually slightly centralised, e.g. [p'ɾi•'antɔ] 'point'. In more educated speech, however, a modification to a closer first element around [ɔ•ɪ] is sometimes heard.

Distributionally:

Section 1 retains /ɔɪ/
Section 2 ➔ /æe/
Section 3 tends to retain /ɔɪ/
Section 4(a) retains /ɔɪ/
   (b) ➔ /ɔə/ (or sometimes /ɔː/) (or sometimes /ɔː/)

5.4.4. /ɔɪ/

5.4.4.1. Description:

![Diagram](image-url)

Fig. 18. - /ɔɪ/ and variants (simplified)
/əY/ is a falling diphthong, although variants with approximately equal elements are also encountered, especially when the diphthong has a central starting position, and a relatively high front second element. The diphthong most frequently has a starting position around [ɛ] or [æ]. The shaded area extending from [ɛ], and slightly lowered varieties thereof, to a point somewhat to the back of [e] and [æ] indicate the approximate range of starting positions. The choice of [γ] as the second element in the phoneme symbol /əY/ is dictated by the fact that the diphthong moves to or towards [Ỹ] in a majority of cases. The question of the least restricted variant does not really arise, as the diphthong moves to or towards [γ], [ʉ] and [œ], perhaps with a degree of unrounding, in any environment, just as it moves towards a front second element in any environment. When one speaker seems to use a preponderance of front or back variants, this is, as far as I am able to ascertain, a matter of idiolectal preference. Indeed, it is not at all unusual to find a speaker who—in some common word such as /təyd/ 'told'—pronounces the same word with both back and front variants time and time again. My impression is that all speakers use both varieties, even if they have a preference for one or the other, and that the front varieties are the more common. In some modified accents, however, a greater number of back variants may possibly be found.

1. Rising variants are not impossible either, but an accurate account of their distribution would appear to be dependent on a description of sentential stress and intonation.
\(/\gamma:/\), when pronounced with little tongue tension, can occasionally become indistinguishable from varieties of \(/\beta\gamma:/\).\(^1\)

\(/\beta\gamma/\) is now beginning to appear here and there in free variation with \(/\varepsilon:/\) and \(/\varepsilon:/\) in words which have RP \(/\alpha\varepsilon:/\).\(^2\)

Vowel groups, sometimes containing a /w/-glide, often appear before /r, l/. Some trace of /e/ or /o/ is usually to be detected before [±]. Examples:

['blæwe] 'Blower'; ['bæ\gamma tæ\ln] 'bowling'; ['næ\wæ\l\v] 'Knowles'; etc.

\(/\beta\gamma/\) occurs in syllables which are stressed, or relatively weakly stressed. Examples:

/'s\v\w\v\w\n/ 'paste for interior decorating made from flour and water'; /\beta\v/ 'owe'; /n\v\v/ 'no';
/n\v\v/ 'nothing'; /n\v\v/ 'bad-tempered';
/'s\v\v\v\l/ 'soul'; /g\v\v/ 'gold'; /m\v\v/ 'mulled';
/'l\v\v\v\n/ 'laughing'; /d\v\v/ 'dough'; /k\v\v/ 'cough'; /'\v\v\v\v\v\v/ 'anyhow'; /'\v\v\v\v\v\v\v\v\v\v\v\v\v\v\v\v/ 'granddaughter'; etc.

5.4.4.2. Variants:

The choice of variant seems to be largely idiolectal, although a rounded first element may follow a preceding bilabial

(1) Regular starting positions: [\v, \v, \v, \v, \v, \v, \v, \v]

Of these, the rounded variants may follow a

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1. Cf. section 5.2.2.1. and section 4(b) and (c) of the Comparative Distribution below.
2. Cf. section 5 of the Comparative Distribution below.
preceding bilabial; [ɛ, ɔ, ɔ̃] are very common.

Regular finishing positions, with optional unrounding: [ʏ, ʊ, ʌ, ɔ̃], or points somewhat short of those values intermediate between the starting and regular finishing positions. Examples: [p'ɛ'Y] 'pole'; ['b3'æt] 'Bolton'; [tɔθ'æd] 'old'; [tɔθeYd] 'the old'; ['aY'de] 'older'; [lɛ'ɪf] 'laugh'; [j3'ɪ nd] 'round'; [nɔ̃] 'now'; [nət̠] 'naughty'; etc.

(ii) [a'u],[ɛ'u],[æ'v], etc. Variants with a low starting position. Apart from occasional irregular occurrences, and apart from the occurrence of such forms in modified speech, such variations are consistently to be encountered in a sin but very common, word: no. Thus: [nɔ̃v], [nɔ̃, nə'u], etc. 'no'. It is more usual for variants with low starting positions to move towards a back position such as [u] or [o].

(iii) Vowel groups with /e/ and /we/ - as in the Description above.

5.4.4.3. Comparative Distribution:

Section 1. Corresponding to RP /əʊ/:

/sɔyd/ 'sold'; /bɔyt/ 'bolt'; /p3ɔ/ 'pall = to cut, haircut; pole'; /tɔyd/ 'told'; /ɔv/ 'owe'; /nɔv/ 'no'; /nɔvælz/ 'Knowles'; /'blɔy(w)e(r)/ 'Blower'; /'skɔykrɔ:f(t)s/ 'Scowcroft's'; /kɔyd/ 'cold'; /gɔyd/ 'gold'; /dɔv/ 'dough'; /'bɔytŋ/ 'Bolton'; /fɔyd/ 'Fold'; /rɔvæl/
Section 2. Corresponding to RP /ɔː/:  
/ɔːt/ 'ought; aught = anything'; /nɔːt/ 'nought = nothing; (bad-tempered)'; /'nɔːtɪ, 'bad-tempered; naughty'; /bɔːt/ 'bought'; /bɔːt/ 'brought'; /'dɔːtθ(ə)r/ 'daughter'; /'kɔːf/ 'cough'; /'tɔːf/ 'toffee'; /ˈθɔːt, 'thought'; /bˈθɔːt/ 'bethought' (refl.); /fɔːt/ 'Tought'; /tɔːt/ 'taught'.

Section 3. Corresponding to RP /ɛː/:  
/kɔːf/ 'cough'; /ˈtɔːf/ 'toffee'.

Section 4. Corresponding to RP /uː/:  
(a) French origin: /rɔːt/ 'route'; /dɔːtɪ/ 'douche'.  
(b) Optional /ɔː/, more often /yː/: /frɔːt/ 'fruit'; /skrɔːt/ 'screw'; /mɔːv/ 'move'.  
(c) Irregular instances which may well be lax, diphthongised forms of /yː/.
Examples: [ˈlʊk] 'look'; [ˈfʊt] 'foot'.

Section 5. Corresponding to RP /ɔːu/:  
Traditionally there would not appear to have been any correspondence here, since RP /ɔːu/ traditionally has /ɛː/ as its comparative reflex in almost all cases known to me. However, instances of /ɔː/ are encountered

1. In the speech of some RP speakers - cf. section 3 below.  
2. Cf. sections 5.2.2.1 and 5.2.2.2(vi).
in free variation with /eː/ (and /æː/)
even amongst residual speakers: /'θɛɪsen(d) 'thousands'; /ər(w)ez/ 'hours; ours'; etc.

Section 6. Corresponding to RP /ʌ/: 
/mʌyd/ 'mulled'.

Section 7. Corresponding to RP /ɑː/: 
/lɑːʃ/ 'laugh'.

5.4.4.4. Modification:

With some speakers - probably the great majority, and certainly the base informants for this study - there is little or no modification in the phonetic quality of the phoneme; with others, there is a decided movement towards [a'ʌ] or [a'ɔ] as the main realisation. The first element tends towards low, front positions: [ɛ, ɛ, æ, a, ə]; these are usually followed by a back second element: [u, u, ɔ]. [a'ʌ]-types are used in some surrounding areas of Lancashire, so that levelling-out processes may result in their becoming the norm over a period of time; [a'ʌ]-types are also, of course, a move in the direction of RP /au/.

Distributionally:

Section 1 → /oː/
Section 2 → /ɔː/, but see section 3 for cough and toffee; owt (only with the meaning 'anything'), nowt and nowty, being common words, may also retain /ɔː/.
Nowt only modifies when it means 'figure nought'.
Section 3 → /ɔ/
Section 4(a, b, c) → /yː/

1. A dialect-speaking farmer at Thurnham (near to the ruined Cockerands Abbey) told me that he could recognise all the pe( from Bolton on the nearby caravan site by virtue of the way in which they pronounced such words as town and about - i.e. with /ɔː/ in modified speech. He imitated the sound accurately and with some relish! His own dialect equivalent was [əʊ].
5.4.5.1. **Description:**

/ɪə/ is a falling, centring diphthong. The first element is the longer and more prominent. Sometimes in unstressed syllables the second element may be the more prominent, e.g. ['tʃæmpio:n] 'champion'. /ɪə/ moves from a starting position below and to the centre of C[i] to a position around [ə] or [ɛ], as shown in Fig. 19. When /ɪə/ occurs in a final, open syllable, the second element is higher, and sometimes decidedly tenser and more rounded than the second element of the equivalent RP /iə/; the final position of /ɪə/

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is also higher, and sometimes more front, rounded and tense than that of RP /əʊ/ in closed syllables. Sometimes the starting position is a little lower than [ɨ], being on or just above the half-close position. In unstressed syllables, a more centralised starting position around [ɨ] is to be expected.

Within the word, /əʊ/ occurs in syllables carrying the main, secondary, or weak stress. Examples:

/tʃɪə(r)/ 'chair'; /dɪəθ/ 'death'; /diəf/ 'deaf'; /ɒə(r)/ 'there'; /fɪəlt/ 'field'; /sɪə(r)/ 'steep'; /fɪə(r)t/ 'frightened, afraid'; /meə(r)'siːtɪd/ 'near-sighted'; /neə(r)'bæt/ 'nearby'; /kɛnɪəθɪn/ 'many a thing'; /'kɛntən/ 'Kenyon'; /be'tæltən/ 'batallion'; /'mɪlən/ 'million'; etc.

In stressed syllables, variants of /əʊ/ containing a [j]-glide are quite common. After [j] and before [z], the second element may well have an [o] or [y]-quality, e.g. [fɪ'ʃən] 'feel'. There are also occasional occurrences of [t'ə]-type diphthongs in stressed syllables other than before [z], and these may once have been more common.

Before /r/, a possible phonemic solution for speakers using post-vocalic /r/ might be: /iː + r/. However, it is doubtful whether many town-dwellers consistently retain /r/ in this context. Further there is, from a phonetic point of view, diphthongisation before /r/ anyhow. On the basis

2. For examples see section (iii) of the Variants below.
of my own corpus, I have no hesitation in adopting the phonemic solution /ɪə(ɹ)/.

Before /l/, and especially [ɪ], /iː + l/ would not be an appropriate phonemic solution. The sound before /l/ is of a highly pronounced diphthongal character, no doubt due to /l/’s being so velar in the dialect.

5.4.5.2. Variants:


(ii) [ʊə],[ʊːə] Regular variants, except in unstressed syllables. Examples: [ɹʃːəl] 'really'; [ʊəs] 'there'; [pɹːəm] 'peony'; etc.

(iii) Variants including a [ʃ]-element: [ɹʃːə] 'here'; [ʃːə] 'here'; ['ʃːə] 'where'; [ʃʃːə] 'real'; etc.

(iv) [tə], etc. Variants with a more centralised first element: Typical of unstressed syllables. Examples: ['mələn] 'million'; ['kəntən] 'Kenyon'; [be'tələn] 'batallion'. Sometimes the second element will be decidedly the more prominent, e.g. [tʃəmpjən] 'champion'.

(v) Variants with a back second element: May occur

(a) before /l/, especially [ɪ], and

(b) in unstressed syllables. Examples: [ʃʃːə] 'real'; [wɨəz] 'wheels'; [tʃəmpjən] 'champion'; [pɹʃːəmətənə]
'premium bonds'; etc. There are also traces of [ɪːə]-type diphthongs in stressed syllables and these may formerly have been more common.

5.4.5.3. Comparative Distribution:

Section 1. Corresponding to RP /ɪə/:

/ɪə(r)/ 'here'; /ˈrɪəlɪ/ 'really'; /fɪə(r)/ 'fear'; and many others.

Section 2. Corresponding to RP /ɜː/:

/ɔɪə(r)/ 'there'; /ˈtʃɪə(r)/ 'chair';
/waʊə(r)/ 'where'; /skwət/ 'scared'
(more usually with /eː/ + /d/).

Section 3. Corresponding to RP /eː/:

/waɪə/ 'well'; /dɪəf/ 'deaf'; /dɪəd/ 'dead' /dɪəθ/ 'death'. The last three also have /dʒ + ɛ/ and /dʒ + ɛ/ in the dialect, but the forms with /ɪə/ are the most common.

Section 4. Corresponding to RP /iː/:

(a) Before /l/: /fɪəlt/ 'field'; /wɪəlz/ 'wheels'; /mɪəl/ 'meal'; and many others.

(b) There are occasional traces of /ɪə/ in words which now usually have /iː/ in the dialect, e.g. /mən/ 'mean'.

5.4.5.4. Modification:

Phonetically there is no discernible modification except that variants with a back second element are less frequent.

1. For further discussion, see Shorrocks (1978b, 51, 56-8).
Distributionally:

Section 1 retains /ʊə/
Section 2 → /e:/
Section 3 → /ɛ/
Section 4(a) retains /ʊə/
  (b) → /iː/

5.4.6.

5.4.6.1. **Description:**

/ʊə/ is an additional identifiable phoneme entering the system under the recession of post-vocalic /r/. It is a falling, centring diphthong, and its starting position is around or above C[ɔ], or a position somewhat to the centre of these areas. The second element is [e], and on some occasions a little roundness and tension may be detected, i.e. [e]. Before [ı] the diphthong usually moves towards the [ɔ] or [a] regions.

Fig. 20. – /ʊə/ and variants
/ɔə/ occurs in stressed and relatively weakly stressed syllables. Examples:

/ʃoət/ 'fault'; /'ʃɔəə(r)ts/ 'all sorts';
/'mɔə(r)ən/ 'morning'; /'rɛkɔə(r)d/ 'record' 
(more often, traditionally, with /e/); /ɔə'ri:t/ 'all right'; etc.

The phoneme has a restricted distribution. It occurs:

1) Before /l/ - or rather, usually, historical /l/, fо;
/l/ has usually been lost after /ɔː/ or /ɔə/. Examples:

/ʃoət/ 'fault'; /ʃoən/ 'fallen'; /ɔə/ 'all';
/ɔəz/ 'always'; /'ɔəə(r)ts/ 'all sorts';
/wəɵweks/ 'Wallworks'; /kɔəl/ 'call'; /'ɔəlez/ 'always'; etc.

And across words boundaries:

/ɔəz/ 'all as (that)'; /ɔət/ 'all at'; etc.

In all these words /ɔə/ is in free variation with /ɔː/.

2) Before /r/ or, more often, in place of historical [ɔː] or [ɔˈə] + /r/ (which might be phonemicised as /ɔː + r/), where /r/ has now disappeared. For a speaker who has lost post-vocalic /r/ (and most have in these words), there is no option but to phonemicise:

/'kɔəne/ 'corner'; /'mɔənən/ 'morning'; /ɔəs/ 'horse'; /ʃoət/ 'short'; etc.

Speakers who use post-vocalic /r/ after some vowels and diphthо: usually do not after /ɔə/ and /ɔə/. Further, whilst /ɔː/ is occasionally used in this type of word, ¹ /ɔə/ is customary.

Thus, discounting for the moment the occasional phonemicisation

¹. More often, it would seem, in some words than others. In the words which have just been listed, /ɔː/ would not be unusual in horse, but it most certainly would in short. For the whole group of words, /ɔə/ is the normal phoneme.
of /ɔ:/ without /r/, and admitting that /ɔːr/ would have been a suitable phonemicisation at a time when post-vocalic /r/ was regularly pronounced, the appropriate phonemicisation for the present system is /ɔə(r)/. This solution does justice to the prevalent pronunciation [ɔː] and allows for a followin/ /r/ or trace of /r/-colouring — and, since an element of diphthongisation is phonetically inevitable before /r/, the phonemic solution /ɔə(r)/ is not inappropriate phonetically speaking on those occasions when /r/ is pronounced. Thus, the word horse might have: /ɔː:s/ as an occasional phonemicisation; /ɔː:rs/ as a historical phonemicisation; /ɔəs/ as the current phonemicisation appropriate to most speakers; and /ɔə(r)s/ as the phonemicisation appropriate to the current system, thereby catering for occasional residual occurrences of /r/.

The diphthong /ɔə/ is often clearly to be heard before /r/ in /'ɔə'riːt, ɔə'riːt/ 'all right'.

3) In the words /kənt/ 'can't'; /'kənkriːt/ 'concret /'təʊlet/ 'toilet' (also with /ɔː/ and /ɔːː/).

In distinguishing between /ɔː/ and /ɔə/, it is not always easy to make a phonemic decision between variants such as [ɔː], [ɔːː] and [ɔːː].

Omitting for the moment the /r/ of the general phonemicisation /ɔə(r)/, minimal pairs such as the following may be used to distinguish /ɔə/ from /ɔː/ for most speakers:

'or' /ɔə/ ≠ /ɔː/ 'oh!; all'
'torque' /təʊk/ ≠ /tɔːk/ 'talk'
'cord' /kɔːd/ ≠ /kɔːd/ 'called'
'drawer' /dɔːrə/ ≠ /dɔːrə/ 'draw'
'drawers = knickers, underpants' /ɔːz/ ≠ /ɔːz/ 'draws'
'sort' /scət/ ≠ /scət/ 'salt'
'morse' /məs/ ≠ /məs/ 'moss'

To distinguish /œ/ from /o/:

'mourning' /məʊ(r)n/ ≠ /məʊ(r)n/ 'morning'
mourn' /məʊ(r)n/ ≠ /məʊ(r)n/ 'tomorrow'
'four' /foʊ(r)/ ≠ /foʊ(r)/ 'for'
'hoarse' /ɔ(r)s/ ≠ /ɔ(r)s/ 'horse'
'over' /ɔ(r)/ ≠ /ɔ(r)/ 'or'
'oars' /ɔ(r)z/ ≠ /ɔez/ 'always'
'fort' /foʊ(r)t/ ≠ /foʊt/ 'fault'

etc.

5.4.6.2. Variants:

(i) [ɔˈə], [ɔɨə], [ɤˈə], [ɤɨə]. These are the regular variants. The only environmental restriction is that they are rare before final /l/ ([ɨ]) - but /œ/ is seldom followed by a final /l/ in the dialect. Examples: [kʰɔ̃ŋkɨt], ['kʰɔ̃ŋkɨt] 'concrete'; [fɔ̃n] 'fallen' [ɡə̃z] 'always'; [ɡə̃z] 'horse', etc.

(ii) [ɣˈə], [ɣə], etc. Before [ɨ]: [ɟˈɪ] 'all'; [kˈəɪ] 'call'. Such examples are not very common, because /l/ has usually been lost.

(iii) [ɤˈə], [ɤˈɪə], etc. Lowered variants. These occur less frequently than the variants in section (i). They are used more extensively in modified speech. Examples: [təˈwəˌdə]
'towards'; [kəˈɹed] 'cord'; ['fəˌetɪtʃən] 'fortune'.

(iv) Variants with an [e]-type second element: Occasional variants: [tʰɬ] 'towards'; [ɔ ə] 'all'; etc.

5.4.6.3. Comparative Distribution:

Section 1. Corresponding to RP /əː/: Nearly all occurrences of dialect /əː/ correspond to RP /əː/. Examples:
(a) /fət/ 'fault'
(b) /ə/ 'all'; /kəˈɛl/ 'call'; /fəˈɛn/ 'fallen'; etc.
(c) /ʃə(r)t/ 'short'; /kə(r)ɬ/ 'cord'; /ə(r)s/ 'horse'; and many others.

Section 2. Corresponding to RP /uː/: /'kəʊkri:t/ 'concrete'.

Section 3. Corresponding to RP /auː/: /'təʊlət/ 'toilet' (also with /ɔː/, /æː/).

Section 4. Corresponding to RP /aː/: /kəʊnt/ 'can't' (also with /æː/).

5.4.6.4. Modification:

Phonetically the variants with a lower first element become more common; [ɔ ə], [ə ə] remain common; the variants with a raised first element become less common — but are possible in words such as cord, short, etc. when pronounced by more
highly educated speakers. These last mentioned forms are rounded, but the diphthong often has less roundness of the first element when employed by ordinary modified speakers. Variants with a back second element are more common due to the increased use of final /l/ after /ɔː/ in modified speech.

Distributionally:

Section 1(a) → /ɔ/
(b) → /ɔː/ (and adds /l/) or retς
(c) retains /ɔː/ (adds /l

Section 2 → /ɔ/
Section 3 may retain /ɔː/
Section 4 → /æː/

5.4.7.1. Description:

Fig. 21. - /ɔː/ and variants
(-- ---- = variants overlapping with /ɔə/)

(-- ---- = variants overlapping with /ɔə/)
/œ/ is an additional, identifiable phoneme entering the system under the recession of post-vocalic /r/. It is a falling centring diphthong. Its starting position is on or a little to the centre of C[œ]. It moves typically to [æ], or to a sound slightly tenser and more rounded than [æ], i.e. [e]. Sometimes the movement is towards a higher central position, [ɛ], [ɔ], etc. in which case the extent of the glide is not always as great. The first element of the diphthong is the longer and more prominent. 

/oœ/ occurs in stressed and relatively weakly stressed syllables. Examples:

/dɪˈvɔʊ(r)s/ 'divorce'; /wоʊ(r)/ 'wore';
/sоʊ(r)t/ 'sort'; /'leɪdʒəʊ(r)/ 'Ladyshore';
/'ɔʊsоʊ(r)ts/ 'all sorts'; /fоʊ(r)'tіːn/
'fourteen'; etc.

There is a considerable degree of overlap between /œ/ on the one hand and /œ:/ and /γə/ on the other. Since, even in residual speech, many words formerly pronounced with /γə/ are moving over to /œ:/, it is not always clear with which of these /œ/ may be said to be overlapping. In words with an historical post-vocalic /r/, /œ/ results where /r/ has been lost - assuming /oː + r/ to have been the earlier phonemicisation. The case is analogous to that of /œ/, and /œ(r)/ has been adopted here as the most suitable phonemic solution for the current system.1 /œ/ reflects the system now used by the majority, whilst the bracketed /(r)/ allows for residual and inconsistent use of /r/, or a trace of /r/-colouring. Since /oː/ would be at least slightly

1. Cf. section 5.4.6.1.
diphthongised before /r/, the designation /ɔe(r)/ for the system as a whole is phonetically reasonable. Thus /fɔe(r), fɔe(r)/ 'four'. In words which do not historically contain a post-vocalic /r/, occurrences of /ɔe/ could well represent an interstage between older /ya/ and more usual /oː/. At any rate, occurrences of /ɔe/ in the following examples are not as regular as either /ya/ or /oː/: 

/broʊk/ 'broke'; /stoʊنز/ 'stones'; /roʊd/ 'road'; /loʊd/ 'load'; etc.

Diachronically, then, I suspect that these forms are transitiona between /ya/ and /oː/, but synchronically, since /ɔe/ is included in the inventory of phonemes, /ɔe/ may be said to occur in such words in free variation with /ya/ and /oː/.

Some words which normally contain /ɔe/ may occasionally have /oː/.¹

/ɔe/ can sometimes be difficult to distinguish from /oː/ with a schwa off-glide.

Vowel groups containing a slight [w]-glide occur occasionally, e.g. ['bɔːwɛd] 'board'.

For the vast majority of speakers, who do not use /r/ other than most occasionally after /oː/, /ɔe/ may be distinguished from /oː/ in pairs such as the following:

'over; oar' /ɔe/ ≠ /oː/ 'ch; o'  
'four' /fɔe/ ≠ /foː/ 'foe'  
'mower; (moor; more)' /moʊe/ ≠ /moː/ 'mow'  
'oars' /ɔeːz/ ≠ /oːz/ 'hose'  

¹. See sections 5.2.7.1. and 5.2.7.3, subsection 4.
Minimal pairs distinguishing /oə/ and /ɔə/ are listed under /ɔə/.

5.4.7.2. Variants:

(i) [ɔ'ə], [ɔ'ə]: These are the most typical variants. A rounded second element is not at all unusual with this phoneme. Examples: [sɔ'et] 'sort'; [bo'et] 'board'; [no'en] 'none'; ['jo'ə'ən] 'roaring'; [mə'ə] 'more'; etc.

(ii) [ʊ'ə], [ʊ'ə'], etc. Variants with a high, rounded second element. In free variation with section (i), but less frequent. Examples: [ko'əs] 'course'; [fʊ'ə] 'four'; [spo'ə't] 'sport'; etc.

(iii) [ɔ'ə], [ɔ'ə'], etc. Variants with a high first element. These occur in words in which /oə/ is in free variation with /yə/. Examples: [fɒ'ə, fə'ə] 'four'; [dɒ'd, dɒ'd] 'road'; [ə'en] 'own'; ['bɒ'ə'ən] 'boring'; [pʰ'ə] 'pour'; etc.

1. Cf. section 5.4.6.1.
2. See also /oː/ before /l/, section 5.2.7.2(iv).
5.4.7.3. **Comparative Distribution:**

Section 1. Corresponding to RP /ɔː/:  
/soʊ(r)t/ 'sort'; /boʊ(r)d/ 'board';  
/ɔː(r)/ 'ear'; /kɔː(r)s/ 'course';  
/mɔː(r)/ 'more' (often with /ə/);  
/spɔʊ(r)t/ 'sport'; /ɔ(r)s/ 'hoarse';  
/'snoʊɜrn/ 'snoring'; /ˈmɔːr(ə)z/  
'mourners'; /boʊ(r)/ 'bore'; /wɔ(r)/  
'wore'; /tɔː(r)/ 'tore'; and many others.  
(Also with /ə/ in some cases.)

Section 2. Corresponding to RP /ʌ/:  
/noʊn/ 'none' (also with /ɔː/).  

Section 3. Corresponding to RP /uː/:  
/jʊə/ 'you' (also with /ɔː/).  

Section 4. Corresponding to RP /əʊ/:  
/stoʊn/ 'stone'; /poʊst/ 'post';  
/broʊk/ 'broke'; /roʊd/ 'road';  
/loʊd/ 'load'; etc. (More often with  
/ɔː/ and /ə/).  

Section 5. Corresponding to RP /əuvə/:  
/ə(r)/ 'over'.

5.4.7.4. **Modification:**

Phonetically /ə/ may have the same realisations as in  
the dialect with some speakers, whilst with others slight  
lowering (and/or centralisation and slight unrounding) takes  
place. When such variants as [ʊə] and [əʊ] are used, /ə/  
may still be distinguished from /ə/ because /ə/ can also
have a lower first element in modified speech.\(^1\) Variants with a high first element are not used in modified speech as /œ/ is not in free variation with /œ/ in words such as those in section 4, and to some extent section 1, of the Comparative Distribution above.

Distributionally:

Section 1 retains /œ/,\(^2\) except sort \(\rightarrow \) /œ/
Section 2 \(\rightarrow \) /œ/ (only with the meaning 'none' in modified speech)
Section 3 \(\rightarrow \) /œ:
Section 4 \(\rightarrow \) /œ:
Section 5 \(\rightarrow \) /œ:ve/

5.4.8. /œ/

5.4.8.1. Description:

Fig. 22. - /œ/ and variants

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1. Cf. section 5.4.6.4.
2. Had one phonemicised /œ: + r/ for an individual residual speaker who happened to use [œ: + r] more regularly than any of my informants, then it would be necessary to introduce /œ/ as an extra phoneme in the modification rules. The same would apply to /œ/.
/ə/ is a falling, centring diphthong. The first element is the longer and more prominent. It is a rounded sound above the half-close position, which may occupy an area from centre of front to slightly more centre of back. The rounding is not usually very strong, but of course varies in degree in relation to the phonetic context. The diphthong has an [o]-type second element, which again is higher than the second element in RP centring diphthongs. The second element is also sometimes a little more rounded and tense than its RP equivalent, i.e. [ə]. Variants with a back starting position are in free variation with those having a front starting position. /ə/ was chosen as the phoneme symbol on the grounds that the front variants appear to be the more common. However, the choice of symbol should not be allowed to obscure the fact that variants commencing with [u] and [v] are frequent.

/ə/, in those words corresponding to RP /əu/, is in free variation with /oː/, and perhaps, to a lesser extent, /œ/, whilst /ə/ in those words corresponding to RP /oː/ is in free variation with /œ/. These facts result in a series of indeterminate forms, or intermediate forms. Examples:

[rʊˈeəɻ] 'four'; [jʊˈeəd] 'road'; [ʃʊˈeɻ] 'shore'; etc.

The shaded area in Fig. 22 illustrates the area of overlap between back variants of /ə/ and /oː, œ/.

1. Cf. section 3 of the Comparative Distribution, and sections 5.2.7.1, 5.2.7.2(ii), 5.4.7.1, 5.4.7.2(iii) and 5.4.7.3, subsection 4.
2. Cf. section 4 of the Comparative Distribution, and section 5.4.7.3, subsection 1.
Vowel groups containing a [w]-element are quite common, and words which are monosyllabic in RP may often be heard as disyllabic in the dialect:

['fJw'we:] 'floor'; ['sky:we'we:] 'school'; etc.

Since /y:/ would be noticeably diphthongised before /r/, the phonemicisation /ye(r)/ for the general system does not gain its generality at much, if indeed any, phonetic cost. /ye/ is invariably to be found before [t], e.g. /tvzel/ 'tools'.

In addition to its occurrence in stressed syllables - /mye(r)/ 'moor; more'; /tlyez/ 'clothes'; /dye(r)/ 'door'; etc. - /ye/ may also occur in relatively weakly stressed syllables: /'blakpyel/ 'Blackpool'; /'jy:3vel/ 'usual'; etc. However, occurrences before /l/ are not as frequent as in modified speech, since the dialect has /y:/ alone in some words: /'blakpy:/ 'Blackpool'; /fy:/ 'fool'; /sky:/ 'school'; /sty:/ 'stool'. /ye/ in a word such as usual may also give way to unstressed /e, ə/.

Strang has drawn attention to the vulnerability of RP /ye/ due to its low frequency of occurrence and light functional load. It will be clear from the Comparative Distribution that /ye/ enjoys a somewhat wider distribution in the dialect, but its significance is being reduced by /o:/ and /œ/.

5.4.8.2. Variants:

(1) [y'ə],[y'ə],[w'ə],[w'ə] - Regular variants, often with slight unrounding [ɻ] of the first element.

1. See section (v) of the Variants below.
Some speakers use a back first element more often than others do, but this is largely a matter of idiolectal preference. Examples: ['dəuəmən] 'during'; [mu:ə] 'more'; [təuəz], [kləuəz] 'clothes'; [ʃuə] 'sure'.

(ii) [u], [u], etc. Diphthongs with a back second element Used before [i]: ['blakəpəu] 'Blackpool'; ['jə̞:ə̞uə] 'usual'; etc.

(iii) [yə] Occasionally a diphthong with a very close, front, tense, rounded first element is heard. It is not environmentally conditioned. Examples: [tə̞yəd] 'toad'; [jyə] 'rule' (the second element appears to have been pulled forward by the first, despite the following [i]); etc.

(iv) Variants containing [w]: See the Description above.

(v) [o], [u], [e], etc. = /e, a/ In unstressed syllables before [ɪ] as an alternative to relatively weakly stressed /ə/ə/. These unstressed variants are, in fact, the more likely. Examples: ['jə̞:ə̞sə] 'usual'; ['vı̞3ə] 'visual'; etc.

(vi) The rising variants encountered in RP in unaccented syllables are not normally found in the dialect, which has /e/ or /ə/.

1. Cf. section 5.3.5.3, 13 (note also section 12), and section 5.3.6.3, 10.
2. As described in Gimson (1974: 144f).
5.4.8.3. Comparative Distribution

Section 1. Corresponding to RP /æː/:
/pjə(r)/ 'pure'; /ʃə(r)/ 'sure'; /mə(r)/ 'moor'; /ˈdʒərən/ 'during'; etc. etc.

Section 2. Corresponding to RP /uː/ followed by [±]:
/ryə/ 'rule'; /təlz/ 'tools'; /kəl/ 'cool'; etc. etc.

Section 3. Corresponding to RP /əʊː/:
/bɜə/ 'both'; /kəl/ 'coal'; /ryəd/ 'road' (plus all compounds thereof);
/ləd/ 'load'; /tlyez, kləz/ 'clothes';
/ɜət/ 'throat'; /stən/ 'stone'; /bən/ 'bone'; /təd/ 'toad'; /məst/ 'most';
/praɪt/ 'post'; /ək/ 'oak'; /kət/ 'coat'; etc. All these words may also have /oː/ (and perhaps, to a lesser extent, /œː/) in the dialect.

Section 4. Corresponding to RP /ɔː/:
/mə(r)/ 'more'; /də(r)/ 'door' (also with /e/), and all compounds thereof;
/ʃə(r)/ 'four'; /flə(r)/ 'floor';
/bə(ɹ)d/ 'board'; /spə(r)t/ 'sport';
/kiə(r)s/ 'course'; /ˈfərərn/ 'foreman'; etc. All these words may also have /oː/ (and perhaps, to a lesser extent, /oː/) in the dialect.

Section 5. Corresponding to RP /ɔː:/
/jə(r)/ 'hair'; /mɔn'sə(r)/ 'Monsieur';
/ˌkɒnˈsə(r)/ 'connoisseur'.
5.4.8.4. Modification

The phonetic quality of the diphthong is not generally altered. An individual speaker may favour a back first element, but a front first element remains the norm. Vowel groups with /w/ are common in modified speech.

Distributionally:

Section 1 retains /æ/, except moor → /ə/  
Section 2 retains /æ/  
Section 3 → /o:/  
Section 4 → /oə/  
Section 5 yure → /e:(r)/  
/æ/ may be retained in the French words.
5.5. **CONSONANTS**:

There are 22 consonant phonemes in the dialect. These are:

/p, b, t, d, k, g, tʃ, dʒ, f, v, θ, ð, s, z, s, ʃ, ʒ, m, n, l, w, r, j/

The total of 22 distinctive phonemes is two less than in RP: /h/ is not a phoneme of the dialect,¹ and [ŋ] is an allophone of /n/ before /k, g/.² The dialect has a further phoneme less than those varieties of English which have /n/. Additionally, the dialect has two phonemes less than other dialects of English in which /tr, dr/ are accounted unit phonemes,³ for in the dialect of Farnworth and district /θ + r, ð + r/ correspond to RP /tr, dr/.

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¹. Cf. section 5.5.23.
³. This will depend upon the linguist. Cf. Gimson (1974: 171ff), Houck (1967: 5).
# Table of the Consonant Phonemes of the Dialect

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Bilabial</th>
<th>Labio-dental</th>
<th>Dental</th>
<th>Alveolar</th>
<th>Post-alveolar</th>
<th>Palato-alveolar</th>
<th>Palatal</th>
<th>Velar</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Plosive (Stop)</td>
<td>p, b</td>
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<td>t, d</td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>k, g</td>
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<tr>
<td>Affricate</td>
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<td>tʃ, dʒ</td>
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<tr>
<td>Fricative</td>
<td></td>
<td>r, v</td>
<td>θ, ð</td>
<td>s, z</td>
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<td>s, z</td>
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<td>Nasal</td>
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<tr>
<td>Frictionless Continuant or glides (semi-vowels)</td>
<td>w</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>r</td>
<td></td>
<td>j</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Consonant phonemes are described in terms of the opposition *fortis*-lenis rather than *voiceless*-voiced.\(^1\) When a word is pronounced in isolation, or with a preceding and a following pause, initial lenis plosives, affricates and fricatives are partially devoiced, and final lenis plosives, affricates and fricatives may be completely devoiced. However, final lenis consonants may also be released with a schwa off-glide, or parasitic schwa. In running texts, the presence or absence of initial and final devoicing depends upon the immediate phonetic environment. Therefore in the description of the consonants, lenis plosives, affricates and fricatives are described as being subject to devoicing in initial and final positions.

Fortis plosives are usually aspirated when released, often more so than in RP.\(^2\) When the plosive occurs initially in an accented syllable, /p/ is usually subject to fairly heavy aspiration; the aspiration is somewhat less in the case of /t/, and usually somewhat less still in the case of /k/. Medial plosives may be more heavily aspirated than in RP, and final plosives may be released with aspiration (and sometimes affrication) in the dialect. Traces of aspiration have sometimes been found accompanying the release of lenis plosives, perhaps especially in final position when the plosive is devoiced. Although consonants may sometimes be

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2. This and the following observations, particularly that concerning the fairly heavy aspiration of /p/, contrast strongly with comments on the aspiration of consonants in Higginbottam (1962: 26) and Lodge (1966: 28), although these studies are of course describing different varieties of northern speech.
released with affrication - more so with some speakers than with others - there is no resemblance on this count between the dialect of Farnworth and that of, say, Liverpool.

There is extensive glottalisation of consonants in the dialect of Farnworth and district. Amongst the problems of transcription was the distinction of two types of glottalisation: \([\text{ḍ}]\) when the consonant is not released, and \([\text{ḍt}]\) when it is (preglottalisation).\(^1\) Both types of glottalisation need to be distinguished from glottal replacement, i.e. \([\text{ Destruction}\). Final \(/p, t, k/\) may all be preglottalised when followed by a pause. There is sometimes also a suggestion of glottal constriction accompanying the release of final \(/b, d, g/\). \(/p, t, k/\) are glottalised and not released, or alternatively replaced by \([\text{ Destruction}\) finally before a word beginning with a consonant (including the semi-vowels), sometimes before a pause or a word beginning with a vowel, and before morpheme boundaries. In this last respect, it is interesting to note that Higginbottam analysed \(/\text{tʃ}/\) and \(/\text{ʤ}/\) as sequences of phonemes rather than unit phonemes in her description of modified East-Lancashire speech in order better to account for glottal reinforcement.\(^2\) She wrote that in \(/\text{wiltʃe}/\) and \(/\text{piltʃed}/\), the medial sequences were phonetically identical.\(^3\) In the Farnworth dialect, \(/\text{ʃ}/\) is phonetically distinct from \(/t + \text{ʃ}/\) across both morpheme and word boundaries, and

1. Cf. section 3.9.
3. Ibid., 26.
Higginbotham’s example, pronounced by a Farnworth informant, is:

['wælʃe] 'Wiltshire' - ['pʰɪtʃəd] 'pilchard'.

Pairs familiar to linguists such as white shoes and why choose would therefore be very clearly distinguished in the Farnworth dialect.¹ Because of this clear distinction between disjunct and close-knit realisations of the sound complex, and because of the general distribution of the sound complex,² /tʃ/ is treated as a unit phoneme in this present analysis. /dʒ/ is similarly accounted a unit phoneme. The lenis plosives /b, d, g/ are not audibly released before consonants at the beginning of the next word, although lenis plosives may be released before semi-vowels on some occasions.

The earlier observation that /p, t, k/ before a word or syllable beginning with a consonant (and sometimes a vowel) are not audibly released, or may be replaced by a glottal stop, perhaps requires further comment. It is certainly not sufficient to say that /p, t, k/ may all be realised as [ʔ]. Although this can happen, glottalisation other than preglottalisation often takes the form [pʰ, ɾ, kʰ], or a movement towards the consonant in question. In /tʃɛp reɪnd/ 'cheap round', /p/ is not released, but there is bilabial closure which is synchronous with the glottal constriction, i.e. [pʰ], and informants can distinguish the sequence —

¹. And similarly with other pairs such as great reign and grey train etc., since /t/ would not be released even before a semi-vowel in great reign.
without context - from check round pronounced with [kɔː].

The glottalisation of final stop consonants is a key factor in signalling certain grammatical phenomena: the definite article; the preposition to; and the second person singular interrogative of modal and auxiliary verbs. Note further the glottalic realisation of the prefix to- in ['ɡɛə.SOCK] 'together'. A glottalic element may also be heard preceding the release stage of the initial consonant of /niːt/ 'tonight' and /mɔ(ə)r/ 'tomorrow'.

Glottalisation also occurs in medial and final consonant clusters. Examples:

/ˈbɒtʃe(r)/ 'butcher'; /ˈvɪmpəʊ / 'Vimto' (cordial drink); /θrɪˈmpəs/ 'threepence';
/ˈkreɪ(t)ə(r)/ 'creature'; /ˌɛltsɪ/ 'Elsie';
/ˈfæntsə/ 'fancy'; /ɛ:nts/ 'ounce'; /ɛlts/ 'else'; /ˈaltθ/ 'health'; etc.

The gemination of consonants would seem to be a part of the extensive use of glottal stricture in the dialect. Gemination may occur:

(a) word-medially between vowels;
(b) word-finally, before a word beginning with a homorganic consonant;
(c) word-finally, before a word beginning with a vowel;
(d) before, or as an integral part of, a hesitation;
(e) gemination of glides in diphthongs, vowel groups, or between words - possibly incorporating a hesitation.
Examples:

(a) ['dɔrɪpaɪn] 'dripping';
(b) ['tɔpɔptɪkən] 'hop-picking';
(c) ['ʃo:pɔIpəgən] 'shop again';
(d) [ətɪt'z:] 'at er...';
(e) [p'ɪjɔnət] 'pea on the'; etc.

Accounts of gemination in J. Wright (1905), Hargreaves (1904) and Sieβ (1929) do not reflect the full range of gemination found in the dialect of Farnworth and district. Firstly, they are concerned only with case (a) of the five cases given above. Secondly, the range of consonants involved is more restricted: Wright gives /p, b, t, d, m, k, ʃ/;¹ Hargreaves gives the same list, these being the consonants "most geminated";² and Sieβ gives /b, p, d, t, ʃ, k, m, n, r, l/.³

For the Farnworth area, it would be necessary to add /ʃ, ʒ, s, z/ word-medially to Sieβ' list; and further /f, v/ word-finally in hesitations, together with the glides /j, w/ in vowel groups, diphthongs, and between words. Also, medial /tʃ, ʒ/ are often preceded by /t, ʃ/ respectively,⁴ and in some words the same applies to /θ, ð/. Thirdly, Hargreaves, Sieβ and Wright all give gemination "only after a short syllable" (or "when preceded by a short vowel").⁵ Whilst word-medial gemination does indeed usually follow a short vowel, there are exceptions, cf. Farnworth:

4. See sections 5.5.7.4. and 5.5.8.4. for examples.
5. Cf. Wright, J. (1905: 7); Hargreaves (1904: 74); Sieβ (1929: 139).
Furthermore, in types (b), (c), (d) and (e), the geminate follows long vowels and diphthongs frequently. Fourthly, Sieβ gives gemination only before a derivative affix.\textsuperscript{1}

Wright stipulates that gemination occurs in present participles and words ending in \textit{e(r), e1,}\textsuperscript{2} whilst Hargreaves observes that the "most frequent sources of gemination" are the present participle termination \textit{-in} and the terminations \textit{-in}, \textit{-e(r)} and \textit{e (e1)}.\textsuperscript{3} In the dialect of Farnworth and district, word-medial gemination occurs frequently before /in/, especially in present participles, and frequently before derivatives in /e(r)/. Note also /e:(r)/ in free variation with the latter, e.g. /'dabbe:(r)z/ 'Dabber's' (name of a public house). With regard to gemination before /e(1)/, \textit{apple} in Farnworth is pronounced /'appo/ or /'appe/. Note also, however, the following Farnworth forms:

/'fra:di/ 'Friday'; /'foe(r)tii/ 'forty';
/'joo:nin/ 'yawning'; /'j:33el/ 'usual'.

Such forms show gemination in more environments than those specified by Sieβ, Wright and Hargreaves.

\textsuperscript{1} Sieβ (1929: 139).
\textsuperscript{2} Wright, J. (1905: 7).
\textsuperscript{3} Hargreaves (1904: 74).
In addition to occurring with plosives, and in place of plosives before consonants, the glottal stop also occurs:

(a) in place of a plosive before a pause or a vowel, e.g. [lɛʔ ɪʔ] 'let it';

(b) intervocally between words, e.g. [wən ̩ ə ʔ] 'when you hit';

(c) between the indefinite article, when realised as /ə/, and a word beginning with a vowel, e.g. [ə ʔ] 'a habit';

(d) at the beginning of an utterance or after a pause, when the word begins with a vowel, and possibly indicative of:

(i) stress, e.g. [ʔaːˈd] 'hard', pronounced with a deliberate stress,

(ii) the indefinite article, e.g. [ʔat ɪʔ keˈnɪl] 'a hat in the canal',

(iii) a hesitation or reformulation, especially if the informant pauses suddenly.

However, a glottal stop at the beginning of an utterance or after a pause may, as far as I can tell, also occur before a vowel without signalling anything in particular, e.g. [ˈhɔf] 'half'. Also, in case (ii), it is difficult to prove that [2] is due to the indefinite article, as the indefinite article is not always used (or not always realised), and [2] may occur before a vowel after a pause.

From the foregoing general observations, and from the following descriptions, it will be seen that the dialect has a rich array of realisations of plosives in word-final position. To summarise, final plosives may be realised:
(a) as plosives pure and simple, i.e. other than as follows
(b) with aspiration
(c) with affrication
(d) with preglottalisation
(e) with glottalisation, but unreleased
(f) as geminates
(g) as [2]
(h) occasionally as ejectives
(i) with a schwa-type off-glide, or parasitic schwa
(j) with devoicing
(k) with voicing
(l) in free variation with /r/ in the case of /t/ in some words.

The lists of final clusters in which each phoneme features must be seen as potentially incomplete. A very large amount of dialect lexis in phonemic script would be needed to provide an adequate basis for a full analysis. Some of the clusters given in this study could be extended by adding /s, z, t, d/, i.e. by making a given form plural or past. As /r/ is often not pronounced nowadays where it occurred historically, the possibilities of clusters with /r/ are outlined under the phoneme /r/ but are not repeated under all the other consonants with which /r/ combines. However, they should be borne in mind.
5.5.1. /p/

5.5.1.1. /p/ is a fortis bilabial plosive which occurs initially, medially and finally within the word. Accented /p/ is aspirated [pʰ], sometimes quite heavily [ph]; weakly accented /p/ is usually aspirated more than in RP,¹ and final /p/, when released, may also be aspirated. [f] occurs before /f, v/. /p/ is unaspirated after /s/ in initial and medial clusters.

5.5.1.2. Initial /p/: Examples: ['p'ap'e] 'paper'; ['p'ɛp'e] 'pepper'; [pʰn] 'pin'; [æpʰepʰes] 'on purpose'; etc.

5.5.1.3. In Initial Clusters: /pl, pr, pj, sp, spl, spr, spj/. Examples: /spit/ 'spit'; /spring/ 'spring'; /splɛtʃ/ 'splash'; /plez/ 'please'; /pjve(r)/ 'pure'; /prəti/ 'pretty, fairly'; /spjv/: 'spew'; etc.

5.5.1.4. Medial /p/: ['jap'zɛt] 'rabbit'; ['k'ap'zɛtʃ] 'cabbage'; etc. Medial /p/ is frequently geminated: ['apɔpɔz] 'apples'; ['slipɔpʰe'] 'slipper'; similarly in /lappin/ 'lapping'; /skrappin/ 'scrapping'; /ɔrrippin/ 'dripping'; /sɔppin/ 'supping'; /napπı/ 'nappy'; /sɔrrippin/ 'strapping'; /e 'peppes/ 'on purpose'; etc.

A /p/-element may often be detected in the environment /m/-consonant: ['ɛmʔtɪ] 'empty';² ['vʌmpʔt̚o:] 'Vimto

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(cordial drink'); etc. Note also ['kʰomˈpʰnə] 'company'. /p/ is not audibly released before a following consonant in the next syllable.

5.5.1.5. Final /p/:

(a) [pʰ] and [pʰ], e.g. [tʰɔpʰ] 'top'.

(b) [pʰ]:

(i) Final /p/ is almost always unreleased before a consonant occurring initially in the next word, e.g. [ʌpʰ ˈjɔndə] 'up yonder'. Note that this rule applies before /w, l, j, r/ - which is not the case in all varieties of English.

(ii) Optionally before a pause, or in utterance-final position, e.g. [ɔpʰ#] 'up#'.

(iii) Occasionally before a vowel, in which case it may approach [2].

(c) Geminated:

(i) Before a word beginning with a vowel - especially when following a short vowel, e.g. [ɔpʰɪn] 'up in'.

(ii) Before a hesitation\(^1\) of the type /ə:(r)/.

(iii) Before a word beginning with /p/ or /b/.

A geminate may be held across a pause, e.g. [tɪ ˈsvoʊəɾ məpʰ ˈpʰm] 'he's swallowed the map, him = he is a know-all, conceited'.

(d) [pʰ]:

[soʊpʰ] 'sup', etc. Final /p/ sometimes approaches the quality of an ejective stop. However, it is not so definitely ejective as certain occurrences of final /t/ and /k/, and is probably best described as being preglottalised.

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1. Geminates often seem to be an integral part of a hesitation or pause. The specification "before a hesitation" will be taken throughout to include this possibility.
Occasionally one encounters a suggestion of what, in the case of a voiced consonant, would be described as a parasitic schwa: \([p^\emptyset, p^h\emptyset, p^g]\).

Of these variants, occurrences of (b) and (c) are quite well defined; otherwise, (a) and (d) are both regular, while (e) is only occasional. [p] also occurs word-finally (and medially), although less frequently than (a), (b), (c) and (d).

5.5.1.6. **In Final Clusters:**

/p/ occurs in the final clusters: /pt, pθ, ps, mp, lp, sp, pst, pθs, mpt, mps, lpt, lps, apt, sps/.

/pts/ is usually /ps/. Examples: /lamp/ 'lamp'; /ræsp/ 'rasp'; /dɛpθs/ 'depths'; /mɔmps/ 'mumps'; /əltpt/ 'helped'; /əltps/ 'helps'; /lɪspt/ 'lisped'; /prɔmt/ 'prompt'; /dɛpθ/ 'depth'; /θreːpɔst/ 'traipsed'; /wəspɔ/ 'wasps'; /kɔpt/ 'copped = caught'; /rɪps/ 'rips'; /tʃɛlp/ 'chelp = speak (perj.)'; etc.

/sps/ may occur as such, or as [s:].

/p/ may be nasally released, e.g. ['apίm] 'happen; perhaps', although ['apίp] also occurs. An element of /p/ may often be detected between /m/ and /s/, e.g. ['tθrίπιmp] 'threepence'.

5.5.1.7. **Comparative Distribution:**

/p/ corresponds widely to RP /p/. It corresponds to RP /b/ in: /ræpɪt/ 'rabbit'; /'kæpɪts/ 'cabbage'.

5.5.1.8. **Modification:**

/p/ undergoes little change in modified speech. It is replaced by /b/ in rabbit and cabbage.

There are fewer instances of gemination, especially of the word-medial variety.¹

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¹ The informal judgment of some natives that older people speak more slowly could well be reinforced by the use of word-medial gemination on the part of speakers of traditional vernacular.
5.5.2. /b/

5.5.2.1. /b/ is a lenis, bilabial plosive, occurring initially, medially and finally within the word. Aspiration of /b/ is slight compared with that of /p/, but there is nonetheless a trace of it when the plosive is released. /b/ is subject to devoicing initially and finally. [β] occurs before /f, v/, e.g. [Joβfɪˈə] 'rub four'.

5.5.2.2. Initial /b/:

[β] [ˈbɔːl] 'ball'; [β ɔtʃ] 'but'; etc.

5.5.2.3. In Initial Clusters:

/bl, br, bj/. Examples: /ˈblædbi(r)/ 'bladder'; /ˈbrəkn/ 'broken'; /ˈbjətʃtʃ/ 'beauty'; etc.

5.5.2.4. Medial /b/:

[b'æbɪ] 'baby'; [ˈlɔbɪ] 'lobby'; etc. Medial /b/ between vowels is often geminated, as in /ˈblæbɪn/ 'blabbing, talking'; /ˈskrəbɪn/ 'scrubbing'; /ˈbəbə(r)/ 'bobber, large marble'; /ˈlɔmʃjəbə(r)/ 'loomjobber'; etc. In the environment /m - l/, /b/ occurs in /ˈtʃəmbli/ 'chimney'; /ˈgəmbltʃ/ 'gimlet', and /ˈsɪmblɪn/ 'Simnel'. A double consonant [bd] may be heard in /ˈno:bdi/ 'nobody' and /ˈsəmbdi/ 'somebody'. Note also: /ˈwɪmbrɪ/ 'bilberry'; /bə'bətətʃ/ 'baptise'.

5.5.2.5. Final /b/:

(a) [βə]: The distribution is as for final [ɔβ], except that /b/ may be released, if only rather

1. Cf. section 5.5.1.5(b).
weakly, before /l, r, j, w/, in which case the variant is of a type [b], and /b/ is released before a vowel.

(b) [θ''], [θʰ]: The former is the more common. Examples: ['dənoθʰ] 'doorknob'; [b'οθ', b'οθʰ] 'Bob'; etc. A trace of preglottalisation may be discerned on some occasions.

(c) [b], [θ]: Regular variants.

(d) [b²]: Sometimes a variant with a parasitic schwa is encountered, in which case the final /b/ is fully voiced. Examples: [p'οb² | ] 'pub'; [t'οb² ||] 'tub'. Again, a trace of preglottalisation may well be discerned, e.g. [dʒɔb²θ] 'job'.

(e) Geminates: Final /b/ is geminated in the same environments as final /p/.

5.5.2.6. In Final Clusters:

/bd, bz, lb, lHz/. Examples: /bɔlbz/ 'bulbs'; /robd/ 'rubbed'; /nɛbz/ 'nebs, peaks of caps'; etc.

5.5.2.7. Comparative Distribution:

Dialect /b/ corresponds widely to RP /b/. Note, however, the presence of /b/ in dialect /'tʃəmlt/ 'chimney'; /'gəmlt/ 'gimlet'; /'səmlnt/ 'Simnel'; /bæbtət/ 'baptise'; /'bæbtst/ 'Baptist'; /'bæbtzn/ 'baptism'; /'wəmbtr/ 'bilberry'. Dialect /b/ corresponds to RP /p/ in /lɔb'saːdɪd/ 'lop-sided'.

5.5.2.8. Modification:

/b/ tends to disappear in the words in section 7, to be replaced by forms more reminiscent of RP. Again geminates, especially of the word-medial variety, are

1. See section 5.5.1.5(c).
2. Cf., however, the occurrences of dialect /p/ corresponding to RP /b/ in section 5.5.1.7.
less frequent. The form /ˈwʊmbər/ 'bilberry' is retained in modified speech, and probably also /ˈlobˈsætɪd/ 'lop-sided'.

5.5.3. /t/

5.5.3.1. /t/ is a fortis alveolar plosive, which occurs initially, medially and finally within the word. It is not articulated with the very tip of the tongue, but with the blade. This observation applies to the other alveolar consonants as well (i.e. /d, s, z, n, l/). The articulation of /t/ with the blade of the tongue often results in slight affrication, [tˢ], although the [s] is faintly reminiscent of [θ]. /t/ may be aspirated ([tʰ] and sometimes [tʰ]) initially, medially and finally, but not in the combination /st/. The position of the lips is conditioned especially by a following vowel or semi-vowel.

The distribution of /t/, if viewed comparatively, is restricted due to the use of /sθr/, /θr/, and unaccented /(t)θe(r)/ and /θɪk/ in the dialect, where RP, and many other varieties of English, use /str/, /tr/, /tæ(r)/ and /tɪk/ respectively. The possibility of treating /tr/ as a unit phoneme does not arise in the dialect, which has the combination /θ + r/, the latter element being realised as [ɹ] or [ɾ]. /t/ was transcribed in a few words which normally have /p, k/:  

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1. Higginbottam (1962: 26) reports the same articulation with the blade of the tongue in her specimen of modified East Lancashire speech.
2. Cf. subsections 3 and 4 below, and sections 5.5.11.3 and 4 below.
400.

/cliːts/ 'keeps'; /kiːt 'ʊvən/ 'keep shoving'; /nɛt ətəm/ 'neck-them'; etc.

This type of assimilation is not common in the dialect.

5.5.3.2. Initial /t/:

The main initial variant is [tʰ]; [t] and [tʰ] also occur; aspiration is less marked if the first syllable does not carry the main word-stress. Examples: /'tɛtʃə(r)/ 'teacher'; /'tɛn/ 'ten'; /'tæk/ 'take'; /'tɪm/ 'team; teem, pour'; etc.

5.5.3.3. In Initial Clusters:

/t/ occurs in the initial clusters /tl, s/, /t θ r, sθr/. [tj] is rare, being usually /tʃ/. /t/ is unaspirated after /s/. Examples: /twæŋ/ 'accent; way of speaking'; /steː/ 'stay'; /tlaθz/ 'clothes'; etc.

/tl/ alternates with /kl/ quite freely: /'tlθr(r), klθr(r)/ 'clear'; /'tlθn, klθn/ 'Clifton'; /tlaθz, klθz/ 'clothes'; etc.

/t/ in the combination /tl/ is laterally released.

5.5.3.4. Medial /t/:

/t/ occurs medially between vowels, and in the environment of consonants. /t/ is often geminated between vowels, and it is not audibly released before a consonant, e.g. [ˈstɔtði] 'Saturday'. [tʃ] may serve as a glottalic element before the fortis medial consonants /θ, tʃ, s/, which may be strongly preglottalised, e.g. [ˈɛltʃes] 'Elsie'. Examples: /ˈstɔtði/ 'Saturday'; /ˈdɛtʃi/ 'dirty'; /ˈɛltʃi/ 'Elsie'; /ˈkreː(t)θə(r)/ 'creature'; /ˈθetniːn/

1. Cf. section 5.5.11.3 below. Correspondingly, dialect /θr/ is equivalent to RP /dr/ - cf. section 5.5.12.3 below.
2. Cf. sections 5.5.22.3(d) and 5.5.7.7(a).
3. Cf. section 5.5.5.3. Similarly, initial /ðl/ and /ɡl/ are in free variation - cf. sections 5.5.6.3. and 5.5.4.3.
'thirteen'; 'vettin/ 'vetting = acting in the capacity of a vet'; 'getti/ 'thirty'; 'fotti, 'fœ(r)tti/ 'forty'; 'etttin/ 'hurting'; 'puttʃəz/ 'pictures'; 'cit'ti:n/ 'eighteen'; 'battn/ 'hitting'; 'attʃəl/ 'actually'; 'fantʃɪ/ 'fancy'; 'njvttʃərɔl/ 'neutral'; etc.

Note also: [z:ɔ'ti:t′e] 'how art thou?'

Medial /tl/ and /kl/ are in free variation. Examples: /'ratltf, 'raktltf/ 'Radcliffe'; /'pɪtlɪn, 'pʊklɪn/ 'pickling'; /'dʒɛntlt, 'dʒɛntkl/ 'gently'; etc.

This corresponds to the occurrence of /dl/ and /gl/ in free variation medially, and to the free variation between /tl/ and /kl/, and between /dl/ and /gl/ word-finally.

RP medial /tr, str/ correspond to dialect /ør, sør/, and RP unaccented /tə(r)/ and /tɪk/ correspond to dialect /(t)ør(r)/ and /ørk/ respectively.

In medial clusters, and especially after /n/, /t/ may be elided in some words. Examples: /'sɔ:flɪ/ 'softly'; /'twɛnɪ/ 'twenty'; /'aslt/ 'Astley'; /'ɔnɪslɪ/ 'honestly'; /'wɔntd/ 'wanted'; /'plɛntɪ/ 'plenty'; /'e:(r)msɛn/ 'Urmston'; etc.

Final /t/ is also prone to elision.

1. Cf. section 5.5.4.4.
2. Cf. sections 5.5.4.4. and 5.5.6.4.
3. Cf. sections 5.5.3.6. and 5.5.5.6. and 5.5.4.6. and 5.5.6.6.
4. Cf. sections 5.5.11.4. Similarly, dialect medial /ɔr/ and /(d)ør(r)/ correspond to RP /dr/ and /dør(r)/ respectively - cf. section 5.5.12.4.
5. Cf. subsections 5 and 6 below. Medial and final /d/ are similarly prone to elision.

Melchers (1972: 69f), in her study of Yorkshire dialects, refers to realisations of /kl/ as /tl/ as "assimilation". Note, however, that in the dialect of Farnworth and district, /kl/ and /tl/ on the one hand, and /dl/ and /gl/ on the other, are completely interchangeable. Thus, not only may RP /kl/ be realised as /tl/, and RP /gl/ as /dl/, but also RP /tl/ may be realised as /kl/, and /dl/ as /gl/, medially and finally. Melchers' observation that the combination /tl/ (initial) is difficult to pronounce, strikes me as rather implausible. When one is accustomed to pronounce initial /tl/ and /dl/ from birth, there is not the remotest difficulty - even if these combinations are rare in the languages of the world!
[tʰ] and [t̠], and to a lesser extent [tʰ] and [t] all occur medially. [t̠] occurs before consonants in a following syllable. An additional important allophone is the voiced flap [t̠],¹ which occurs intervocally in free variation with variants such as [tʰ], and - in some words - in free variation with /r/ too.² [t̠] bears a phonetic resemblance to /d/, and to a single flapped [r].³ /t/ is optionally realised as [t̠] between vowels:

/'prɪtɪ/ 'pretty; fairly'; /'ɡɛtɪn/ 'getting'; /'wɛtɪn/ 'waiting'; etc.

[t̠] may occur after /r/, e.g. ['θɜː t̠ɪ] 'thirty', and sometimes after /n/, e.g. ['sɛntə] 'centre'. Gimson refers to the use of [t̠] as being in "weakly accented" positions;⁴ note, however, ['pə t̠eː tə] 'potato'.

[2]: Medial /t/ can be realised as [2], but the phenomenon is relatively rare. It is not at all typical of the dialect, as of some others, although younger people use [2] medially between vowels more than their elders. Two instances from an older speaker are: ['noːtɪs] 'notice' and ['ɡɛtɪn] 'getting'.

5.5.3.5. Final /t/:

/fɔːt/ 'fold'; /det/ 'dirt'; /lat/ 'lath'; /dʒet/ 'jerk'; /skrat/ 'scratch'; /fɔt/ 'fetch, fetched'; /sɪt/ 'such' (more often /sɪtʃ/); and - with the

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2. See section 5.5.21.4. The restriction "in some words" refers to the distribution of /r/, not [t̠].
3. Cf. Gimson (1974: 163), O'Connor (1973: 131). The former describes [t̠] as lenis, the latter as being fortis, although voiced. The resemblance to /r/ is interesting in view of the dialect's use of /r/ both medially and finally in free variation with [t̠] in some words.
/r/ not pronounced - /'bog(e)r)t/ 'buggered';
/'mәsθ(e)r)t/ 'mustard'; /'әnәθ(e)r)t/ 'hundred';
/'bәk(e)r)t/ 'backward'; /'mәθ(e)r)t/ 'mattered';
/'kәb(e)r)t/ 'cupboard'; etc. etc.

The final /t/ in the second person singular interrogative of modal or auxiliary verbs is usually very heavily preglottalised: [k'әt'] 'could thou?'; [dt2t'] 'did thou?'; etc.

Final /t/ may assimilate to /p/ or /k/ (unreleased) before /p, b, m/ or /k, g/ respectively at the beginning of the following word, e.g. [ә:k'ki:p'1n] 'how art thou keeping?'.

Final /t/ is in free variation with /r/ in some common words, e.g. /әm nәr 'avә n it/ 'I am not having it'. In such cases, before a word beginning with a vowel, /t/ may be realised as [t]:

[ðәt әәt2] 'that anything'
[wәt 1z 1t] 'what is it?'
[p'әt 1t ә'gәn] 'put it again (= next to)' etc.

Although /r/ is only in free variation with /t/ at the end of some words, [t] may occur as the realisation of /t/ word-finally whenever the next word begins with a vowel.

Final /t/ may be elided, e.g. ['lәmә] 'let me', although elision occurs more frequently in final clusters, as will be seen in the next subsection.

Final /t/ - when audibly released - may be realised as [t], [t'] and [tʰ]. Some aspiration is customary,

1. Cf. the assimilation of final /d/ to /b, g/ - section 5.5.4.5.
2. Cf. section 5.5.21.5. for details.
3. Note the restrictions on medial /r/ in free variation with medial /t/ - section 5.5.21.4, and the unrestricted optional use of [t] medially between vowels.
although affricated variants also occur. Glottal constriction is often noticeable: \([^2t', ^2\tilde{t}\beta]\). Occasionally the release is ejective, \([t']\), e.g. \([ni\tilde{t}'t\] 'night'. Before a consonant, and sometimes before a pause, or occasionally a vowel, /t/ is not audibly released, \([\tilde{t}\gamma]\). Final unreleased /t/ has a dental articulation before a word beginning with /\theta/ or /\partial/. Final /t/ is geminated before /t, d/, and quite often before a hesitation or a word beginning with a vowel, e.g. [det\tilde{t}'e'we:] 'dirt away'. Final /t/ is occasionally realised as a pure glottal stop \([2]\) before a word beginning with a vowel, e.g. [ji\tilde{t}'e'nof] 'right enough'. However, this is not a regular feature of the dialect, and seems to have greater currency amongst younger people.\(^1\) Occasionally, a trace of a "parasitic schwa" accompanies the release of final /t/, although parasitic schwa is more obviously associated with the release of voiced consonants. Example: ['bakt\tilde{t}'] 'bucket'.

/t/ may result from /d/ under three clearly definable grammatical conditions. Firstly, the preposition to:
\[\{wz\} a\tilde{t} stop\} 'we had to stop'
\[\{wi\} a\tilde{t} wo:k i\tilde{t}\} 'we had to walk it'
Secondly, the definite article:
\[\{a\tilde{t}\} \theta:o:\tilde{c}t\} 'seed (= saw) the hole'.
Thirdly, modal or auxiliary verbs in the second person singular interrogative:
\[k'o\tilde{t}\} 'could thou?'.
Forms with \([\tilde{t}\gamma]\) are also possible in the first and second cases, more particularly if the following word begins with a voiced consonant.

Final /t/ is in free variation with /d/ in
/'kar\tilde{t}/ 'carried' and /'bcr\tilde{t}/ 'buried'.

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1. Admittedly, the line between \([2]\) and \([\tilde{t}\gamma]\) can be hard to draw, and there are a good few cases of \([\tilde{t}\gamma]\) before a word beginning with a vowel in the transcriptions.
5.5.3.6. **In Final Clusters:**

/t/ occurs in the final clusters: /pt, tθ, kt, nt, lt, ft, θt, st, ꞑt, pts, pst, tθs, dst, kts, kst, mpt, nτθ, nts, nt ꞑt, nst, nkt, lpt, lkt, lt ꞑt, fts, stp, stś, stk/.

Of these, /pts/ is usually realised as /ps/, /kts/ as /ks/ and /fts/ as /fs/; /sts/ may be realised as [sː] or /sːz/. ¹ Examples: /kɔpt/ 'copped, caught'; /sːtθ/ 'eighth'; /lιkt/ 'licked; beat'; /bant/ 'energy'; /balt/ 'belt'; /lift/ 'lift'; /ɛθ:θt/ 'bathed'; /mιst/ 'missed; mist'; /fiːt/ 'fished'; /θreːpst/ 'traipsed'; /sːtθs/ 'eighths'; /mιdːst/ 'midst'; /mιkst/ 'mixed'; /prompt/ 'prompt'; /tɛntθ/ 'tenth'; /tɛnts/ 'tents, guards (of a dog)'; /puntʃt/ 'pinched, stole'; /wɔnst/ 'once'; /θɔŋkτ/ 'thought (joc.)'; /ɛɬpt/ 'helped'; /mιlkτ/ 'milked'; /bɛltʃt/ 'belched'; /rəspτ/ 'rasped'; /wιskτ/ 'whisked'; etc.

In the combination /tn/, the nasal release of /t/ is compulsory, e.g. ['kɛntɔn] 'cotton'.²

In the combination /tl/, the lateral release of /t/ is compulsory, e.g. ['bɔtl] 'bottle'.³

Note that clusters containing syllabic /l/ and syllabic /n/ may follow each other: ['mιd-upper] 'Middleton's'.

Final /tl/ and /kl/ are in free variation: /'bɔtl, 'bɔkl/ 'bottle', /'ptl, 'ptkl/ 'pickle'; etc.⁴

/t/ appears as [ʃ] before /θ/ in /sːtθ/ 'eighth'.

/t/ may optionally be realised as [ʃ] before syllabic /l/, e.g. ['ɔspτʃ] 'hospital'.

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¹. See section 5.5.13.6. for further details.
². Cf. section 5.5.4.6. for the nasal release of /d/.
³. Cf. section 5.5.4.6. for the lateral release of /d/. The realisation of /t/ as [θ] before [ʃ] may be heard sometimes from younger speakers.
⁴. Cf. section 5.5.5.6; there is a parallel case of free variation between /dʃ/ and /gʃ/: cf. sections 5.5.4.6. and 5.5.6.6.
/t/ is not audibly released before other consonants in final clusters, e.g. [tʃz] 'it's'. It often serves as the glottalic element in final clusters.\(^1\) Examples: /tʃnts/ 'ounce'; /twclt(f)θs/ 'twelfths'; /bɛnts/ 'bounce'; /elts/ 'else'; /altθ/ 'health'; etc.

/t/ is used in final clusters with both positive and negative forms of the second person singular interrogative of modal or auxiliary verbs: [kənαt\(t\)] 'can thou?'; [kənt\(nt\)] 'can't thou?'; [wənt\(nt\)] 'weren't thou?'; etc. /t/ may also result from a final /d/ in clusters due to the influence of the definite article or the preposition to: [jɛ:nd] 'round', cf. [jɛ:nt\(t\)] 'round the; round to'. In such cases [\(\theta\)] might occur instead of [\(t\)] if the next word begins with a voiced consonant.\(^2\)

/t/ occurs in final clusters after /n, l, e(r) and m/,\(^3\) where many other varieties of English have /d/. The forms in question are often preterites or past participles, but by no means always so,\(^4\) nor are they always monosyllabic.\(^5\) Examples: /tʃ(j)e(r)nt/ 'ironed'; /'wɔndə(r)t/ 'wondered'; /tlə(r)t/ 'cleared'; /'kɔbe(r)t/ 'cupboard'; /fɪə(r)t/ 'feared, afraid'; /rɪə(r)t/ 'reared'; /smtə(r)t/ 'smeared'; /tʃə(r)t/ 'cheered'; /ənt/ 'hand'; /fɪlt/ 'filled'; /kɪlt/ 'killed'; /tʃəlt/ 'child'; /'bɔgə(r)t/ 'buggered'; /'mɔsθe(r)t/ 'mustard'; /rʊnθe(r)t/ 'hundred'; /'θɛz(e)nt/ 'thousand'; /blənt/ 'blind'; /bɪ'(j)aɪnt/ 'behind'; /'mɪzlt/ 'mizzled'; /fɪəlt/ 'field'; /ti:mt/ 'teemed, poured'; /'apmt/ 'happened'; /muəlt/ 'knelt'; /ʃəmt/ '(a)shamed'; /tləmt/ 'climbed'; /'rɑtlt/ 'rattled'; /'fri:tnt/ 'frightened'; etc.

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1. Cf. subsection 4 above for the same use of /t/ in medial clusters.
2. Cf. subsection 5 above.
3. Wright, J. (1905: 7, 233) only states "after l, n, r".
5. Wright, J. (1905: 7) emphasises such occurrences in monosyllables, but p. 233 (section 303) gives t as a reflex of ME d in words of more than one syllable.
Further interesting occurrences of /t/ in final clusters: /yːst/ 'hush!'; /krokt/ 'crooked'; /wont/ 'once'; /meːnt/ 'must not'; and, in free variation with /dnt/: /wont/ 'wouldn't'; /kɔnt/ 'couldn't'; /ʃont/ 'shouldn't'.

/t/ is often elided in final clusters.\(^1\) Examples: /'ɔːfn/ 'often'; /ʃeːfs/ 'shafts'; /'ɪnne/ 'isn't her (she)?'; /'weːni:/ 'weren't (wasn't) he?'; /dɔs 'wane/ 'does thou want to?'; /fet las em/ 'for to last them'; /eːf pas foə/ 'half past four'; /sɔf mɪk/ 'soft Mick'; /leːs niːt/ 'last night'; /'eːk'spekt ɪt/ 'thou couldn't expect it'; /'eːkraf fer/ 'aircraft for'; /lɛf lægz/ 'left legs'; /ɪn fæk ɪ/ 'in fact'; /pæn ɪ/ 'pint'; etc.

/t/ appears to be elided most readily after /n, f, s/.

5.5.3.7. **Comparative Distribution:**

(a) The dialect has initial /sθr, θr/ and medial /sθr, θr, (t)θe(r), θt(r), θt(r)/ in correspondence with RP /str, tr, tθe(r), tθt(r)/. There is therefore no possibility of a unit phoneme /tr/ in the dialect.

(b) Dialect /tʃ/ corresponds to the RP initial cluster /tʃ/.

(c) /tʃl/ and /kʃl/, which are in free variation in the dialect, correspond initially to RP /kʃl/.

(d) /tʃl/ and /kʃl/ are in free variation in the dialect medially and finally, and correspond to both RP /tʃl/ and /kʃl/.

(e) /t/ features as a glottalic element in medial and final clusters on a more extensive basis than it does in RP.

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1. Cf. subsection 5 above; sections 5.5.4.5. and 6; and Gimson (1974: 294-9).
(f) Some cases of the elision of /t/ medially, finally, and in final clusters, are more typical of the dialect than they are of RP. Examples: /'plcnt/ 'plenty'; /'wan.d/ 'wanted'; /'lcmt/ 'let me'; etc.

(g) The distribution of allophones is different in the dialect. Note especially: the more extensive use of [tʃ] in the dialect, and its occurrence in free variation with /r/ in some contexts; the use of geminated variants; the existence of a final ejective variant; the use of [tʃ]; the use of [tʰ, tʰ] medially and finally.

(h) Dialect /t/ corresponds to RP /d/ finally, or in final clusters after /l, m, n, e(r)/. The total number of words involved is considerable.

(i) Dialect /t/ results from /d/ finally and in final clusters under grammatically defined conditions. The grammatical features involved are the definite article, the preposition to, and thou in certain interrogative forms.

(j) Dialect /t/ corresponds to RP /tʃ/ in /skrat/ 'scratch'; /fɔt/ 'fetch'; /sɪt/ 'such'.

(k) Dialect /t/ occurs in: /læt/ 'lath'; /dʒet/ 'jerk'; /tʃe:ət/ 'bathed'; /krokt/ 'crooked'; /wɔnst/ 'once'; /rɪ:ʃt/ 'hush'; /pɔli(j)ant/ 'polyanthus'.

(l) /t/ does not occur in /'brɛkŷʃəs/ 'breakfast'.

5.5.3.8. Modification:

Phonetically, /t/ remains generally the same, except that it tends not to be geminated word-medially. Sometimes an articulation with the tip of the tongue is heard, which

1. See subsections 5 and 6 above for examples.
occasionally sounds slightly retracted - but this is not a regular feature.

With reference to subsection 7:

Section (a) /θ/ → /t/.

Section (b) /tʃ/ is retained on the whole, but there is increased use of /tʃ/.

Section (c) The free variation tends to be retained.

Section (d) The free variation tends to be retained.

Section (e) As in the dialect.

Section (f) Generally as in the dialect, as long as the style remains casual. Otherwise, add /t/ in many cases.

Section (g) Generally as in the dialect, except that word-medial geminates tend not to be used.

Section (h) /t/ → /d/.

Section (i) /t/ may be used under the influence of the definite article, or the preposition to, but not thou.

Section (j) /t/ → /tʃ/.

Section (k) The forms /lat/, /ˈpoliˈ(j)ant/, /dʒet/, /baθt/ (the last with a shortened vowel) are retained. /krokt/ may become /ˈkryːkɪd/.

/wɔnst/ → /wɔns/.

/yːʃt/ → /oʃt/, or /ɔʃ/.

Section (l) Add /t/, although it is subject to elision.
5.5.4. /d/

5.5.4.1. /d/ is a lenis, alveolar plosive which occurs initially, medially and finally within the word. Initial and final /d/ are subject to devoicing. The position of the lips is conditioned especially by a following vowel or semi-vowel. /d/ sometimes occurs when /z/ is to be expected, especially in rapid speech, and under conditions of weak stress /d/, /z/ and /r/ can be difficult to distinguish. An example of /d/ in place of expected /z/ is [wɔːdɪnt] 'wasn't'.

The distribution of /d/, like that of /t/, is restricted if viewed comparatively.¹ This is due to the dialect's use of initial and medial /ɔr/ and unaccented /(d)ʃe(r)/, where RP, and many other varieties of English, use /dr/ and /dʒ(r)/ respectively. The possibility of treating /dr/ as a unit phoneme does not arise in the dialect, which has the combination /ɔ + r/, the latter element being realised as [r] or [ɾ].

5.5.4.2. Initial /d/:
/dog/ 'dog'; /don/ 'press, urge (a person); /dant/ 'a kind of coal dust'; etc.

5.5.4.3. In Initial Clusters:
/d/ does not feature very strongly in initial clusters. /dw/ is used, but only in a few words, e.g. /'dwɪndl/ 'dwindle'. /dj/ is rare, the dialect usually having /dʒ/.² RP /dr/ corresponds to /ɔr/ in the dialect.

¹. Cf. section 5.5.3.1.
². Cf. section 5.5.8.7(a). Similarly /tʃ/ is rare - cf. section 5.5.3.7(b).
/dl/, however, may be used in the dialect in free variation with /gl/, e.g. /dlas, glas/ 'glass'. This parallels the occurrence of /tl/ and /kl/ in free variation. /d/ in the combination /dl/ is laterally released.

5.5.4.4. Medial /d/:

/d/ occurs medially between vowels, and in the environment of consonants. It is sometimes geminated, and is not audibly released before a following consonant—nor, generally speaking, before a following semi-vowel in the next syllable. Examples: '/frəddə/ 'Friday'; '/kədədən/ 'pretending, hoaxing, deliberately misleading'; '/blədə(r)/, /blədə(r)/ 'bladder' (cf. for some speakers '/blaðə(r)/, '/blaðə(r)/ 'blather, blether'); '/lədə(r)/ 'ladder' (cf. '/laðə(r)/ 'lather'); '/bændən/ 'string'; '/mədlin/ in the expression fair to middlin' 'moderately well'; '/sədnəs/ 'sadness'; etc.

/dl/ and /gl/ are in free variation: '/mədlin/, /mɪglin/ 'middlin'; '/wədlin/, /wɪglin/ 'wiggling'; etc. The same variation occurs in final clusters too.

Dialect /dr/ and /(d)ə(r)/ correspond to /dr/ and /də(r)/ respectively in RP and many other accents.

Medial /d/ is prone to elision, as is medial /t/, especially after /n/ (as also in final clusters). Examples: '/ɛnlɪs/ 'endless'; '/ɡrɑːnfe:ðə(r)/ 'grandfather'; '/lənldə(r)d/ 'landlord'; '/wɔ:mln/}

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1. Cf. sections 5.5.3.3. and 5.5.5.3.
2. Cf. the medial free variation between /tl, kl/—sections 5.5.3.4. and 5.5.5.4.
3. Cf. subsection 6 below.
4. Cf. the use of the voiceless dental fricative in correspondence to /t/ in RP and many other accents—sections 5.5.3.4 and 5.5.11.4.
5. Cf. section 5.5.3.4.
6. See subsection 6 below.
'winding'; /'frɛnəl/ 'friendly'; /'pɛnəltn/
'Pendleton'; /'wɒnə(r)d/ 'wondered';
/'lænərve(r)/ 'Landrover'; /'θənərɪn/ 'thundering';
,'one(r)'ston/ 'understand'; etc; and - before /n/ -
/'ɔ(r)neɪt/ 'ordinary'; /daɪnt/ 'didn't'; /ʃɒnt/
'shouldn't'; etc. /'tɪlzəl/ 'Tyldesley'.

Assimilation of /n/ to a following bilabial may be
additionally noted: /'wæmblo:n/ 'wind-blown';
/'gæməʊdə(r)/ 'grandmother'; etc.

Preglottalisation of medial /dʒ, ʃ/ takes the form
of [dʒ2] in words such as /'fɪdʒɪt/ 'fidget';
/'bædʒɪt(r)/ 'badger'; /'mɪdʒɪt/ 'midget';
/'ʃədʒɪt(r)/ 'shoulder'; /'pɛdʒɪt(r)/ 'powder'; etc.

5.5.4.5. Final /d/:

/siːd/ 'saw'; /bɪˈkəd, eˈkəd/ 'because'; /soːd/
'so that'; /dɪd/ 'did'; etc.

If /r/ is not pronounced, /d/ may occur finally in
words such as /'əːkɛd/ 'awkward', but such use of /d/ is
considerably restricted in the traditional vernacular of the
Farnworth area due to the occurrence of final /e(r)t/, e.g.
/'əːkɛ(r)ə/ 'awkward'.

Final /d/ may assimilate to /b/ or /ɡ/ before /p, b, m/
or /k, g/ respectively, and is geminated before a homorganic
consonant at the beginning of the next word, and sometimes
before a vowel or hesitation. Before /θ, ð/, the suspended
/d/ has a dental articulation. /d/ is not audibly released
before a following consonant, nor - generally speaking - before

1. See subsections 5 and 6 of section 5.5.3. for further
examples.
2. Likewise final /t/, section 5.5.3.5.
a following semi-vowel. Sometimes there is no audible release before a pause. Otherwise, when released, final /d/ is usually devoiced, and a very slight delay in the release is sometimes suggestive of a trace of glottal constriction. Final /d/ is fully voiced when the release is accompanied by a parasitic schwa: ['ɛn.əːd] 'anyroad, anyhow'; [jɛdʰə] 'head'. The release of a final /d/ may be accompanied by a degree of aspiration or affrication.

Final /d/ is subject to devoicing, or may become /t/, under the influence of the preposition to, the definite article, and the second person singular interrogative of modal or auxiliary verbs. This matter is treated in the discussion of final /t/.¹

5.5.4.6. In Final Clusters:
/d/ occurs in the final clusters: /bd, dz, gd, dʒd, md, nd, ld, vd, əd, zd, ngd, dst, ndʒ, ndʒd, nz, ldʒ, ldʒd, lmd, lv/.

Of these, /md, nd, ld/ are restricted because of the tendency to use /mt, nt, lt/ respectively.² Furthermore, in the case of /ld/, the dialect does not always have the /l/ which would be present in many other accents of English: /bəd/ 'bold'; /fɔt/ 'Fold'; etc.

Examples: /robd/ 'rubbed'; /sodz/ 'suds'; /bagd/ 'bagged'; /dʒodʒd/ 'judged'; /tiːmd/ 'teemed, poured'; /iːnd/ 'end'; /swild/ 'swilled'; /lovd/ 'loved'; /əvəd/ 'soothed'; /plɔzd/ 'pleased'; /bangd/ 'banged'; /mdʃt/ 'midst'; /iːndz/ 'ends'; /ndʒʒd/

1. See section 5.5.3.5. for details.
2. See section 5.5.3.6. for examples.
'hinged'; /tlənzəd/ 'cleansed'; /fiəldz/ 'fields'; /bʌldʒd/ 'bulged'; /fɪlməd/ 'filmed'; /səlvd/ 'solved'; etc.

/dʒd/ corresponds to the RP cluster /ʒd/.

Final /dn/ occurs widely, and the /d/ is nasally released [dʒn], except in the words /ɡɑ:t(ə)dn/ 'garden' and /mɪdn/ 'midden', and /be(r)ndən, 'be:(r)ndən/ 'Burnden'. In the combination /dl/, the /d/ is laterally released, [dʒl].

Final /dl/ and /gl/ are in free variation: /sədl, 'snəgl/ 'snuggle'; /sprɛd iədl/ 'Spread Eagle'; /rɪglz/ 'riddles'; etc.

/d/ can occasionally appear in final clusters when there is glottal constriction, e.g. [mədʒz] 'mills'.

/d/ in final clusters may be devoiced, or may become /t/ under the influence of the preposition to, the definite article, and the second person singular interrogative of modal or auxiliary verbs.

Negative forms of the modal and auxiliary verbs occur both with and without a /d/ in the final cluster: /kɒnt, kont/ 'couldn't'; /'ænt, ant/ 'hadn't'; etc.

/d/, like /t/, is often elided in final clusters.

Examples: /stən ɪt/ 'stand in the'; /sənz/ 'hounds'; /'θəzənz/ 'thousands'; /wʊnt/ 'wouldn't'; /dɪnt/ 'didn't'; /kɒnt/ 'couldn't'; /fiəlz/ 'fields'; etc.

Again, a preceding /n/ appears to be the most influential factor in the environment.

1. Cf. the free variation between /dl/ and /gl/ medially (subsection 4) and initially (subsection 3) above; and further, the free variation between /kl/ and /tl/ – sections 5.5.5. and 5.5.3.
2. Cf. the occurrence of /t/ in final clusters, section 5.5.3.6.
3. Cf. section 5.5.3.6, and similarly section 5.5.3.5.
4. See section 5.5.35.
5.5.4.7. **Comparative Distribution:**

(a) The dialect uses /dr/ initially and medially in correspondence to RP /dr/, and unaccented /(d)ə(r)/ in correspondence to RP /də(r)/. There is therefore no possibility of a unit phoneme /dr/ in the dialect.

(b) Dialect /dʒ/ corresponds to the RP initial cluster /dj/.

(c) /dl/ and /gl/, which are in free variation in the dialect, correspond word-initially to RP /gl/.

(d) /dl/ and /gl/ are in free variation in the dialect medially and finally, and correspond to both RP /dl/ and /gl/.

(e) Some instances of the elision of /d/ medially and in final clusters are more typical of the dialect than of RP. Examples: /'θone(r)/ 'thunder'; /ston it/ 'stand in the'; etc.

(f) The traditional dialect often has /t/ in final clusters after /m, n, l, e(r)/ in correspondence to RP /d/.

(g) /d/ finally, or in final clusters, is subject to devoicing, or may become /t/ under the influence of the definite article, the preposition to, or the second person singular interrogative of modal or auxiliary verbs.

(h) Dialect /d/ occurs in: /bə'kə:d, e'kə:d/ 'because'; /so:d/ 'so that', and in various preterites and past participles which are weak: /s1:d/ 'saw, seen'; /gro:d/ 'grew, grown'; etc.

(i) /d/ is not present in the preterites and past participles: /bon/ 'bound'; /fon/ 'found'; /wɔn/ 'wound', nor in /ba'gəv/ 'by God!'.
5.5.4.8. **Modification:**

Phonetically /d/ remains the same, apart from a reduction in the number of medial geminates.

With reference to subsection 7:

Section (a) /ðr/ → /dr/; /(d)ðe(r)/ → /ðe(r)/.

Section (b) /dʒ/ is retained on the whole, but there is increased use of /dj/.

Section (c) The free variation tends to be retained.

Section (d) The free variation tends to be retained.

Section (e) /d/ is added to forms such as /'ðone(r)/ 'thunder'; /'ðone(r)/ 'wonder'; etc. However, in some other forms /d/ remains prone to elision, as in RP.

Section (f) /t/ → /d/.

Section (g) /t/ may be retained under the influence of the definite article or to, but not of thou.

Section (h) /d/ → /z/ in *because* and *so that*.

/d/ may be retained in some weak past forms.

Section (i) /ɔn/ → /ɛːnd/ (= still broad) → /ɜːnd/ (= modified).

5.5.5. /k/

5.5.5.1. /k/ is a fortis velar plosive which occurs initially, medially and finally within the word.

5.5.5.2. **Initial /k/:**

The lip position is influenced by the following vowel. Also, there are front, central and back variants of /k/ which are determined by the front, central and back
positions respectively of the following vowels. Of these variants, the back variant is rather distinctive, and I have quite often been induced to transcribe a uvular stop \([\text{q}]\) before \(/\alpha/\) and – to a lesser extent – \(/\alpha:/\). The variant \([\text{q}]\) has a parallel variant \([\text{g}]\) under the phoneme \(/\text{g}/\), \(^1\) but the fortis uvular stop is the more common of the two.

Accented initial \(/k/\) is aspirated, \([k^\prime]\) and sometimes \([k^h]\). \([\text{q}]\) is not noticeably aspirated. Examples:

\[
\begin{align*}
[k^\prime p^h] & \ 'keep'; \ [k^\prime k^\prime] & \ 'keck = turn up (of a cart)'; \ [k^\prime o m^z] & \ 'combs'; \\
[q^\prime m] & \ 'come'; \ [q^\prime t] & \ 'cut'; \ [q^\prime o t] & \ 'cote'; \ etc.
\end{align*}
\]

Initial \(/k/\) is only slightly aspirated in a word such as construction, as the main word stress does not fall on the first syllable.

5.5.5.3. In Initial Clusters:

The lip position is determined by a following vowel or semi-vowel. \(/k/\) may be front before \(/l/\), and the clusters \(/tl/\) and \(/kl/\) are in free variation.\(^2\) There is a parallel case of free variation between \(/gl/\) and \(/dl/\).\(^3\) \(/k/\) is relatively unaspirated when it follows \(/s/\). \(/k/\) occurs in the initial clusters \(/kl, kr, kj, kw, sk, skr, skj, skw/\).

For \(/skl/\), see section 5.5.19.3. Examples:

\[
\begin{align*}
/kli m/ & \ 'die of hunger'; \ /kri p/ \ 'creep'; \ /kjy t/ \ 'cute'; \ /kwe(r)/ \ 'queer'; \\
/skrak/ & \ 'weep'; \ /skjy\:we(r)/ \ 'skewer'; \ /skw\:s/ \ 'squash'; \ etc.
\end{align*}
\]

\(^1\) Cf. section 5.5.6.1, 2.
\(^2\) Cf. section 5.5.4.3.
\(^3\) Cf. sections 5.5.6.3. and 5.5.4.3.
5.5.5.4. **Medial /k/:**

Previous observations concerning the lip position, aspiration, front-back articulation, and /k/ in clusters apply to medial /k/ too. Medial /k/ between vowels is often geminated. /k/ is not audibly released, [k̪ʔ], before a syllable commencing with a consonant. Examples:

/ˈwekkən/ 'working'; /ˈwɪkkənd/ 'week-end'; /ˈlokət/ 'lucky'; /ˈsekkel/ 'circle'; /ˈtekkt/ 'turkey'; /ˈskrækən/ 'crying'; /ˈθɪŋkən/ thinking; /ˈbɔlkət/ 'bulky'; ['loːkəz] 'locals'; etc.

Example of /tl, kl/ in free variation: /ˈrækləf/, 'rakləf' 'Radcliffe'. The variation between /kl/ and /tl/ in final clusters, below, may also be construed as occurring "medially" in a sense, in that /e/, /o/ may be interposed between /k/ and /l/; more obviously medial occurrences of /kl/ in free variation with /tl/ are: /ˈmænkəpliːs/ 'mantlepiece'; /ˈdʒɛnk(ə)lə/ 'gently'; /ˈpitlən/ 'pickling'; etc.

5.5.5.5. **Final /k/:**

/kʌk/ 'turn up (of a cart)'; /skraɪk/ 'weep'; /boʊk/ 'baulk'; etc.

Variants:

(a) [k̪ʔ]: before a word beginning with a consonant, including the semi-vowels. A common variant, with no audible release.' It may also occur before a pause, or even - occasionally - a vowel.
(b) \([k^x], [X]\): Some speakers use more affricated or fricative variants than others. They are, however, not a strong feature of the dialect. Examples: [\(\text{wo}k^x\)] 'walk'; [\(\text{t}^x\text{eq}k^x\)] 'track'; [\(\text{la}^x\cdot X\)] 'like'; [\(\text{la}^x\cdot X\)] 'like'; [\(\text{jo}k^x\)] 'rock'; etc.

(c) \([k]\)

(d) \([k], [q]\): \([q]\) occurs after /\(\text{o}\)/, /\(\text{o}\)/, and to a lesser extent /\(\text{o}:\)/, /\(\text{o}:\)/, and a following back vowel at the beginning of the next word constitutes an appropriate environment, when supplementary to the first consideration. Examples: [\(\text{p}'l\text{y}^x\)] 'pluck'; [\(\text{do}q^x\)] 'dock'; [\(\text{'do}q\text{u}n\)] 'dock and'; [\(\text{lu}p\ 'q\text{p}^\text{mt}\)] 'luck happened'; etc.

(e) \([k^\prime], [k^h]\): Aspiration of final plosives is common, and is occasionally heavy, e.g. [\(\text{bak}^h\)] 'back'.

(f) \([\text{\acute{e}}k^\prime]\): Preglottalised and released with aspiration, or sometimes affrication. Very common variant, e.g. [\(\text{ly}^2k\)] 'look'.

(g) \([k^\prime]\): A genuinely ejective release of /\(k\)/ is not unusual, e.g. [\(\text{w}k^\prime\)] 'week'.

(h) Geminated: Final /\(k\)/ geminates readily before a hesitation or a word beginning with a vowel, or /\(k, g\)/, e.g. /\(\text{e w}k\ 'k\)ke 'fra\text{ddi}'/ 'a week on Friday'. The phonetic form of the geminate is [\(k\cdot k^\prime\)].

(i) \([k]\): Before a word beginning with a front vowel.

5.5.5.6. In Final Clusters:

/\(k\)/ occurs in the final clusters: /\(kt, ks, nk, lk, sk, kts, kst, ks\(\theta\), nkt, nk\(\theta\), nks, lkt, lks, skt, sks/.

With
regard to /nkθ/, length and strength are often pronounced with /nθ/. /kts/ is usually realised as /ks/ in running speech. /sk/s may be realised as such, or as [s:].

Examples:

/ltk/ 'beat'; /stks/ 'six'; /skn/ 'sink'; /mlk/ 'milk'; /risk/ 'risk'; /aks/ 'acts'; /akst/ 'asked'; /stks/ 'sixth'; /winkt/ 'winked'; /lcnkθ/ 'length'; /tanks/ 'tanks'; /mlkt/ 'milked'; /silks/ 'silks'; /rskt/ 'risked'; /wsk/ 'whisks'; etc.

Final /tl/ and /kl/, the latter sometimes containing a vowel, are in free variation:

/'bokl/ 'bottle'; /sclz/ 'Settles'; /'skl/ 'shuttle'; /'rakl/ 'rattle'; /'lkl/ 'little'; /'fcll/ 'fettle, repair'; /'orkl/ 'throttle'; /'kl/ 'it will'; etc. /'atl/ 'hackle'; etc.

Similarly, final /dl/ and /gl/ are in free variation.¹

5.5.5.7. Comparative Distribution:

(a) Contrast the position of /k/ in dialect /aks/ 'ask', /akst/ 'asked'.

(b) Corresponding to RP /g/: /'alke(r)/ 'algar, vinegar'.

(c) The dialect does not use /k/ in /wm:rtʃ/ 'ache';² /'blgbrl/ 'blackberry'; /'blgbe(r)n/ 'Blackburn'.

(d) Dialect /tl/ or /kl/ corresponds medially and finally to RP /tl/ and RP /kl/.³

¹ Cf. section 5.5.6.6.
² Cf. section 5.5.7.7(f).
³ Cf. subsections 4 and 6 above.
(e) Dialect /tl/ or /kl/ corresponds initially to RP /kl/.  

(f) On the distribution of allophones, note dialect [q], and the greater range of final variants.  

(g) In the dialect, length and strength more often have /nθ/ - cf. RP /ŋkθ, ŋθ, nθ/.  

5.5.5.8. Modification:  

Use of [q] is diminished, especially if a speaker uses a more centralised form of /ο/. Medial geminates are less frequent. With regard to subsection 7, the free variation in the use of /tl, kl/ described in (d) and (e) is often retained; /aks/ → /ask/; /'alike(r)/ is not used in modified speech, nor is /wɔ:(r)t$/; /g/ → /k/ in blackberry and Blackburn.  

5.5.6.  

/g/  

5.5.6.1.  

/g/ is a lenis velar plosive, which occurs initially, medially and finally within the word. /g/ is subject to initial and final devoicing. As with /k/, the lip position for /g/ is conditioned particularly by a following vowel or semi-vowel. Similarly, a following vowel conditions the front, central or back quality of /g/, and there is an  

1. Cf. subsection 3 above.  
2. Cf. subsections 2, 4 and 5 above.  
3. Cf. sections 5.5.5.2 - 4.  
4. Cf. sections 5.5.5.2. and 4.
allophone [G], which is parallel in its form and distribution to the [q] allophone of /k/, although the latter seems to occur with greater frequency.

5.5.6.2. **Initial /g/:**

[g]: before a front vowel or /j/. ²

[g]: before a vowel in the mid region.

[g],[G]: before a back vowel. Examples: [go:] 'go'; [Gom] 'gum'.

Examples of initial /g/:

/ˈgənəl/ 'entry, alley'; /ɡəb/ 'mouth';

/ˈɡəbɪn/ 'fool'; /ɡəp/ 'stare';

/ˈgoːkən/ 'idiot', etc.

5.5.6.3. **In Initial Clusters:**

/gl, gr/. /gw/ is not an initial combination in the dialect, unless resort is had to names of Welsh origin.³ /gj/ is marginal.⁴ Examples:

/ˈɡlɪmər(r)/ 'glimmer'; /ɡlɑːd/ 'glad';

/ɡreɪt/ 'great'; /ɡreː/ 'grey'; etc.

Initial /gl/ and /dl/ are in free variation.⁵ /g/ is realised as [g] in the cluster /gl/.

The situation is exactly parallel to that of initial /kl/ and /tl/, which occur in free variation.⁶

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1. Cf. sections 5.5.5.2, 4 and 6.
2. Cf. section 5.5.22.3(e).
3. Cf. section 5.5.20.3.
4. Cf. section 5.5.22.3(e).
5. Cf. section 5.5.4.3.
6. Cf. section 5.5.5.3.
5.5.6.4. **Medial /g/:**

The general pattern of variants follows that given in subsections 1, 2 and 3 above. /g/ is not audibly released, i.e. [g̍] when the next syllable begins with a consonant, e.g. [ˈblag̍bɔn] 'Blackburn'. Medial /g/ may be geminated. Examples:

/ˈfɪŋe(r)/ 'finger'; /ˈbange(r)/ 'banger'; /ˈɛg̍zæktl/ 'exactly'; /ˈɛg̍zæm/ 'exam'; /ˈwɔgdın/ 'Walkden'; /ˈblagbe(r)n/ 'Blackburn'; /ˈblagbrɪ/ 'blackberry'; /ˈdʒɔgɡɪn/ 'jogging'; /ˈsɔɡɡɪ(r)/ 'a large, heavy person/thing (e.g. a blow)'; /ˈpɔɡɡɪn/ 'raiding, stealing'; etc.

Medial /ɡ(o)l/ occurs in free variation with /dl/, as also in final clusters.¹ This is parallel to occurrences of /kl/ and /tl/ in free variation.² Examples:

/ˈpɛŋɡɔlbɛrt/ 'Pendlebury'; and - word-medial as far as the /g/ is concerned - /ˈspɪŋɡɔl/ 'spindle'; /ˈwɪdln/ 'wiggling'; etc.

5.5.6.5. **Final /r/:**

/ˈdɔɡ/ 'dog'; /ˈɛɡ/ 'hake'; /ˈpɪɡ/ 'pig'; etc.

The most common final variant is [ɡ] if a word is pronounced in isolation. [ɡ̍] occurs before a word beginning with a consonant, and sometimes before a pause. Final /g/ may geminate before a hesitation, or a word beginning with a vowel or /k, ɡ/. [ɡ̍] may occur before a word beginning with

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¹. Cf. subsection 6 below.
². Cf. sections 5.5.5.4. and 6. above.
a front vowel. [ᵽ], or even [G], occurs after a back vowel. 

[ᵽ̑]: an affricated variant occurs sometimes, more so with some speakers than others. There is sometimes a perceptible slight delay in the release of final /g/: this seems to be due to a slight suggestion of glottal constriction preceding the release of the plosive. Final /g/ is also sometimes released with a rather lax kind of aspiration. Sometimes a trace of a parasitic schwa accompanies the release.

5.5.6.6. In Final Clusters:

/ng, gd, gz, ngz/. Examples: /ring/ ‘ring’; /gand/ ‘ganged’; /singz/ ‘sings’; /dəgz/ ‘dogs’; etc.

Final /dʎ/ and /ɡl/ are in free variation, although /dʎ/ is the more common. Examples: /ˈbonglz/ ‘bundles’; /ˈrɪglz/ ‘riddles’; /ˈɔŋgl/ ‘handle’; /ˈɡtʃdʎ/ ‘giggle’; etc.

5.5.6.7. Comparative Distribution:

(a) Dialect /ŋ/ corresponds to RP /ə/ and /ŋə/ in word-medial position in the word stock common to the two varieties.

(b) Dialect /n/ or /ŋ/ corresponds to RP /ŋ/ in word-final position: /sɪŋ/ ‘sing’; /ˈsɪŋən/ ‘singing’; etc. Final dialect /n/ - chiefly in present participles - corresponds to NS /ŋг/ or /n/.

1. Cf. sections 5.5.4.6. and 5.5.5.6.
2. Cf. section 5.5.18.
(c) Initial dialect /gl/ or /dl/ corresponds to RP /gl/.

(d) Medial and final dialect /dl/ or /gl/ corresponds to RP /dl/ and RP /gl/.

(e) Re the distribution of allophones, note the existence of [G] and the range of final variants.

(f) Dialect /g/ corresponds to RP /k/ in: /'wɔgdu:n/ 'Walkden'; /'bлаgbe(r)n/ 'Blackburn'; /'bلاgbru/ 'blackberry'; /'g:ə/ 'hake'.

5.5.6.8. Modification:

Uses of [G], and of medial geminates, are less common.

With reference to subsection 7 above,

Section (a) /ŋg/ is retained.

Section (b) /ŋG/ is retained; /n/ is retained, or

---/ŋg/.

Sections (c), (d) The free variation between /gl/ and /dl/ is largely retained.

Section (f) /Gl/ ---/k/.

5.5.7.

/tʃ/ 5.5.7.1.

/tʃ/ is a fortis, palato-alveolar affricate which occurs initially, medially and finally within the word. [tʃ] is occasionally encountered where /s/ would be expected, e.g.

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1. Cf. subsection 3 above.
2. Cf. subsections 4 and 6 above.
3. Cf. subsections 1, 2, 4 and 5 above.
4. See further section 5.5.18.8.
['tʃəlɪn] 'swelling'. However, speakers reject such forms when confronted with them, and they would appear to be deviant — whether due to age, false teeth, or whatever, is difficult to say.1

5.5.7.2. Initial /tʃ/:  
/tʃək/ 'chuck, throw'; /tʃəft/ 'chuffed, proud, pleased'; /tʃəlp/ 'talk' (perjorative); /tʃæmpjan/ 'champion, fine, marvellous'; /tʃəp/ 'chap'; /tʃərəˈbæŋz/ 'char-a-bancs'; etc.

5.5.7.3. In Initial Clusters:
None.

5.5.7.4. Medial /tʃ/:
Medial /tʃ/ is usually strongly preglottalised. The glottal stricture takes the form of [fʔ]. The release of the /tʃ/ is thus delayed, just as the release of fortis stop consonants is delayed when they are geminated in word-medial position: ['fəʃətʃən] 'fortune'; ['bɔʊtʃə] 'butcher'; ['ʃəmɪʃə] 'Halshaw Moor'; ['ʃɪtʃɪz] 'itches'; ['wɪtʃətʃɛ] 'wet-shod'; ['brənʧətʃɪz] 'branches'; etc.

5.5.7.5. Final /tʃ/:
/siːtʃ/ 'seek, look for'; /slətʃ/ '(slush, sludge), mud'; /wətʃə(r)tʃ/ (if /r/ is not pronounced) 'ache'; etc. Final /tʃ/ is also usually preglottalised: ['ʃædʒətʃ] 'radish';

1. See further section 5.5.15.
In Final Clusters:

/r/, /l/ and /n/ may precede /t$\delta$/ in final clusters. Examples: /wz:(r)t$\delta$/ (if /r/ is pronounced) 'ache'; /kat$\delta$/ 'caught'; /belt$\delta$/ 'belched'; /wnt$\delta$/ 'winched'; etc. /t$\delta$/ in final clusters may also be preglottalised: [be$\delta^2$] 'belch'; [wcn$^2$] 'wench' (note the lengthening of /n/).

Comparative Distribution:

(a) /t + $j$/ does not normally occur in the dialect, and words such as fortune are usually pronounced with /t$\delta$/.

(b) Gimson notes that "some speakers" omit the stop element in the cluster /nt$\delta$/.$^1$ The dialect of Farnworth and district always retains it.$^2$

(c) In words of French origin, which are recent loans, the dialect uses /t$\delta$/ rather than /$\delta$/.$^3$ There is a parallel phenomenon in the case of /d$\delta$/.$^3$

Examples: /d$\delta$yt$\delta$/ 'douche'; /t$\delta$are,bangz/ 'char-à-bancs'; /'tat$\delta$e,ke:s/ 'attaché case'.

(d) Corresponding to RP /$\delta$/.$^4$ See also the words in subsection (c). /'rad$\delta$t$/ 'radish'; /'ro$\delta$t$/ 'rubbish'; /'alt$\delta$ my$\delta$(r)/ 'Halshaw Moor'; and perhaps /slot$\delta$/ 'mud', cf. RP slush.

2. Cf., however, Hargreaves (1904: 71, section 80).
3. Cf. section 5.5.8.7(b).
Corresponding to RP /dʒ/: /'pɔrtʃ/ 'porridge'; /'kæbɪtʃ/ 'cabbage'; and perhaps /sloʊtʃ/ 'mud', cf. RP sludge.

(f) Corresponding to RP /k/: /siːtʃ/ 'seek, look for'; /weɪ:(r)tʃ/ 'ache', cf. RP work.¹

5.5.7.8. Modification:

The phonetic quality of /tʃ/ remains the same, including its tendency to be preglottalised in medial and final positions. In section 7, the status of /tʃ/ in subsections (a), (b) and (c) remains the same; in subsections (d), (e) and (f), /tʃ/ is replaced by /ʃ/, /dʒ/, /k/, as appropriate, except in the word slutch, which remains extremely common, and in the word warche, which is not used in modified speech.

5.5.8. /dʒ/

5.5.8.1. /dʒ/ is a lenis, palato-alveolar affricate, which occurs initially, medially and finally within the word. Initial and final /dʒ/ are subject to devoicing.

5.5.8.2. Initial /dʒ/:

/dʒed/ 'dead'; /dʒeθ/ 'death'; /dʒef/ 'deaf';²
/'dʒeːrɪŋ/ 'during'; /'dʒiːtɪ/ 'duty'; /'dʒɪɡe(r)/

¹ Cf. Hargreaves (1904: 73).
² The forms /dʒed/, /dʒeθ/ and /dʒef/ are perhaps the most common. /djɛθ/, /djɛθ/ and /dʒɛθ/ also occur.
'jigger = extra bus running between two scheduled buses'; /ˈdɜːneɪk/ 'jannock = fair'; /ˈdʒəsə(r)/ 'josser'.

5.5.8.3. In Initial Clusters:

None.

5.5.8.4. Medial /dʒ/:

Usually preceded by very slight glottal stricture, [²], which would generally appear to be of a [dʒ]-quality: ['mɪt dʒ] 'midges'; ['ba dʒ] 'badgers'; etc.

Further: /ˈprɛsˌwɪdʒ/ 'Prestwich's'; /ˈɪndʒən/ 'engine'; /ˈspædʒ(r)/ 'sparrow'; /ˈeɪdʒənt/ 'against the'; etc.

5.5.8.5. Final /dʒ/:

/'nɔrɪdʒ/ 'Norwich'; /ˈbeɪdʒ/ 'beige'; /ˈkæməˌflæg dʒ/ 'camouflage'; /ˈɡærɪdʒ/ 'garage'; /ˈmɪrɪdʒ/ 'mirage'; /ˈɔrɪdʒ/ 'Horwich'; /ˈskɛ(r)mt dʒ/ 'skirmish'; etc.

Final /dʒ/ may be very slightly preglottalised. The greater the degree of glottal stricture, the greater the degree of devoicing.

5.5.8.6. In Final Clusters:

/r, n, l/ may precede /dʒ/: /tʃeɪ(r)dʒ/ 'charge', with the /r/ pronounced; /tʃeɪndʒ/ 'change'; /ˈɪndʒəldʒ/ 'indulge'; /dʌndʒ/ 'dinted, dented'; etc.

5.5.8.7. Comparative Distribution:

(a) Except when unstressed with a following /e/ or /ə/,
e.g. /'individual/, and except in /dʒɛd/, /dʒɛθ/ and /dʒɛf/, \(^1\) /d + j/ is unusual in the dialect which normally has /dʒ/, e.g. /'dʒɪtɪt/ 'duty', more often /'dʒɪtɪt/.

(b) In words of French origin, which are comparatively recent loans, /dʒ/ occurs finally. Final /ʒ/, used by some RP speakers and educated speakers, is impossible.\(^2\) /'ɡarɪdʒ/ 'garage'; /'mərɪdʒ/ 'mirage'; /'bɛdʒ/ 'beige'; /'kæməflædʒ/ 'camouflage'.

(c) Corresponding to RP /tʃ/ in some names ending in -wich: /'ɔrɪdʒ/ 'Norwich'; /'nɔrɪdʒ/ 'Norwich'; /'prɛsɪwɪdʒ/ 'Prestwich's'.

(d) Corresponding to RP /d/: /dʒɛd/ 'dead'; /dʒɛf/ 'deaf'; /dʒɛθ/ 'death'.

(e) Note also: /'ske:(r)ɪndʒ/ 'skirmish', corresponding to RP /ʃ/; /ɛ'dʒɛn/ 'against', corresponding to RP /ɡ/.

5.5.8.8. Modification:

Phonetically, /dʒ/ remains the same. In subsection 7, words in subsections (c), (d) and (e) take the same phonemes as in RP. Words in subsection (b) retain /dʒ/.

In respect of subsection (a), /dʒ/ remains prevalent in words such as duty, but /d + j/ can occur in modified speech.

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1. Cf. section 2 above, including the footnote.
2. Cf. section 5.5.7.7(c). Strang (1974: 29) feels that /'ɡərɪdʒ/ is gaining ground, and that /'mərɪdʒ/ is increasingly non-standard.
5.5.9. /f/

5.5.9.1. /f/ is a fortis, labio-dental fricative which occurs initially, medially and finally within the word.

5.5.9.2. Initial /f/:

/ʃ:/ 'ugly, foul'; /ʃə(r)t/ 'afraid'; /ʃt/, fckl/ 'fettle, condition (n); repair (v)'; /ʃɔ:k/ 'folk, people'; etc.

5.5.9.3. In Initial Clusters:

/fl/, /fr/, /fj/, and perhaps /sf/. Examples:
/fl/: 'influenza'; /flagz/ 'paving stones'; /flomokst/ 'flummoxed, bothered, worried'; /frı:tn/ 'frighten'; /fjrʌ/ 'fuel'; etc. On the possibilities of /sf/, see section 5.5.13.3.

5.5.9.4. Medial /f/:

/ʃɛfj/ 'nephew'; /rɪ'fi:z/ 'refuse'; /kərfln/ 'coughing'; /tʃəf/ 'toffee'; /tʃi:f/ 'chiefly'; /də've(r)/ 'doffer'; /'ʃəfən/ 'Westhoughton'; etc.

5.5.9.5. Final /f/:

/ʃəf/ 'dough'; /tʃəf/ 'tough'; /kəf/ 'cough'; /ləf/ 'laugh'; /ə:f/ 'off'; /dəf/ 'doff'; etc. /f/ can result from the assimilation of final /v/ to a following fortis consonant.¹ Final /f/ may be geminated before a hesitation.

1. See section 5.5.10.5.
5.5.9.6. In Final Clusters:

/lf, ft, fθ, fs, lfs, f(t)s, fθs/. Examples: /ry:fs/ 'roofs'; /fθθ/ 'fifth'; /aft/ 'haft, handle'; /'əθfn/ 'Westhoughton'; /golf/ 'golf'; /twθ(t)(f)θ/ 'twelfth'; /afts/ 'hafts, handles', but /fts/ is usually /fs/, especially in running speech; /golfs/ 'gulfs'; /twθlθs/ 'twelfths'; etc. /f/ is not always present in final clusters before /θ/: [fθ²θs, fθθ:s] 'fifths'; [t'wθθθθs] 'twelfths'.

5.5.9.7. Comparative Distribution:

(a) Possible omission of /f/ before /θ/, as explained in subsection 6.

(b) The dialect has /f/ in /dθrf/ 'dough' and /'əθfn/ 'Westhoughton'.

(c) The dialect does not have /f/ in: /'anktʃe/ 'handkerchief'; /m'ʃe1/ 'myself', and likewise in thisel', 'issel', 'ersel', itsel'; /'be:lθ/ 'bailiff'; /'bom'be:lθ/ 'bum-bailiffs'.

(d) Dialect /fs/ in /y:fs/ 'hoofs, hooves' sometimes contrasts with /vθ/ in RP.

5.5.9.8. Modification:

Phonetically speaking, there is no perceptible modification of /f/. Distributionally, /f/ disappears from the words in subsection (b) of the preceding section, and is introduced into those words in subsection (c).
5.5.10. /v/

5.5.10.1. /v/ is a lenis labio-dental fricative which occurs initially, medially and finally within the word. /v/ is subject to devoicing in initial and final positions.

5.5.10.2. Initial /v/:

/'və:(r)nə(r)/ 'very near, nearly'; /vɛkst/ 'vexed'; /'vɑːr/ 'very'; etc.

5.5.10.3. In Initial Clusters:

/vj/ only, e.g. /vjə:/ 'view'.

5.5.10.4. Medial /v/:

/'rɪvə(r)/ 'river'; /'nɪvə(r)/ 'never'; /ˈsɛvə(r)/ 'severe'; /'wɛɪvə(r)/ 'weaver'; etc.

5.5.10.5. Final /v/:

/ɔːv, eːv, əːv/ 'half'; /kəv/ 'calf'; /v/ 'if'; /lɛv/ 'leave'; etc.

/v/ before fortis consonants can assimilate to /f/,\(^1\) but is more often realised as [v]. These two general observations apart, the word if is sometimes pronounced /ɪf/ in any environment. Similarly, the words for half can all appear with /f/, i.e. /ɔːf, eːf, əːf/, although these forms are less usual than those with /v/. Final /v/ may be geminated before a hesitation.

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5.5.10.6. In Final Clusters:

/v/, /w/, /l/.

Examples: /dovz/ 'doves'; /i:vznz/ 'evens'; /l:vd/ 'lived'; /ʃowl/ 'shovel'; 
/l:vd/ 'levelled'; /solvd/ 'solved'; /d:t'zolvz/ 'dissolves'; etc. /o/ or /e/ may occur
between /v/ and /l/.

5.5.10.7. Comparative Distribution:

(a) /v/ is present in dialect /ɔ:v, e:v, ɛ:v/ 'half',
/kɔ:v/ 'calf'; /lw/ 'if'. It corresponds to RP /f/.

(b) /v/ is not present in the following dialect forms:
/e/ 'of'; /a, ɛ:/ 'have'; /ɛ:(r), ɛ:(r)/ 'ever';
/gv/ 'give'; /gv, ɡv, ɡd, ɡan/ 'gave, given';
/y:n/ 'oven'; /ə(r)/ 'over'; /æ:(r), ɛ:(r)/ 'never'; /ɛ:(r)'scl/ 'ourselves'; /je:scl/ 'your-
selves'; /Əəscl/ 'themselves'. Note also the
following forms of the reflexive which appear to be
intermediate between the dialectal forms just given,
and more modified forms ending in -/sclvz/:
/3ya~sclz/ (,..) (t')
'ourselves'; /je~sclz/ 'yourselves';
/Oe~sclz/ 'themselves'.

5.5.10.8. Modification:

Phonetically there is no discernible modification of
/v/. In the words in subsection 7, /v/ —> /f/ in subsection
(a), except in the case of if; /v/ is introduced into the
words in subsection (b), but not in the case of of on many
occasions, and not always in the case of over, or even never
and ever, which are very common words.

1. /v/ often occurs before a vowel, but is by no means compulsory,
   e.g. [wʌn ə widgets] 'one of ours'.
2. We are not dealing here with the elision of /v/, when the
   word is unaccented, as described for RP by Gimson (1974: 182).
   In the dialect, the infinitive and present participle may occur
   without /v/ when stressed, e.g. [əmon'ait] I must have it'.
3. Hargreaves (1961: 66, section 73) writes that /giv/ occurs
   especially before a vowel in Adlington dialect. This is not
   the case in Farnworth. Examples: [gəlit], [ɡəlit] 'give it';
   [ɡəez] 'give us (= me)'.

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5.5.11.  /θ/

5.5.11.1.

/θ/ is a fortis dental fricative which occurs initially, medially and finally within the word. It is usually realised as [θ], but sometimes variants such as [θ], [θ], [θ], [t] and [t] are found. None of these is environmentally conditioned, and they occur interchangeably, although /θ/, /θ/ may present difficulties of articulation, more so in some contexts than others,¹ or perhaps — one might add — to older speakers. The pronunciation of these sounds could well be affected by false teeth. Although Farnworth /θ/ is used extensively in correspondence to /t/ in many other varieties of English (/θram/ 'tram'; /sØrok/ 'struck'; /'maθe(r)/ 'matter'; /'bctθe(r)/ 'better'; etc.), I can see no case for treating variants such as [t] as realisations of a /t/ phoneme (on those occasions when they are used where [θ] is normal): the regular variant is without doubt [θ], and informants state that the sound is "not 't'" but "'th'".² Thus, a word such as tree is phonemically /θriː:/ — there are no systematic distinctions whatsoever between pronunciations of tree and three.

The distinction /θ/ ≠ /θ/ carries a very low functional load in RP and many other varieties of English. In the dialect of Farnworth and district, however, the functional load of this distinction is much heavier. Examples:

². Cf. Hargreaves (1994, 5f, 67-9), who distinguishes [t], [t], [t] and [d], [d], [d]; cf. also Sieβ (1929: 129).
'trip' /θrip/ ≠ /ɔrip/ 'drip'
'try' /θʌli/ ≠ /ɔʌli/ 'dry'
'train' /θreɪn/ ≠ /ɔreɪn/ 'drain'
'thigh' /θaɪ/ ≠ /ɔaɪ/ 'thy' (stressed)
'thrill' /θrɪl/ ≠ /ɔrɪl/ 'drill'
'matter' /'mæθe(r)/ ≠ /'maθe(r)/ 'Mather'

etc.

The lip position is influenced by a following or preceding vowel.

5.5.11.2. Initial /θ/:

[θ] Examples: /θaɪ/ 'thigh'; /θʌŋk/ 'think' (joc.);
/θɪn/ 'thin'; /θʌŋ kən/ 'think on, remember';
etc.

5.5.11.3. In Initial Clusters:

/θ/ occurs in the initial clusters /θr/, /θw/ and /θr/. /θr/ is used much more than in RP, whilst of course /θr/ is not used at all in the Standard language. /θj/ does not appear to be used in the dialect. Examples:

/θɜːz(r)ət/ 'thwart'; /θrɪm/ 'trim'; /θrævl/ 'travel'; /θri:/ 'tree; three'; /θrʌtʃ/ 'push';
/θræk/ 'track'; /θreɪd/ 'trade'; /θræm/ 'tran';
/θro:/ 'throw; delay'; /θrɛp/ 'argue, contradict';
/θsʌtʃəd/ 'stride'; /θsɔŋ/ 'strong'; /θsɔrŋ/ 'string'; /θsɔrɛtʃə(r)/ 'stretcher'; etc.

5.5.11.4. Medial /θ/: \(^1\)

/θ/ occurs medially between vowels, and in the environment of consonants. In addition to occurring as in RP,

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1. The description of medial /θ/ closely parallels that of medial /θ/. See section 5.5.12.4. for details.
medial /θ/ occurs in the clusters /θr/ and /sθr/, whilst dialect medial /(t)θe(r)/ corresponds to RP /te(r)/. The only exceptions are grammatically defined,¹ being the comparative forms of a number of adjectives: /'li:te(r)/ 'lighter'; /'bri:te(r)/ 'brighter'; etc. Contrast, however, /'swi:tθe(r)/ 'sweeter'; /'fa:sθe(r)/ 'faster'; etc. Note also /'bctθe(r)/ 'better', although this is, of course, an irregular comparative. It is probably not widely known that /θ/ may correspond to the /t/ of RP and other varieties of English before unaccented /k/: /'plə:sθik/ 'plastic'; /'mə:sθik/ 'mastic'. Some speakers use /t/, however. Examples of medial /θ/:

/ˈfɛsθe(r)/ 'fester'; /ˈsɪsθe(r)/ 'sister';
/ˈmʌsθe(r)t/ 'mustard'; /ˈkləθe(r)/ 'fall';
/ˈklæθe(r)/ 'hit'; /ˈmaθe(r)/ 'matter';
/ˈsʊθe(r)d/ 'Saturday'; /ˈməθe(r)n/ 'gutters';
/ˈskəθe(r)/ 'scatter'; /ˈvɪθəθl/ 'vitriol';
/ˈdʒθe(r)/ 'dragonfly'; /ˈweθe(r)/ 'water';
/ˈkʌθe(r)/ 'creature'; /ˈkwʌθe(r)/ 'quarter';
/ˈbctθe(r)/ 'better'; /ˈdɔrθe(r)/ 'daughter';
/ˈbʌθe(r)/ 'butter'; /ˈɔθe(r)/ 'alter';
/ˈdæθe(r)/ 'doctor'; /ˈkʌnθr/ 'country';
/ˈtsθr/ 'history'; /ˈmʌsθrəlz/ 'nostrils';
/eθrəktid/ 'attracted'; /ˈjɔŋsθe(r)/ 'youngster';
/ˈkɛθsθrəm/ 'extreme'; /ˈplə:sθik/ 'plastic';
/ˈmə:sθik/ 'mastic'; etc.

Occasionally, /t/ is optional before /θ/, e.g. /ˈkre:(t)θe(r)/ 'creature'.²

¹. This illustrates the point that the preparation of linguistic descriptions is not a purely linear process - cf. Pike (1973: 115).
². Cf. section 5.5.3.4.
5.5.11.5. **Final /ɔ/:**


Note especially /lɔtθ/ 'Leigh'.

5.5.11.6. **In Final Clusters:**

/ɔ/ occurs in the final clusters /pθ, tθ, mθ, nθ, lθ, fθ, θt, θs, pθs, tθs, kθ(s), nθ(s), nθθ(s), 1fθ(s), lθs, fθs/. Examples:

/dθθpθ/ 'depth'; /lθn(θ)θ/ 'length'; /twθl(θ)θ(s)/ 'twelfth(s)'; /fθl(θ)θ(s)/ 'fifth(s)'; /wθ:(r)mθθ/ 'warmth'; /lθn(t)θθ(s)/ 'tenth(s)'; /aθθ/ 'health'; /θθtθ/ 'bathed'; /θθθθ/ 'bathes'; /θθθθ(s)/ 'eighth(s)'; /θθθθθ/ 'sixth'; etc. In a word such as Ethel, /θθ/ or /e/ is usually heard between /θ/ and /l/.

5.5.11.7. **Comparative Distribution:**

(a) Dialect /ɔθ/, in addition to corresponding to RP /ɔθ/, corresponds to RP /tr/ initially and medially. /ɔθ/ is therefore used much more extensively than in RP.

(b) Dialect /sɔθ/ corresponds initially and medially to RP /str/.

(c) Dialect /(t)θθ(r)/ corresponds to RP unaccented /tθ(r)/ in a large common word stock, except in the comparative forms of some adjectives, as defined in subsection 4 above.

(d) Dialect /θθk/ corresponds to RP unaccented /tθk/.

(e) In the light of (a) and (c), and the occurrence of /θ/ in contexts where RP and many other varieties of English have /d/, the functional load carried by the distinction /θ/ ≠ /θ/ is relatively heavy in the dialect.

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1. See section 5.5.12.
(f) Dialect /θ/ corresponds to RP zero in /lθiθ/ 'Leigh'.

(g) Dialect /θs/ corresponds to RP /θz/ in /r1:θs/ 'wreaths'.

5.5.11.8. Modification:

/θ/ does not modify phonetically, but distributional modification is considerable. With reference to subsection 7,

Section (a) /θr/ —> /tr/
Section (b) /sθr/ —> /str/
Section (c) /(t)θe(r)/ —> /te(r)/
Section (d) /θlk/ —> /tlk/
Section (e) The functional load is sharply reduced
Section (f) /θ/ —> zero
Section (g) /θs/ tends to be retained.

5.5.12. /Ø/

5.5.12.1.

/Ø/ is a lenis dental fricative which occurs initially, medially and finally within the word. It occurs in both initial and final clusters. Initial and final /Ø/ are subject to devoicing. The usual realisation of the phoneme is [Ø] in all positions (disregarding possible devoicing), but — as in the case of /θ/¹ — variants such as [dØ], [d], [dØ], [dØ] and [d] are sometimes encountered. Again, possible difficulties of pronunciation must be borne in mind, and

1. Cf. section 5.5.11.1.
again I can see no case for attributing variants such as 
[\textipa{d}] to a /d/ phoneme.

The lip position for /\textipa{3}/ is influenced by a preceding 
or following vowel. The relatively heavy functional load 
of the opposition /\textipa{3}/ \neq /\textipa{3}/ was observed and illustrated 
in section 5.5.11.1.

5.5.12.2. Initial /\textipa{3}/:

/\textipa{3}cn/ 'then'; /\textipa{3}e:/ 'thou'; /\textipa{3}at/ 'that'; /\textipa{3}em/ 
'them; those'; /\textipa{3}y:z/ 'those'; /\textipa{3}e(r)/ 'there'; 
etc.

5.5.12.3. In Initial Clusters:

/\textipa{3}r/. Examples: /\textipa{3}ra:ft/ 'draught'; /\textipa{3}ro(r)z/ 
'drawers'; /\textipa{3}rink/ 'drink'; /\textipa{3}ei/ 'dry, thirsty'; 
/\textipa{3}egz/ 'dregs'; etc.

5.5.12.4. Medial /\textipa{3}/:

/\textipa{3}/ occurs medially between vowels and in the environ­
ment of consonants. In addition to occurring as in RP, 
medial /\textipa{3}/ occurs in the cluster /\textipa{3}r/, whilst medial 
/(d)\textipa{3}e(r)/ corresponds to RP /\textipa{3}o(r)/ in a very large 
common word stock, again with the grammatically defined 
exceptions, however, of comparative forms of adjectives.\footnote{1} 
The lenis dental fricative is much rarer than the fortis 
in comparative forms, and nearly all have /d/, e.g. 
/'re\textipa{3}e(r)/ 'redder', but cf. /'sad\textipa{3}e(r)/ 'sadder' from 
some informants.

Occasionally /d/ before /\textipa{3}/ is optional - see the 
words murder and shoulder, for instance, in the examples 
which follow.\footnote{2} Otherwise /d/ occurs in some words

\footnotetext{1}{Cf. section 5.5.11.4.}
\footnotetext{2}{Cf. sections 5.5.4.4, 5.5.11.4 and 5.5.3.4.}
before /ð/, and not in others. Note the minimal pairs: 'bladder' '/bladð(r)/' ≠ '/blæð(r)/' 'blather'; and 'ladder' '/ladð(r)/' ≠ '/lað(r)/' 'lather'.
Examples of medial /ð/: '/blæð(r)/' 'bladder'; '/ladð(r)z/ 'ladders'; '/adð(r)/' 'adder'; '/plæð(r) lo:n/ 'Plodder Lane'; '/wæ:(r)bro:zbz/ 'wardrobes'; '/wɔðð(r)z/ 'wonders'; '/ɔndð(r)/' 'under'; '/lo:n'ɔrcts/ 'launderettes'; '/ɔndð(r)t/ 'hundred'; '/bɾɔ:ʒdð/ 'broth-head = fool'; '/sɔndð(r)/' 'cinder'; '/dændɔf/ 'dandruff'; '/ɔ:ɔrn/ 'Audrey'; '/ɔ(r)ðø(r)/' 'order'; '/me:(r)(d)ðø(r)/ 'murder'; '/ʃɔyððð(r), ʃɔyððð(r), ʃɔyldðð(r)/' 'shoulder'; '/sɪðð(r)z/ 'scissors'; '/læð(r), lɔðð(r)/' 'lather'; '/spæððð(r)/' 'spider'; '/mætððð(r)/' 'moader, pester'; etc.

5.5.12.5. **Final /ð/:**

'/sɔ:ð/ 'soothe'; '/smy:ð/ 'smooth'; '/bæ:ð/ 'bathe'; etc.

5.5.12.6. **In Final Clusters:**

/ðd, ðz/. Examples: '/sɔ:ðð/ 'soothed'; '/smy:ððz/ 'smooths'; etc.

/ðð/ might be added on the strength of '/wæðð/ 'width', but the word is often pronounced '/wætð/. /ðm(z), ðn(z), ðl(z)/ are possible clusters in running speech, but /ɔ/ or /e/ tend to occur between /ð/ and a following nasal or liquid.

5.5.12.7. **Comparative Distribution:**

(a) Dialect /ɔr/ corresponds to RP /dr/ initially and medially.

(b) Dialect /(d)ðø(r)/ corresponds to RP /ðø(r)/ in a
large common word stock, except under the grammatical conditions given in subsection 4 above.

(c) Dialect /ð/ corresponds to RP /z/ in /'sɪðe(r)z/ 'scissors'.

(d) The dialect does not have /ð/ in /tlyəz/ 'clothes'.

5.5.12.8. **Modification:**

There is no modification to the phonetic quality of /ð/. Distributionally, however, modification is considerable. With reference to subsection 7 above:

Section (a) /ðr/ \(\rightarrow\) /dr/
Section (b) /d(ə)e(r)/ \(\rightarrow\) /de(r)/
Section (c) /ð/ \(\rightarrow\) /z/
Section (d) /tlyəz/ \(\rightarrow\) /klo:ðz/, although /ð/ is still prone to elision.

5.5.13. /s/

5.5.13.1. /s/ is a fortis alveolar fricative which occurs initially, medially and finally. It sometimes has a slightly palatal quality, [sʰ] - more so with some speakers than others.¹

5.5.13.2. Initial /s/:

/'scəðe(r)di/ 'Saturday'; /'sɪðɪ/ 'see thee';
/'somət/ 'something'; etc.

¹. See further section 5.5.15.1.
Initial /s/ in context may be realised as a [ts] affricate after a word ending with an alveolar consonant: /won 'təʊnde:/ 'one Sunday'; and similarly in /tnt 'smiði/ 'in the smithy'; /'aɪnt sɪn/ 'hadn't seen'; /aɪd 'sɜːn(e)(r)/ 'I'd sooner'; /boːt so:/ 'boat so'; etc.

Note also: [Iʃɒː] ['Does thou'] see?'[Iʃɪm] 'the same'

and - without apparently indicating thou or the - after a pause

[Iʃpːo] 'so'

5.5.13.3. In Initial Clusters:

/sp, st, sk, sm, sn, sl, sw, spl, spr, spj, stj, skr, skj, skw, s0r/. Examples: /spɛk/ 'speak'; /'stɛj(ə)l/ 'steal'; /skɪn/ 'skin'; /'smiði/ 'smithy'; /sniŋ/ 'eel'; /slæŋ/ 'slang'; /swɪm/ 'swim'; /splɛʃ/ 'splash'; /sprɛd/ 'spread'; /spʃiː/ 'spew'; /stjə/ 'stew'; /skrəp/ 'scrape'; /'skjvʊə(r)/ 'skewer'; /skwɛʃ/ 'squash'; /sɒrŋ/ 'strong'; etc.

/sf/ is a possible combination - I have no words such as sphere in my corpus, but I see no reason why a dialect speaker should not use such a word, given an appropriate context. /sj/ is not used, and words which have this cluster in RP have /s/ or /ʃ/ in the dialect. /str/ is not used either, for the dialect has /s0r/. On the possibility of /skl/, see section 5.5.19.3. /sr/ is a possible alternative to /ʃr/, e.g. /'səropʃe(r)/ 'Shropshire'.

5.5.13.4. Medial /s/:

/s/ occurs medially between vowels where it may be geminated, and in the environment of consonants.

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1. Cf. section 5.5.15.3.
Examples: /'ðresə(r)/ 'dresser'; /'kʊsɪŋ/ 'cursing';
/'æksɪŋz/ 'askings'; /'pɛsə(r)/ 'pester';
/'plɛsθək/ 'plastic'; etc.

Again /sʃ/ does not occur. The dialect has /sθr/ again for RP /str/, and /sθ/ for RP /st/ before
/e(r)/ and unstressed /ɪk/: /ˈdɪstrəkʃən/ 'distraction'; /'mɛsθə(r)/ 'mister'; /'plɛsθək/ 'plastic'; etc.

/s/ may be preceded by glottal stricture in medial clusters, e.g. ['fæntʃ] 'fancy'. The same
phenomenon can result in /s/ 's being realised as a [fr] affricate, e.g. ['dæntʃ] 'dancing'.

5.5.13.5. Final /s/:

/ts/, /ps/, /ks/, n(t)s, ls, fs, os, sp, st, sk, pst,
p0s, t0s, kst, kso, mps, nts, n0s, nst, nks, lps,
lts, lks, lfs, l0s, lst, f0s, spl, sps, skt, sks/.
/dst/ is possible: /ˈmɪdst/ 'midst', although the
word is not common. /pts, kts, fts/ should possibly
be added to this list. /pts, kts, fts/ are unlikely
to occur in running speech, but when a word is
pronounced in isolation, or with especial clarity,
they are perhaps just possible:
/pts/ is usually /ps/
/kts/ is usually /ks/
/fts/ is usually /fs/.

1. Cf. section 5.5.15.1 and 5.
/sps/ may occur as such, or as [s:]
/sts/ normally occurs as [s:]; [ŋʃ:s:] 'nests'; [pʰɔ:s:] 'posts'; etc. /sts/ may also be realised, however, as */s:t:s/ or */s:t:s/, e.g. */kros:t:s/ 'crusts' (or as */z:t:s/: */niːz:t:s/ 'nests').

/sks/ may occur as such, or as [s:].
/sm/ is not likely to occur without at least a trace of an intervening vowel, e.g. [ˈsn[ðə]səm] 'handsome'.

/sns/ and /ns/ occur, but are often /snts/ and /nts/ respectively, with the result that pairs such as sense ≠ scents are not always distinguished. The same may be said of RP. 2

RP /mpts/ is more likely 3 to be /mps/ in the dialect.

RP /ʃns/ has as the usual dialect equivalent /ʃən(t)s, ʃon(t)s/.

Some examples of /s/ in final clusters: /riːθs/ 'wreaths'; /aks/ 'ask'; /'fæsn/ ([ˈfæsŋ]) 'fasten'; /risks/ 'risks'; /wɔnst/ 'once'; /θreːpsә/ 'trapped'; etc. Other examples will be found under the consonants with which /s/ combines.

Further final clusters are /sn(t)s, sn, snz, snt/. These may occur as clusters of consonants, but there is often a suggestion of /e/ or /o/ - usually the latter - between the /s/ and /n/.

RP has the clusters /sl, slz/. Again, in the dialect, there may be a suggestion of /o/ before /l/, although [ʃ] itself has the vowel resonance of /o/: it is therefore not easy to decide between [ʃ] and [ʃ].

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1. Children having difficulty with the combination /sts/ and pronouncing it as */s:t:s/ are sometimes made aware of the problem with the rhyme: */gois:t:s/ 'ronin op *poːst:s/ wi 'kros:t:s ɪ ˈe(r)' fɪtsː/ 'Ghosts, running up posts, with crusts in their fists'.
3. It is difficult to be thoroughly explicit: the differences between clarity norms and words in continuous speech are sometimes considerable.
/t/ and /d/ are nasally released and form the clusters /tn(t)s/, /dn(t)s/. The /t/ in brackets represents an element of glottalisation which can be quite strong in a word such as riddance.

Final /s/, usually at the end of a final cluster, is sometimes "missing", and the same may be said of final /z/. By "missing" I mean not present when one would expect it to be present - from the point of view of the dialect system, and not of any other. In other words, I am not alluding to instances such as /tyː wɪk/ 'two weeks', which are perfectly regular dialect forms. Consider, however:

a) /wʊn əv ɪz 'koːn ʃɔp we(r)t/ 'One of his calling shop[s] was the...

b) /e əʊd ə brɪk ən/ 'a load of brick[s] on'

c) /wɪ əɪz ərɪk/ 'with these brick[s]'

d) /mæn/ 'menace'

e) /et 'wʊlwek/ 'at Wallwork['s]

There are problems here for the analyst. If the similar examples under /z/ are consulted too, it will be seen that /s, z/ are sometimes "missing" under the following conditions: 1) on plurals; 2) on genitives; 3) on verbs; 4) as the final letter of the stem of a word. The chief problem lies in deciding whether we are dealing with errors, ellipses or with low-frequency grammatical phenomena.

Condition 4), as exemplified by form d), smacks of an error pure and simple. However, 1), 2) and 3) cannot be so lightly dismissed, as it is conceivable that they - or that some of

1. See section 5.5.14.6.
2. See section 5.5.14.6.
them - are remnants of some older stage of the dialect.
I am unable to resolve these matters satisfactorily here.

5.5.13.7. Comparative Distribution:

(a) Initial and medial clusters.¹
(b) Final clusters.²
(c) Final /s/ is found in the dialect in /ɛs/ 'ash'; /aks/ 'ask'.
(d) Final /s/ occurs as the ending for the second person singular in the present tense, e.g. /ɔːː/ wants/ 'thou wants'.
(e) In certain plurals: /yːfːs/ 'hoofs'; /riːðːs/ 'wreaths'.
(f) /s/ is not present in the dialect in: /stːn/ 'since'; /fɔːːx/ 'folks' (in the sense of people in general; with this meaning, final /s/ is used in some varieties of English, but in the dialect it is optional).
(g) /s/ is not present in the dialect in a number of plural forms of the type: /tɹːmθ/ 'two months'; /fəːv wɪk/ 'five weeks'; etc.
(h) Further investigation of "missing" final /s/ might or might not yield further points of comparative interest.

5.5.13.8. Modification:

Phonetically, /s/ remains the same. The initial and medial cluster /sθr/ → /str/. Medial /sθ/ before /e(r)/ or /ɪk/ → /st/. Medial /s/ is less likely to be geminated.

¹. Cf. subsections 3 and 4 above.
². Cf. subsection 6 above.
With reference to subsection 7, /s/ is not used in modified speech, and /aks/ −−−−−−> /ask/.

Section (d) −→ you + want, etc.

Section (e) /s/ is probably retained

Section (f) /s/ tends to be added to /s:n/

Section (g) /s/ may be added, but forms without it are common in modified speech.

5.5.14. /z/

5.5.14.1.

/z/ is a lenis alveolar fricative which occurs initially, medially and finally within the word. In initial and final positions it is subject to devoicing.

/z/ is in free variation with /s/ in /ˈkresɛnt/ 'crescent'; /ˈvæzəˌliːn/ 'vaseline'; /ˈwɛzli/ 'Wesley'; /ˈprɛzwɪdʒ/ 'Prestwich's'; /ˈme(r)zəˌreɪzd/ 'mercerised'; /ˈrefjuːz/ 'refuse' (n).

5.5.14.2. Initial /z/:

/zɪp/ 'zip'; /ˈzɪbrəˌkrəʊsɪn/ 'zebra-crossing'; /ˈzɪɡzæɡ/ 'zigzag', etc.

5.5.14.3. In Initial Clusters:

None.

5.5.14.4. Medial /z/:

/z/ occurs medially between vowels, where it may be geminated, and in the environment of consonants. In some words it is in free variation with /s/.
Examples: /'bɪzɪ/ 'busy'; /'flɒzə(r)/ 'bobbin or spindle on which the thread is overflowing or spilling over etc.); /'ɡænzə/ 'cardigan'; and, in free variation with /s/: /'wɜzli/ 'Wesley'; /'væzəli:n/ 'vaseline'; etc.

5.5.14.5. Final /z/:

/'kɒstz/ 'costs'; /'æstz/ 'asks'; /'pesz/ 'peas'; /'nɜz/ 'noise'; etc.; and, in free variation with /s/: /'refjuːz/ 'refuse' (n).

Curiously, final /z/ is in free variation with /d/ in /ɒz no:d/ 'thou knowd'; /z/, /d/ and zero are in free variation in /e'ko(:)z, bɪ'ko(:)z/ 'because'.

Final /z/ may assimilate to /ʒ/ before /ʃ/ and /j/, and it may geminate before a hesitation, a word beginning with a vowel, or /z/.

5.5.14.6. In Final Clusters:

/z/ occurs extensively in final clusters: /bz, dz, gz, mz, nz, lz, vz, ðz, zd, ndz, lbz, ldz, lmz, lnz, lvz, nζz/. In clusters where /z/ precedes a nasal (/zm(z), zn(d, z)/), /e/ or /o/ may or may not intervene. When /lz/ follows one or more consonants (/plz, blz, tlz, dlz, klz, glz, tʃlz, dʒlz, mlz, nlz, ðlz, ðlz, slz, vlz, flz, jlz, mplz, mblz, ndlz, ntlz, nklz, nglz, stlz/), the /l/ has the resonance of /o/, and /ol/ would seem to be an equally appropriate phonemicisation, except with /tlz, dlz, ndlz, ntlz/ where /t, d/ are clearly laterally released. In /zl(z, d), zm1/, I tend to hear /o/ before /l/.

In /tnz, dnz/, the plosives are nasally released. /fnz, vnz, snz, ŋnz, ʒnz, ðnz, znt, zndz/ may occur as clusters, or may contain /e, o/. Examples of /z/ in final clusters: /roʊbz/ 'rubs'; /lʌdz/ 'lids';
Further examples will be found under the consonants with which /z/ combines. As in the case of /s/, /z/ is sometimes "missing". /e'kɔ(:)z/ and /bt'kɔ(:)z/, in addition to having forms with /d/, have forms without a final consonant, e.g. [bt'kɔ'z] 'because it'. Such forms occur quite often. Beyond the word because, however, there are rather more marginal cases. Again, I exclude the regular formation of certain plurals, e.g. /'θɛtə jɛ(r)/ 'thirty years'.

Examples:

/e'bɔ:t ɔi:z ɪəm/ 'about these time[s]' /
/'tʃæmpən/ 'Champion['s]' /
/'wɔdɪŋtən/ 'Waddington['s]' (somewhat modified form) /
/ɔt ɛr ɛ:(r)d ɪəm/ 'they were hard time[s]' /
/wən ɔς ɔrəŋ ɪm ɛ:t/ 'when thou drag[ς] him out'

5.5.14.7. Comparative Distribution:

(a) The dialect uses /səz/ quite often in correspondence to RP /sts/, both for plurals and for the second and third person singular ending on verbs: /'krosəz/ 'crusts'; /'kɔstəz/ 'costs'; etc. Note also /'æzəz/ 'asks' corresponding to RP /skəs/.

(b) The dialect uses /z/ as a verb ending on the second person singular present, e.g. /ək əmz/ 'thou comes'.

(c) /z/ occurs in free variation with /s/ in the words listed in subsection 1 above.

(d) /z/ does not always occur in the dialect in because.

1. See section 5.5.13.6.
(e) /z/ does not occur in certain plural forms:
/θrĩ: matl/ 'three miles'; /'θɛtːi je(r)/ 'thirty years'; /'fiffo 'bondl/ 'fifty bundles'; /θrĩ: lo:d/ 'three loads'; etc.

(f) Further investigation of "missing" /z/ might or might not yield further points of comparative interest.

5.5.14.8. Modification:

Phonetically /z/ remains the same. Medial /z/ is less likely to be geminated.

With reference to subsection 7 above:
Section (a) —› /sts/ or [ʦ:], although children sometimes use —› /sːz/

Section (b) thou —› you + come, etc.
Section (c) /z/ might be retained
Section (d) /z/ is used in because
Section (e) /z/ may be added, but forms without it are common in modified speech.

5.5.15.

5.5.15.1.

/s/ is a fortis, palato-alveolar fricative which occurs initially, medially and finally within the word. /s/ is sometimes pronounced with a slightly diffuse escape of air [sʃ], and occasionally even as [s]; /s/ is occasionally pronounced [tʃ] or [tʃ]. In the judgement of informants, and that of myself, [ʃ] as a variant of /s/, except when final /s/ assimilates to /ʃ/ before /i/;¹ and [tʃ] and

1. Cf. subsection 5 below.
[t$] as variants of /ʃ/ are to be classed as deviant. The possible effects of such factors as age and false teeth cannot be discounted here. /ʃ/ is used in words such as tissue (not /s + j/) and appreciate (not /s + i/).

5.5.15.2. Initial /ʃ/:

[ʃid] 'shed'; [ʃcv] 'shove'; /ʃt/ 'shit'; /ʃcpt/ 'sheppy, starling'; /ʃfemə(r)/ 'chiffonier'; etc.

5.5.15.3. In Initial Clusters:

In the combination /ʃr/ only, e.g. /ʃrmp/ 'shrimp'. However, it is not unusual to hear /sr/ from some speakers: [ʃrmp'] 'shrimp'.

5.5.15.4. Medial /ʃ/:

['vri$ə] 'washers'; ['θrəʃə] 'trasher (modified form) = draught-excluder (perhaps derived from threshold)'; ['k'ʃən] 'cushion'; etc.

Medial /ʃ/ may be geminated, almost certainly in /tʃʃə/ 'tissue'; note also the gemination after the modified vowel in /wɔʃn/ 'washing'.

5.5.15.5. Final /ʃ/:

/ʃkɔ(r)nʃ/ 'mantle-piece'; /krɔʃ/ 'crash'; /pɔʃ/ 'push'; etc.

Final /ʃ/ also results from the assimilation of /s/ to a following /ʃ/. Examples: /ɔʃʃɔp/ 'this

shop'; /tθɔ(r)sɔ/ 'the Horseshoe'; /jɔ:$ $ɔ:/ 'used to shoe'; etc.

Final /$/ may be geminated before a hesitation, or a word beginning with /$/ or a vowel, e.g. /'blɔʃən/ 'blush and'.

5.5.15.6. **In Final Clusters:**

/ls, ʃt/. Examples: /kɾɔʃt/ 'crashed'; /wɛls/ 'Welsh'; etc. In words such as Marshall, there is usually an element of /e/ or /o/ between /$/ and /l/. In words such as mention, there is usually at least a suggestion of a vocalic element (/e/ or /o/) between /$/ and /n/. In words such as French, a pronunciation with final /nʃ/ is impossible.  

5.5.15.7. **Comparative Distribution:**

(a) /$/ does not occur in dialect /ɛʃ/ 'ash' and /ɛςɔ/ 'ash-hole', and it occurs in fewer final combinations than in RP.  

(b) /$/ occurs in medial positions in words in which some accents have /s + j/ and /s + r/.  

(c) Dialect /$/ corresponds to RP /s/ in /'kɔ(r)n$/' mantlepiece, cornice'.

5.5.15.8. **Modification:**

I have not noted any particular tendencies for this phoneme to modify. The words in subsection (a) of the preceding subsection are unlikely to be used in modified speech.

3. Cf. subsection 1 above.
5.5.16. /\3/ 

5.5.16.1. /\3/ is a lenis, palato-alveolar fricative which occurs medially within the word. To distinguish /\j/ and /\3/ in RP, Gimson gives the pairs Aleutian (when pronounced /\e'ljuː\n/) ≠ allusion, and Confucian (when pronounced /kœn'fjuː\n/) ≠ confusion.\(^1\) Whilst these oppositions may be theoretically possible within the dialect, they cannot be set up on the basis of the corpus for this study. There is, however, one pair of forms which distinguishes /\j/ from /\3/ in the dialect, although not in RP: 'thresher, threshing machine' /'θrë\jœ(r)/ ≠ /'θrë\3e(r)/ 'treasure'.

5.5.16.2. Initial /\3/:

Does not occur.

5.5.16.3. In Initial Clusters:

Does not occur.

5.5.16.4. Medial /\3/:

/\3/ occurs medially between vowels, and is often geminated. Examples: /'mə\3e(r)/ 'measure'; /'vɪ\3ə:laɪz/ 'visualise'; /'kæ\3el/ 'casual'; /'jɪ\3əl/ 'usual'; etc. In the words casual, seizure, usual, etc. /\3/ is obligatory in the dialect. Forms with /\z + \j/ are not possible.\(^2\)

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2. Cf. Gimson (1974: 189), and section 5.5.15.7. above.
5.5.16.5. **Final /ʒ/:**

Does not occur. In words of French origin, where some accents have /ʒ/, the dialect uses /dʒ/, e.g. /'meridʒ/ 'mirage'.

5.5.16.6. **In Final Clusters:**

/ʒ/ is unlikely in final clusters. In a word such as vision, /e/ (or /o/) tends to be heard between /ʒ/ and /n/.

5.5.16.7. **Comparative Distribution:**

(a) /ʒ/ does not occur initially in the dialect.¹
(b) /ʒ/ does not occur finally in the dialect.
(c) There is no medial variation between /ʒ/ and /z + j/ in the dialect.

5.5.16.8. **Modification:**

There is little modification of this phoneme. However, in modified speech there is less medial gemination of the phoneme, and the following vowel may be modified, e.g. ['kəʒəl] 'casual'.

5.5.17. **/m/**

5.5.17.1.

/m/ is a voiced, bilabial nasal which occurs initially, medially and finally within the word. The allophone [ŋ] occurs before /f, v/: [som fək] 'some folk'; ['bʊŋ fa.ˈtə] ¹

'bonfire'; etc. /n/ assimilates to /m/ before the same two fricatives, e.g. [dɛ:\ʊm] 'fə:meθ] 'down Farnworth'.

5.5.17.2. Initial /m/:

[mə \t] 'meat, food'; [mɛ\ make] 'moider'; [my:n] 'moon'; etc.

5.5.17.3. In Initial Clusters:

/mj, sm/. Examples: /mj\vel/ 'mule'; /sm\k/ 'smoke'; etc. In the combination /sm/, /m/ is slightly devoiced: [sm\k] 'smoke'.

5.5.17.4. Medial /m/:

/'wʌm\br/ 'bilberry'; /e:\(r)mta/ 'am I not?' /'bəm/ 'bonfire' (children's word); /'səm\t/ 'something'; etc. Medial /m/ is sometimes geminated, e.g. ['wəm\mən] 'women'.

5.5.17.5. Final /m/:

(i) Geminated. A geminate is sometimes heard if the next word begins with /m/ or a vowel: [som m\:\e] 'some more'; [kəmm\f] 'come off'; etc. Geminates are also possible before a hesitation.

(ii) [m]: [k\v:m] 'came'; [\v:m] 'room'; etc.

(iii) [n]: before /f, v/, e.g. [gəm\f\e] 'gone from'.

(iv) [m\]: occasional variant, e.g. [ma\i səm\] 'my Sam'.

Final /n/ may assimilate to /m/ before /m, p, b/: [wəm mən]

1. This fact appears to be reflected in Charles Allen Clarke's (Teddy Ashton's) writings about his birthplace, Tong Fold, which appears in the dialect script as Tum Fowt. Hence his famous Tum Fowt Sketches - cf. Clarke (no date).
one man = somebody'; [im əfə] 'in but'; [θm p'ʃːs]
'thin piece'; etc. More rarely, /m/ may be realised as
/n/ in context: [wɔn ɔt] 'home they'.

5.5.17.6. In Final Clusters:

/m/ occurs in the final clusters /mp, md, mt, mθ, 
mz, lm, mpt, mps, lmd, lmz/. Examples: /'apmt/ 'happened'; /jo:mt/ '(a)shamed'; /wɔ:z(r)m(p)θ/ 'warmth'; /dɔmpt/ 'dumped'; /tʃomp/ 'chump';
/oʊm/ 'open'; /rɪ:m/ 'rooms'; /fʌlm/ 'film';
/lomps/ 'lumps'; /fɪlm/ 'filmed'; /fɪlmz/ 'films'; /tiːmd/ 'teemed, poured'; etc.

In final clusters, /m/ is syllabic after /p/:
['apm] 'happen, perhaps'; ['ɔpm] 'open'; etc.
Note that ['apm] and ['ɔpm] also occur. Further:
['tʰɔpm]s] 'twopence'; ['apm] 'happened'.

After /b/, however, note /'rɪbn/ 'ribbon'; /'rɔbɪn/ 'robin'; etc.

The suffix - ton assimilates to /m/ after bilabials
in ['kʰɔmpm] 'lodges' 'Crompton Lodges'. I have
also heard ['sɔmpm] for 'something', although
/sɔmɔt/ is usual.

5.5.17.7. Comparative Distribution:

(a) Dialect /mt/ corresponds to the RP final cluster /md/.

(b) Dialect /m/ corresponds to RP /n/ in /'ɑːrmtə/ 'aren't I?'.

1. /m/) is somewhat restricted, however, as the dialect
sometimes has /mt/ - cf. section 5.5.3.6.
5.5.17.8. **Modification:**

There is less use of medial geminates. With reference to subsection 7:

Section (a) Final cluster /nt/ --> /md/.

/m(pt)/ is used in dreamt, however, in modified speech as well as in dialect.

Section (b) /m/ is retained.

5.5.18. /n/

5.5.18.1.

/n/ is a voiced, alveolar nasal, which occurs initially, medially and finally within the word. /n/ is realised as /m/ in context before /p, b, m/. \(^1\) [ŋ] occurs before /f, v/. \(^2\)

[ŋ] is an allophone of /n/ before /k, g/, and not a phoneme in its own right; \(^3\) [sɪŋ] 'sing'; [θɪŋkʰ] 'think';

[wɪŋkʰ] 'winking'; [bɪŋ kʰɔm] 'they han (have) come';

etc. [ŋ] occurs before /θ, ð/: ['tθrɛstɪŋ] 'interesting';

[wɔŋ ðɪˈe] 'one there'; etc. The tongue is more retracted, [ŋ], before /r/, e.g. ['sɔŋərə] 'sunrise'.

5.5.18.2. **Initial /n/:**

[mɔːt] 'nothing'; [mɛr] 'never'; [neˈeə] 'nail';

etc.

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1. See section 5.5.17.5.
2. See section 5.5.17.1.
3. /ŋ/ has not always been a phoneme of "English" - see e.g. Gimson (1974: 49). Lodge (1966: 28) gives [ŋ] as an allophone of /n/ before /k, g/ for the Stockport dialect. See also Wells (1970: 238).
5.5.18.3. **In Initial Clusters:**

/nj, sn/. Examples: /njv:/ 'new'; /njv:t/ 'newt';
/sn̩g/ 'eel'; /snak/ 'snack'; /sno:/ 'snow'; etc.

In the combination /sn/, /n/ is slightly devoiced, e.g. [sn̩g] 'eel'.

5.5.18.4. **Medial /n/:**

/'pɔntentən/ 'Penington';¹ '/'sɔstn̩d3e(r)/ 'sausage';
and geminated in words such as '/'sɔn̩n̩n/ 'running';
/'rɔn̩nt/ 'rennet'; '/'skɔn̩n/ 'looking in a
cross-eyed manner'; '/'jo:n̩n/ 'yawning'; etc.

5.5.18.5. **Final /n/:**

/'kwɔ:tr/te:(r)n/ 'quarter'; /y:n/ 'oven'; /ʃy:n/ 'shoes'; /fʌn/ 'found'; /mɔn/ 'must'; /an/ 'have (plural)'; /tʌn/ 'until'; /i:n/ 'eyes'; /ɡun/ 'given'; etc.

Final /n/ may be geminated before /n/, a hesitation,
or a word beginning with a vowel, e.g. /e'ɡəmn̩m/ 'against them'. The allophones given in subsection 1
above may all be encountered in word-final position. All present participles end in /n/, e.g. '/swimmin/ 'swimming', as do nouns such as '/'mɔ(r)n̩n/ 'morning'. A parasitic schwa is occasionally found with final
/n/, e.g. ['k.ɪdən̩] 'hiding'.

5.5.18.6. **In Final Clusters:**

/n/ occurs in the final clusters /nt, nd,² nʃ, ndʒ,
rθ, ln, ns, nz, nk, ng, nks, nkt, ngz, ngd, nθ, nts,
ndz, nʃt, ndʒd, nθs, nst, nzd, nktθ, lnx/. Examples:

1. Usually /'pɔntentən/.
2. /nd/ is of a somewhat restricted distribution due to the
dialect's use of /nt/ - see further section 5.5.3.6.
/iːnd/ 'end'; /frɛntʃ/ 'French'; /dɛnt/ 'dent';
/æŋd/ 'hanged'; /kɪŋks/ 'kinks'; /swɪŋz/ 'swings';
/bɒŋkt/ 'hit'; /tɛnts/ 'tents, guards'; /dɪndzd/ 'dented';
/tɛn(t)θəs/ 'tenths'; /tɛlnzd/ 'cleansed';
/lɛŋkθ/ 'length'; /kɪlnz/ 'kilns'; /rɪŋ/ 'ring';
/sɪŋk/ 'sink'; /tɛn(t)θ/ 'tenth'; /fcns/ 'fence';
/ɛnz/ 'hens'; /wɒŋst/ 'once'; /mæɪndz/ 'minds, looks after'; /kəln/ 'Colne'; /rɛnt/ 'rent'; /rɛntʃt/ 'wrenched'; etc.

/n/ in final clusters is often syllabic, and a homorganic preceding consonant is nasally released:
['wɔkŋ] 'waken'; ['t'ækŋ] 'taken'; ['tɪm p'ɔrɪnt'] 'important'; ['p'ɔdɪŋ] 'pardon'; ['θræŋ] 'threepence'; etc. Exceptions: /'mɪdɪŋ/ 'midden';
/'gɛ:(r)dʊn/ 'garden'; /'be:(r)ndʊn, 'be:(r)ndən/ 'Burnden'.

Syllabic [ŋ] occurs in ['tʃlɪŋ] 'Clifton'; etc.

5.5.18.7. Comparative Distribution:

(a) In personal names ending in -son, the dialect does not have an /n/ before the final /sn/: /'rɒbɪsn/ 'Robinson'; /'rɒlɪsn/ 'Rawlinson'; /'rɛz(r)kɪsn/ 'Parkinson'; /'tɒmlɪsn/ 'Tomlinson'; /'wɪlkɪsn/ 'Wilkinson'; /'stɪvɪsn/ 'Stevenson'.

(b) In place-names and personal names ending in -ington, the dialect uses the suffix /ɪtn/: /'ædlɪtn/ 'Adlington'; /'rɪvɪtn/ 'Rivington'; /'rɛz(r)ɪtɪtn/ 'Partington'; /'we:(r)ɒɪtn/ 'Worthington';
/'welɪtnz/ 'wellingtons'; /'pɪlkɪtn/ 'Pilkington'.

(c) In personal and place-names ending in -ton, the occurrence of [ŋ] and the nasal release of the /t/

1. Cf. also section 5.5.17.6.
are virtually compulsory. This rule applies to the words in subsection (b) above, and reflects the general rule that /t/ in the final cluster /tn/ is nasally released in the dialect. Examples: ['əθətɔn] 'Atherton'; ['wɔ:bɛtɔn] 'Warburton'; ['bɔtɔnz] 'Burton's'; ['bɔltɔn] 'Bolton'; ['tˌɔtɔn] 'Turton'; ['lɪktˌɔtɔn] 'Little Hulton'.

(d) The place-name Swinton is pronounced /'swɪtn/ 'Swinton'.

(e) There is no /n/ corresponding to RP /n/ in: /'tʃɪldrn/ 'children'; /'ɪstɛd/ 'instead'; /'tʃɪmltˌɪtʃɪmlt/ 'chimney'; /'sɪmbltn/ 'Simnel'; nor in /i/ 'in' and /o/ 'on' when followed by a word beginning with a consonant.

(f) Present participles end in /n/: /'dɔrɪŋ̴n/ 'yawning'; /'drɪŋkɪŋ/ 'drinking', etc., etc. Cf. RP /ŋ/.

(g) Nouns ending in -ing:
/'ɛntns/ 'herrings'; /'ɛnɪθɪŋ/ 'anything';
/'səmθɪŋ/ 'something'; /'nəθɪŋ/ 'nothing';
/'mənθɪŋ/ 'many a thing'; (cf. however, /θɪŋ/ 'thing'); /'məθ(r)ɪŋ/ 'morning'; /'fɜ:θ(r)ɪŋ/ 'farthing', etc.

In words where the -ing is in the syllable carrying the main word stress, /ŋ/ is used vis-à-vis RP /ŋ/. The dialect also has /ŋ/ medially where RP has /ŋ/.

(h) /n/ occurs before /θ/ in /lɛnθ/ 'length' and /sɔrnθ/ 'strength'.

(i) /n/ occurs in: /i:n/ 'eyes' and /ʃi:n/ 'shoes'.

(j) /n/ occurs in: /tɪn/ 'until'; /'sɔʊndʒ@r/ 'sausage'.

1. Cf. section 5.5.6.7.