A GRAMMAR OF THE DIALECT

OF

FARNWORTH AND DISTRICT

(Greater Manchester County, formerly Lancashire)

by

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ABSTRACT

This study presents a synchronic description of the dialect of Farnworth and district. In terms of linguistic levels of description, the study consists of a segmental phonology and a partial description of the morphology and syntax of the dialect.

At the phonological level, attention is focussed primarily upon a synchronic description, which is based upon both phonetic and phonemic considerations. Secondly, the phonology contains a comparative component, which contrasts the distribution of phonemes in the dialect and the Received Pronunciation of Standard English. Thirdly, consideration is given to the less broad styles of speech which informants use. This is necessary, because different styles of speech shade into one another in monolingual repertoires, and because the methodology of working with a corpus requires that the corpus be evaluated in full.

The account of morphology and syntax is offered first and foremost as a part of a description or grammar of the dialect, and secondly a hypothesis is advanced to the effect that grammatical variation in English dialects is currently underestimated. It is suggested in the Conclusion that this hypothesis receives some measure of confirmation from the data presented in the study.

The thesis also contains a discussion of questions of theory and method, especially as there is currently no one widely accepted approach to dialectology. Fieldwork and transcription are described at some length for the sake of explicitness, and because they determine or affect the data for the study in so very many ways.

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List of Abbreviations and Symbols

See also the Alphabet of the I.P.A. in the *Appendix*.

A.L.E.	*Atlas Linguarum Europae*
approx.	approximately
C	Cardinal Vowel; century
cf.	compare
Co.	County
C.O.D.	*Concise Oxford Dictionary of Current English*
colloq.	colloquial
cont.	continued
d.	old pence
Dec.	December
diss.	dissertation
ed(s)	editor(s)
E.D.G.	*English Dialect Grammar* = Wright, J. (1905)
e.g.	for example
er	hesitation form
et al.	and others
etc.	and so forth
f, ff	and following page, pages
fig.	figure
ibid.	in the same place
i.e.	that is
I.P.A.	International Phonetic Association
i.p.s.	inches per second
irreg.	irregular
joc.	jocular
L.S.S.	*Linguistic Survey of Scotland*
Ltd.	Limited
Mass.	Massachusetts
M.E.	Middle English
M.Ed.	Master of Education
M.Phil.	Master of Philosophy
MSS	manuscripts

n.	noun
N.F.	New French
N.H.G.	New High German
N.J.	New Jersey
no.	number
NP	noun phrase
N.S.	Northern (Regional) Standard; new series
O.E.	Old English
p.	page; new pence
perj.	perjorative
Ph.D.	Doctor of Philosophy
pp.	pages
p.p.	past participle
pret.	preterite
P.T.	physical training
R.C.	Roman Catholic
re	with reference to
refl.	reflexive
repr.	reprinted
rev.	revised
R.P.	Received Pronunciation
s.	shillings
S	sentence
S.E.	Standard English
S.E.D.	Survey of English Dialects
sic	thus
St.	Saint
tr.	transitive
TV	television
U.S.	United States (English)
v.	versus; verb
vb.	verb
vol(s).	volume(s)
VP	verb phrase

ˈ	main accentual stress on following syllable
ˌ	secondary accentual stress on following syllable
ː	preceding vowel long
ˑ	preceding vowel half-long
/ /	phonemic or broad script
[ ]	phonetic or narrow script; around barely perceptible portions of speech, usually raised, in transcription; interpolation by the present author in a gloss or quotation; around an element in a gloss whose status is uncertain, e.g. the definite article, which cannot always be detected with certainty; around contextual information in transcriptions, e.g. [LAUGHS].
|	pause of brief duration
||	pause of medium duration
|||	pause of longer duration
#	utterance boundary marker
≠	opposition, contrast - used to separate minimal pairs
( )	parenthesis in main body of work; around a gloss in translations, e.g. "the half on (of) it", where two levels of translation are used; to indicate optional phonemes, e.g. /ˈmωðə(r)/ 'mother'
=	equals, is equivalent to, means
/	to indicate alternatives, e.g. "my/our brothers"
..	indicates a pause in translations
...	portion of speech or quotation omitted, speech or quotation continues
' "	feet inches
—>	rewrite sign; "may be rewritten as" in modification rules

O. DESCRIPTION AND HISTORY OF FARNWORTH AND DISTRICT

O.1 The Present Day:

Farnworth is a municipal borough with a population of 26,270 in 1971. It is situated three miles south-east of Bolton, seven miles south-west of Bury, and nine miles north-east of Manchester. The borough is accessible by rail, bus, roads in general, and, of late, the M61 and M62 motorways. Formerly it was accessible by canal. Farnworth is located in a huge area of population and industry between Bolton and Manchester, i.e. in the South-East Lancashire conurbation. Administrative boundaries between Farnworth and the neighbouring districts of Bolton, Kearsley, Worsley and Little Lever are for the most part not reflected by breaks in the housing or by natural obstacles. By long tradition, Farnworth is accounted a part of Greater Bolton. As a result of the recent local government reorganisation, Farnworth, which was formerly in the County of Lancashire, is now a part of Greater Manchester County. There is currently a wide variety of industries in Farnworth and the surrounding districts: professional and scientific services, textiles (silk and man-made fibres), manufacturing industries, mechanical engineering, and a variety of other industries and services.

However, matters were very different in the not-too-distant past, and an understanding of the historical, geographical, social, economic and cultural milieu of the dialect requires us to look back in time to the growth and industrial development of the town. Indeed, if considered in the light of the present industrial mix and spread of population, the relative homogeneity of the dialect, and its distinctiveness - even when compared with nearby towns and cities, such as Salford and Manchester - would be very surprising. When viewed historically, however, the distinctiveness and homogeneity of the area are more readily apparent.

0.2 *Early History*:

The early history of the county as a whole, and of one or two neighbouring localities, has been treated elsewhere,[1] and need not concern us here, except as follows.

0.2.1 *Place-names*:

Place-names around the Bolton area are for the most part Anglian.[2] There are very few signs of Norse settlement in this particular area of Lancashire, unlike many other parts of the county, although *Anglezarke* on the northern side of Bolton is Norse,[3] whilst *Belmont* is French. The town of *Farnworth* is thought to have its origins in a small Anglian settlement. Its name has been variously spelled in documents: *Farnewurd*, *Ferneworthe*, *Ferneword*, *Fearnworth*, *Fornworth*, *ffornword*, *ffarneworth*, etc. and means "the place among the ferns". In a survey of land from 1282, we read: "There is a certain plot in 'ffornword', and it pays nearly V^{s} (5s)".[1] The name is pronounced /ˈfæː(r)nɵθ/ or /ˈfæː(r)nɷθ/ in the dialect.

---

[1] There is a detailed account of the early history of Lancashi in Bagley (1956); a brief and readable general history of the county is Marshall (1974). A detailed account of the development of Bolton is to be found in Saxelby (1971), whilst Gaskel (1964) deals with nearby Pendlebury. Early history, with particular reference to Swinton, is treated in Mullineux (1964 On Farnworth itself, see Barton (1875 and 1887).

[2] Cf. Ekwall (1922: 227ff, especially p. 235).

[3] Cf. Ekwall (1922: 48, 245, 248). *Turton* may also be Norse.

Many also know the town as Halshaw Moor, pronounced /ˈalʃe mʏə(r)/ or /ˈaltʃɩ mʏə(r)/ in the dialect. This latter name derives from one Alexander Shaw, or "Old Alec", who lived on the moor at Kearsley (Farnworth and Kearsley being hardly separable). He succeeded in purchasing the grazing rights to the moor from his neighbours - hence "Alec Shaw's Moor".[2] The railway station is designated "Farnworth and Halshaw Moor". Nowadays, a person going to the town-centre, usually to shop, will say either:

/am ˈgʏːɩn dɛːnt mʏə(r)/ "I'm going down the Moor."
or /am ˈgʏːɩn dɛːn ˈfæː(r)nɵθ/ "I'm going down Farnworth."

The two expressions are quite interchangeable.

0.2.2 Early references and early history:

There are early references to Farnworth from the thirteenth century, "when it was jointly claimed by two great neighbouring landlords of Manchester and Barton".[3] There is also mention of an overlord, Richard Chief of Farnworth,[4] "who sold his portion to two influential local families, the Hultons and the Levers, whose lands marched with the Farnworth boundaries very much as do the several districts of today that bear those family names".[5] The neighbouring districts alluded

---

1. Barton (1887: 4).
2. Ibid., 4. Barton noted that in his day, Halshaw Moor was perhaps the more usual name for many people. See also Barton (1875:5).
3. Charter, 16.
4. Ibid., 16. In Farnworth, 12, Richard is called "Chief of Lancashire".
5. Charter, 16.

to here are: Little Lever, Great Lever, Darcy Lever; and Little Hulton and Middle Hulton.

The Knights Hospitallers of St. John of Jerusalem had lands in Farnworth before 1229, and a part of the manor was given to the Abbey of Cockersands. However, when the monasteries were dissolved and the Knights Hospitallers disbanded, both holdings reverted to the Crown, and the lands which had belonged to the Knights Hospitallers were given to the Earl of Derby.[1]

Around 1337, Flemish weavers and clothiers, encouraged by Edward III, settled in the Bolton and Rochdale areas. They brought with them /ˈdʒanɵk, ˈdʒanɔk/ jannock = "oatmeal loaf"[2] or "oatmeal cake". The word is now chiefly used in Farnworth dialect with the meaning "fair, honest". /ɪts noːn ˈdʒanɵk/ means "it is not fair/fair play/honest".[3] Various historical sources[4] also attribute South Lancashire's wooden clogs, which were worn until quite recently by working people, to these Flemish settlers, but Vigeon has indicated that a connection is highly unlikely, as the tools used to make the two types of clog indicate a different craft; the concept of wooden soled shoes is, in fact, a very early one, and the Lancashire and Flemish clogs are probably unrelated.[5]

Prior to the Industrial Revolution, there were two main areas of settlement in Farnworth: the larger bordering on what is now the town centre, an area bounded by Market Street,

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[1] Farnworth, 12.
[2] Barton (1887: 128).
[3] Similarly Dyson (1881: 93f). It is not clear that the two forms are etymologically the same, however.
[4] E.g. Barton (1887: 128).
[5] Cf. Vigeon (1977: 6).

Church Street, Presto Street and Church Road, and the smaller a mining (and farming) community at Dixon Green. These mines, which date back to the seventeenth century, eventually led to the development of the old district of New Bury.[1] That mining was well established by the eighteenth century may be gauged from the Duke of Bridgewater's construction in 1768 of his famous "upper level", an underground canal running all the way from Dixon Green to Worsley, and built specifically for the purpose of conveying the coal from Dixon Green.

Those who were not involved in mining worked small, scattered farms, probably consisting of a field with two or three cows, some poultry, and a small garden.[2] The holders of these farms had handlooms in their kitchens, or cottages.[3] Dyson too stressed the early importance of weaving and mining, when he wrote that local people before the nineteenth century "were almost entirely occupied as coal-miners, or handloom weavers..."[4] Conditions were primitive and pay was low in the mines of the Duke of Bridgewater and Squire Hulton, whilst the weavers in their cottages and on their small farms were also very poor.

An Act for Dividing, Allotting and Inclosing certain Commons and Waste Lands within the Manors or Lordships of Farnworth and Kersley was passed in 1796.[5] In addition to there being materials and skills already in existence, which favoured the subsequent industrial development of the area,

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1. This, incidentally, is the part of Farnworth in which I was raised.
2. Charter, 17.
3. Official Guide, 22; Charter, 17.
4. Dyson (1881: viii).
5. The Enclosure Act is wrongly dated as 1798 in Dyson (1881: xii).

this Enclosure of the Commons - by severely restricting common rights -

> paved the way for the extensive development of land for industrial as well as for agricultural purposes. In areas such as this, where industrialisation was becoming firmly established and ripe for expansion, the landed proprietors began to exploit their large estates for the building of townships and factories.[1]

0.3 Industrial Development:

Commenting generally upon Lancashire, Smith writes:

> The present pattern of urban-industrial development is largely a product of the last two centuries. Most of the region's settlements were already in existence in medieval times, but it was the Industrial Revolution and its aftermath which determined the location of the major urban and industrial growth, selecting those places which were suitable for new economic functions and those which were to remain agricultural villages or small market towns.[2]

In Farnworth and the surrounding districts, conditions were favourable to industrial expansion. There had been handloom weaving for centuries, and MSS from as early as the late thirteenth century refer to textiles in South-East Lancashire. An important development by Tudor times was the distribution of raw materials to the cottages by merchants, who later collected the cloth.[3] Similarly, there was mining from a very early date, and deep-mining commenced in the nineteenth century. In addition to the basic ingredients of cotton and coal, South-East Lancashire offered a climate which was

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1. _Official Guide_, 23.
2. Smith (1969: 19).
3. Cf. Bagley (1956: 40).

appropriate to cotton spinning, together with abundant local water supplies. It will be remembered that the mechanisation of the textile industry and the factory system were based upon steam power.[1] Liverpool developed as a port, through which both raw materials and finished goods could be shipped, whilst Manchester served as a market. Metal industries sprang up in connection with coal-mining to serve in the production of textile machinery. Lastly, it was suggested above that the Enclosure Act of 1796 also played a rôle in the preparation for industrialisation. The result of the general situation in Lancashire as a whole was that: "In 1851, there were over half a million cotton workers in Great Britain, counting printers and dyers, and of these, two-thirds were in Lancashire. At the end of the century, the proportion was still much the same".[2]

I have compiled a chronological table which sketches in brief the growth and eventual decline of the textile industry in Farnworth, and Greater Bolton at large.[3]

1611: Coal-pits sunk in Farnworth.

1647: Pits sunk at Dixon Green, Farnworth.

1676: The Crompton family built a paper mill at Farnworth. They already owned a paper mill and bleachworks at Great Lever. A descendant, Thomas Bonsor Crompton, adapted the mills for cotton manufacture.

1763: A turnpike road was made through the town, running from Bolton via Great Lever.

1768: Construction of the Duke of Bridgewater's underground canal to carry coal from Dixon Green to Worsley.

1779: Samuel Crompton invented the "mule" in Bolton.

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1. Paper mills and bleachworks were present in the area before the mechanisation of spinning and weaving.
2. Marshall (1974: 98).
3. Sources: Farnworth, Official Guide, Barton (1887), Smith (1969), Freeman, Rogers and Kinvig (1966), Bagley (1956), Bolton Evening News.

1791: Act obtained for the Bolton-Bury canal, which ran from Manchester.

1828: James Rothwell Barnes built Farnworth's first steam weaving mill. This was the first steam engine to be used anywhere in Lancashire in connection with cotton manufacture.

1832: Barnes added spinning machinery. (There were already spinning mills at Prestolee and Kearsley, and one was erected at Clammerclough at about the same time as the Farnworth mill.)

1838: Farnworth's first iron-foundry was built.
The Bolton-Manchester railway was opened.

1848: There were about twenty pits within the Farnworth boundary, and very many more in the immediately surrounding districts.[1]

1882: 7,800 power looms and over half a million spinning spindles in Farnworth, Kearsley, Walkden and Little Lever.

1894: Farnworth was constituted an Urban District.

1901: Farnworth: 6,000 cotton operatives; 11,000 looms; 0.7 million spindles.
Bolton: 30,000 cotton operatives; 20,000 looms; 5 million spindles.
At this point Bolton was accounted one of the chief centres of bleaching, dyeing, printing and finishing.[2]

Pre-1914: Of Farnworth and its immediately surrounding districts (not Bolton): "Just before the first world war there were 46 mills operating in the area and something like 75 per cent of the working population was employed in the textile industry."[3] Most of the informants interviewed for this study were either born or growing up around this time.

1922: In Bolton and adjacent districts there were over 200 firms and over 300 mills connected with cotton spinning and manufacturing: 12 million spindles; 42,000 looms.[4]

Late 1920s: The Bolton-Bury-Rochdale-Oldham area had 210,000 textile workers = almost 60 per cent of all insured employees.[5]

1929: Greater Bolton: 54 per cent of employment in mills.

1939: Farnworth was incorporated as a borough.

1950: Greater Bolton: 33 per cent of employment in mills.

1959: Greater Bolton: 30 per cent of employment in mills.

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[1] An informant observed /ðɩs ˈeːrɩəz bɩn feː(r) ˈpɛpe(r)d wɩ pɩts/ "this area's been fair peppered with pits".

[2] See Bagley (1956: 59).

[3] *Centenary Special*, iv.

[4] *Bolton Evening News*, Friday 17th November, 1972.

[5] Smith (1969: 193).

1966: 14,000 of Bolton's 50,000 workers were in textiles.

1972: The last mill in Farnworth closed (the "Drake Mill"). The very slow run-down of the traditional industry in our area may be discerned from the use of the word "only" in Marshall's observation: "Only in early 1973 were the last Lancashire mules removed from a factory in Farnworth, after the machine, power-driven in huge mills, had made the international reputation of the Bolton area."[1]

The above figures and events are admittedly selective, and in need of brief comment, but it is hoped that they serve to indicate the general course of the area's industrialisation. The area would still have had a somewhat agricultural appearance until the opening of Barnes' mill in 1828. From that point onwards, we see the rise of the textile industry, and there was a concomitant rise in the coal industry during the same period. In the period from 1900 until the late 1920s, the textile industry was at its height. Afterwards, an irrevocable decline set in, which was accompanied by a comparable decline in the coal industry, from 1914 onwards in the latter case.

The decline of the textile industry was slower in Greater Bolton, however, than in most other areas. This slow decline, together with a local industrial diversification, has led to very little loss of population,[2] little export of labour, and consequently there has not been any significant break-up of the area. In Farnworth itself, services and engineering are now taking over. The most important industries are now professional and scientific services, textiles (silk and man-made fibres), manufacturing industries and mechanical engineerin and these are accompanied by a wide spread of other industries and services.

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[1] Marshall (1974: 62).

[2] Population figures are discussed in section 0.4.1.

0.4 Population:

The account of the population of Farnworth is representative of the districts around Farnworth too.

0.4.1 Population figures:

The population of Farnworth rose from 439[1] in 1801, when records commenced, to 8,720 in 1861. There was then a rapid rise to 13,550 in 1871; 20,708 in 1881; and 28,131 in 1911. This last figure - making some allowance for two world wars - remained approximately constant until the early 1950s, when a very slight but regular decline set in, reducing the figure to 26,270 by 1971. Figures for the rest of the area around Farnworth show a similar slight decline, but some of the outlying areas of Bolton are expanding residentially.
We witness, then, in the early part of the nineteenth century, a steady rise in population, followed by a meteoric leap in the second half of the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. This huge influx of population was to feed the mills and the pits, and the figures may usefully be compared with those showing the size of the textile industry in 1882, 1901, 1922 and 1929.[2] The number of houses in Farnworth rose from under

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[1] Figures kindly supplied to me by the Department of Public Health, and based on the Authority's own records, confirm 439. However, there is some confusion surrounding the figure for 1801, and 1,439 is given in some other sources, e.g. Charter, 18. There are some other slight differences too up to 1871 - cf. Barton (1887: 71f).

[2] See the chronological table in section 0.3.

3,000 in 1863 to over 8,000 in 1939, and to 9,230 in 1956.[1] There is much local authority housing, the council now owning more than 3,900 dwellings.[2]

0.4.2 Employment of population:

The figures concerning persons working in the textile industry serve to remind us that not only was the vast majority of the population in the same socio-economic groups during the cotton era, but that over half were even in the same industry.[3] The informants for the base dialect, who were virtually all born or growing up when the cotton industry was at its height, have often insisted that only two opportunities were ever open to them in early life: either the mills, or, in the case of men, the pits.

There was a certain "way of life" in the mills, which is worthy of a study in itself, but which essentially falls outside the scope of this present study. At one time, however, the spinners commanded a reasonable wage, and formed something of an élite group. They were very proud of their craftsmanship. This situation has resulted in one or two sayings about spinners, which can still be occasionally heard today. The following were recorded:

/iːz ɵ ˈspɪnɵ(r) ðal gɛt nɜʏt/
"He's a spinner - thou'll get *nowt* (nothing)."

/ðɛ ˈɔəlɵz jʏːs sɛ ðɪnt fʊs ˈpɛnɪ ðɵ(r) ˈgrɔnˌfeːðɵ(r) gɪn ɵm/
"Thou [or they] always used to say they *han* (have) the first penny their grandfather gave them."

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1. *Official Guide*, 8; *Farnworth*, 11; *Charter*, 23.
2. *Farnworth*, 18.
3. See the chronological table in section 0.3, especially the entry for Farnworth and district just before the first world war.

/ˈspɪnɵ(r)z biːf ɪz ˈlɛtɪs/
"spinners' beef is lettuce"

/a θɪnk ðɪ ˈoːnɪ ad ðɵr ɵː(r) kɒt twaɪs ɵ jɵ(r) ˈkrɪsmɒs deː ɒn ˌɡɒdˈfraɪdɪ/
"I think they only had their hair cut twice a year - Christmas Day and Good Friday."

/ɵ ˈspɪnɵ(r) fraɪz ɪz ˈbeːkn ɪ lɒks soːz ɪt weːnt ʃrɪnk/
"A spinner fries his bacon in Lux so as (so that) it won't shrink."

Tales and comments are also heard on the subject of tacklers, also called loom-jobbers and overlookers.

The employment of the population is discussed from a more technical point of view in section 0.5.1, where the distribution of employment in recent years is treated in terms of the Greater Bolton urban field of influence.

0.4.3 Mobility of the population:

Until comparatively recent times, the way of life for most people in Farnworth appears to have been very static after the massive influx of population into the area, and to have centred upon a small area and a highly restricted set of social activities. Informants have commented to the following effect:

- you did not travel if you could avoid it
- the roads were bad
- you could not afford to travel
- you had no reason to travel, except perhaps to work
- whole families lived within a mile or two of each other
- "entertainment! Theaw geet noan!" ("Thou got none")
- what entertainment you had you made for yourself
- entertainment centred upon the church

- the most you could do was to go for a walk on summer evenings
- you knew everybody in the street, and all around for that matter
- there was only one policeman round here, but he knew everybody, and everybody knew him.

Of the nineteen-twenties, one informant observed that, if you were one of the half dozen travelling from Little Hulton to Manchester each day, then you were "a wide-eyed boy, or a man of the world, or something". A picture emerges, then, of poor roads, little travel, and neither the finance nor the inclination to travel. A few families managed an annual holiday, which was usually of short duration, and probably not much further afield than Blackpool. My impression is that the majority, however, did not have a regular annual holiday at all. Entertainment centred for some people exclusive on the home and the church, whilst for others it involved angling pigeon-racing, football, gambling and the "alehouse" - all of which could be indulged in locally.

The children who were brought up in this environment were, of course, all schooled locally, and played together on an even more restricted, local basis. In the twentieth century, one is aware of a certain amount of moving house within "the area", but, until quite recently, little significant movement into or out of it. For instance, a family might move from Kearsley to Farnworth, without in any way changing its life-style or employment, and without in any way feeling that it had left its home area.[1] Indeed, at one end of Farnworth's main street one stands in Farnworth if on one side of the road, and in Kearsley if on the other, i.e. the one town shades quite imperceptibly into the other, and the administrative boundaries between the two would not appear to have any relevance to cultural groupings or dialects. The transcriptions support this view.

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[1] Cf. Hargreaves (1904: 1).

0.4.4 Religion:

The religious background of many of the workers is Nonconformist: most of the "dissenting" groups established themselves firmly in and around Farnworth somewhat earlier than the Catholic Church or the Church of England. Congregational and Methodist churches were established at a relatively early date, and were very influential.[1] Quite a number of my informants were Methodists.

0.4.5 Education:

The informants, in common with most people in the area, had little formal schooling by today's standards. Many left school at twelve on the notorious half-time principle.

0.4.6 Politics:

The town is traditionally socialist, and this fact is reflected in the large amount of local authority housing in Farnworth.[2]

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1. For further details, see Charter, 20-3. The local thrift commented upon by Lofthouse is probably to be associated with the more strongly religious elements in the community:

> "Care of money and thrift have always been outstanding in the spinning towns, especially in Bolton. According to th Trustees Savings Bank 1966 report the town saves a million pounds a month, its savings per head of the population is double the national average." (Lofthouse (1967: 44))

2. Cf. the housing figures in section 0.4.1.

0.5 The "Greater Bolton" Area: an Urban Field of Influence

0.5.1 Labour and employment:

Freeman, Rogers and Kinvig, in their analysis of the North-West, found it necessary to treat the large cotton towns separately:

> Though the spinning towns lie within the Manchester conurbation their industrial tradition and their social problems are so distinctive that they deserve separate treatment. They form the conurbation's northern and eastern periphery, from Bolton through Bury to Rochdale and then southwards through Oldham and Ashton to Hyde and Stockport, in Cheshire. These are towns of considerable size: all but two are county boroughs, and all are surrounded by industrial and suburban satellites of subservient type. Thus there is a Greater Bolton, which contains Farnworth municipal borough and the urban districts of Horwich, Turton, Little Lever, and Kearsley as well as the county borough itself: its population in 234,500 (1961)."[1]

The reference to Farnworth and other districts within the Greater Bolton area as "industrial and suburban satellites of subservient type" may be understood in terms of labour and employment, and in terms of culture and services.[2] Commenting on labour and the movement of labour in the cotton towns, Smith notes that Bolton, Bury and Rochdale each has "... a quite distinct catchment area discernible within a complex pattern of local labour interchanges".[3] In the case of Greater Bolton, it is the county borough and surrounding districts mentioned by Freeman, Rogers and Kinvig which make up this "distinct catchment area", although Little Hulton and Walkden too are strongly influenced by Bolton. The catchment area is particularly well defined and

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1. Freeman, Rogers and Kinvig (1966: 218).
2. See section 0.5.2 for the latter.
3. Smith (1969:73).

restricted in the case of Greater Bolton:

> Though the spinning towns share many common characteristics - for all have declining textile and defunct mining industries - they are sufficiently individual to make it necessary to sketch an industrial profile for each in turn. Greater Bolton is both the largest and least dependent on Manchester. Only 2°/o of the county borough's employed population works in the core of the conurbation [i.e. Manchester].[1]

The high ratio of textiles to engineering together with the slow decline of the textile industry account for the very low loss of population from the Bolton area. Despite very real difficulties in respect of industrial reorganisation in recent years, a picture emerges nevertheless of an industrially highly distinctive area, in which the decline of the traditional industry was a relatively slow process:

> This traditional centre of the fine-spinning industry [Bolton] has always had a highly specialised industrial structure: until recently weaving has been of negligible significance, though, in contrast, there is a marked concentration of the finishing trades in the valleys of the Rossendale flank, north of the town. In 1929, 54°/o of Greater Bolton's employment was in the mills, and since the fine-spinning industry long withstood Asian competition this proportion declined only slowly, to 1/3 in 1950 and 30°/o in 1959.[2]

It should be noted that local industrial specialisations definitel accounted for the relative rates of decline in the cotton industries of the various towns: Bolton's specialisation was fine-spinning, and the decline was slower in this sector; coarse-spinning towns such as Oldham suffered a sharper decline.[3]

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1. Freeman, Rogers and Kinvig (1966: 219); and further:
   "...daily outflow of labour from the spinning towns to Manchester. This is the result of the wider suburban dispersal of the city's population into the spinning belt and the increasing 'export' of the surplus labour of these textile towns to the centre of the conurbation. *Bolton has been least affected by both these tendencies, and its independence of Manchester is unimpaired*." (*Ibid*., 222), emphasis added.
2. *Ibid*., 219.
3. Cf. Smith (1969: 145).

0.5.2 Local services and culture:

Although Freeman, Rogers and Kinvig concentrate on the industrial pattern, they are aware of the wider cultural unity of each individual cotton town. Indeed, they raise the very point so crucial to my own analysis, namely that the Greater Bolton area is a highly distinctive unit, despite the fact of its proximity to its surrounding areas in terms of "a spread of bricks-and-mortar":

> The textile towns on the conurbation's outer girdle are in no sense mere industrial and suburban extensions of Manchester. Most are market towns of some antiquity and all grew strongly as independent manufacturing centres during the Industrial Revolution. Each one has a well-developed commercial focus which offers a broad range of urban facilities; all have a strongly independent corporate life and a robust local patriotism which admits no subordination to Manchester. Indeed, though they are part of the conurbation as a spread of bricks-and-mortar, their social and economic links with Manchester are surprisingly weak.[1]

The road from Bolton to Farnworth was turnpiked in 1763. Farnworth and other surrounding districts are traditionally very dependent upon Bolton for local services:

> Each type of service may be the subject of special research, though the study of urban fields of influence, as they are called, is yet in its infancy. It is of interest, however, to note some examples of the way whereby, in the case of Bolton, the demands of the whole area encircling the town are met.[2]

0.5.2.1 Transport:

The road from Farnworth to Bolton was turnpiked in 1763. In addition to links by rail and canal, Farnworth is traditionally well served by buses from Bolton, which belong to Bolton Corporation.

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[1] Freeman, Rogers and Kinvig (1966: 218f), emphasis added.
[2] Saxelby (1971: 114), emphasis added.

0.5.2.2 Supply of food and raw materials:

Bolton is the traditional market for Farnworth and district: Barton quotes Baines' History of Lancashire (written, in fact, by a Farnworthian named Dorning Rasbotham, and published posthumously in 1787) to this effect.[1] The situation still obtains in respect of present-day shopping:

> ... Bolton is regarded as a general shopping centre by the residents of a large area round the town, from as far north as Belmont and Egerton and as far south as Little Hulton and Walkden; and even towns with shopping centres of their own such as Horwich, Westhoughton, Darwen and Farnworth patronise the Bolton stores.[2]

Saxelby's references to Little Hulton and Walkden, which lie to the south of Farnworth, are extremely important. Traditionally, the speech of these areas is at one with that of Farnworth and Bolton, and not with that of Salford or Manchester, to which they are quite near. Some recent overspill of population from Salford - which has a very different dialect[3] - into Little Hulton may eventually have an effect on the speech of the latter area, but traditionally I cannot distinguish it in any significant way from that of Farnworth, Kearsley or Bolton. In respect of Saxelby's reference to Farnworth, I recall from my own childhood the weekly shopping expeditions to Bolton on Saturdays.

With specific reference to cotton, Bolton (along with Manchester) was a market for goods produced in the surrounding area.

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1. Barton (1887: 14).
2. Saxelby (1971: 116).
3. I recall that at primary school, we used to "correct" the speech of a class-mate from Salford.

0.5.2.3 Education:

Bolton was influential on account of its grammar schools, and was the centre of educational administration for the surrounding region.

0.5.2.4 Health and legal services:

> The hospital and other public and professional services, too, are sought by those from outlying districts. Within the realm of the Law, Bolton offers an interesting example of the variety and the extent of its fields of influence. The area covered by the jurisdiction of the Bolton County Court covers, beside the borough itself, the borough of Farnworth and the urban districts of Horwich, Westhoughton, Turton, Little Lever and Kearsley.[1]

In the nineteenth century, the military headquarters were in Bolton, and the military, or extra police, were brought from Bolton in the event of trouble in the surrounding districts.[2]

0.5.2.5 News:

The Bolton Evening News covers "an area of 400 square miles and its associated weekly journals cover Farnworth, Swinton, Eccles, Leigh, Atherton, Tyldesley and Horwich".[3]

0.5.2.6 Sport:

The football team with which nearly all the area identifies is Bolton Wanderers, who play at Burnden Park in Bolton.

0.5.2.7 Electricity, water, sewage, gas:

There is widespread dependence on Bolton for these services in the surrounding districts.[4]

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[1] Saxelby (1971: 116f).
[2] Cf. Barton (1887: 109-11, and 263).
[3] Saxelby (1971: 117)
[4] Cf. ibid., 118-20; Farnworth, 24; Barton (1887: 62).

0.5.2.8 Postal services:

Farnworth was independent for a time, but has been subordinate to Bolton at other times.[1]

0.5.2.9 Informants' testimony:

Informants state, without exception, that Bolton is the town towards which they look, and that they are a part of it.

0.5.3 The cultural unit:

I have referred to the common employment of the population in the area (section 0.4.2; section 0.3), the general poverty and lack of mobility of the population (section 0.4.3), a degree of political and religious homogeneity (section 0.4.6; section 0.4.4) in the case of the Farnworth area, a uniformly brief education for most members of the community (section 0.4.5), and the influence of Bolton in terms of labour, services and culture (section 0.5). These features go some considerable way towards restricting and defining social relationships, or the information field of an individual (by which I refer to the totality of information available to the individual through interaction within a community), and helping to account for the remarkable absorption of new population into the community, without that community's losing its identity. Farnworth and its surrounding districts may therefore be seen as a cultural unit within the larger region of Greater Bolton.

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[1] For the period before 1886, see Barton (1887: 72-4). After a period of independence, Farnworth became a sub-postal district under Bolton again.

The investigation centred upon Farnworth, and its immediately surrounding area, all of which falls within the urban field of influence of Bolton, as described in the previous section. Farnworth, Kearsley, and Bolton itself fall within the administrative concept of Greater Bolton, whilst those parts of Little Hulton and Walkden which are closest to Farnworth fall within the same urban field of influence. Interviewing took place in Farnworth and Kearsley, and in one case in Little Hulton.[1] Informants were sought who had been born, raised and schooled in the Greater Bolton area (taken here to include Little Hulton and Walkden). Interviewing and informant selection will be discussed in detail later, however, especially in relation to the concept dialect.

0.6 The Linguistic Unit:

Farnworth and its surrounding districts have been described in the previous sections as a reasonably homogeneous cultural unit. It will be suggested in this present section, that a linguistic unit, i.e. a dialect, may be seen as a reflection of that cultural unit. The suggestion will be supported by comments from previous dialectological work on South Lancashire, and by reactions from natives of the area of Farnworth and district to their dialect.

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1. Except in the case of my mother, who now lives in Thornton-Cleveleys.

0.6.1 The linguistic unit as a reflection of the cultural unit:

Any language or dialect presupposes a society, whose means of communication it is. There is a relationship between linguistic boundaries and cultural boundaries, as well as between linguistic boundaries and natural boundaries.[1] Speech cannot be divorced from the life or culture of its users: "The study of 'folk speech' must, however, always be closely associated with that of 'folk life'...".[2] Gumperz writes:

> The most extreme position on the relation between dialect study and cultural phenomena is that of the German, Theodor Frings, who coined the slogan "Sprachgeographie ist Kulturgeographie" and dropped the term "Sprachraum" (linguistic region) in favour of "Kulturraum" (cultural region) (Bach 1950: 63ff). Frings' cultural regions were defined in collaboration with teams of social historians, geographers, and folklorists.[3]

Although he uses the word "extreme", Gumperz goes on to observe, that he is doubtful about the possibility of explaining linguistic isoglosses in terms of communication density, and that rather: "Work in Germany seems to point to connections with larger networks such as those dominated by market and administrative centres (Bach 1950)".[4] Theodor Frings and his school defined cultural and linguistic areas very much in terms of marketing and traffic.[5] In his work on the history of the German language, Frings drew attention to the importance of correlating linguistic events with social, political and cultural factors.[6] Scholars

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1. Cf. Wakelin (1972a: 10).
2. Wakelin (1972b: 2).
3. Gumperz (1971: 78).
4. Ibid., 85.
5. Cf. ibid., 100.
6. Frings (1948: 5).

had previously thought that the main differences between North and South German - as manifested by the occurrence of the Second Sound Shift in the south, but not in the north - reflected the boundaries of Saxon settlement, i.e. they subscribed to a Stammestheorie ("tribal theory"), and dated the differences as far back as 500 A.D. Frings showed, however, in his studies of the Rhein territory, that the present-day north-south boundary between Low German and High German was established between 1200 and 1500 with the movement of the Kölner Kulturraum (Cologne Cultural Region).

Such work forms a precedent for the link which is suggested here between the Greater Bolton cultural area, or urban field of influence, and language. Within the field of English dialectology, Viereck's work on Gateshead[1] constitutes a linguistic precedent too, for the socio-economic homogeneity of the population is the key factor in deciding the representativeness of the linguistic description.[2]

Working on this assumption, then, that language reflects social factors, and, of course, geographical factors, the dialect will refer to the speech of a proportion of the population, who make up the cultural unit of the Greater Bolton area. This gives us a first, rather crude definition of the dialect in both geographical and social terms. Observations on linguistic theory, and the purposes of the investigation, in subsequent sections, will lead to a narrower definition of the dialect, with, amongst other things, reference to the age

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1. Viereck (1966).
2. See further sections 1.1.1.4 and 1.1.1.8.

of the informants, their occupations, style of speech, and modification of speech.

Whilst the further observations to which I have just referred will lead to a more precise definition of *the dialect* in both linguistic and socio-economic terms, one further observation is required at this point in respect of the geographical delimitation of the concept *the dialect*. This is that in an area of relatively unbroken settlement, it is impossible to say exactly where the Greater Bolton cultural unit ends. It is consequently equally impossible to maximally delimit the dialect from a geographical point of view. To gain even an idea of the boundaries between *the dialect* and neighbouring dialects, a remarkably subtle exercise in linguistic geography would be required. Indeed, it is probable that such an exercise presupposes a number of synchronic studies at various points throughout South Lancashire, otherwise an adequate choice of likely or suitable variables for a study in linguistic geography could not be made. This thesis is one such synchronic study. Geographically, then, the study must be said to centre on Farnworth and its immediately surrounding districts, and to be - as far as one can discern - relevant for the Greater Bolton area as a whole. Needless to say, had the data suggested any dialect boundaries within *the area*, these would have been investigated, and the concept of *the dialect* appropriately revised. As it was not my purpose to attempt to cover the entire Greater Bolton area in a systematic manner,[1] - for, as has just been indicated, I regard such a task, which is of a strongly geographical character, as secondary to the present one, even though it is of a different order - no claim is made for the absolute representativeness of this study for the whole area. This proviso applies particularly to the outskirts of the Greater Bolton area, whether to outlying villages on the northern side of the town, or to the southern boundaries, where there is no break in the population. As a sample of a distinctive and relatively homogeneous cultural unit, however, I believe this study to be significant for most of Greater Bolton.

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[1] See sections 1.1.1.4, 1.1.1.7 and 1.1.1.8 below. A wide sampling would have been inconsistent with the aim of getting to know informants really well, this being the condition under whic dialect is naturally used, or even used at all, and with wishing to examine the dialect as deeply as possible.

0.6.2 Previous linguistic comment:

Although not extensive, previous comment by writers concerned with Lancashire dialect generally recognises the existence of distinctive dialect areas within South Lancashire. Nodal and Milner commented in their famous glossary on the variations in dialect between neighbouring cotton towns:

> In point of fact the differences between the dialect of Lonsdale and that of South and East Lancashire are not greater, in several important particulars, than those observable in different localities within the South East Lancashire area, where the dialect of Bolton is distinguishable from that of Rochdale, and the patois of Oldham from that of Ashton-under-Lyne and Stalybridge.[1]

Heywood, calling for the collection of Lancashire words, noted in 1862 that the Lancashire dialects had not lost their distinctiveness, despite the increased population in Lancashire: "Our words, scattered through districts and used by a population yet held marvellously together amongst immigrants twenty-fold their number, require collection."[2]

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[1] Nodal and Milner (1875, 1972: vi).
[2] Heywood (1862: 36).

Bamford referred to the growth of town dialects as early as 1850, but excluded Manchester because of its more mixed population.[1] The distinctiveness of South-East Lancashire dialect is alluded to by Bamford, and also by Dr. Henry Brierly. The latter, proposing a Lancashire dictionary, observed that "words in some parts of the county were absolutely unknown in others. The East Lancashire dialect was altogether different from that of West Lancashire."[2]

In Ellis' monumental work, Farnworth and its surrounding districts all fall within area D22, and are designated "western North Midland".[3] On the question of variations within area D22, Ellis is somewhat ambivalent:

> There is a very fair amount of uniformity, but in such an extensive tract of country with large towns and outlying manufacturing districts, many varieties may be expected, and I have been induced to consider six... Var. ii Bolton and Wigan...
>
> The differences are often very minute...
>
> The speech of this district is sufficiently homogeneous to render it difficult to formulate the differences of pronunciation which determine a variety. Of course those dialect-connoisseurs by whom a man from each of the five modern varieties is immediately distinguished, rely on much beside pronunciation. They are guided by intonation, and the use of certain words and peculiar constructions, none of which can here be considered.[4]

Even within the field of pronunciation, it is not altogether clear to me that Ellis picked all the right sounds to differentiat the dialects within D22. However, this matter lies outside of our present area of major concern.

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1. Bamford (1850: xviif).
2. Reported in: The Record, Vol. 2, No. 11 (Jan. 1914), p. 3.
3. Ellis (1889: 329).
4. Ibid., 330f.

0.6.3 Anecdotal evidence:

The reactions of native speakers to their dialect may be cited as supporting evidence:

> It is argued that sociolectal differences (and sociolects) and dialectal differences (and dialects) are subjective in the sense that they are known and used by speakers in everyday life. Consequently the judgements of the speakers about them should be among the facts considered by dialectologists.[1]

When questioned informally about linguistic boundaries, native speakers are agreed that there is no significant linguistic variation within the Greater Bolton area, but that the said area has a highly distinctive speech when compared to other areas.

In my own experience, strangers have often encountered little difficulty in swiftly and accurately deciding the geographical provenance of my speech. One instance will suffice. In my early teens I went to Ramsey in the Isle of Man for a holiday. I was fishing from the end of Ramsey pier. A stranger approached me, exchanged a greeting, and asked whether I had caught anything. I replied briefly, whereupon the stranger asked: "And how far from Bolton do _you_ come from then?" This experience is anything but unique.

Finally, it is worth noting that the relative distinctiveness of neighbouring Lancashire dialects over against each other was observed by Edwin Waugh:

> There often exist considerable shades of difference - even in places eight or ten miles apart - in the expression and in the form of words which mean the same thing.[2]

Previous comment and anecdotal evidence, then, generally support the contention that it is possible to distinguish particular dialect areas within South Lancashire.

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[1] Hammarström (1967: 216).

[2] Waugh (1857: vi).

1. PURPOSE, THEORY AND METHOD

The foregoing discussion is a part of the frame of reference for the present study. It has presented a certain amount of background information, and has sought to establish Farnworth and district as a relatively homogeneous community, whose dialect is to be described here. Additionally, it is necessary to consider various aspects of purpose, theory and method. There are a number of reasons for this. A consideration of existing theory and method is a part of the frame of reference for any study. On the one hand, one's own approach leads out of such a consideration. It is appropriate that the particular approach adopted should be explicitly stated, and that certain key terms should be defined. On the other hand, the particular approach adopted in this study will be set in a wider context of other possible approaches. To some extent, this latter aim may at times appear to lead away from a description of the dialect of Farnworth and district. Nonetheless, the approach eventually adopted in this study, as described in section 1.1.1.8, will emerge from and draw heavily upon this preceding discussion. Thus, for instance, later use of the term dialect will draw very considerably upon the preceding discussion. Similarly, the need to attempt to account for style in at least some measure will emerge both from the concept dialect, and from a consideration of the methodology of working with a corpus. Since it is generally agreed in linguistics that existing definitions of the terms language and dialect are not fully satisfactory, it seemed advisable to consider a fairly wide range of criteria in preparing a definition of the term _dialect_, although this perhaps did not always make for the most direct of introductions. Even so, the theoretical introduction given in section 1 as a whole is quite selective, and is ultimately directed towards defining the approach adopted here, and towards setting it in context.

It further seemed advisable to consider a range of possible approaches, and to define certain basic terms, as there is no one widely accepted approach to dialectology. Similarly, althoug it is now customary in dialect studies to include an account of fieldwork, and also - in some cases - of the problems of transcription, there is currently no procedure or paradigm which is widely accepted as constituting an adequate framework for the arrangement of all considerations which precede the presentation of the data. Descriptions of fieldwork and transcription sometimes have a somewhat "by the way" or incidental character: there does not appear to be a concensus as to what constitutes an exhaustive discussion of the issues, or a systematic treatment of them. Neither the extent of a methodological account nor its arrangement can yet be specified _a priori_. I have attempted to deal with this problem in two ways.

At a more general level, fieldwork (section 2) is presented within a framework which attempts to relate it to the sociocultural make-up of the area under discussion (section 0), and to questions of purpose, theory and method (section 1); the problems of transcription (section 3) on the one hand are related to the fieldwork, and on the other hand may be considered of themselves; the fieldwork and transcription are then related to questions of archiving and scientific status (section 4). In this way, an attempt is made to place fieldwork and transcription more definitely in context: to examine some of the ways in which they are determined by other considerations, and in which they themselves in turn condition the study.

At a more specific level, I have kept a record of my fieldwork and transcription, and an account of both is given. In one sense, fieldwork is ultimately a creative, social activity, and not a set procedure, therefore the account of my own field experiences is not offered as being in any way definitive. Other fieldworkers and their informants might need to work out very different ways of coming to terms with one another, and doing fieldwork.[1] That having been said, however, fieldwork is not a wholly subjective undertaking. References to and comparisons with accounts of fieldwork presented by others point to some common features and shared experiences. A number of generalisations and recommendations are therefore made in the account of the fieldwork.

Since in linguistics at large there is a lack of terminological clarity,[2] and a lack of agreement both about what one should be describing,[3] and about how one should describe it,[4] it is necessary to define a number of key terms. Theory in this present study is not used as Chomsky uses it, i.e. all but synonymously with model and hypothesis; rather, theory

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1. Cf. Wax (1971: 363).
2. Examples: there are numerous definitions of language, a language, dialect, sentence, word, model, formal, etc. Chao (1970: 19f) lists 38 uses of the term model, and the list is not exhaustive.
3. Whether deep structures, surface structures, form, form and meaning, or whatever.
4. Whether by means of a formal model or a corpus.

is the _framework_ within which an explanation is attempted.[1] This framework is of a _systematic_[2] and highly _explicit_[3] character. Theory is _a prioristic_ because of the influence of the _frame of reference_;[4] however, the frame of reference, which is impressionistic, and low on explicitness, becomes a theory as it is made explicit.[5] Theory is "a certain method justified";[6] _method_ is "the actual manner of pursuing research",[7] it is "the ways and means by which the things are to be studied in order to arrive at a theory about them".[8] There is a sense in which method justifies and evaluates theory, so that the definitions of _theory_ and _method_ are interdependent, or circular. _Hypothesis_ belongs "to method rather than theory, by reason of its largely provisional and operational character".[9]

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[1] Verhaar (1970: 42).
[2] _Ibid_., 42; Chao (1970: 15).
[3] Verhaar (1970: 42).
[4] _Ibid_., 43.
[5] _Ibid_., 42. Cf. Chao (1970: 16), where the list 1) thing, 2) set, 3) symbol, 4) method, 5) theory (and evaluation) reflects a progression from a minimum of theory to a maximum of theory. Whilst one can argue about the number of stages, and their labels, and point out that the process of theorising is most certainly not linear, and further, that it does not proceed from any non-theoretical "thing", the progression from a minimum to a maximum of theory nonetheless illustrates the notion of an increasing degree of explicitness, as work advances.
[6] Verhaar (1970: 42).
[7] _Ibid_., 42.
[8] Chao (1970: 15).
[9] Verhaar (1970: 43).

1.1 Purpose and Theory:

The notions purpose and theory are not altogether separable. Whilst the theory of a subject undoubtedly determines the research undertaken, and therefore also the fieldwork, both by indicating problem areas and by suggesting appropriate procedures for collecting and analysing data, there are choices to be made which probably owe more to the researcher's interests and purpose(s) than anything else; theory may indicate a variety of problems and permit a variety of approaches, as outlined in section 1.1.1 below; alternatively, the researcher may be working on problems outside of the scope of current theory, especially in a science which is not yet highly developed, such as linguistics. In both cases, the researcher's interests and purposes may be of paramount importance. More obviously, it is possible for a researcher to wish to produce say a historical study for specific historical purposes, or a comparative study for use in education, or a detailed synchronic study for use in speech therapy - and so on. The linear arrangement of the present study also reflects the fact that one's concept of the history and socio-cultural make-up of an area necessarily influences not only the choice of theoretical approach, but also what one takes to be one's purpose in the first place. Thus, my view of the existence of a relatively homogeneous Greater Bolton area enables me to set as my task a basically synchronic description of "a dialect" - the theory of linguistics alone does not set that task as such, although it relates closely to the possible range of tasks and suggests a variety of approaches. Thus, both my sense of purpose and the extralinguistic description of the area are an integral part of the frame of reference. A frame of reference precedes any study.

1.1.1 Linguistic approaches:

Existing theory and method are a part of the frame of reference for a study. There follows an outline of the main approaches in dialectology. Detailed bibliography may be found elsewhere.[1] Specific aspects of phonological and syntactic theory are treated in the appropriate sections: sections 5 and 6 respectively; theory cannot be accommodated in a purely linear manner at the beginning of the study, and section 1 as a whole is to be understood as hierarchically dominating the remainder of the study.

1.1.1.1 Linguistic geography:

Apart from isolated collections of words, and a certain amount of linguistic ethnology,[2] the earliest systematic work in dialectology was in terms of either historical linguistics, including onomastics, or linguistic geography. The latter has a history which stretches back well into the nineteenth century with the work of such pioneers as the Germans Johann Andreas Schmeller and Georg Wenker,[3] although the Survey of

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[1] See Dieth (1946); Schubel (1939); Viereck (1964, 1968, 1971, 1973 and 1974); Wakelin (1972a); and, with reference to Lancashire, Shorrocks (1976, 1977a and 1978a). See also Viereck (1966).

[2] Cf. Freudenberg (1965: 170ff).

[3] *Ibid.*, 174ff. Schmeller and Wenker both made the crucial connection between the observation of single linguistic elements and the cartographical—descriptive method of ethnology. This connection ensures the rigorous character of linguistic geography. Cf. further Mitzka (1943: 6) and Mitzka (1952: 7).

English Dialects (SED) has only taken place comparatively recently.[1] Linguistic geography flourishes today using the same basic methodology as was developed in the nineteenth century: employing questionnaires it produces comparable data from a network of localities; the data are projected onto maps, and areas of linguistic similarity or difference may be identified. Linguistic geography has an important rôle to play in defining such concepts as dialect and language. Although I am concerned in this study with the description of a single, "given" dialect, many of the problems of the methodology of fieldwork are shared by the linguistic geographer. I shall therefore have recourse at a number of junctures to observations made by fieldworkers in linguistic geography.

Linguistic geography is a different kind of task from that of a synchronic description. It would appear that linguistic geography in urban South Lancashire could proceed more thoroughly and subtly if more synchronic studies of dialects in this area were available. A greater number of synchronic studies would give a clearer idea of suitable or likely variables in the dialects of South Lancashire. Attention may be drawn to one past geographical study of Lancashire dialects relevant to the area of Farnworth and district, which is of a highly unscientific character. This is Bröker's monograph, which is based on the pronunciation of English prisoners-of-war.[2] The informants

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1. The SED, in the form which it has taken, was conceived in 1946, and its Questionnaire was published in 1952. For further details, see Orton (1952a: 5f). For extensive accounts of work in dialect geography, together with copious bibliography of the SED and other surveys, see Viereck (1964, 1968, 1971, 1973 and 1974).
2. Bröker (1930). Criticised in Wright, P. (1976: 22), and in Shorrocks (1976: 12). School of Brandl monographs in general are criticised in Dieth (1946: 80) and Viereck (1968: 552).

used in Bröker's study cannot be said to be representative of their localities.

To facilitate comparison with major surveys of English dialects, it may be observed that Farnworth and Bolton and their surrounding area fall within Ellis' district D22,[1] whilst in terms of the SED the nearest reference point is the location Lancashire 12, Harwood, which is now a suburb of Bolton. Harwood has also been selected as a locality in the current Atlas Linguarum Europae project (ALE).

1.1.1.2 Historical studies:

There is a long tradition of dialect monographs in which the data are presented in terms of, more precisely as reflexes of an older stage of the language. Joseph Wright's work on Windhill[2] is the early model for much subsequent work.[3] Wright used Old English as the basis for his study, but in later work Middle English was preferred.[4]

A presentation of a dialect in historical terms is an idealised study, which does not reflect the system inherent in a dialect on which communication depends. Historical studies would also appear to contain rather thin accounts of linguistic variation. Nonetheless, it must be recognised that a historical approach is an alternative method of organising data which is epistemologically valid in its own right, and which further serves specific historical purposes. As in the case of linguistic geography, the historical approach is one of a different order from the approach adopted here, and can be better carried out subsequent to a thorough synchronic investigation. A synchronic study may later be reworked in a historical framework, but the reverse does not obtain.

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[1] Ellis (1889: 329). In Wright's terminology, the area is a part of the western north-Midland division - cf. Wright, J. (1905: 4, 6).

[2] Wright, J. (1892).

[3] For bibliography see Dieth (1946); Schubel (1939).

[4] For example in Hargreaves (1904) and Sieß (1929), to take two Lancashire instances.

More recently, there has been some emphasis on studies which are both descriptive and historical[1] - indeed, the particular duality of the approach may be reflected in the title of a study.[2] These studies may perhaps now be viewed as an interstage between a more strongly historical approach in former times and a more markedly synchronic approach in recent times.[3]

In view of what is to be said on the subject of informants elsewhere in this study (section 1.1.1.3, and the whole of section 2 in effect), it may be noted that early historical work often used only literary sources,[4] or was only checked against local pronunciation in a loosely defined manner.[5]

1.1.1.3 Synchronic studies:

Synchronic study is primarily oriented in time and space. Descriptive work traditionally concentrates on presenting a synchronic study of what may be called traditional vernacular:

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[1] Hedevind (1967) is an altogether exemplary study of this type.
[2] Cf. Wright, P. (1954).
[3] Viereck tends towards an extreme position with regard to the history of the discipline: for example, Viereck (1964: 336f) designates nearly all work before 1940 as "useless" - primarily on methodological grounds. Whilst any discipline reinterprets its own past work, I doubt whether it makes significant advances by turning its back upon its entire history - at least not for very long.
[4] E.g. Sieß (1929).
[5] E.g. Hargreaves (1904).

the oldest discernible level of speech indigenous to an area. The resultant description is felt to represent "the dialect" (taking the term somewhat for granted) of a location (i.e. the most obvious delimitation is geographical). During the course of the twentieth century, the use of representative informants has become a sine qua non for descriptions of what are, after all, dialects which exist almost exclusively in the spoken medium.[1] Informants are selected who were born and bred in the area, whose parents often also come from the same area, and who have not been absent from the locality for significant periods of time; men are often, although not always, preferred to women, it being felt that they generally preserve the traditional vernacular rather better;[2] working men, with a minimum of formal education, who do manual or semi-skilled jobs (or did such jobs formerly) are held to represent the speech of a locality best; concentration is usually, although not exclusively, on the speech of the over-sixties; finally, it is required that informants be in reasonable health, and should not suffer from undue speech deficiencies. The informants are selected through the local knowledge of the investigator, or on local recommendation.

A synchronic study of traditional vernacular, primarily oriented in time and space, but - considering restrictions on the age, sex, occupation and residence of the informants - socio-economically oriented too, is an idealised abstraction which seeks to describe the _system_ of a dialect which enables communication to take place. _System_ may be understood as the _langue_ of de Saussure's _langue-parole_ distinction, or, without assuming the pair of oppositions to be coterminous, the _competence_ of Chomsky's _competence-performance_ distinction.

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[1] It has also become increasingly unacceptable to elicit information from informants by the use of reading passages, or translati of written sentences, or to employ data gleaned from persons who read or write dialect literature, whilst the use of literary sources is now generally frowned upon: cf. Viereck (1966: 61f), Wölck (1965: 11). However, the last word has yet to be said on these matters, especially when an investigation takes place at a level other than the phonological one: cf. sections 1.2.3, 1.2.4 and 2.1.4 below.

[2] Sociological studies have confirmed that women tend to use more "prestige" forms than men, being more conscious of upward social mobility and the social significance of linguistic variables. See, for instance, Trudgill (1974a: 94f), and, for fuller discussion, Trudgill (1972: 179ff).

The validity of idealised synchronic descriptions may be questioned, as will be seen in section 1.1.1.4. below, particularly in respect of the representativeness of the idiolects on which they are based, and the general failure to account for the social variation of language and the linguistic modifications which speakers make. It will become apparent, however, that my own view of the idealised character of a synchronic description is that this is in fact its strength, for it is the admittedly idealised system of a language or dialect that has the requisite degree of generality for communication to take place: communication does not take place on the basis of infinite variation.

That idealisation can be overdone was noted at a relatively early stage by Kökeritz:

> My intention has been to paint a true and faithful picture of the Suffolk dialect as now spoken, not to give an idealised and beautifully retouched photograph of the speech habits of very old people to the exclusion of those of the younger generations.[1]

My proposals for handling variation within the dialect will become apparent later (section 1.1.1.8).

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[1] Kökeritz (1932: xiii). Kökeritz is using the word _idealised_ in a less technical sense than the one in which I have just used it. Technically speaking, any synchronic description is _idealised_, but, as the quotation from Kökeritz indicates, some may be more "idealised" than others. The question of idealisation will be subject to further discussion, particularly in section 1.1.1.8.

The impact of structural linguistics and its methodology on British dialectology is to be discerned particularly in the work of Wölck and Viereck on Buchan and Gateshead respectively.[1] Since structuralist techniques are best developed at the phonological level of description, they lend themselves readily to the description of dialects, which vary significantly at the phonetic and phonemic levels.[2] The concept of the phoneme is discussed at great length in Viereck, although somewhat inconclusively,[3] emphasis is laid on methodology and procedure, and the phonotactic possibilities of the dialect are specified in addition to an inventory of the phonemes. As will be indicated below,[4] such variations between codes or styles as Viereck does encounter are arbitrarily dealt with, or, in a sense, not dealt with at all, although this need not constitute a criticism of his study, which does not set itself the task of dealing with variation. However, as Melchers has noted,[5] the amount of allophonic variation described by Viereck is surprisingly small. We should, I believe, not lose sight of the fact that there is a good deal to be said about dialects at the phonetic as well as the phonemic level.

Dialects may be differentiated from each other at the subphonemic level,[6] as also may be social levels or styles of speech.[7] Given further the difficulties of writing phonemic

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[1] Cf. Wölck (1965) and Viereck (1966).

[2] It will be suggested in the present work, however, that variation at other levels is currently underestimated.

[3] As also pointed out in Melchers (1972: 64).

[4] See section 1.1.1.8.

[5] Melchers (1972: 64).

[6] Cf. Wakelin (1972a: 84).

[7] See the modified forms of the phonemes given in the phonology.

descriptions, especially on the basis of more than one idiolect, there is a strong case for the dialectologist's devoting close attention to his analysis at the segmental level.[1] Pike has also observed that

> Many sounds of speech can only be seen in a system when they are compared with marginal and nonspeech sounds; an articulatory classification best answers this need. Even lectures or books dealing with the phonemics of a single language might well profit by such a brief orientation.[2]

The theme of a synchronic description will be subject to considerable further development, as sociological and formal approaches, and my own approach to the dialect of Farnworth and district are discussed in the following sections.

1.1.1.4. Sociological Approaches:

The work of American sociolinguists - pre-eminently that of William Labov[3] - has been applied in English dialectology by Trudgill, amongst others. Given that most, if not all, localities are socially and linguistically heterogeneous, sociolinguists feel that it behoves the dialectologist to describe and explain this variation, especially in the case of the large urban populations. Brook writes: "Linguistic variations in towns depend on occupations or social class rather than on place of birth, and the study of town dialects is likely to develop side by side with the study of class dialect."[4] The notion of explanation of linguistic phenomena by virtue of their reflecting social phenomena is also to be found in an article by J.T. Wright: "The dialectologist's task in relation to towns is to show how social complexities are reflected in the linguistic behaviour of their inhabitants."[1] The approach generally adopted is that of correlating linguistic variables in informants' speech with social variables in informants' socio-economic profiles. Modern statistical techniques are employed in sampling (i.e. choice of informants), and in subsequently effecting the correlations between sociological parameters and linguistic variables.

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[1] Cf. Pike (1943: 53), and the references cited there. See further section 5.

[2] Ibid., 24.

[3] The main reference is Labov (1966).

[4] Brook (1968: 17).

In view of certain rather strong claims which are put forward on behalf of this correlational approach, it will be necessary to sketch briefly the benefits of such an approach, and then to advance something of a case against this approach, or, rather, primarily, to indicate that it has decided limitations, and that it is necessary to see the approach in a wider perspective. Indeed, since decided claims are made for the relative superiority of the approach, a dialectologist must do one of three things: he might refute the approach; or, as is more appropriate, show it to be simply one approach amongst others, with its own particular advantages and disadvantages, and its own particular purposes; otherwise he would be obliged to adopt the approach.

Trudgill's approach establishes acceptable correlations between linguistic variation and variations in the parameters

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1. Wright, J.T. (1966: 235). Cf. further Trudgill (1974a: 2, 4, 20f); and Trudgill (1974b: 38f): "Was it, in other words, legitimate or worthwhile to apply the methods of traditional rural dialectology to large urban areas? The answer was eventually seen to be 'No'."

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of social class, age and sex. A major claim, as previously implied, is that we are thereby enabled to give a description of communities which are heterogeneous in both social and linguistic composition, and that this is particularly the case in urban areas:

> It is also true to say that urban dialectology is by no means necessarily sociological. Many linguists have attempted to describe the speech forms of urban areas without recourse to any of the methodology of sociology. The inadequacies in the work of these linguists, both linguistic and sociological, stem from the fact that they have, generally speaking, chosen to ignore the fact that most if not all speech communities are more or less socially and linguistically heterogeneous. This heterogeneity is, moreover, much more marked in urban areas than it is in other linguistic communities. For this reason the inadequacies of non-sociological urban dialectology are all the more serious.[1]

It follows from these observations that Trudgill may further claim to be describing the ways in which the majority of our population speaks:

> Sociological urban dialectology can also have the function - particularly in Britain, where little attention has so far been paid to this kind of work - of providing a description of the linguistic characteristics of the vast majority of the country's population. It would seem that the considerable amount of rural dialectological work that has been carried out in Britain has left the linguist singularly ignorant about the way in which most of the people in Britain speak.[2]

By taking social variation to be more significant than geographical variation in the description of urban dialects,[3] the sociolinguist is obliged to pay considerable attention to the selection of his

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1. Trudgill (1974a: 2). We are reminded, however, that heterogeneity is not restricted to urban populations: "Rural dialectologists, too, can be accused of having neglected the heterogeneit that is present even in rural speech communities." (Ibid., 4).
2. Ibid., 4.
3. Ibid., 20.

informants. He uses the random sample (or quasi-random sample) technique, for which statistical validity or representativeness is claimed in contrast to more traditional techniques:

> Informants selected solely because they are available and willing to be interviewed are simply a part of the population of the city, not a representative sample, and no valid statements concerning the language of the city as a whole can be based on evidence obtained from informants selected in this way...[1]

Similarly:

> The methods of traditional dialectology may be adequate for the description of caste dialects (although even this is doubtful) since any individual, however selected, stands a fair chance of being not too different from the caste group as a whole. But it is not possible to select any single speaker and to generalise from him to the rest of the speakers in his social-class group. This was an important point demonstrated by Labov. The speech of a single speaker (his idiolect) may differ considerably from those [*sic*] of others like him. Moreover, it may also be internally very inconsistent.[2]

On the basis of the representativeness of the informant sample in sociological studies, claims of accuracy and total linguistic representativeness are made. It is not felt that the interview situation defeats these claims in any way. For instance, Trudgill observes when writing about Labov's work:

> Since informants were a representative sample, the linguistic description could therefore be an *accurate* description of *all* the varieties of English spoken in this area. Labov also developed techniques, later refined, for eliciting normal speech from people in spite of the presence of the tape-recorder. (This was an important development which we shall discuss further in Chapter 5.)[3]

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1. Trudgill (1974a: 20f).
2. Trudgill (1974b: 39).
3. *Ibid*., 39.

One possibility may be raised by way of an extension of the correlational approach. Påhlsson has indicated[1] that whilst a population may be stratified three-dimensionally, i.e. spatially, temporally, and socially, and linguistic variation related to that stratification so that a linguistic item may be seen to mark a temporal, spacial, or social fact, correlations of linguistic data with a single non-linguistic parameter would be somewhat unreal abstractions. He marks out one direction for future progress when he writes that "the calibration of the three dimensions" is "what really counts".[2]

Finally, Trudgill has asserted that, although collections of data and descriptions of dialect can be viable, studies which make a contribution to linguistic theory, such as his own, are superior.[3]

It is now necessary to examine these claims critically. The one listed here last is of the greatest generality. The claim that non-sociological descriptions do not make a contribution to theory constitutes a misappropriation of the term theory. For instance, a more traditionally oriented analysis is perfectly capable of making a contribution to phonetic, phonemic, dialectological or linguistic theory. The suggestion made in this present study, that variation amongst English dialects at the morphological and syntactic levels is probably underestimated generally speaking, is possibly a small contribution to dialectological theory. Has the study of traditional vernacular no contribution to make to historical linguistics?

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1. Påhlsson (1971: 257-71).
2. Ibid., 271.
3. Cf. Trudgill (1974a: 4).

Any number of such questions might be posed, and - unless Trudgill understands theory to mean sociology[1] - may be summarised by asking the question: how can a contribution to one subsection of linguistic theory be rated as superior to contributions to other aspects of linguistic theory? Furthermore, if Trudgill means to imply that more traditional studies are somehow not theoretical at all,[2] then he is on epistemologically untenable ground: even "collections of data" do not arrange themselves, nor their discussion. Admittedly, some works are more theoretical than others, and certain more theoretical studies may be judged to have greater explanatory power. However, apart from the fact that there can be reasons in linguistics for not wishing to tie data too closely to theories which are not yet sufficiently developed,[3] when studies are written from widely differing theoretical perspectives, and to quite different ends, comparisons become meaningless. The link, then, between purpose and theory[4] simply cannot be overlooked in this manner.

The claim to be able to describe the speech of the majority or all of a population may be viewed in a number of ways. Firstly, given that there are indeed various groupings in society, it is nonetheless quite valid to wish to describe the speech of a single group in greater detail, especially if that happens to be for special purposes, such as historical ones. Williams has also made the point that choice of linguistic approach cannot be divorced from the dialectologist's purpose. After discussing the work of Labov and others, he writes:

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[1] When a work is held to make a contribution to the sociology of language, it would be useful at this juncture in the development of sociolinguistics to take stock of the body of theoretical knowledge in the discipline. Williams has suggested that there is, in fact, practically no theory at all in the sociology of language (Williams (1972: 4)).

[2] He seems to do this by saying that purely descriptive studies increase the body of data available to linguists, but do not have any bearing on theoretical problems - Trudgill (1974a: 3f).

[3] See e.g. the quotation from Lakoff in section 1.1.1.5. below.

[4] Cf. section 1.1. above.

> This close tie to the everyday world of speakers serves to emphasize the highly specific type of description given in sociolinguistic study as compared with the more idealised description provided by traditional linguistic investigation. Whereas the specific or realistic description may be useful in characterising the detailed behaviour of certain speakers in certain situations, it lacks the economy and generality to large groups of speakers that the idealised description provides. In the broadest view, one type of description is really no "better" than the other. Our uses of one or the other depend on our goals.[1]

McIntosh has suggested that there are, in fact, pressing reasons for wishing to produce descriptions of traditional vernacular. He notes that in any community, it is usually possible to discern an "old-fashioned" type of speech, which has been less affected by outside influences of a recent nature, and further to discern "resistant types", i.e. people who have lived all their lives in the same locality.[2] He adds:

> But we should also note that people modify their speech habits much less in their maturer years than earlier, and that profound influences have been at work on the dialects since 1914. Those who grew up before the first World War have generally proved less receptive to such influences than their children or grandchildren have.[3]

The conclusion which McIntosh draws from such observations is one which I share, and one which supports this study:

> The speech-habits of those resistant types who are already elderly will before long cease to be available for study, and it therefore seems proper, in the first instance, that we should give them our main attention in all areas investigated.[4]

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[1] Williams (1972: 111).
[2] McIntosh (1961: 85).
[3] Ibid., 86.
[4] Ibid., 86. See further section 1.1.1.8.

Also, in respect of describing the speech of the majority together with the emphasis on social and linguistic heterogeneity, a synchronic study may be assumed to have a much wider validity and representativeness when it deals with a relatively homogeneous population.[1] The linguistic precedent for this view is Viereck's study of Gateshead;[2] Viereck has since drawn attention again to the sociological appropriateness of his work, given the structure of the population of Gateshead.[3] The present study includes the general directions of modification to the dialect speech, and has consequently even wider applicability. Furthermore, a study which investigates the similarities in the speech of a community is describing that which enables communication to take place.[4] I would suggest, then, that Trudgill does not place the concept theory against a sufficiently wide linguistic background, and fails to see it in terms of the frame of reference, which includes the linguist's purpose.

Trudgill further claimed that the representativeness of the informant sample ensures both an accurate account and one which covers all the varieties of English spoken in an area. With regard to the sampling itself, and ignoring the question of the truly large samples required to ensure statistical validity, it is not clear to me that a sample can be representative of those speakers who refuse to be interviewed. More importantly still, however, it must surely be admitted that a random sample of a large number of informants simply does not fulfil the same purpose as a traditional sample. In industrial Lancashire, informants are often ashamed of their dialect, and dialect is used as the medium of communication with family and friends. Similar restrictions on the use of traditional vernacular have been noted elsewhere. For instance, Gumperz writes:

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[1] Cf. section 0.4, above.

[2] Viereck (1966). Cf. further section 1.1.1.8.

[3] Viereck (1968: 563, especially footnote 64).

[4] It is true that linguistic differences have communicative import, but this fact does not nullify the basic argument just advanced: those differences can only be meaningful within a framework of agreed conventions.

> For a much larger number of individuals the standard continues to function as a second or third speech style, used only in certain social situations, e.g. on formal occasions, with individuals of different social background, in the office, in school, on the college campus, etc. But the number of situations which call for the use of the standard is growing, and sub-regional dialect forms are being more and more confined to the family circle.[1]

It is consequently not to be expected that residual dialect speech will be consistently produced for the investigator who is interviewing, say, fifty informants in "a little over three weeks".[2] To elicit traditional vernacular under anything approaching natural conditions, the fieldworker must have got to know his informants well, and I am not able to accept that this is the case with large random samples. It follows from this, that the claim to describe all the speech varieties in a community is untenable. The most residual speech will not be recorded after any consistent fashion, if at all in many cases.

A related problem is that of the interview techniques employed. Sociolinguists have developed techniques which are supposed to (help) overcome the formality of the interview

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1. Gumperz (1971: 54).
2. Trudgill (1974a: 26).

situation: the informant has been requested to narrate incidents when he was near to death,[1] or to relate humorous stories,[2] so that involvement in the story will distract the informant's attention away from the interview situation itself. Whilst I would not wish to deny that such devices sometimes work,[3] I would doubt the advisability of relying on them too widely. More protracted contact with individual informants leads me to question their effectiveness. I recall an interview with an informant in the early stages of my fieldwork. The informant was something of a raconteur, and had once told me humorous stories about a holiday which he had had in the past. When I asked him about the holiday on tape, he recounted the same stories, but the result was a quite different level of language. Even though this would still have sounded like broad Lancashire speech to the casual listener, it happened not to be the same level of speech which that informant customarily uses. To know that, one must know the informant. From the point of view of eliciting the most traditional vernacular, the recording session to which I have just alluded was premature; from the point of view of anyone wishing to describe modified speech too, however, the session was useful; at any event, the session was instructive on the subject of relating humorous anecdotes. I would, therefore, express doubts about the adequacy of such devices as general means of eliciting casual speech, and reiterate that there is a variety of English, at least in areas such as Farnworth and district,

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1. Houck (1967: 13).
2. Trudgill (1974a: 51f); Houck (1967: 14).
3. Even then, it is questionable whether anecdotes are really the type of speech that one should be eliciting - cf. section 1.2.1.3, below.

which is not fully brought out - if brought out at all, in many cases - by sociolinguistic techniques. The claim to describe all the varieties of speech used in a community is invalid.

So far, sociolinguists have worked with only a handful of linguistic variables. If they were to attempt more extensive work, questions would have to be asked about the status of the resultant transcriptions. Doubts have been cast on transcriptions done by fieldworkers who were not native to an area, and not carefully supervised. Ringgaard compared their transcriptions with those of laymen using their own orthography:

> The very sad conclusion is then that the narrow transcriptions of the phoneticians do not tell us so very much about the actual dialectal realisations of the phonemes, but tell us more about the field-workers themselves, about their native pronunciations and about their confusion when coming to new regions... I entirely distrust the information from field-workers whose material is derived from some hours' tape recordings or some weeks' stay at a village. They can give us neither a phonemic nor a reliable phonetic transcription.[1]

This overstates the case - as Carney also observes[2] - for there is good fieldwork and transcription too, and there are many problems of transcription apart from the native status of the transcriber (section 3). Nonetheless, there is certainly some truth in what Ringgaard says, and transcriptions of material from widely-based samples, if not carefully controlled, could be subject to similar objections, for the greater the number of varieties of speech sampled, the less likelihood there is that the dialectologist will have an adequate knowledge of the whole range.[3]

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1. Ringgaard (1965: 501).
2. Cf. Carney (1969: 13).
3. Cf. further section 3.8 on the status of the transcriber, and section 3.9.

The linguistic variables in the Labov-Trudgill approach are selected by recourse to previous work, again confirming that descriptive, synchronic work is a good basis for work adopting other approaches, or the linguist's intuition:

> Measuring language is more difficult. The solution developed by Labov and since used by others is to take linguistic features which are known, either from previous study or intuitively by the linguist as a native speaker, to vary within the community being studied, and which are also easily countable in some way.[1]

The mere handful of variables employed in sociolinguistic studies to date might also cause one to question the claim to be giving full descriptions. Indeed, the cynic might suggest that traditional vernacular will have died out, or at least changed, before full descriptions are achieved by using such methods. Certainly, detailed phonetic transcription shows that there are far more variants in a dialect than those considered by sociolinguists.

The treatment of preselected linguistic variables purely as reflections of certain preselected social categories has obvious gross limitations. A more promising approach is to cluster speakers in the light of similarities in their speech, and then to discover what parameters these clusters might reflect in the informants' profiles: in this way, neither the linguistic variables nor the social groupings are given *a priori*, and new variables may be discovered. This approach should be worth the effort of measuring linguistic variables,[2] and is being used in the current *Urban (Tyneside) Linguistic Survey*.[3]

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1. Trudgill (1974b: 43)
2. Cf. *ibid*., 43, 45.
3. For a preliminary report, see Pellowe, Nixon, Strang and McNeany (1972).

Eventually, more subtle models will probably be developed, which will account for the complexity of social groups and the information field within which an individual operates more satisfactorily, i.e. interactional models. Gumperz has indicated the need to discover "norms governing the quality of social relations - norms which constrain friendship formation patterns and control the content of interpersonal communication".[1] He observes:

> We must conclude that the traditional practice of simply correlating the linguists' findings with independently collected social information is unsatisfactory for the study of ongoing social communication practices. What is needed is a model for sociolinguistic description which provides for ways of gathering linguistic and social information in terms of a single theoretical framework. Fieldwork in Norway was concerned with this problem... The Norwegian community stands at the opposite end of the social spectrum from the Indian village. Local residents think of themselves as a community of equals, where differences in social rank are at a minimum and income differentials of little importance. Yet even in this apparently uniform group there were clearly detectable dialect differences and as in the Indian situation the norms governing interpersonal relations were again the determining factor. There are grounds, therefore, for postulating a new level of sociolinguistic analysis - the level of social communication. Ethnographic investigation of communication networks and communicative norms at this level is needed before we can specify in more detail how language usage relates to the macro-sociological categories of caste, class, role, and the like.[2]

The achievement of the Labov-Trudgill approach may be stated quite briefly and definitely: it has quantified certain relationships, which were already "known" to exist. Thus, it has confirmed the relationships inherent in traditional dialect

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1. Gumperz (1971: 342).
2. Ibid., 342f.

research between the use of traditional vernacular and the class, occupation, residence, sex and age of the informants. Hünert-Hofmann, for instance, has observed that dialectology has always used sociological methods (simple, empirical, sociological methods) from the very outset.[1] More specifically, Strang notes that there is

> ...a high degree of correlation between working-class status and the use of a localised variety of English - much higher than the degree of correlation between non-working-class status and use of a non-localised variety of English.[2]

It is important to establish this point for the present study. The correlation between regional dialect and sociolect may not be valid everywhere,[3] but in many areas it is. One factor involved is no doubt the low mobility of working-class speakers in the past.[4]

To summarise, the Labov-Trudgill sociolinguistic approach is a valid means of quantifying relationships between language and certain social variables. It might be suggested that the relationships thus quantified to date are trivial, but that would be to underrate the achievement. Linguistics will never become a science without a measure of mathematical exactness. I have also indicated directions of development which look promising for the future, and have expressed the view that some of the claims made for his approach by Trudgill are over-enthusiastic to the point of being untenable. Most importantly, it has been indicated that the approach does not serve the same purposes as other approaches, and that aspersions cast upon

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1. Hünert-Hofmann (1968: 3).
2. Strang (1968: 791).
3. Cf. Platt and Platt (1975: 51).
4. Cf. section 0.4.

the latter are out of place.

1.1.1.5. Formal Models:

The current popularity of transformational-generative grammar has naturally led linguists to ask the question: "Is a Generative Dialectology Possible?"[1] The answer at the moment is clearly that it is not; there are very many aspects of both British and American English for which transformational-generative grammar will simply not account at the present time, let alone questions of dialectal variation.[2] Strang has indicated two problems of the transformational-generative approach:

> Its inherent weakness lies in the impossibility of checking the exhaustiveness of the rules; whole ranges of possible constructions may be overlooked. There is at present another weakness, not inherent, but accidental, in that decisions about acceptability are wrongly assumed to be clear-cut, and therefore are not investigated.[3]

Both of these problems would confront the dialectologist. More serious is the first, whereby a grammar will only handle a restricted set of data, resulting in a tendency to overlook whatever falls outside of the scope of a particular "theory". Even to begin to solve this problem, the linguist - without already having before him a corpus containing the full range of constructions in that dialect which he is analysing - would need to be, in practice at any rate, a truly fluent speaker of the dialect. But to use a transformational grammar he must be university-educated, and to a high degree at that. The two

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1. This is the title of Campbell (1972).
2. See, for instance, Lakoff (1973: 3f), Campbell (1972: 289-98), and Ruoff (1973: 63f).
3. Strang (1974: 62).

requirements must be just about mutually exclusive. As to the issue of degrees of acceptability, or grammaticality, anyone who has tried to write a formal grammar of (an area of) a language or dialect will know that informants eventually become uncertain, or make judgements which contradict the judgements of other informants.[1]

It may be noted, however, that it would be possible in the future for dialectologists to adopt a formal approach in cases where extensive corpus-based studies have already been carried out on a dialect. Yet before such an approach can be adopted, there can be no doubt that good synchronic descriptions of dialects are required. The eminent German structuralist, Hans Glinz, has made it clear, when writing on German syntax, that an accurate syntax is a prerequisite of a transformational-generative grammar. Glinz has stressed the need for an objective procedure, whereby observations can be checked at any time, to establish basic syntactic categories.[2] If a formal approach to dialect study were eventually adopted, it would be worth bearing in mind that formal grammars may be _generative_ without being _transformational_, and that they may be _synthetic_, _analytic_ and _recognoscotive_ too. It seems quite plausible to suggest that a linear automaton consisting of phrase-structure rules and a push-down storage device would be capable of modelling the syntax of a dialect at least as well as any other formal device. The transformational-generative theory, then, is not the only possible formal approach.

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[1] I have myself, in unpublished research, attempted to use a linear automaton to model an area of German grammar.

[2] Glinz (1965: 102).

Given earlier observations on the inadequacies of current theory in transformational-generative grammar, and the need for corpus-based syntactic studies, dialectologists will need, as Ruoff observes, to direct their attention towards the analysis of the form of actual utterances, and the function of utterances, whose acceptability is often only statistically ascertainable, whose grammaticality may often only be judged from context, and which seldom manifest themselves as "sentences".[1]

What George Lakoff says about little-known or exotic languages is largely applicable to dialects, whilst his summary of the current state of the art warrants quotation at some length:

> I should like to say that I do not think that theory construction and verification is the only or even the most important mode of doing linguistics. Theorising is more glamorous these days than doing careful descriptive work. I think that is unfortunate. Linguistic description is still an art, and is not likely to become a science for a long time to come. Unfortunately it is an art that has begun to die just at the time when it should be flourishing most. The reason is that it is still widely believed that linguistic description of little-known languages should be formal and should follow some particular theory. But it has become clear in the past decade that no linguistic theory is anywhere near adequate to deal with most facts. What is wrong with formal descriptions is that they only allow for those facts that happen to be able to be dealt with by the given formalism. At this time in history, any description of a language that adheres strictly to some formal theory will not describe most of what is in the language. Moreover, as formal theories become outmoded, as is happening at an ever-increasing rate, descriptions of exotic languages made on the basis of those theories become increasingly less useful. I think the time has come for a return to the tradition of informal descriptions of exotic languages, written whenever possible in clear prose rather than in formal rules, so that such descriptions will still be useful and informative when present theories are long forgotten.[2]

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1. Cf. Ruoff (1973: 63f).
2. Lakoff (1973: 3f).

1.1.1.6. Linguistic Levels of Description:

The stage of development of linguistic theory at the different linguistic levels of description has a profound influence on the research undertaken. This is true in general, and certainly of this present work on Farnworth. Segmental phonology is well-developed, and there is consequently a tradition of work at this level on all sides, whether structural, historical or geographical. Morphology has received some attention, but syntax decidedly less, especially in this country. Lexical items may be readily seized upon by both the scholar and the amateur alike, but the study of dialectal lexis and idiom in a thorough-going and systematic manner (except perhaps at the geographical level) still awaits attention. Here dialectology links up with folkloristics, especially in the study of proverbs, proverbial comparison, *blason populaire*, and so on. Suprasegmental phonology is hampered by the lack of an agreed general theory. As Crystal writes: "Too little empirical work has been done for any well-grounded 'theory of non-segmental phonology' to emerge as yet..."[1]

In a single study carried out by only one researcher, it is necessary to make a selection amongst levels, or at least to treat some levels more fully than others. The emphasis of the Farnworth study is on segmental phonology, grammar, and aspects of theory and method. Details are to be found in section 1.1.1.8.[2] The detailed discussion is deferred until that point, in order to take account of the concept *dialect*.

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1. Crystal (1975: vii).
2. Cf. further section 1.1.1.7, subsections 1 and 1a.

1.1.1.7. The Term "Dialect", or the Object of Grammar:

Before proceeding to the term dialect itself, it is appropriate to ask the question: "What is the object of grammar?" Since the question can very easily lead to a consideration of the whole of linguistics, it will not be answered satisfactorily here. The question involves so much, because it is one of the most fundamental that can be asked in linguistics. (Usually, this question is not asked, and about the best that one can do on occasion is to work out the writer's a priori answer, which is implicit in his work.) Nonetheless, a brief indication of the scope of the question here will serve to place the term dialect in a wider context. When we write A Grammar of the Dialect of X, we have, of course, implicitly admitted the validity of the question.

The word object is instructive in its ambiguity. On the one hand it means "purpose",[1] on the other hand it refers to the "domain" of grammar.[2] At this juncture, I am primarily concerned with the latter meaning. The subsections which follow are, for the most part, not ordered either in linear or hierarchical fashion.

1. The word grammar: in introducing the series Studies in Language, Chomsky and Halle write: "...we expect to include works on grammar, semantics and phonology".[3] Here, grammar means, as is now usual amongst transformational-generative grammarians, syntax, with morphology subsumed as a part of syntax. In dialect grammars, however, phonology has played

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[1] Cf. especially sections 1.1. and 1.1.1.8., and further sections 1.1.1.1.-5.
[2] Cf. section 1.1.1.8.
[3] Chomsky (1966a: x).

the dominant rôle. Still further, Lyons notes a restriction on the meaning of the word grammar in classical grammar, where written literature was considered the only legitimate object of grammar.[1] This, of course, is no longer the case. Indeed, to the dialectologist, the linguistic medium of the object is now exclusively the spoken mode. Clearly, then, a full survey of the meanings of the word grammar from the Greeks and Indians to the present day would be instructive.

1a. Whole v. partial: in terms of levels of linguistic description, and the ambiguity just noted, a whole-partial distinction would be useful. Should a grammar include semantics, as in the case of generative semantics? Should phonology be included? Some dialect grammars are almost exclusively phonology and lexis.[2] Is that permissible? In the light of a possible whole-partial distinction, it would be fascinating to work out what constitutes a minimum acceptable range for a grammar. My personal inclination is towards a phonology combined with as full a morphology and syntax as possible in the case of a dialect. This would be sufficient to handle the form of a dialect, and to account for much of its difference vis-à-vis other dialects. Lexis and idiom may, of course, be the subject of further studies, but grammar may be understood as something which operates on these.[3]

2. Sentence v. text: traditionally, and in most current work in linguistics, the object of grammar may be said to be the

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[1] Lyons (1969: 133).

[2] Yet perhaps implicitly more than this, if working on the assumption that the syntax is the same as in S.E. unless otherwise specified.

[3] Cf. further section 1.1.1.8.

sentence. Linguistic description beyond the level of the sentence is still rare.[1] However, to the dialectologist it is a quite practical observation that the sentence is something of a formal construct, and that utterances do not consist of "sentences". It is furthermore demonstrable that utterances are not to be conceived of as $S_1 + S_2 + S_3 \ldots S_n$, where each S is unconnected to all others. Van Dijk lists (in)definite articles, pronouns, relative clauses, tense, sentential adverbs, conjunctions, topic and comment, and presupposition and entailment as being among those matters which are best treated intersententially.[2] The fact that all aspects of language cannot be handled within the framework of the sentence seems obvious enough, although some linguists have expressed the view that it is not (at the moment, at any rate) possible to handle units larger than the sentence. The need for text grammars is, I feel, evident - their viability and success a question for the future.[3]

In dialectology and the investigation of the spoken language, there is much work to be done in the field of syntax. Viable definitions of terms such as _sentence_ have still to be formulated - or alternatives if existing terms are not viable. In the investigation of the syntax of spoken language, we are still at the stage of isolating specific grammatical constructions. Indeed, we have only just begun to do that much. The

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1. Steps are now being taken to remedy this state of affairs: cf. van Dijk (1972). The late sixties and early seventies show a growth of work by such scholars as Harweg in the field of text grammars. Detailed bibliography lies outside of the bounds of our present concerns.
2. Van Dijk (1972: v).
3. In transformational terms, the object of grammar would become _all and only the texts of a language_. Thus, competence would be textual, which is a radically different proposition from Chomsky's original position, where competence is sentential, and meaning is felt to be determined by the rules of the sentence rather than the context in which the sentence occurs.

isolation and description of any discernible syntactic patterns in dialect speech is at present of service not only to dialectologists, but to linguists at large.

3. Competence-performance, *langue-parole*: although these oppositions of terms are not co-extensive, both posit a system beneath actual manifestations of language, and in both cases linguists seek to describe that system which they posit. In both instances, then, the object of grammar is an abstraction.[1] In describing regular syntactic constructions, necessarily independently of various details of actual, physical manifestation or performance,[2] the dialectologist too is working with an abstraction. I shall go no further than to say that he is trying to describe an idealised or abstract system.

4. The underlying abstraction and the concept a language: it is possible to ask after the nature of the abstraction described, for instance, in the case of competence:

- linguistic competence or communicative competence?
- a pragmatic component or not?
- a description of form, or meaning too?
- is one describing a language, a dialect or a sociolect?
- how is one to account for varieties or styles?

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[1] Chomsky (1972) feels that the abstraction to competence is justified because of the results obtainable when this is done. At present, the Chomskyan position may be stated as:
competence = object of linguistics (grammar)
performance = object of psycholinguistics.
Ultimately, however, Chomsky's aim is a theory of performance incorporating a theory of competence. He admits that the next development beyond his working hypothesis might involve something completely different from his original concept of competence - cf. Chomsky (1972: 111f). He feels that there might be room for questions currently cast aside as "pragmatics" (*ibid*., 111f), but that sentential competence is nonetheless that which determines the meaning of a sentence (*ibid*., 150). This interpretation is dependent upon Chomsky's concept of linguistic meaning (cf. Chomsky (1966b:29)). For further discussion of these issues, see Chomsky (1966b and 1972).

[2] Cf. for instance the hesitations, false starts, reformulations and so on mentioned in section 3.9.

Virtually any question relevant to the definition of a language may be introduced here. The dialectologist - in a case such as my own - defines the object of his grammar temporally, geographically, socially (by restricting his description to the speech of particular informants), and stylistically (by eliciting casual speech). I would suggest, as a working hypothesis, that concentration on the description of form is adequate at this stage in dialectology. The suggestion does not exclude the use of textual, contextual, or semantic criteria if such be required at any point - e.g. the Farnworth dialect's use of yon to refer to something which is already known. Until the form of a dialect has been described, it is difficult to accommodate other requirements.[1]

5. Description v. explanation: a structural grammar aims to systematically identify, label and classify elements of a language, whereas a Chomsky-type grammar aims to describe and explain a language. (The notion theory of a language has the connotation of explanation.) Explanation is true science for Chomsky.[2] Thus, if there are two grammars having the same language material as object, they will still be subject to criteria of descriptive and explanatory adequacy.[3] The debate on these matters is currently somewhat premature in the case of dialectology, as syntactic forms must be isolated and classified before they can be explained, i.e. incorporated into a formal theory. Ultimately, however, the issues at stake are relevant.

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1. Cf. subsections 5, 6 and 9 of this section, and section 1.1.1.5
2. Cf. Chomsky (1966a).
3. Cf. for instance Chomsky (1966b: 29); further Chomsky (1966b and 1969).

6. Deep structure v. surface structure: analysis of surface structure might seem typical of description, and analysis of deep structure of explanation, but Chomsky will not have this, and cites the example of Vaugelas, a descriptive grammarian who described some aspects of deep structure.[1] Chomsky claims that the limitation of the object of grammar to surface structure is an arbitrary one, for only theories of adequacy can be used to positively support restrictions on grammars. His own requirement is that a) be explained as well as b):

a) the shooting of the hunters
b) old men and women.[2]

Thus, criteria of adequacy affect grammars and their objects. With notions such as deep structure, it is possible to have concepts such as the logical subject of a passive sentence as an object of grammar.[3]

Deep structure is, however, altogether intangible, and something of an article of faith.[4] I shall not personally be attempting to relate surface structures to deep structures, as I am of the opinion that linguistics can progress perfectly well without the notion of deep structure. Again, the issue is a little premature at the moment, as dialectologists have yet to build up a sufficient account of surface structure.

7. Universal grammar v. a grammar of a language: a formulation of the object of grammar in terms of this opposition would be, in Chomsky's terms:

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[1] Chomsky (1966a: 54f, especially Note 100). On the general necessity of describing deep structure, see Chomsky (1972: 154, 1966b: 55f).
[2] Chomsky (1966b: Chapter 2). Note that example b) can be explained by labelled bracketing, but not a).
[3] Cf. ibid., 56.
[4] For a thorough exposé of the dubious nature of deep structure, see Rommetveit (1974).

object of universal grammar: immutable general principles governing all possible human languages

object of a particular grammar: to describe those features of a language not already specified by universal grammar

Chomsky has written that universal grammar is not learned, but that it is inherent in mind.[1] It is at this point that linguistics links with cognitive psychology in Chomsky's theory. Although I have just referred to the object of universal grammar as principles governing all human languages, Chomsky stated in his interview with Stuart Hampshire[2] that the best approach to universal grammar at the present time is through the grammars of individual languages. This implies that for the time being, at any rate, the object of the two types of grammar is the same.

8. Descriptive v. prescriptive: much traditional grammar was *prescriptive*, whilst the grammar of modern linguistics is largely *descriptive*. It would seem to be an aspect of prescriptive grammars that they can at least specify their objects very clearly. Such grammars can be further discussed in terms of the purpose of grammars, or as practical grammars. In dialectology, it will be evident that grammars fall into the *descriptive* category. In linguistics as a whole, there is historically a clear shift in the concept *object of grammar* towards the descriptive.

9. Methodology of descriptions: it has just been observed that work in modern linguistics is descriptive. Now formal grammars aim to describe *all and only the sentences of a*

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[1] Chomsky (1972: 134f).
[2] Chomsky (1968).

language, which brings us to the problem of judging grammaticality, since no corpus is sufficiently large to meet the requirement all and only the sentences of a language. This is a fundamental methodological issue: is grammaticality to be defined in terms of rules distilled from a corpus - rules which are limited on the one hand, but objective and checkable on the other - or by recourse to the intuition of the native speaker, which is notoriously problematic?[1] In the case of studies of spoken language, and especially of dialect, the fact that fundamental syntactic categories and relationships have not yet been established seems to me to militate in favour of detailed, corpus-based studies. Although it is a strength of formal grammars that a symbol may be altered without destroying the whole grammar, the conceptual categories of a grammar should be firmly established before formalisation is attempted.[2] To quote the standard German handbook of philosophy: "Nur die fertige Wissenschaft istapodiktisch: die werdende ist epagogisch".[3] This means that only a highly developed discipline operates with a hypothetico-deductive method: a discipline or science in the course of development operates in a more inductive manner.

Methodology of descriptions is, of course, very much affected by the type of study undertaken.[4]

10. Object of grammar in the field: in studies where a grammar is based on fieldwork, a variety of practical considerations such as time, money, equipment and facilities influence the object of grammar. Particularly relevant are the more

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[1] Cf. section 1.1.1.5. above.
[2] Cf. Glinz (1965: 102).
[3] Windelband (1976: 117).
[4] Cf. sections 1.1.1.1.-5. and section 1.2.

personal aspects of elicitation techniques, and in large measure the skills and personality of the linguist.[1] A whole section of this present study is devoted to fieldwork (section 2). Attention should be drawn especially to the informants who provide the data.

11. The terms *language* and *dialect*: in subsection 4 of this discussion of the object of grammar it was noted that it is possible to ask after the nature of competence, or any other abstraction posited as the object of grammar. This problem persists, regardless of the theoretical framework of a study.

The terms *language* and *dialect* are often not determined *linguistically* at all, but rather historically, politically, and socially. Thus, Swiss German is designated a *dialect* of German, whilst Dutch is deemed to be a separate *language*. It is doubtful if the same distinction would be made on purely linguistic grounds. To know just how uniform a particular language or dialect area is, one may proceed at the geographical level to establish linguistic boundaries by marking isophones, isomorphs, isoglosses and isosyntagms on maps.[3] However, since different lines marking different features will often not coincide, questions will arise as to whether all relevant variables have been mapped, and whether some - and, if so, which - are more significant than others. How many isoglosses is an isosyntagm worth? For rather obvious reasons, it is likely that computers could be of assistance in analysing large quantities of data and clustering together different variables.[4] However, they will not answer

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1. For further interesting discussion of the field situation, see Samarin (1967).
2. It is, however, no straightforward matter to define the terms linguistically. Keller summarises the dialectologist's problem when he observes: "In dialectology the problem of boundaries is crucial but extremely difficult". (Keller (1961: 11)).
3. Cf. section 1.1.1.1.
4. Cf. Shaw (1972).

the question which has just been put concerning the relative importance of different linguistic variables. It is also the case that dialects, (and, in some societies, languages) may be defined in relation to social parameters.[1] For that reason, linguists sometimes speak of sociolects. Both geographical and social factors determine the homogeneity of the object of grammar.

A crucial notion for the definition of the terms language and dialect is that of idiolect. Paul wrote: "Wir müssen eigentlich so viele Sprachen unterscheiden als es Individuen gibt".[2] He draws our attention to the historical and dynamic quality of each idiolect: in effect, there are as many dialects as there are speakers, and each dialect is in a constant state of flux.[3] A certain emphasis is required on the concept idiolect, with its implications of enormous social, geographical, temporal and personal variation. It conditions the relative definitions of language and dialect. Thus, with Hockett, a language is a group of more or less similar idiolects, and a dialect is the same, except that the degree of similarity of the idiolects is greater than in a language.[4]

It is in explaining this degree of similarity that geographical and social factors are relevant. The factor of time is also crucial in a synchronic study. Of these factors, emphasis has been laid upon geographical factors by Bloomfield, amongst others. He observed: "The most stable and striking

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1. Cf. section 1.1.1.4.
2. Paul (1960: 37).
3. Ibid., 38.
4. Cf. Hockett (1970: 321f), and Göschel (1973: 13f). For Paul's concept of the formation of groups from idiolects according to political and religious conditions, and the growth of geographical dialects, cf. Paul (1960: 41) and Göschel (1973: 8).

differences, even in the United States and even in our standard language, are geographic."[1] Further, of dialects in particular, he wrote: "The greatest diversity in non-standard speech, however, is geographic."[2] That geographical considerations can be relevant to work in locations other than rural ones is noted by Chaurand,[3] and also by Viereck, who, in his definition of _dialect_, stresses regional character, oral transmission, and difference _vis-à-vis_ other dialects and the standard.[4] We must also bear in mind that emphasis may be placed on a particular definitional parameter as part of the working hypothesis. It is for this reason that Ruoff defines both _dialect_ and _Umgangssprache_ in primarily geographical terms.[5] He comments:

> Die gewaltsame Einschränkung der Definitionen auf eine räumliche Erstreckung von Lautformen geschieht also...nicht aus Unkenntnis der terminologischen Probleme, sondern aus dem momentanen Verzicht auf eine notwendigerweise umfangreiche Diskussion der komplizierten wechselseitigen Abhängigkeiten historischer, geographischer, soziologischer, psychologischer, situativer Fakten und Gesichtspunkte, die in jedem allgemeinen 'Schichtmodell' berücksichtigt werden müssen, während als Arbeitshypothese der Tübinger Arbeitsstelle-Arbeiten nur ein eindimensionales, eindeutiges Merkmalsystem im Bereich der Sprachschicht verwendet werden kann, zu dessen Umschreibung die genannten Termini dienen.[6]

In a synchronic study, _dialect_ is further defined, this time in a social manner, by the choice of informants. It is temporally defined in one sense by the age of the informants, but more importantly by the dating of the work, and the total time

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1. Bloomfield (1955: 49).
2. _Ibid_., 50.
3. Chaurand (1972: 190).
4. See Viereck (1966: 45f).
5. Ruoff (1973: 48).
6. _Ibid_., 49.

spent in collecting the corpus. Time spent in collecting material tends to constitute less of a problem in studies of a single locality than it does for nation-wide surveys.

The implication of previous subsections in this discussion of the object of grammar is that dialect is very much defined by considerations of theory, method, frame of reference, and the field situation, as well as by the dialectologist and his purposes. The quotation from Ruoff, above, about the work of the Tübingen group illustrates this last point well. Here again I would emphasise the importance of the concept idiolect: it is because of the number of variables involved in defining dialect that this latter concept is somewhat subjective. Kohler writes of structural dialectology:

> In der derzeitigen Mundartforschung ist Dialekt nicht eine definitio rei, sondern eine definitio nominis, ein Konstrukt, das die Dialektaufnahme erleichtert und beschleunigt, dadurch daß die Beschreibung eines Idiolektes zunächst als repräsentativ für eine ganze Gemeinde oder sogar für ein weites Gebiet angesehen wird, bis Abweichungen entdeckt werden, die eine Korrektur der ursprünglichen Einteilung erforderlich machen.[1]

Francescato has also referred to the idealised or abstract character of the concept dialect: it is an abstraction on the part of the researcher using the term.[2] Göschel's consideration of language and dialect likewise leads him to the view that both terms are abstractions, and that both are unclear.[3] I would agree with this, and consequently my definition of dialect will be further dependent on considerations outlined in section

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1. Kohler (1967: 44).
2. Francescato (1964: 112f).
3. See Göschel (1973: 11-13), and the references cited there.

1.1.1.8, where I discuss the approach adopted in this study.[1]

The status of any dialect from a purely linguistic point of view is that it is different from, but equal to, other dialects of the language including S.E.; equality may also consequently be accorded to dialect study.[2] A dialect is a form of speech which is adequate to its own ends, and capable of adaptation to new ones.

Pressures on dialect speech, which lead to the change, levelling out, and, to some extent, eradication of dialects, include the radio,[3] films, education, transport and communication (especially the advent of the railway),[4] television, the movement of refugees in some countries, wartime evacuations, movement of population in search of work, and (the desire for) upward social mobility. The written language may influence the spoken language occasionally, e.g. [jat] 'yacht'. The use of hypercorrect [h] is - at least in some words - probably to be ascribed to the written language. The pronunciation of some unstressed vowels as full vowels may stem from the same source, but here we have to be more careful: apart from the existence of secondary stress in the dialect, many Americans (and other foreigners) do this, and the phenomenon is currently rampant throughout radio and television.

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[1] Despite problems with the terms language and dialect, it is desirable to keep the definition of such terms within the field of linguistics - at least as far as that proves possible. To relegate the definitions to sociology, by overemphasising language as a reflection of social differences, is to hand the responsibility (and, in effect, linguistics itself) to a discipline which is yet probably further from establishing its scientific credentials than is linguistics. Goossens (1971: 143f expresses the view that "the demarcation of dialectological problem areas should be decided by linguistic questions". If, working as a pure linguist, one succeeds in accounting for the contents of one's corpus - without sweeping aside a percentage of the data - then it is clear that the methods used and the frame of reference constitute, or at worst make a substantial contribution towards, an adequate theory. A thorough treatment of the data will reveal the adequacy of the approach, and of the definition of the term dialect. Further on the adequacy of descriptions, see Mulder (1975: 93).

[2] So also Viereck (1966: 44), see the footnotes in particular, and to a lesser extent the preceding discussion. His view that dialect is less artificial, and not subject to the whims of fashion, will not concern us here.

[3] Cf. Gimson (1974: 85).

[4] Cf. Ruoff (1973: 49f).

The main force of change, particularly in the towns, comes from "above": speech forms of higher social groups are thought prestigeous, and may induce change. Ruoff rightly points out that we should be wary of attributing such change directly to the standard language, because the standard language does not operate directly on the dialects - rather, they are influenced by the next level above them.[1]

It has been observed by a number of dialectologists that one can jump too readily to the conclusion that the dialects (in the traditional sense of the word) are dying out very rapidly as a result of the sorts of pressure just outlined.[2] To think that such pressures might of themselves destroy the dialects "setzt die Vorstellung recht mechanistischen Sprechwandels voraus".[3] They function rather as prompters of change, in that they give access to forms which the recipient may or may not find more prestigeous, and which therefore may or may not be accepted. Ruoff notes in respect of the influence of the media that linguistic change presupposes speaking in addition to listening.[4] Quite rightly, he observes that although young and old speak differently, as stratified samples show, each

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1. Cf. Ruoff (1973: 51f).
2. Cf. Viereck (1966: 49), and the references cited there, Dieth (1946: 83), Moulton (1972: 217).
3. Ruoff (1973: 50).
4. Ibid., 50.

generation does not simply carry its speech to the grave with it. He reminds us that material collected one hundred years ago is still largely[1] to be found today, even though when first collected only old people were said to use it![2] An individual can grow further away from his dialect, or nearer to it. Therefore individual linguistic change is not general linguistic change, even though the two are related.[3] One last important point to which Ruoff draws attention is that although the tendency to modify one's speech in one's job, in the town or city, with certain groups and with strangers is well known, little attention has been paid to the opposite tendency, namely the wish not to be conspicuous or to behave strangely in one's native environment. The result of these two forces is bilingualism[4] or bidialectalism.

The tendency of dialect speakers to use more than one variety of a language is now well remarked, even within a village; the traditional vernacular is more closely associated with the home, relatives and friends, and a modified, more formal type of speech with travel, change of environment, strangers, formal situations, etc.[5] However, anyone who has inspected a corpus of tape-recorded speech, or simply listened closely to dialect speakers, will know that variations can occur within the space of a few words without any apparent change of topic or circumstances. Gumperz has described verbal repertoires as being more fluid in monolingual societies:

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[1] Obviously there may be some variation from one country to another.
[2] Ruoff (1973: 50f).
[3] Bach (1950: 249).
[4] Ruoff (1973: 52).
[5] Cf. for instance Hühnert-Hofmann (1968: 5-9).

> The concept of the verbal repertoire allows us to deal with speech communities of all types. Monolingual and multilingual repertoires can be analysed within the same general framework. They differ in internal grammatical diversity and more importantly in the co-occurrence rules. In multilingual repertoires, co-occurrence rules tend to be more rigid. Verbal behaviour seems to be neatly divided among a series of compartments: choice of an initial form commits the speaker to a particular line of approach. The monolingual repertoires, on the other hand, show a greater degree of flexibility. _Different types of verbal behaviour seem to shade off into one another_.[1]

It follows that an attempt should be made to deal with such variation as is found within a corpus: the methodology of working with a corpus requires this, in fact. A corpus may be selected in the first place with certain purposes in mind, or within a frame of reference which is admittedly of an _a priori_ character, but once selected every effort should be made to account for it _in toto_, otherwise a work can have no serious pretensions to scientific status. A proposal for dealing with variation within the corpus is outlined in section 1.1.1.8.

In discussing varieties of speech - a discussion which is crucial to the definition of the term _dialect_ - it is convenient to posit a _base dialect_, which refers to the oldest discernible stratum of speech in a community, and has strong regional associations. There will, of course, be variations within this _base dialect_, as it is neither original nor utterly homogeneous. At the other end of the spectrum, we may place

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1. Gumperz (1971: 157), emphasis added.

Standard English and *Received Pronunciation*. As has already been noted in this section with reference to Ruoff, the base dialect is not usually acted upon directly by S.E. *per se*. Indeed, it is safe to hazard a guess that the percentage of the population of Farnworth and district which speaks S.E. is very small. Consequently, it is questionable how far modification of the base dialect can be described as "modification towards S.E.".[1] On the other hand, the number or nature of varieties intermediate between the base dialect and S.E. is unknown.[2] As a working hypothesis, then, I shall employ the concept *modification towards a variety or varieties of Northern Standard*.[3]

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[1] Contrast the view of Speitel and Mather (1968: 532) in their discussion of Scottish varieties. They assert that mixed forms are to be understood only in terms of "full" dialect forms on the one hand and Scottish English forms on the other. They do not detect any evidence of supraregional languages intermediate between Scottish Dialect and Scottish English, which have their own stable phonological or grammatical systems. The position would appear to be different in the Farnworth area. For instance, base dialect /æ:/ (phonetically often [ɑ:]) before /s, f, θ/ becomes /a/ in modified speech, yet in S.E. we have /ɑ:/ in the same phonemic environments (*pass*, *draught*, *bath*, etc.). The modification here cannot be towards R.P., but must be towards some variety of Northern Standard - and indeed /a/ can be very widely heard in the North of England in the environments just given. (By a further degree of modification, short /a/ may, of course, begin to lengthen again, but that fact does not affect the argument advanced here.) Cf. further Shorrocks (1977c).

[2] For an attempt to indicate some varieties of modified speech, see Horgan (1963: 8f); that it is difficult to describe any clearly, cf. Viereck (1966: 50f), including note 7 on the absence of work on English.

[3] Widdowson (1970: no pagination) mentions an arrangement of the type which I suggest here; see section 3.9 for quotation.

1.1.1.8. The approach adopted in this study:

The present study is a synchronic description of the dialect of Farnworth and its surrounding districts. The essence of a synchronic study is its systematic character, which results from assigning to the study a spatial and temporal reference.[1] Spatially, the area is defined as Farnworth and the immediately surrounding districts, with a suggestion that the work is valid for the Greater Bolton area.[2] A more exact definition, or maximal delimitation, would be unrealistic without a study in the linguistic geography of the area. Temporally, fieldwork began towards the end of 1972. The greatest part of the fieldwork was carried out by August 1974: all tape-recordings were made during this period from late 1972 to August 1974. A number of points have been added or checked since then right up to the final revision - especially with regard to syntax, which simply cannot be adequately collected during a brief period. Therefore the study covers the traditional vernacular of Farnworth and district as used primarily by people over sixty years of age in the period 1972-1979. In order to achieve the generality of a synchronic description, the study necessarily has as its object an abstraction.[3] Emphasis has been laid on geographical criteria in defining the term dialect.[4] I have taken account of views concerning the sociological nature of urban dialectology,[5] and have further borne in mind Orton's words on the problems of describing a "debased" vernacular, as in Schilling's work on

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[1] Cf. Chaurand (1972: 10, 12).
[2] Cf. section 0.6.1. above.
[3] Cf. section 1.1.1.7; Kohler (1967: 44); Göschel (1973: 11-13); and Francescato (1964: 112f).
[4] Cf. sections 0.6.1, 1.1.1.7; Ruoff (1973: 48f); Viereck (1966: 45); and Bloomfield (1955: 49f).
[5] Cf. sections 1.1.1.4, 1.1.1.7; Brook (1968: 17); Wright, J.T. (1966: 235); Trudgill (1974a); and Trudgill (1974b: 38f).

Oldham dialect.[1] I have shown that in the case of the Greater Bolton area we have to do with a peculiarly homogeneous urban unit: the history and industrial development of the area, the urban field of influence of Bolton, and previous linguistic comment and anecdotal evidence have all been discussed.[2] Viereck's work[3] has been cited as a linguistic precedent, the validity of which has been confirmed since not only by Viereck himself,[4] but also by Wakelin.[5] Similarly, Sivertsen's Cockney Phonology examines the working-class speech of a geographical area (Bethnal Green).[6] Chaurand has observed that although the notion patois has tended to involve rural locations, the same kind of work can be carried out elsewhere.[7] Wakelin has also expressed the view that genuine traditional vernacular can still be investigated in the working-class populations of the towns.[8] I have further commented to the effect that there has always been a sociological element in traditional dialectological work[9] - although this was admittedly not quantified - and that more recent sociolinguistic work has tended to confirm a number of earlier notions.[10] The social, economic and cultural make-up of the area constitutes a basis for the discussion of the dialect.[1] The notion of a relatively homogeneous cultural region is a part of the frame of reference for the study, and it is a hypothesis of the study that a dialect is spoken by a section of the population of that area. Should the data suggest otherwise, the hypothesis would have to be modified or abandoned.

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[1] Cf. Orton (1952b: 109, note 21) and Schilling (1906). Ignoring the question of Schilling's sources, and keeping strictly to the issue of the advisability or otherwise of the undertaking, one may note that Schubel (1939: 357f) was more impressed by the homogeneity of the dialect in Schilling's work than was Orton.

[2] Cf. section 0 as a whole.

[3] Viereck (1966).

[4] Viereck (1968: 563, especially footnote 64).

[5] Wakelin (1972a: 69).

[6] Sivertsen (1960).

[7] Chaurand (1972: 190).

[8] Wakelin (1972a: 61).

[9] Cf. section 1.1.1.4; Hünert-Hofmann (1968: 3).

[10] Cf. section 1.1.1.4; Strang (1968: 791).

I have already cited Lakoff on the general need for synchronic descriptions, which are not dependent on formal theories,[2] whilst Dieth referred with sympathy to the priority given by Kökeritz to synchronic work over historical work in a "mixed area".[3] On the specific question of recording the traditional vernacular of more "resistant types" who have lived in a locality all their lives, and who were usually born before 1914, I have quoted McIntosh, and noted that he recommends that these speakers receive priority.[4] Viereck has referred consistently to the urgent need to record the traditional dialects in England because of the pressures on the dialects from the mixing of populations in towns, the mass media, snobbishness, movement of population during two world wars, the general advance of S.E., or modified forms thereof, and the concomitant levelling of the dialects, widespread education, and an increase in travel both for business and pleasure.[5] Viereck is correct in drawing attention to the special history of S.E.: dialect speakers have been viewed as uneducated and socially inferior, whilst the London dialect was politically, economically, socially and culturally favoured.[1] It is difficult to imagine that dialectology has not suffered too from the false appreciation of dialect.[2] In Germany, there is a much more substantial body of dialect study, and very many of the most significant scholars in the field of Germanistik have made outstanding contributions to German dialectology. The comparatively late start made in many areas of English dialectology makes the investigation of traditional vernacular still a most pressing business. All of these views have helped to determine the present study of the dialect of Farnworth and district.

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[1] Cf. section 0, especially sections 0.5.3 and 0.6.1; Wakelin (1972a: 10; 1972b: 2); Gumperz (1971: 78, 85); and Frings (1948: 5).

[2] Cf. section 1.1.1.5; Lakoff (1973: 3f).

[3] Dieth (1946: 79); cf. Kökeritz (1932: xiii).

[4] Cf. section 1.1.1.7; McIntosh (1961: 85f).

[5] Viereck (1964: 334f; 1966: vii, 49f).

The view that synchronic descriptions are particularly useful for subsequent diachronic and geographical work is confirmed by Batany and Chaurand.[3] Their general usefulness and the need to present them in terms which render them comparable with other work, are remarked by McIntosh, who writes that "...no evidence is more directly important than that assembled in a set of adequate dialect descriptions".[4]

I decided at an early stage to include a comparative component in the study. There are a number of reasons for doing this:

1) At the levels of morphology and syntax, it would be impracticable in this present study to attempt to produce

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1. Cf. Viereck (1964: 334).
2. Cf. the view expressed in section 1.1.1.7 that any dialect is different from, but equal to, other dialects; and Viereck (1964: 335).
3. Cf. Batany, p. 4 of the Préface to Chaurand (1972); Chaurand (1972: 222); and sections 1.1.1.1 and 1.1.1.2.
4. McIntosh (1961: 104f).

an exhaustive grammar from scratch. Consequently, a comparative framework is useful, as it facilitates concentration on those aspects of the dialect which make it distinctive *vis-à-vis* other dialects. S.E. is the best comparative base, because it is the most widely known.

2) A comparison with R.P. and S.E. highlights (likely) pressure points in the dialect system, and is therefore useful in the discussion of linguistic change.[1]

3) Differences between the dialect and the standard are made explicit, which is important socially and educationally in the *deficiency-difference* debate.[2] Dialect work is central to the assessment of such notions as *restricted code*, and to resultant attitudes to dialect speech and English teaching.[3]

4) I found that directions of modification in the *distribution* of phonemes could be systematically and economically arranged in terms of a comparative description of phoneme distribution in the dialect and R.P. Comparative work is essential to an understanding of modified speech.

5) A comparative description offers an alternative framework within which to describe and present data.

6) Comparative work can be of significance in speech therapy.

7) The possible use of underlying forms to account for varying surface structures requires a comparative approach.

It should be understood that *comparative* in the light of the

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1. Cf. also Fashola (1971: 312): "The conclusions to be drawn are that external (non-structural) factors are most successful when the internal (structural) conditions of a system permit it." This observation shows an important link between synchronic and comparative approaches.
2. For further details see Trudgill (1975) and Rogers (1976).
3. See further Trudgill (1975).

above considerations is a neutral term, which does not mean that the dialect is treated simply in terms of, or even as a devious form of, S.E. Comparison has quite precise uses, and I have attempted to give some indication of them here.[1] A previous study, which acknowledges the use of comparison is Sivertsen's:

> The analysis is descriptive, but not purely so: it is also comparative, in that a comparison is made, at every point, with the Received Pronunciation (R.P.) of Southern England.[2]

The use of comparison as a technique im the analysis of syntax has been validated by Camproux.[3]

Linguistic levels of description constitute an important parameter in the specification of a study.[4] McIntosh has commented briefly on what is traditionally included in a dialect description, and on what can and should be included.[5] He writes that experimental work where no techniques are available is required;[6] that intonation, voice quality, and such like are usually ignored with impunity;[7] that more and less broad types of dialect are rarely treated, even though it would be useful to do this;[8] that partial studies, such as phonetic studies, are still required;[9] that the pronunciation and meaning of all common words in a dialect are often not given;[10] and that the analysis of syntax is rare.[11] Additional

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1. O'Connor also writes about linguistic comparison of accents - see O'Connor (1973: 185ff). The comparisons which I make with regard to the distribution of each phoneme in the phonology accord with O'Connor's remarks to the effect that comparison on the basis of word-sets (i.e. within a language) is the best way to proceed - O'Connor (1973: 185, 187).
2. Sivertsen (1960: 2).
3. See Camproux (1960: 26f), and his references to Descartes and Tesnières.
4. Cf. section 1.1.1.6, and subsections 1 and 1a of section 1.1.1.7
5. Cf. McIntosh (1961: 104-10).
6. Ibid., 107.
7. Ibid., 105.
8. Ibid., 107.
9. Ibid., 107f.
10. Ibid., 105.
11. Ibid., 105f, 108.

directions of development in dialect studies might be the inclusion of more extensive sections on onomastics,[1] and on the folklore and folk-life of the areas concerned.

McIntosh calls for work along all of the lines of enquiry which he suggests. The present phonology of the dialect of Farnworth remains segmental, although differences from other dialects at the suprasegmental level were often apparent during work on the Farnworth dialect. As Crystal has written, however, there is still no adequate theory of suprasegmental phonology.[2] Words and idioms were collected throughout the period 1972-79. Whilst it would be desirable to include this lexical material, which is related not only to a definite time and place, and to definite social groups, but also to the phonology and grammar presented here, it is nevertheless too extensive to be readily incorporated, and requires separate treatment.[3] Some choice amongst linguistic levels is inevitable in a single study of this type.[4]

In the work on Farnworth, attention has been directed towards a discussion of theory and method, a segmental phonology, and morphology and syntax. In addition to a fairly full discussion of theory and method, which includes the subsequent sections on fieldwork (section 2), transcription (section 3) and archiving (section 4), I have attempted to make a contribution along two of the lines specified by McIntosh: within

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1. As in Hedevind (1967: 11ff).
2. Crystal (1975: vii). My Farnworth experience encourages me to suggest that suprasegmental work might usefully be undertaken here, and - no doubt - in other areas too.
3. It is hoped that it may prove possible to present this material, or at least a part of it, elsewhere. Some items are already deposited in the Archives of the Centre for English Cultural Tradition and Language at the University of Sheffield.
4. Cf. section 1.1.1.6.

the phonology, an attempt is made to account for variations in style, or more or less broad types of dialect;[1] and, at the grammatical level, a treatment of morphology and syntax is essayed.

As one already fairly well acquainted with the dialect prior to beginning this description, it seemed to me that the extent of variation in English dialects at the level of syntax (including morphology) is underestimated, and that this underestimation in its turn breeds a lack of investigation at this level. That, combined with an interest in syntax, prompted me to analyse syntax rather than, say, suprasegmentals. Thus, my interest in syntax helped determine my purpose, it was part of the initial frame of reference. The suspicion about the extent of syntactic variation has the status of an _hypothesis_. I would suggest that the discovery of any sizable body of syntactic variation _vis-à-vis_ other dialects would be sufficient to allow the hypothesis to stand.

In respect of more and less broad styles of speech, the question of _varieties_ or _styles_ is fundamental in determining the concept _dialect_. Broadly, we may say that more traditional regional vernacular is used with family and friends, and a more modified _variety_ of speech - or, a more formal _style_ of speech - in certain definable social situations, such as with strangers, etc.[2] Certainly, too, the style of speech used may vary with the subject under discussion, even if the participants in the discussion and the surroundings remain the same. I am reminded

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1. Cf. McIntosh (1961: 107).
2. Cf. e.g. Gumperz (1971: 54).

of an elderly lady - not an informant for this study - who always adopted a most pretentious form of speech when talking of religion, or anyone associated with it. Some informants also appear to use two levels of speech for purposes of emphasis. One informant uses phrases such as *'I 'do 'not 'know*, which have a modified form, and identical main stress on each word. More widespread is the use of repetition, where the repeated phrase is in two different styles. Thus:

/ɩts ɔə dɛːn nɛː ðo ‖ aɩ ɩts ɔˑə dɜʏn nɜʏ /
"It's all down now though - Aye it's all down now."

The effect achieved appears to be one of emphasis. In this particular example, there is a certain finality involved in stating the point in more than one style.[1]

Yet it must be stressed that there are still other occasions when speech is stylistically mixed for no apparent reason at all. This last observation has certain methodological implications which tend to be overlooked. A good corpus is one which is homogeneous, and selected with a definite purpose in mind.[2] However, the variations in style which have just been mentioned are obviously still going to be present in the corpus, no matter how strictly one controls the type of informant, the style of speech, and the topics of discussion. It is impossible constantly to elicit speech of a stylistically uniform character. Since it is not scientifically acceptable to dismiss from consideration a very fair proportion of one's corpus, it follows that some effort must be made to account for the variations encountered.[1]

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[1] Instances of this type are to be distinguished, although not always with ease, from those such as:
/ iːz 'ɔːke(r)t | 'ɔːkwed 'ɷðe(r)ˌwaɩz /
"He's *awkert* - 'awkward' otherwise"
where I am fairly sure that the speaker was conscious of having used a dialectal form, and decided to offer an alternative in a tone of voice which implied "when translated" - hence *otherwise*.

[2] Ruoff (1973: 158).

Viereck discussed the problem to some extent,[2] but chose to describe only the "original" pronunciations - "original" in the sense of being at the bottom of the social hierarchy, and showing the greatest differences when compared with other dialects.[3] He appears to see the problem, at least partially, as one of informant selection, whereby bidialectal speakers are to be excluded as far as is possible, although he admits that this cannot really be done in practice.[4] Viereck's approach has considerable implications for the degree of abstraction or idealisation in a description.[5] Sivertsen, too, describes a conflict between many types of speech, and thinks it would be very difficult to analyse in terms suggested by Weinreich.[6] She adopts a similar approach to the one later used by Viereck:

> The subject of this study is the speech form or forms used when the speakers are most off their guard, when they are least conscious of how they speak, in so far as it is possible to make such an abstraction. The abstraction of such a hypothetical speech form may be arbitrary, or at least difficult: the analyst must exercise his own judgement to decide whether the speech is natural and unaffected or not. However, one has to assume that it is possible.[7]

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1. Cf. section 1.1.1.7.
2. Viereck (1966: 49ff).
3. Ibid., 51.
4. Ibid., 50.
5. Kökeritz (1932: xiii) was cited in section 1.1.1.3 above, in respect of idealisation due to concentrating on the speech of the elderly to the exclusion of other varieties. Since the speech of the elderly contains traits from other sociolects, description of only a part of that speech increases the degree of idealisation in a study.
6. Cf. Sivertsen (1960: 3).
7. Ibid., 4.

The difficulties involved remind us of Gumperz's words concerning the way in which types of speech "shade off into one another" in monolingual repertoires.[1] Whilst we do indeed, with Sivertsen, have to assume that the abstraction which she suggests is possible, the dialectologist must not lose sight of the fact that the search for the ancient has led many in the past to far too idealised a picture.[2] Gumperz writes:

> Although most dialect surveys concentrate on the speech of the home and farm, it is well-known that local varieties coexist with supra-local or superposed styles or dialects. Even small rural communities are rarely completely uniform, but usually show a diversity of speech styles.[3]

In addition to the demands of the concept corpus, and to the degree of idealisation inherent in the failure to account for linguistic variation, attention may be drawn to Gumperz's comment on the coexistence of different varieties:

> The systematic treatment of the linguistic phenomena involved has so far been considered outside the scope of dialectology, but as McIntosh suggests, and as we will attempt to show below, it can be of great importance for the study of civilisational processes.[4]

It is, then, virtually essential to attempt to describe the different types of speech which informants use. Due to the association of the base dialect with home and friends, this variety of speech or sociolect is inseparably linked with the casual or informal style of discourse which characterises intimate discussion with familiars. I am conceiving of style

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1. Gumperz (1971: 157), cited in section 1.1.1.7.
2. Thus Chaurand (1972: 182).
3. Gumperz (1971: 85).
4. Ibid., 86.

here in terms of a scale running from formal to informal, as used throughout Joos' The Five Clocks.[1] When informants use a more formal style, it would generally appear to be made up out of elements from a "higher" sociolect.

In the present study, variants in the corpus of dialect speech[2] are compared with transcribed tape recordings of more "mixed" speakers, or of speakers who are not particularly broad on the one hand, but who do not speak S.E., or anything like it for that matter, on the other, and of schoolchildren of the same socio-economic standing as the main base dialect informants. All of these less broadly spoken informants are natives of the area, usually with both parents coming from the area, and are often close to the base informants: wives, children, other relatives. Nearly all are of the same socio-economic status as the base informants. When the speech of the base dialect informants is compared with that of those who speak more modified versions of dialect, Northern Standard, or whatever, it is found that a number of variants in the base dialect are precisely the same as variants in the modified tapes, and that still other variants in the base dialect may be understood as movements towards these modified forms. In other words, directions of modification are predictable.[3] Examples will follow.

In the phonology, modification of speech is accounted for at two levels: 1) variations in phoneme distribution;

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1. See Joos (1962).
2. Especially, perhaps, in an informant's first recording, or during the first few minutes of a recording, when the style is often more formal, or the recording session even premature.
3. This observation goes some way towards solving the problem of the "unbestimmbar viele Abstufungen" (= 'indefinitely many gradations') to which Viereck (1966: 51) refers.

2) variations in the phonetic quality of the realisations of phonemes. There follows an example of each:

1) Variations in phoneme distribution. The word for door is variously phonemicised as /dʏə(r), dɵ(r), doə(r)/. The first two forms are not found at all in the more modified corpus, and clearly constitute variation within the base dialect. They are regionally distinct, different from forms in other dialects, but the fact that they are not observed in the comparative sample of modified speech defines them further, and helps make the notion base dialect less idealised. The last form of the three, however, is typical of modified speech. Immediately prior to the examination of modification for each phoneme, the dialect phonemes are compared, distributionally, to R.P. equivalents. Thus, in the case of /ʏə/ in /dʏə(r)/, there is a set of words containing /ʏə/ which corresponds to R.P. /ɔː/: door, four, more, etc. Now it is often found that all members of such a distributional sub-group modify in precisely the same manner. Therefore, for that sub-group it is possible to give a rewrite rule

/ʏə/ —> /oə/

A rewrite rule (occasionally more than one) for each sub-group of the comparative distribution of each phoneme is given. Each rewrite rule has optional status, and the symbol —> means then "may be rewritten as".

2) Phonetic modification within the phoneme. In the case of /oː/, it will be found with some speakers that [ɔː]-types represent an extreme form of modification, and there is, in fact, an infinite number of possible intermediate forms,

e.g. [o̞ː]. To describe all this, I indicate optional directions which modification may take, and, although specific variants such as [o̞ː] are often indicated, the implication throughout is that a direction of modification allows of any phonetic interstage between the base form and the extreme modified variant towards which modification takes place. With some phonemes, there is more than one discernible direction of modification. This is not a problem: each is specified. If required, a formulation using rewrite rules could be adopted, with —> meaning "may be rewritten as Y, or any phonetic variant between X and Y", where X is a base form and Y an extreme modification.

The two kinds of modification are not altogether separable, in that phonemic change is gradual in terms of phonetic space as well as of time. Consequently, the rule

/ɤə/ —> /oə/

must be understood to mean that forms intermediate between the two, e.g. [ö̝ˑə], are to be expected.

These devices enable the study to offer an account of:

1) variations within the base dialect (i.e. not 2) or 3))
2) variations in phoneme distribution due to modification
3) variations in phones due to modification.

As formulated, the rules for modification have an infinite predictive power. They account for a considerable range of speakers and styles when taken in conjunction with the base system. Indeed, as there is traditionally a very low number of people in Farnworth and district in professional occupations, the base description together with its dynamic, modified component accounts for a substantial portion of the speech of the area. The rules for the directions of modification are quite modest in number, but constitute a powerful tool in that a great amount of data can be accounted for economically but comprehensively. Such an arrangement for the discussion of modification enables one to account for a corpus in a much more comprehensive manner than is usual.

It is important to indicate two lines of development which could be pursued in further studies. Firstly, it would be quite fascinating to discover what relationship exists between modifications at the different linguistic levels of description. Secondly, instead of stating that [oː] opens towards [ɔː] in modified speech, it would be possible to set up a matrix, whereby all transcribed variants are arranged on a scale

[oː .... ɔː]

and entries are made for each informant under each variant. It would then be possible to order the informants in linguistic matrices covering a range of features, and then to inspect their socio-economic profiles in the search for correlations.

This study, then, is first and foremost a synchronic study of a dialect, the dialect being an abstraction or idealisation conditioned by my approach. It is oriented spatially, temporally, socially and stylistically, and in terms of a specific cultural background. It is primarily valid as a pure linguistic study. It is a means of organising a large amount of data, which - being different from but not inferior to other modes of organisation - is epistemologically valid in its own right, and which in my view, and that of others cited, can be seen as a useful forerunner to work of a geographical, sociological, diachronic or formal character.

From an applied point of view, synchronic descriptions of dialects currently have an important rôle to play in educational debate.[1] The treatment of dialect speech and the teaching of S.E. - both crucial issues in the home, in institutions of education, and in society at large - depend upon one's appreciation of dialects. If they are seen as inferior or restricted codes, then attitudes will be negative and programmes of education instituted in an attempt to remedy the deficiency. If dialects are seen as simply different, then a more tolerant attitude may be adopted towards them, and the nature of English teaching would need to be carefully considered as a result. Synchronic descriptions offer the best insight into the relative complexity of different dialect systems.

A comparative component is justified both on analytical and applied grounds, and modified forms of speech are to be accounted for dynamically from the base dialect and the comparative distribution of phonemes in a novel manner. In terms of linguistic levels of description, the study includes a segmental phonology, a partial morphology-cum-syntax, and a consideration of variety or style, in addition to contributions to theory and method.

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[1] Only recently, the Daily Telegraph of 8th November 1977 reported on a project to assist Asians living in Bolton with their difficulties with the local dialect. A synchronic description of the dialect would form the best basis for such a project.

The description of variants within the corpus in terms of modification towards a variety or varieties of Northern Regional Standard, as spoken by people in the area, means that the study does not present the minimum conceivable abstract system, but more of a suprasystem, or a repertoire.[1] In that modified forms are described as movements from the base system to or towards a different system or systems, the study transcends the purely synchronic level. This is not the same as a diachronic study, nor as a stratified analysis.[2] The present study has a dynamic[3] component.

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[1] The first term is my own, at least in this particular connection; the latter is Gumperz's term - cf. Gumperz (1971: xiii, 182), Platt and Platt (1975: 35).

[2] Cf. Riegel and Rosenwald (1975: xii).

[3] This term is not used in the mathematical sense. It is not yet possible to speak of a dynamic system in linguistics, and whether it ever will be possible is difficult to say, since the implications of a change in a linguistic system for the subsequent system are difficult or impossible to predict, i.e. linguistic change is arbitrary or blind. When the speech of one section of a community moves towards that of another, i.e. towards something which is known, however, the term dynamic can perhaps appropriately be used.

1.2. Method

Since fieldwork has so far not been explicitly defined, and since it is of a highly operational character, it may be considered to be very much a part of method. Similar observations may be made in respect of the transcription process, although the IPA phonetic script and the system of Cardinal Vowels are proven and refined instruments which could safely be afforded a place in a body of linguistic theory. Much of sections 2 and 3 is therefore dominated by this section. Method is defined in section 1 above, in relation to theory and purpose.

It will by now be clear that my intention is to adopt a corpus-based approach.[1] Such an approach is appropriate to the distillation[2] of a phonology, and to the isolation of morphological forms and syntactic patterns. The use of a formal grammar would be premature at this stage, given that the categories for the description of dialect speech have yet to be conclusively ascertained. Corpus analysis in no way precludes a formal analysis, but rather precedes it.[3]

Methods determine fieldwork (section 2) on account of their inherent structures, and through their psychological effects on the informants.

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[1] Cf. sections 1.1.1.5, 1.1.1.7 and 1.1.1.8.

[2] The word induction might imply a procedure which was not particularly dependent on theory.

[3] Cf. Strang (1974: 63) and Glinz (1965: 102).

1.2.1. The Term "Corpus":

Ruoff has observed that a corpus is not, in the sense of early structuralism, an abstract from a continuum, but something appropriate to the object of the investigation:

> Für das in Frage stehende Problem bedeutet dies die Forderung nach synchroner Erhebung natürlicher Gespräche, welche die zu untersuchende Gruppierung von Redeakten entweder total oder statistisch relevant repräsentieren.[1]

A corpus is as extensible as it is divisible - "wichtig ist dabei nur die genaue Bestimmung von Umfang und Gliederung des jeweiligen Korpus".[2] Ruoff emphasises that a corpus should be homogeneous, "und daß die darin enthaltenen Belege zu einem bestimmten Thema insgesamt, nicht nur in Auswahl verwertet werden".[3] He adds that neither introspection, nor the collecting of chance examples, can replace a corpus. In the latter case, one runs the risk of simply collecting examples which illustrate one's a priori conceptions, no matter how extensive the sources one uses.[4] Ruoff also lays emphasis on the need for a corpus to be synchronic.[5] Obviously, this last need is more demanding in the case of extensive geographical surveys, which could take years to complete.

1.2.1.1. Questionnaires:

The strength of questionnaires is that they facilitate the elicitation of comparable material from various localities

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1. Ruoff (1973: 65).
2. Ibid., 65.
3. Ibid., 158.
4. Ibid., 158f.
5. Ibid., 161, 164f.

or persons. However, they predetermine the data in a manner which renders them almost useless for extensive, thorough surveys of particular localities. To the linguistic and social geographer, they are indispensable tools; to the descriptive linguist they offer little more than the possibility of ensuring that his study includes a certain amount of material which is comparable to that elicited via the same questionnaire in other localities, i.e. they may be used in a supplementary capacity. Having used the S.E.D.[1] and A.L.E.[2] questionnaires with precisely such comparability in mind,[3] I would endorse McDavid's comment that some grammatical forms are very difficult to elicit via questions:

> Nor are there lacking unresolved grammatical problems. The American situation is so different from the British that I have often found myself unable to elicit many of the critical grammatical forms by direct questioning, let alone by paradigms.[4]

I am reminded of my attempts to elicit forms of the verb to catch in Farnworth using the S.E.D. Questionnaire.[5] My first informant used the verb to nail. When asked if he might not consider using any other word, he was happy to produce forms of to cop, but refused to consider the verb to catch. It seems that cats do not catch mice. A second informant confirmed this, quite independently of the first, by only using to cop. For S.E.D. questions IX, 6, 1-4, which elicit forms of the verb to have, one informant would gaily switch between forms of the verb with -n endings, and forms without, thereby producing a full paradigm of neither type.[1] Another informant would only answer question IX, 6, 1 with *aye* 'yes' - he could not imagine that anyone would add *I have*. Question IX, 6, 2, which seeks negative forms of the type *haven't*, tends to produce answers such as /we: an no:n/ 'we have none' - but it does not follow from this that the dialect does not use forms of the type *haven't*; merely that it requires a different kind of question to elicit them. One last point:[2] an informant felt constrained to offer *nephew* and *niece* as answers to *S.E.D.* questions VIII, 1, 13 and 14 by the wording of the questions:

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[1] Orton and Dieth (1962).
[2] Weijnen et al. (1974).
[3] Viereck (1966: 61) used the S.E.D. and L.S.S. questionnaires as supplements to a corpus of tape-recorded free conversation in his study of Gateshead dialect.
[4] McDavid (1971: 128).
[5] The questionnaire is published in Orton and Dieth (1962).

13. "And this boy would be the brother's .... *nephew*"
14. "And this girl would be the brother's ... *niece*"

The use of "the brother's..." is the problem; it predetermines the answer to an alarming extent, by leaving room for nothing more than a noun. However, the informant made it clear, fortunately, that he had no wish to produce a construction of this type, adding: "They wouldn't say it like that up 'ere, they say:

/ɩts ɛ:(r) bɔbz lad ɵr ɛ:(r) bɔbz wɛntʃ /."
"It's our Bob's lad or our Bob's wench."[3]

Scholars are agreed that it is generally difficult to elicit grammatical, especially syntactic, items by means of questionnaires.[4] Apart from risking useless questions, enormous gaps are inevitable, whilst there is also the influence of the question to be considered, together with the fact that informants

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[1] I was converting the questions in order to elicit a full set of forms.

[2] There were some other difficulties too, but they cannot all be adduced here.

[3] The responses in the *S.E.D. Basic Material* for Harwood are *nephew* and *niece*, cf. Orton and Halliday (1962-3, Part III, 881f).

[4] Cf. Viereck (1964: 339; 1968: 556); Ruoff (1973: 39, 63); Camproux (1960: 28).

sometimes misunderstand what is required. However, these observations by no means exclude a priori the elicitation by means of questions of particular syntactic phenomena.[1] The possible formality of the questionnaire, its intellectual demands, and the influence of the questions, make it particularly unsuitable for the investigation of syntax and suprasegmentals: longer stretches of natural speech are required.

1.2.1.2. Lists of minimal pairs:

These are hardly required in an analysis based upon extensive, narrow transcriptions of tape recordings. They share the strengths and weaknesses of questionnaires. They have supplementary uses, however, for, if a particular form is uncertain for any reason, it may well be useful to attempt to elicit some minimal pairs in order to clear up the uncertainty.

1.2.1.3. Spontaneous speech interviews:

Dialect is spoken in spontaneous or free conversation with family, friends and peers. This is why free conversation is the most suitable method of recording dialect. Regional dialect is not the stuff of speeches, nor other formal activities, nor - except in a fringe manner - of writing or reading. Yet the analysis of spontaneous colloquial speech is not only required on account of its being the vehicle for dialect: there is also a certain general statistical validity in investigating just this type of speech. Thus Quirk, for his own survey of educated colloquial English, is obliged not to seek exact statistical representativeness in his corpus:

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[1] Cf. Ruoff (1973: 40).

> Since all of us probably use English predominantly for speaking not writing, and for speaking to our family and friends, a truly statistical sample would contain only a trivially small amount of material other than spontaneous colloquial speech.[1]

Ruoff's definition of spoken language (gesprochene Sprache) is useful:

> Unter (1) 'gesprochene Sprache' verstehe ich diejenigen (2) verbalen Außerungen, die (3) voll sprachfähige Menschen (4) wirklich, (5) natürlich, (6) spontan in beliebiger Situation und Absicht hervorbringen.[2]

We may note particularly his further comment on spontaneous: "'Spontan' meint: ohne besondere Vorbereitung oder Notiz und ohne auf bestimmte Sprachformen befragt zu sein".[3]

If only due to the particular nature of dialect, the approach of Wackernagel-Jolles to the examination of spoken syntax is unusable. She made extensive tape recordings of sermons, tape-letters, and other forms of speech in which one of the partners clearly outweighs the other, and can therefore proceed with little fear of interruption. She considered such a speaker to have the maximum syntactic freedom.[4] Apart from doubts which one might entertain concerning the representativeness of such speech for the spoken language, the approach is not usable, for traditional vernacular is not found in such monologues.

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1. Quirk (1974: 168f).
2. Ruoff (1973: 42).
3. Ibid., 42.
4. Cf. Wackernagel-Jolles (1971: 108f).

My understanding of free conversation is close to that of Ruoff, who has just been cited, and informants were encouraged to talk to me about anything they wished, and to have their family around them if they wanted to. They were not encouraged to relate jokes or set stories,[1] but if an informant had a story which he wished to tell, then obviously I listened. Furthermore, it is not unusual to have an informant who is something of a raconteur. Such an informant is quite likely to tell one a few stories which he has told perhaps many times before. Even though the stories are personal, they may be set, or partially set, in form. It is impossible to decide where concepts such as story, narrative, anecdote, joke, etc. begin and end, and therefore it is doubtful whether one can exclude such material, even if one does not encourage it.[2]

Recorded free conversation should, in my view, be extensive. The informant needs time to relax and to talk at some length if he is to produce "natural" speech. An extensive corpus of free speech is, of course, far more difficult to analyse: it does not produce features to order, and manifests greater variation than clarity norms or spoken prose. Consequently there are serious implications of the method for transcription, and for the phonology. The distillation of a phonemic inventory from a corpus of free speech is, to

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1. Cf. Melchers (1972: 36), and the references cited there.
2. Cf. Melchers (1972: 64), who writes of Viereck (1966):

> "As to the transcriptions of connected speech they make a very artificial impression, although the author criticises A.J. Ellis and others at length for letting their informants read passages or relate well-known stories."

But see Viereck (1966: 61ff). As I read him, it is written items, and the pronouncing of set pieces after the interviewer, which Viereck opposes, although also prepared items (including conversations) in general do not meet with his approval. That his observations are intended to apply to "well-known stories", is not altogether clear to me.

say the very least, extremely difficult and problematic. Nonetheless, the attempt has to be made: the stylistic concept spoken prose has no application to dialect; only free speech interviews approach the reality of dialect use.

In terms of size, the type of free speech corpus which a single dialectologist can assemble and transcribe will be adequate for phonological purposes, but inadequate for grammar and lexis. Even at the phonological level, it is necessary to elicit a number of words specially, in order to describe the range of consonant clusters in a dialect.

1.2.1.4. Written material:

It is well known that written materials cannot adequately represent the spoken language,[1] and their use in dialect studies has been strongly criticised,[2] even in a supplementary capacity:

> Die (recht umfangreiche) frühere und heutige Dialektliteratur blieb völlig unberücksichtigt. Nach unseren Erfahrungen sollten weder Dialektschriftsteller als Informanten noch Dialektpublikationen, nicht einmal als zusätzliches Hilfsmittel, herangezogen werden.[3]

A number of points may be noted here. There are, of course, different types of written source, and it can be useful to distinguish between them: dialect literature, documents, reading passages and specially constructed sentences or stories, collecting slips designed by the researcher, previous studies and glossaries, and so on. In general, one's use for or need

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1. Cf. e.g. Wackernagel-Jolles (1971: 102).
2. Wölck (1965: 11), Viereck (1966: 61f).
3. Viereck (1966: 61).

of such sources will depend upon the type of study being undertaken. An onomastic study will find old documents invaluable, whilst a pure phonology can manage without written sources at all. A corpus of tape-recorded speech, however, collected and transcribed by one researcher, will not afford a basis for an adequate description of the syntax or lexis of a dialect. In such cases, collecting slips may be employed to assemble a greater body of usage, as long as forms are subsequently checked in a responsible manner. The existence of a linguistic form on a slip of paper, probably from a largely uncontrolled source, has no more validity than that of being a hypothesis. It then falls to the dialectologist to test the hypothesis in a scientifically respectable manner. To use written sources in a synchronic study without adequately testing them would be inappropriate, to say the very least.

Let us take an example from the field of lexis. Suppose - argumenti causa - that the dialectologist has noted in a written source that to scale a fire in Farnworth appears to mean "to poke or rake thoroughly, so as to cause all the ash to fall into the pan", and that to rake a fire seems to mean "to put on any combination of coal dust (slack), very small coal and ash so that the fire will burn all night". He may now attempt to elicit these terms, and verify their meanings, in two ways. On the one hand, he can visit an informant and introduce the topic of "the fire" into the conversation. Perhaps he might say quite generally: "Could you tell me all about making the fire?" On the other hand, he can formulate a specific question in the manner of the S.E.D. Perhaps:

> "If you are going to bed at night, and do not
> want your fire to go out, you would..."

By both these methods, a hypothesis might be turned into hard data, i.e. actually produced by a known informant at a known date and in a known place. These techniques can be used on hypotheses gleaned from dialect literature, no matter how old the literature, nor how problematic in other respects.

Although the elicitation of grammar may also be accomplished by questions, it is admittedly more difficult. However, one may at least elicit what one can by these means, and in other cases simply listen very carefully for certain features when living in the area. Camproux used written sources in this way for the investigation of dialectal syntax in France, observing that everything was checked against the spoken language, so that no usage was included purely on the basis of occurrence in a written text.[1]

Indeed, if written sources are only accorded hypothetical status, they could even be used in a phonology. Sivertsen refers to her use of earlier materials, and adds: "I have also used the clues provided by literature trying to suggest Cockney speech by means of unusual spellings".[2] It is not so much written sources that are a problem, but merely the use that has sometimes been made of them.

An additional check may be imposed on forms at any linguistic level, and from any source, by attempting to elicit

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1. Camproux (1960: 28).
2. Sivertsen (1960: 5).

them independently from two or more informants who are not related to each other. Such a procedure is further to be recommended on the grounds that it affords an insight into the range of frequency of use of a given form. An account which distinguishes and describes the regular patterns and forms of a dialect is altogether superior to one in which rarities and curiosities are ranked alongside of common, everyday features.

1.2.1.5. Living in the area:

This is an important aspect of method. At levels other than the phonological, the assembly of a sufficient corpus depends upon living in the area. The notebooks which the dialectologist can fill in this way are an excellent source of material - material which is free from the constraints of the tape-recorded interview. I never met anyone who objected to my occasionally producing a notebook and jotting down forms in phonetic script, although sometimes it is desirable to rely on one's memory for a time, in order not to distract those present. Although I would regard it as morally reprehensible to tape-record anyone without his permission, there is no clear border-line between open work and candid work when simply living in the community. The more or less candid work which one carries out when speaking with and listening to people on an informal basis is a useful check on the naturalness of one's tape recordings, as well as being a source of the very best material. Despite his use of other methods too, Camproux has written that in the end, the only effective answer to the problems of recording syntax is to live the life of the community in which one is working.[1]

1.2.1.6. The corpus for this study:

The exact extent and character of a corpus should be specified.

1) Tape recordings. The phonology in this work is based almost entirely upon transcribed tape recordings of free conversation. The number of tape recordings is 54,[2] each of *circa* 30 minutes duration. All are transcribed, and nearly all in a fairly narrow IPA script. The 54 recordings include answers to the *S.E.D. Questionnaire*, although the *A.L.E. Premier Questionnaire*, which was also used in a supplementary capacity, was not recorded on tape. These 54 recordings also include the samples of less broad speech required for the elucidation of speech modification. The less broad speech is of the same stylistic type: free conversation, whether with adults or children.

The opportunity was also taken to listen to relevant tapes belonging to the North-West Sound Archive Unit at Radcliffe Library, and to transcribe some passages.[3] The transcriptions are largely accorded hypothetical status, since I had no control over the making of the recordings, and due to the requirements of strict synchrony. None of this material is included in the specification of 54 recordings: it is entirely supplementary.

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[1] Camproux (1960: 28).

[2] Some earlier work was erased by a junior technician, after which the author acquainted himself with all aspects of copying tapes.

[3] I am especially grateful to Mr. K. Howarth, of Radcliffe Central Library and the North-West Sound Archive, who arranged access to the tapes and transcriptional facilities, and who also gave me a tape containing extracts of an interview which he had conducted with a particularly good and in many respects unique informant, who had unfortunately died a short time before my study commenced.

2) The S.E.D. and A.L.E. questionnaires were used to ensure that the corpus contained the maximum amount of material of comparative value. Questions of my own devising were put to informants to elicit specific grammatical and lexical features, or to check on the possibilities of consonant clusters.

3) Occasionally, minimal pairs were deliberately elicited to clear up a point of doubt. Ad hoc questions were formulated as the need arose - it is not difficult to do this.

4) Extensive notes were made during quite a number of visits to the area between 1972 and 1974, and in subsequent briefer visits. I was usually able to reside with relatives. The length of visits did not always bear much relation to the results achieved. Rather, later visits yielded much more than earlier ones, as one built up a network of informants and contacts, and became more adept in the art of fieldwork. Despite a close relationship to dialect speakers in earlier life,[1] I had to start my fieldwork virtually from scratch, as most relatives and acquaintances who would have made suitable informants had died in the last few years. Visits of less than six weeks duration are of little use in the first instance. It proved possible to identify a significant number of grammatical and lexical forms whilst living in the area, and to make notes thereof.

5) Books, documents and newspaper-cuttings of local

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1. I was born in the area, and lived there on an uninterrupted basis until I was 18. I was at university in Birmingham, Munich and Sheffield thereafter, and moved my home-base to Thornton-Cleveleys in Lancashire. I was 24 when I returned to Farnworth to begin my fieldwork.

interest were read, and a certain amount of dialect literature and previous linguistic work on South Lancashire examined. All dialectal forms and patterns which I discerned were treated as hypotheses only: nothing is included in this thesis simply on the strength of its occurrence in written form.

6) Collecting slips were issued to schoolchildren at a number of schools which were willing to co-operate.[1] The slips were of a type used by the Centre for English Cultural Tradition and Language at the University of Sheffield,[2] although the slip is too complex for many junior school pupils, most of whom presented their offerings rather more informally. All material collected on slips has hypothetical status. The same may be said of correspondence with informants and contacts in the area.

The corpus of tape-recorded speech conforms to Ruoff's definition of spontaneous spoken language.[3] The intention was to elicit that style of speech with which the use of dialect is associated: intimate, casual, friendly, colloquial speech. Problems associated with the acquisition of such a corpus are outlined in section 2, where the fieldwork is discussed. Since the fieldwork influences the corpus to such a large extent, there can be no discussion of methodology, and no subsequent analysis of a corpus, without a thorough account of fieldwork.

That the corpus is chosen for a particular purpose - to elicit dialect was the specific purpose - will be evident, as will its conformity to the demands of synchrony. Yet is the corpus of tape-recorded speech sufficiently homogeneous? I believe that it is: the variations in the speech of dialect speakers, which are elucidated by comparison with less broad speech, are largely variations which occur, to a greater or lesser extent, in the speech of each individual, and not variations between individuals. In terms of a stylistic continuum, it would be difficult to be certain of the most informal level without overstepping its bounds slightly. The relative homogeneity of the corpus can, I believe, be allowed to stand.

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[1] I am grateful to the staff and pupils of Plodder Lane County Primary School, St. Gregory's R.C. Secondary School, Harper Green County Secondary School, Cherry Tree County Primary School, and Farnworth Grammar School.

[2] See Appendix.

[3] Ruoff (1973: 42), cited in section 1.2.1.3.

The attempt was made to gain an accurate impression of the rarity or commonness of features.

1.2.2. Intuition:

The use of intuition as a method of investigation has been rejected here in favour of a corpus. However, as a native of the area under investigation, it would be impossible for me not to have any intuitions about the dialect. As in the case of written sources, the problem is merely one of the use to which such intuitions are put. I accorded my intuitions the status of hypotheses - nothing is included in this study purely on the basis of my deeming it a part of the dialect.

2. FIELDWORK

2.1. Selection of Informants:

Considerations from section 1 on the nature of the study determine the selection of informants in a general manner. Specific criteria exist to govern the selection of informants for different types of study, although how far these are appropriate is sometimes a matter of debate.

2.1.1. Random Samples:

If theory and purpose require a random sample,[1] then statistical procedures are available for selecting informants: a map of the area may be divided into portions, from each of which the required number of informants may be drawn on a random basis using the electoral lists. Unwillingness to be interviewed (section 2.1.3.) seems to me to be a major stumbling block in this type of study, and very large samples are required to obtain really worthwhile results.

2.1.2. Traditional Vernacular:

Certain chief criteria for the selection of informants in studies of traditional vernacular have already been outlined.[2] Such criteria are intended to produce a fairly homogeneous set of informants, and thereby a fairly homogeneous corpus, which is a requirement of strict synchrony.[1] Viereck abides by traditional criteria,[2] as outlined for the S.E.D.,[3] restricting himself to male informants, but also attempting to avoid bidialectal speakers, as far as that is possible. Melchers notes that bidialectal speakers cannot be shunned,[4] and draws attention to the fact that although Orton and Dieth preferred male informants, Sivertsen preferred women,[5] and that it would probably be wrong to discriminate against female informants in the case of Swedish dialects. Trudgill reports a definite correlation between sex and dialect usage:

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[1] Cf. section 1.1.1.4.

[2] In section 1.1.1.3 above. Pop (1950: 723f) also enumerates definite criteria.

> In all the cases so far examined, it has been shown that, allowing for other factors such as social class, ethnic group and age, women consistently use forms which more closely approach those of the standard variety or the prestige accent than those used by men.[6]

Hedevind also refers to established criteria of informant selection, but observes - with validity - that strict adherence to selection procedures is not always of paramount importance in a synchronic study:

> The method used in collecting the material was that prescribed and well-tried by the Directors and fieldworkers for the Leeds Survey of English Dialects. The informants were selected mainly among people over 60, natives and the children of natives who had spent most of their lives in Dentdale. ... But as a "squatter" who was going to stay in the district for months, I was not obliged to adhere strictly to the prerequisites laid down for a one-week visit by a fieldworker for a Linguistic Atlas. I did not reject the information given simply because the

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1. Cf. Chaurand (1972: 189).
2. Viereck (1966: 59f).
3. Orton and Dieth (1962: 15f).
4. Melchers (1972: 25ff).
5. Sivertsen (1960: 5).
6. Trudgill (1974b: 91). He notes that women are more status conscious (p. 93), and that there is an association of working class culture and speech with masculinity (pp. 93f).

> informant was under 60, if in other respects he proved satisfactory.[1]

Attention should be drawn to the words "mainly" and "most". Other studies have also suggested that age is not always a significant parameter.[2]

That there can be doubts about criteria for informant selection is also pointed out by Viereck, who cites sources to the effect that there is no infallible rule for chosing good informants and that the fieldworker's rule must be not to stick to any rule.[3] There is much to be said for this, although perhaps the reason for such a view ought to be stated in terms acceptable within the philosophy of science: a trend, a tendency, an average, a percentage, or a correlation can - unless absolute - never have any compulsory bearing on an individual case. Thus, dialect speech cannot be wholly defined in terms of social categories: linguistic features must be allowed to define linguistic groupings.

2.1.3. Unwillingness to Participate:

It will be evident that there is much in section 2.2. which aims to prevent this situation from arising. However, the matter has to be raised here too, when discussing informant selection, as refusal may be outright - i.e. one may not even reach the stage of introductions and explanations. When confronted with a refusal, the dialectologist in search of traditional vernacular simply looks for another informant, but

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1. Hedevind (1967: 42).
2. Bowyer (1973: 154); Hameyer (1975: 29).
3. Cf. Viereck (1973: 76f), and the references cited there. Contrast, however, Viereck (1966: 59f).

unwillingness to participate has more serious implications for random samples. If part of a random sample will not co-operate, which is virtually certain, is a back-up list a satisfactory answer? Perhaps one should admit that the sample may not be totally representative: the dialectologist can only interview those who are prepared to be interviewed.

Trudgill mentions some of the reasons advanced for refusing an interview: being unable to afford the time; not feeling sufficiently well; being unable to understand the nature of the study; feeling frightened (even if not saying so directly); and not believing in universities![1]

At the very outset, when attempting to establish contacts in the area, I had several refusals. After this initial setback, I changed my approach,[2] and did not meet with any further failures, although occasionally it was necessary to be rather persistent. Initially, attempts to contact likely informants through intermediaries failed: a reason for not taking part would come back to me, via the intermediary, before I could even meet the potential informant. Reasons advanced for not wishing to be interviewed were: inability to speak dialect; feeling ill; and - on the part of one group of men, who clearly should not have been contacted as a group - unwillingness to be interviewed, if it were not to be in a rather noisy public house.[3] This demand was inimical to the quality of recording required for phonological purposes. After this, individual informants were approached more directly, even

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1. Cf. Trudgill (1974a: 26).
2. Cf. section 2.2.
3. It was also vaguely implied that I might do better if I contacted them after they had drunk "three or four" pints of beer.

when still using an intermediary, and asked to take part.[1] Ruoff likewise found that increased experience diminished the number of refusals with which he met.[2]

2.1.4. Amateur Dialectologists and Readers/Writers/Reciters of Dialect Prose/Poetry:

If one's work in an area becomes known - whether through the press or by word of mouth - it is quite possible that an amateur dialectologist will go to considerable lengths to contact one and offer his assistance. Investigators of the "scientific purity" school would advocate avoiding this species like the plague.[3] Certainly there are dangers:

- the amateur is not always a true native of the area, or is often a speaker who does not himself speak traditional dialect under any normal and natural circumstances
- he is usually steeped in dialect literature, and may produce features from geographically and temporally disparate realms, assuring one all the while that this is current local speech
- his own concept of what is interesting about dialects, such as the search for the super-archaic, or the style of a favourite author, may well predispose him to feed one unnatural answers to questions, or artificial dialogue.

On the other hand, the dialectologist with some native knowledge of a dialect can probably handle these situations more easily. If the amateur dialectologist is treated as a source of hypotheses - after all, he probably does know something, and if you are luckier than I was, perhaps a great deal, about the dialect in question - and not of data, then there is no reason why the academic researcher should not consult such a person. Indeed, if a dialectologist were to neglect some aspect of a dialect simply because he had not worked out how to handle different categories of source, it would be regrettable, to say the very least.

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[1] Cf. sections 2.2. and 2.3.
[2] Cf. Ruoff (1973: 107).
[3] Cf. Viereck (1966: 61), cited in section 1.2.1.4.

2.1.5. The Informants for this Study:

Informants for the base dialect were typically over sixty years of age at the time of recording. One was much younger, but spoke very broad dialect, and was as near to being unable to modify his speech as is possible. He even preserved a strict singular-plural segregation of the second person forms of the personal pronoun. This is most unusual nowadays.

My impression was that men do indeed speak more broadly than women as a general rule, but, as has already been indicated, a tendency will tell us nothing about an individual case. Thus, the only informant to use -en plural endings regularly on verbs other than the verb to have was a woman, who was not only my eldest informant, but had also been raised largely by grandparents. Furthermore, I had no wish to exclude half the population from my study, and in addition I found the speech of some women useful in indicating the directions of modification of the dialect.

The informants were interviewed in their homes, and this fact often gave the opportunity to record the speech of their relatives in an altogether random, and unprepared manner. It seemed valid to do this, for the speech of a wife or child which is different from that of the informant, constitutes an important part of the immediate environment in which the informant lives, and towards which his own speech might modify.

Informants for the base dialect are well defined by occupation and socio-economic class. They have typically worked in mills, pits, or at other manual occupations. One exception was included: a self-made businessman, who was bidialectal.[1] Their income has been low throughout their lives, most have experienced relative poverty at first hand, and they have lived in poorer housing, or local authority housing, throughout their lives. All received relatively little education.

Informants were all born in the area, apart from one, for, since Ellis grouped Bolton and Wigan together as a single variety,[2] it seemed advisable to accept the opportunity of recording one man who had been born in the Wigan area. There would appear to be one or two slight differences - but they are only slight, at least in his particular case. All other informants were born, raised and schooled within the area.

Due to the expansion of population in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries caused by the massive influx of workers into the cotton towns,[3] and due to my informants' being born around the turn of the century, it was not always possible to locate informants with both parents from the area, and who were satisfactory in other respects too. Having one parent from outside the area does not appear to have any

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1. A consideration of the directions in which dialect speech tends to modify is a part of this study - cf. section 1.1.1.8.
2. Cf. Ellis (1889: 330). However, no claim is made that informant 12 is representative of Wigan dialect.
3. Cf. section 0.4.1.

discernible effect on the speech of those concerned; nor does movement within the area, or round its outskirts. Bowyer found that the most significant factor governing the regional determination of speech was the place of upbringing of the informant himself:

> On the evidence presented here, the place of upbringing should be singled out as the most important factor to determine the regional basis of a person's speech.[1]

This finding accords with the data in the corpus, which is relatively homogeneous.

The two most important criteria for the selection of informants were: 1) the place in which the informant was born, raised and schooled; 2) the social class[2] of the informant, as defined by occupation (of both himself and his parents), income, housing, and extent of education. Considerable importance was also attached to a lack or minimum of absences from the area, although a little military service was accepted as inevitable in the case of some of the male informants. One exception to the rule was included: a gentleman who had spent a more protracted period in the army. His speech showed certain definite modifications, although these were by no means extreme.

Not all informants for the study can be mentioned here. The principal ones were:

1. Male. Born Kearsley, 1907, on the border with Farnworth. Has moved house three times, all within a distance of one mile from where he was born. Father and mother: both born Kearsley, and both in their turn of local families. School:

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[1] Bowyer (1973: 21f).
[2] Cf. Strang (1968: 791), cited in section 1.1.1.4.

Farnworth, until 12, plus 1 year half-time. Worked in a cotton mill (doffer), then a pit, then a paper mill, and finally a paper-bag factory. Fought during the second world war. Speaker of residual dialect.

2. Brother of 1, and therefore of same local parentage. Born 1902. Has lived in Farnworth, Bolton and Kearsley. His wife was born in Farnworth, but is now deceased. Worked as a miner, and briefly as an innkeeper, but his main job was with a firm making batteries throughout his later life. He has not been away from the area: worked in the pit in the first war, and made batteries during the second. Speaker of residual dialect, with the same schooling as 1.

3. Male. Born Walkden, 1908. Lived in Farnworth since 1928. Father: born Walkden; mother: Thirsk (Yorkshire). Wife also born Walkden. School: Walkden, until 12, plus 1 year half-time. Also learned bleaching at technical school. Worked as a miner, and subsequently in bleaching and dyeing. No absences. Speaker of residual dialect.

4. Female. Born Farnworth, 1883. Raised by grandparents and other relatives in Farnworth and Little Hulton. Has lived in Farnworth since childhood, with no absences at all. School: Farnworth; she could not remember for how long, except that it was not very long! Worked as a weaver all her life, and was still operating the maximum number of looms until past her mid-seventies, when it was suggested she might care to retire, which she did - reluctantly. Speaker of residual dialect, using -en plural endings on verbs.

5. Male. Born Farnworth, 1897, and still living there. School: Farnworth, until 12, plus 1 year half-time.

Father: born Stafford; mother: Kearsley. Worked as a warehouseman, shop assistant, in a bleachworks, on the buses, and as a driver. Went into the army, but was quickly wounded, and returned home from hospital, therefore no significant periods of absence. Speaker of residual dialect.

6. Sister of 5. Unmarried. Born Farnworth, 1907, and still living there. No periods of absence at all. Education: as 5. Occupation: beamer in mill, all her life. Speaker of residual dialect; also has a modified style; when broad, very broad.

7. Sister of 5 and 6. Unmarried. Born Farnworth, 1895. Brought up mainly by grandparents in Kearsley, then lived in Farnworth. No absences at all. Education: Farnworth and Kearsley, until 12, plus 1 year half-time. Occupation: weaver, all her life. Speaker of residual dialect, also has a somewhat modified style. Less broad than her younger sister,[1] slower tempo, more deliberate speech.

8. Male. Born Farnworth, 1901, and has lived there ever since, with no periods of absence. Parents: born "more towards Hindley", he thought, which is west and slightly south of Farnworth (on the road to Wigan). School: Farnworth, until 12. Went into a spinning mill, and became a spinner at a very early age due to absence of older spinners in first world war. Became a miner in 1919, and remained one for the

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[1] Some informants insist that there was a difference in speech from one mill to another. The "Drake" mill, where informant 6 and my father both worked, is thought to have been more notable for "broad talk" than some others, e.g. the one where informant 7 worked. This type of assertion might profitably bear further investigation by sociolinguists.

rest of his working life. Wife born Farnworth. Speaker of residual dialect.

9. Male. Born Little Hulton, 1907, and has lived there all his life. Father: born Little Hulton, miner. Mother: born Bolton, of parents also born there. School: Little Hulton, until 13 or 14. Worked in pit, then for an electric sign firm, then for Electricity Board. Some travelling with electric sign firm, odd short absences, but no significant periods of absence. Wife local. Speaker of residual dialect.

10. Brother of 9. Born Little Hulton, 1910, died 1975. Lived in Little Hulton and Farnworth. Schooled locally until 14. Became an office boy, qualified as an accountant, and eventually became a company chairman. Travelled widely, but mainly on a commuting basis; did not live away from home. Bidialectal: spoke dialect with some of his workers and relatives, and a modified variety for business purposes, with strangers, and so on.

11. Male. Born Farnworth, 1903. Has lived there ever since, but had a protracted spell in the army in addition to being absent during the second world war. Educated: Farnworth, until 13. Worked as a plumber's apprentice, a miner, a dyer, a soldier, and a bus conductor. His father was a painter and decorator, his mother a winder, both from Bolton, close to the boundary with Farnworth. Speech varied, although modification not extreme, but slightly more so than those who had not been away for long.

12. Male. Born Platt Bridge, 1889. Parents: from Middleton, which is east of Farnworth. Father a miner in

Little Hulton, and then Wigan. Began "gal-drivin'" in pit at 13. Made visits to America and Canada, where he worked in pits. (He said that this did not change him or his speech in the slightest. He was considered quite a phenomenon, as the people there had never heard anything like him!) Moved to Farnworth in 1913, where he married and has lived ever since, working in the pit during both wars. Speaker of residual dialect. No appreciable differences between his dialect and that of other informants. Recorded as a matter of interest in the light of Ellis' division of Lancashire dialects, although admittedly not to be construed as representative of Wigan speech.

13. My mother. Born Farnworth, 1906, of local parents and grandparents. School: Farnworth, until 13, with some evening classes after that. Worked in a paper-bag factory, later a housewife. She lived in Farnworth until she was 60, without any periods of absence. Then moved to Cleveleys. Although she does not speak residual dialect as her normal means of communication, she has a most extensive passive knowledge of the dialect, which, when activated, is both fluent and all but flawless. This knowledge is to be explained partially due to marriage to my father - I will add biographical details, although my father died before this study began - and particularly due to a remarkable linguistic ability, whereby people are not only reported verbatim, but also in their own accent and intonation pattern. (The mimicry is phonetically exact, but unconscious).

13a. My father influenced my mother's knowledge of the dialect, and also my own. He was born on the Little Hulton boundary with Farnworth in 1904, went to school in the same area until 12, plus 1 year half-time. He lived and worked in Farnworth until he died in 1966. He worked as a cotton spinner all his life in the same Farnworth mill. He was one of five brothers, who all spoke the most residual dialect. He had no periods of absence from Farnworth, working in the mill during the war.

14. Male. Born Bolton, 1900. Moved to Farnworth as a young child, and has lived there ever since. School: Farnworth, working in mill by age 12. Occupation: weaving shed, cotton mill, pit, carter. Absences: none. Father and mother both born Bolton. Speaker of residual dialect.

15. Son-in-law of 14. At the time of recording (August, 1974), he was 45 years of age, which made him the youngest main informant for the residual dialect. Very broadly spoken, however; preserved a singular-plural distinction in his use of the second person pronoun; virtually unable to modify his speech. Born Farnworth, and has always lived there, apart from two years in the army. Father: died when he was a baby; birthplace unknown, but presumably irrelevant. Mother: born Walkden, very broadly spoken. Wife: born Farnworth. Has worked in various manual occupations: iron foundry, dairy, milkman, mill, pit, tar works, mail order, and bagging coal. School: Farnworth, until about 14. Speaker of residual dialect.

16. Wife of 3. Born Walkden, 1908. Mother: born Farnworth; father: born Tyldesley, but played no part in her upbringing. Lived with grandparents in Walkden, then moved

to Farnworth, where she has lived ever since, without absence. School: until "towards 14". Worked as a ring spinner and silk weaver. Modified speaker. (Speaks at religious meetings - no trace of elocution, however. Uses was as the preterite of to be for all persons, whereas dialect uses were for all persons.)

17. Female. My mother's cousin. Unmarried. Born Kearsley, 1920. Moved to Farnworth in 1951, where she has lived until now. No absences, apart from brief holidays. Father: born Farnworth; mother: born Kearsley. Both parents of local stock. School: Kearsley, until 14. Occupation: 4 years paper-bag factory, nurse ever since. Modified speaker.

18. Wife of 9. Born locally, 1912. Worked as a weaver from age 16; studied commercial subjects at technical school for two years after leaving school. Later a housewife. No significant absences. Modified speaker - she said that she always wanted something better in life than to work in a mill.

19. Son of 14. It had not been intended to record him, but he made an interesting contribution to his father's tape. He had all the qualifications to be an informant, and spoke most broadly. I am fairly certain that he would be in his forties at the time of recording.

The wife of 15 made a contribution to one tape. She had the status requisite of an informant, and was in her forties.

Schoolchildren: in addition to informant 15's children (aged 6 to about 20), 19 schoolchildren (aged 7 to 11) were recorded.[1] All had local parents in unskilled or semi-skilled occupations.

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[1] I am grateful to the Headmaster of St. James's Primary School, New Bury, Farnworth, for permission to record in the school.

Brief comments on the personalities of the informants, and their performance under interview conditions, are given in section 2.4.3.4, below.

2.1.6. The Fieldworker:

Since the fieldworker has a profound influence on the fieldwork, it would seem just as important to include a brief biography of the fieldworker as it is to do so for the informants.

I was born in Farnworth in 1948. My mother came of a Farnworth family, and my father was born on the Farnworth-Little Hulton boundary. My father spoke the dialect, as did a number of other relatives. My relatives were for the most part elderly when I was young. Outside of school, I was exposed to speech ranging from the most residual dialect to a variety of Northern Standard. My father always spoke dialect, but equally, my mother always drew the attention of my sister and myself to dialectal features, manifesting signs of disapproval and amusement. However, this was all done in a fairly amicable way: any attempt at outright correction would have been neither appropriate nor effective. A simple repetition of the offending form in a tone displaying some signs of trepidation was typical. The offenders - usually my father and one of his brothers - appeared to find the situation amusing.

At an early age, the residual dialect system was unquestionably a part of my passive repertoire. As far as I am able to reconstruct my actual speech, it was, up to the age of 18, a type of modified speech incorporating rather strongly regional features: my accent was quite heavy, and typical of the area; I used certain morphological forms and syntactic patterns associated with the base dialect, and other forms associated with modified speech; I used a number of dialect words and phrases. At all levels, dialectal features were most in evidence in communication within the peer group, and with male strangers, who spoke dialect themselves.

At junior school, one or two children who attended were part of the Salford overspill. Their speech was held to be most strange by the rest of us, and it was not unusual to "correct" them. At this time, it usually fell to my lot to read a lesson at the Christmas carol service. The one phenomenon felt to be in need of attention was my pronunciation of "Mary" as [ˈmœːɹɪ]. I had great difficulty in modifying this sound - another boy simply could not modify it at all - and suspect that I finished up by using an [ɛː]-type sound (/ɛː/ is a phoneme of the dialect, which is quite close to /ɵː/). I still find in my own speech, and that of others from the area, that [øː]- and [œː]-types vary freely with [ɵː]-, [ɜː]- and [ɛː, ɛˑə]-types. Furthermore, there is no phonemic distinction in pairs such as *fair≠fir* in the dialect, and this lack of distinction is frequently carried over into modified speech.

At the local grammar school, my friends and I probably did not modify our speech unduly. Emulation of broad talk or slang was considered preferable to "talkin' posh". Prescriptions of the type:

can I? —> *may I?*
it's me —> *it is I*

had no effect on one's spoken usage. Nevertheless, I acquired a knowledge of S.E. and other foreign languages! I suspect that for some considerable time, S.E. existed for me in a rather different world. It was the medium through which - especially in the written mode - I acquainted myself with all subjects, particularly English Literature. Equally, again in the written mode, it was the vehicle by means of which I expressed myself in my work. I also began to thrive on the analysis of language, and the use of terminology or metalanguage. These features probably showed through in my speech on some occasions. Yet the broader kind of speech was certainly retained in its own sphere.

When I went to Birmingham University at the age of 18, I began to modify my speech considerably, especially my accent. Pressures to modify included:

a) being in an environment where a different variety was the standard means of communication;

b) the opinion that one's accent was a suitable subject for ridicule;

c) the opinion that one's speech was genuinely inferior, and that one might be disadvantaged if one were not induced to adopt a more standardised variety of English. Here, accent was often confused with language in general - one's knowledge of English syntax and vocabulary was in fact often more considerable than that of those who were so concerned about one.

d) failure to communicate. This would occasionally happen shortly after I arrived in Birmingham. For instance, the use of the modified verb forms /skwi:z, skwo:z, 'skwo:zn/ "squeeze, squoze,

> squozen" (i.e. "squeezed"), created uncertainty, whilst the observation
>
> somebody's swealin' next door
>
> resulted in a total failure to communicate. Actually, I knew a variety of other terms which would serve for conflagrations of one sort or another, but at that stage I still used a certain amount of dialect in ordinary conversation.

Eventually, my speech became such that people could generally no longer ascertain my provenance - a very considerable modification had taken place. Shortly after that time, however, I developed a different view of dialects, and, feeling my speech to be functionally adequate, paid rather less attention to it. Working in Sheffield, I seemed to move back towards a variety of Northern Standard - perhaps the term Educated Northern Standard would serve[1] - and work on the dialect eventually brought about a further "regression" still, especially at the level of accent. I believe that this helped in the fieldwork. Whilst an informant does not expect one to speak as he does, he would be unlikely to feel at ease, or even speak to, someone whom he thought to be pretentious. The interviewer's style of speech is an important part of his relationship with the informant in the interview situation (section 2.4.3), and of his getting to know the informant in the first place (section 2.3.2).

To be a native of the area which one is investigating, and to have a knowledge of the dialect, can be beneficial not only in gaining acceptance amongst informants (section 2.2), but also in the analysis itself (section 3.8). On the other hand, to have finally been away from the area, to have learned another variety of English, to have worked on foreign languages and linguistics, and to have lived abroad is to gain a position from which - it is hoped - the dialect may be seen with at least a modicum of objectivity and comparative insight (section 3.8). I am, then, both an insider and an outsider in relation to the group studied.

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[1] As this section is somewhat anecdotal in character, I shall take the term for granted.

2.2. Securing the Co-operation of the Potential Informant:[1]

It has already been observed that the co-operation of the potential informants was more easily secured in the light of a little experience. No rewards were ever offered to informants in order to secure their co-operation,[2] nor did they appear to expect any. Indeed, they usually took it upon themselves to provision the fieldworker.

2.2.1. Introduction to the Potential Informant:

In a random sample, the fieldworker must attempt to contact those persons specified by the procedure. For a study of traditional vernacular, he can use personal acquaintances, or make enquiries in the area as to who would be suitable. When he has interviewed a number of informants, it is often found that they have friends or relatives who could also be interviewed.

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[1] Cf. section 2.1.3.
[2] Cf. Ruoff (1973: 107).

Investigators using a random sample technique have sought to introduce themselves to potential informants by writing to them first. Investigators have carried letters of introduction from the university or other institution, under whose auspices the research was being carried out.[1] Chaurand recommends carrying a letter of introduction from the mayor, or someone in authority.[2] Such a technique seems to be more appropriate to linguistic atlas or random sample fieldworkers, who have a strictly limited amount of time at their disposal. With regard to an introduction from the mayor, this may be appropriate to French villages, but in the urban environment the mayor may be unknown, or command little respect. Whilst such techniques are perhaps better than simply materialising unannounced on people's doorsteps, failures are likely, and, where successful, one is off to something of a formal start.

When approaching potential informants through intermediaries at the commencement of my fieldwork, I had only limited success. Often, an excuse came back via the intermediary.[3] I decided that it was therefore essential to meet the potential informant before he had the chance to refuse. I used two methods - the second of which requires a little more "salesmanship" than the first, but neither resulted in a refusal:

1) An existing informant, or a contact in the area who was himself not suitable for the study, took the interviewer

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1. Cf. Houck (1967: 10f); Trudgill (1974a: 24).
2. Chaurand (1972: 190).
3. Cf. section 2.1.3.

to the house of the potential informant, made an introduction, gave a brief indication of the project, and explained how he thought the potential informant could help. The fieldworker usually had to explain the purpose of the research too,[1] and generally satisfy the curiosity or allay the fears of the potential informant. Tape recording was mentioned at the outset as an eventual aim, but it was explained that I would visit the informant first, and talk to him. This type of personal introduction was particularly effective.

2) Where it was impossible for a contact to accompany the fieldworker to make the initial introduction, the fieldworker proceeded alone. I would knock at the door of the potential informant, introduce myself, and establish quickly who it was that had sent me. I would then explain briefly what I was trying to do, and how it had been thought - especially by the mutual acquaintance - that the potential informant might help me. One informant told me to play a tape recording which I had just made of him to the potential informant whom he had recommended, should the latter have any doubts about the enterprise. The latter certainly did have some doubts, but they were indeed dispelled by the news of his friend's participation, and by the offer to play him the tape. This second line of approach would have failed with one informant, but I had been warned by his close relatives that he was conceivably the most awkward man in Farnworth, and that it would pay me to be persistent. I was duly persistent, and

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[1] This matter is treated in section 2.2.2.

eventually an interview was secured. Personal introductions or personal recommendations were, then, the keystone of my approach.

The general efficacy of personal introductions is confirmed by Platt and Platt:

> [If informants are] suspicious and ill-at-ease, an introduction by a person with whom they are familiar will help to bridge that initial gap of the unknown. This is particularly important with migrant groups or groups which are in age or social status far removed from the interviewer.[1]

One informant chose not only to introduce me to his brother, but to attend the interview as well. There are, of course, implications for the interview situation, not the least of which are technical (sections 2.4.4.4. and 2.4.4.5.), and for transcription (sections 3.6. and 3.9.), but the results were very good.

Once initial introductions were made, I felt that my being a native of the area, and the permission granted me to tape-record local schoolchildren were useful in furthering acceptance of my project amongst potential informants.[2]

2.2.2. Explanation of the Purpose of the Research:

It is necessary to be able to give informants an indication of the nature of one's work. They will wish to know what the research is about, they have a right to know, and the knowledge is essential to the satisfactory performance of whatever tasks are required, and to their co-operation in the first place. Yet the explanation offered must be both brief (at least for initial introductory purposes) and comprehensible to the informant. Too great a concern for the exact truth and for detail will not help. I am not suggesting that one should deliberately lie to the informant, but it is certainly a mistake to confuse him.[1] I would therefore suggest that, if the informant proves receptive to a particular line of thought, this should be pursued: thus, some will appreciate the interest in language per se, others will more readily conceive of an interest in different customs, living conditions, conditions of employment, and so on. Since the dialectologist is certainly interested in all such matters, there is really no untruth involved in admitting them as part of the research. Quite often the informant himself will produce a hypothesis about the research; when this happens, it is important to try to reply within the informant's terms of reference.

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[1] Platt and Platt (1975: 168), emphasis added.
[2] Cf. section 2.2.2.

I offered two linguistic reasons for the research: 1) the wish to record the dialect before it died out; 2) to compare the speech of younger people with that of older people. Both of these reasons are brief, and both readily acceptable to most informants. The first received very ready acceptance, and in some quarters was considered to be a most laudable aim, although one or two others seemed to wonder why anyone should wish to record something of which they were ashamed.[2] The second reason, which may be used to supplement

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1. Failure to understand the nature of the enterprise was a reason advanced by informants to Trudgill for not taking part, cf. section 2.1.3. above.
2. Cf. attitudes to dialect, section 2.2.3.

the first, is something of an oversimplification, but it is useful in that it appeals to something which dialect speakers have already observed.[1] I also made supplementary reference to the way in which speech varies geographically - an observation with which informants readily concurred.

Nonetheless, other informants seemed happier to conceive of my being interested in the old days, in the way that they lived, in the general history of the people and the area, or in the technicalities of the mills and mines. Such notions were undoubtedly useful at times, for they took the emphasis away from the fact that the form of the informant's speech was being recorded, and afforded him a subject on which to discourse.

The potential informants were sometimes worried lest I were from Radio Blackburn or Radio Manchester, or possibly a newspaper. This was understandable in view of my technical accoutrements. It was necessary to assure informants that the recordings would not be used in this way, and that no commercial considerations were involved; further, that the tapes were for personal research purposes, and would not be used as party-pieces, nor played to newspaper reporters. If, and only if, the informants were to agree, the tape recordings would be deposited in a university archive, so that bona fide scholars might check my work. When reassured on all counts, informants agreed to be recorded, and imposed no conditions on

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1. In Germany, Ruoff (1973: 82) found that the observation that people speak differently from place to place, and the young differently from the old, was confirmed by his informants, and produced a readiness to talk.

the use of the tapes beyond what I should personally deem appropriate. Some said that I could do whatever I wanted with the tapes.

With regard to my aim of wishing to compare the speech of different age groups, it is worth noting that one or two informants seemed reassured by the knowledge that I had been making recordings of local schoolchildren prior to visiting them. They obviously felt that if my project was acceptable to the local headmaster, then it must be all right. I also felt that my status as a native of the area was useful in gaining acceptance. Trudgill reports the same impression.[1]

2.2.3. Attitudes to Dialect:

Attitudes to dialect are often negative, and therefore often constitute barriers, or potential barriers, to securing a person's co-operation. A great many people in Lancashire feel ashamed of their speech. The extent to which this can be the case is not widely appreciated by people in general. I have personally known those who would avoid, or could never enjoy, a conversation with a stranger, because they were literally too ashamed to open their mouths.[2] It has been drummed into people - sometimes in school, and certainly in society at large - that dialect speech is incorrect, impure, vulgar, clumsy, ugly, careless, shoddy, ignorant, and altogether

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1. Trudgill (1974a: 25).
2. There are clear indications of problems for random sample techniques here, for we are dealing with a category of person from whom interviews with strangers are unlikely to be forthcoming.

inferior. Furthermore, the particularly close link in recent English society between speech, especially accent, and social class and values has made dialect a hindrance to upward social mobility. In consequence, it may not be altogether clear to a person why the fieldworker should wish to record dialect. The latter may have to explain that he likes dialect, that he was brought up with it and speaks it a little himself, that in his view there is nothing wrong with it, or even that dialect is good "Old English",[1] and so on.

If a person is ashamed of his dialect, it is not surprising that it becomes associated with family and friends.[2] Most people develop some kind of modified speech, even if the modifications are only slight, for use with strangers. Not only, then, must the informant be convinced of one's genuine interest in dialect, but also there will still be the need to get to know him well enough to elicit dialect.[3]

Those informants who value the past or even prefer the old days to present times, are more amenable to the conception that dialect is interesting and valuable. Some become most keen to assist, once they are convinced that the fieldworker has a genuine interest in dialect; they wish to help to preserve something which is dear to them, but which they sense to be fading.

There follow some examples of attitudes to dialect. Many Germans are proud of the dialect which they speak, but

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1. This is sometimes vaguely known by informants through articles of a historical bent about dialect in the local press, and can strike a responsive chord.
2. Cf. Gumperz (1971: 54).
3. Cf. section 2.3.

I encountered much negative assessment of dialect in Farnworth and district:

- "we mess things up a bit"
- "we don't pronounce our aitches"
- we are careless in our speech[1]
- we do not sound the endings on words
- we run words together
- Lancashire dialect "sounds awful"
- the vowels are not nice[2]

Chaurand reports similarly, that the French dialect which he investigated was associated with shame:

- had he come to mock them?
- he would not publish names, would he?
- was the goal to publish humorous texts to their detriment?[3]

It is in the light of such attitudes that Chaurand observes that he was sometimes refused an interview, even though he had been recommended to the informant.

I have met the view amongst informants that dialect and slang are the same thing, and a very bad thing at that.[4] Those who are able to distinguish the terms will almost certainly have a good opinion of dialect, at least in some respects, for they are the ones who know that dialect has a long history. Debate as to whether one should use the term dialect when speaking to informants is sterile, unless a distinction in attitudes to dialect is made. For some informants it is a positive term; some may be persuaded that it is positive, or at least will accept that it is a positive term for the fieldworker; for some, the term remains negative in its connotations, in which case the fieldworker might be advised to emphasise the content of the interview rather more.

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[1] When one explains that Lancashire people are merely speaking as they learned to speak, and not being careless, informants will say that those from whom they learned such speech must have been careless, in that case.

[2] A lady in Birmingham once explained to me: "No, no, Graham, only Standard English has pure vowels. Dialect has diphthongs."

[3] Chaurand (1972: 190).

[4] The confusion is understandable, in that anything which was not S.E. has been roundly condemned in the past.

Attitudes to dialect are reflected in the situations in which it is or is not used. One lady whom I knew, (not an informant), would use an accent which was over-refined to the point of absurdity for discussing religion, important persons such as doctors, and business matters; but of a neighbour's dog, she would say:

/ɩt pɛɩz ɔn 'ɛvrɩ bleːd ɵ græːs 'vɛɩnɩ/
'It pees on every blade of grass very near.'

An informant with modified speech who worked in a hospital, observed: "I never drop an 'h' at the hospital, but I nearly always do when I come home and relax". The same informant also said that her speech became broader whenever she became excited or annoyed - her analysis was quite correct.

Informants have also said that they use dialect when they are being funny - and many do indeed begin to use more strongly dialectal features when telling jokes, or recounting humorous stories.[1] Other uses of dialect given by more modified speakers included: deliberate use of dialect when a more pretentious person complains about your slovenly speech; deliberate use of dialect in a group when you know that you are the only one who can answer a question or solve a problem. Some informants with mixed speech seemed to think that anyone who spoke more broadly than they did was extremely funny: "They don't realise they're bein' funny".

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[1] This observation in no way affects the one in section 1.1.1.4. concerning devices to elicit natural speech on tape.

I shall cite two conversations with informants which reflect attitudes to dialect. The first reflects the supposed link between dialect and ignorance, and a certain ironic play on that attitude; the second illustrates the view that women are more conscious of upward social mobility - but the informant shows not only that he has noticed this, but also that he has an attitude towards it.

1. [The informant's son has just returned from work. He enters the kitchen where we are making a recording in order to wash his hands. He is about 19, and does not know me.]

Informant: /iː wants 'sɷmˌbɔdɩ ʏː ken tɔːk 'prɔpe/
'He wants somebody who can talk proper.'

Informant's son: /aɩ/ [says something whilst washing hands]
'Aye (yes).'

Informant: /nɛː iː tɔːks e bɩt 'gɔə$^{[r]}$dn/
'Now he talks a bit, Gordon.'

Interviewer: "Yea".

Informant: /nɔt mɷtʃ | bɷt | laɩk ðɛ we sɛːɩn et 'dɩne $^{[t]}$ weː |
'Not much, but, like thou were saying at dinner (= lunch) the wɑy

θɩngz ev 'ɔlted ðɛ nọːz ||| ðɛː tɔːks e bit
things have altered, thou knows. Thou talks a bit

mʏə 'brɔːde ðen | ɛː weːn 'dɷsent/
more broader than our Wayne, does thou not?'

Informant's son: /aɩ dʒɷst e bɩt/
'Aye, just a bit.'

Informant: /so: ðɛt 'ɩgerʊnt | æ:nt/
'So thou art ignorant, art thou not?'

Informant's son: /aɩ/
'Aye'. [laughter]

2.
Informant: /wɛn aɩ wɵ 'jʊnger aɩ 'wɩmɩn wɵ | 'wɛnttʃɩz
'When I were younger aye women were - wenches

ðɛ no:z | fɵt bɩ || frɵm ɵ'bɛ:t twɛlv |
thou knows - for to be.. from about twelve,

θɵt'ti:n ^{en} | ðɛ no:z ɛ: ðɛ ple:z 'gɛðɵ |
thirteen and thou knows how thou plays together,

ladz ɵn 'wɛnttʃɩz || ðɩ ɔ: | ðɩ wɵ laɩk ʊz |
lads and wenches, they all.. they were like us,

ðɩ tɔ:k brɔ:d bʊt | ðɛ 'lɩsn$^{[z]}$ tʏ: ɵm nɛ: ||| ɵ: |
they talked broad, but thou listens to them now, er...

ðɩ tɔ:k | wɛl ||| 'ɩnglɩʃ [laughs] sɜʏnd$^{[z]}$ ɵ
they talk.. well.. English! Sounds a

bɩt || pɔ:ʃ dʊn ɩt || [ðɛ 'lɩsnz tɵ ɵm] /
bit posh doesn't it? - [thou listens to them]'

Interviewer: "Do you think that your lad picks it up
when he's workin'?"

Informant: /pɩks wɔt | 'tɔ:kɩn brɔ:d/
'Picks what? Talking broad?'

Interviewer: "Mm."

Informant: /wɛl i: ɩərz ɩt ɔ: ɔ:f mi: dʊn i: mʏə ðɵn 'ɛnɩ/
'Well he hears it all off me doesn't he more than any?'

Interviewer: "Yea. Do you think the lads use it at work
though more than the girls?"

Informant: /a ʃɷd ɩ'madʒɩn so: aɩ/
'I should imagine so, aye.'

Interviewer: "Mm."

Informant: /a 'mi:nnɵ: | ðɛm rɛ:nd maɩ e:dʒ ɵn 'ɜɤdɵ
'I mean er...them (those) round my age and older

ðɵn mi: ðe: tɔ:k brɔ:d || ðɛ kæ:$^{[r]}$nt ɛlp ɩt
than me they talk broad. Thou can't help it

ðo: kɔnt tɩt dʒɷs kɷmz ɛ:d [unintelligible] ||
though can thou? It just comes out [unintelligible].

bɷt 'wɛnttʃɩz || ðe: si:m t || gɤ: ɵ bɩt mɤə
But wenches, they seem to go a bit more

'blɷdɩ | rɩ'faɩn kaɩn ɵ θɩng ɵn 'bɛtθɵ |||
bloody refined kind of thing and better.

so: ɩt dɷnt sɛ:nd naɩs ɔf ɵ 'wɷmɵn dɷz ɩt laɩk ||
So it doesn't sound nice off a woman, does it like?

wɵ: ðɛ dɷnt 'bɔðɵ mɷtʃ ɔ:f ɵ mɔn || dɷnt sɛ:nd
Where thou doesn't bother much off a man - doesn't sound

t se:m ɔ:f ɵ wɷ ||| /
the same off a wo[man].'

Given the worries of informants about dialect, what is required from the fieldworker is a positive attitude. I tried to indicate that I felt dialect to be significant and interesting in its own right, and that I regarded the informant as a valuable source of significant information. I tried to convey the impression - not difficult, because true - that the informant had something to teach me, and that I was keen to hear it. I found that most people like to help with things, and that all like to feel that they are valued by others, that they have something of significance to contribute. This is the crux of fieldwork: to esteem, respect and value the informant in a genuine manner. If the informant senses that he is valued, the age difference between himself and the interviewer will pale into insignificance, and it will no longer really matter if he cannot fully understand one's project.

One last problem may be mentioned. When seeking to record speakers of more modified types of English, one may encounter some who will advance the view that they do not speak in a sufficiently broad manner to warrant an interview. Those who conduct random samples and stratified studies will probably meet the same kind of problem in a more extreme form: namely, those who insist that they do not have an accent, and take umbrage at any suggestion to the contrary. As I was not interviewing professional groups for this study, I doubtless did not experience the full possibilities of this problem. An explanation which stressed the comparative value of modified speech proved adequate for my purposes. Others, however, might well need to appeal to the stringent requirements of their sampling techniques.

2.2.4. Informants in Institutions:

I found that wardens in old peoples' homes were very willing to co-operate with a dialectologist. Actually, I only did a very small amount of work in this way, but others would undoubtedly be able to do more. It is appropriate to write to the warden in advance, explaining one's work concisely, and to arrange an appointment at her convenience. It is quite possible to be given the run of a home, although if told to call at any time, it is appropriate on doing so to notify the warden or her deputy of one's presence on the premises. The impression which I gained was that wardens are pleased for the people in the home to have visits, to have something new to do, and to feel that they are involved in something interesting or significant. Certainly, there are many elderly people in homes, who have the time to talk to a dialectologist.

Schools nowadays are subject to regular requests for assistance with research. The dialectologist should explain fully why he needs the co-operation of the schools. One headmaster had received an extraordinary number of questionnaires in a single term, and I could only sympathise with him as he brandished aloft a fat questionnaire from a college, exclaiming: "Look at this! 'Will you write my M.Ed. for me?' in other words!" The offending article was tossed into the nearest waste-paper basket without further ado. The researcher, who is naturally very much caught up in his project, has to bear in mind that institutions - the point applies to individuals as well - often have other things to do, and that he has no particular right to their time, effort or co-operation. He should therefore proceed in a polite, responsible and accountable manner. Generally, I found that schools were willing to co-operate within the limits imposed by their timetables - even the school which had been inundated with questionnaires.

When recording is carried out - especially in a school - there may be a total lack of suitable facilities, and a good number of technical hindrances present. Apart from needing to be rather innovative, the researcher will need to have a good knowledge of the technical equipment which he is using: the astute use of a manually-operated recording level, unidirectional microphone, and the microphone position can help to obviate background noise considerably. A willingness to take groups of children in makeshift classrooms was also required.

2.2.5. The Specific Issue of Making a Recording:

Although a person may have agreed to act as an informant, the arrangement of a time and a day for actually making a tape recording is a specific issue. I would mention to an informant, when explaining the purposes of the research, that I wished to make a tape recording of his speech. However, it is not appropriate to overemphasise the making of tape recordings until one has got to know the informant. Consequently, a time comes when it is necessary to broach the specific issue, and ask if the informant will make a tape recording. All informants eventually agreed to make a tape recording, or more than one. In the case of my eldest informant, however, I encountered extreme difficulty on this point. I am not convinced that she really knew what a tape recorder was, and for a number of visits she would talk to me personally, but would not agree to be recorded. Eventually, she agreed to a recorded interview, but only on condition that someone else came along to do the bulk of the talking! As there are rather immediate limits beyond which one would not wish to go in trying to persuade ninety-year old ladies to do something which they do not wish to do, it was necessary to settle for an inadequate recording in this one instance. All other informants made more extended contributions.

It would be fair to say that many informants are happy to talk to the dialectologist personally, but are nervous of making tape recordings. I found it advisable to continue visiting informants who seemed nervous, until such time as they were happy to make a recording. The issues discussed in section 2.3. are concerned with the establishment of a viable relationship with the informant prior to asking for a recorded interview. If the tape recording which an informant makes does not adequately reflect his normal speech, it is always possible to ask the informant to make a further tape or further tapes. It should not be unduly difficult to think of some subject - not covered by the first tape - on which one would like to hear his views. The resultant variations in the degree of formality of different tapes, or parts of the same tape, by the same informant, provide invaluable material for the study of the modification of speech.

Although some informants perceived immediately that the tape recording as such was necessary, if only because I could not be expected to remember everything or write it down, one or two requested further, quite specific details about the exact requirement involved - i.e. a sound record. I explained that I was interested in the very sounds of the dialect themselves, and not just in the words, and proceeded to illustrate the point by giving three widely divergent pronunciations of the word boat (with[oː, ɔː and əʊ]), and writing these down on a piece of paper in broadish phonetic script. Those concerned were able to follow without difficulty, and seemed singularly impressed and satisfied - impressed even to the point of producing some new peculiarity of speech, and asking to see that transcribed too! Having seen that phonetic transcription is rather detailed and can take a lot of time, they were immediately convinced of the need to have the sounds on tape, so that I could repeatedly play them back for transcribing at a later date.

2.2.6. Copyright of Tapes:

The question of copyright on tape recordings made for research purposes is not perfectly clear in law. Some scholars therefore advocate asking the informants to sign the tapes over to the interviewer. I elected not to do this. The purposes for which the recordings were required were explained to the informants, and they made the recordings on that understanding. Secondly, since informants usually asked who might hear the tapes, I explained to them as follows:

1) myself, for research purposes. I added that I could take the sounds and words off the tapes, without needing to refer to the informants by name in published work.

2) Bona fide scholars, perhaps wishing to check my work, but only with my permission, and that of the director of the university archives in which the tapes were to be deposited; further, that if the informant was not happy with that arrangement, I would honour any further restriction(s) which he wished to place on access to the tape(s), even if this excluded everyone apart from myself.

3) The tapes would not be used as party-pieces, nor would they be used on radio, nor by

> commercial concerns. I added that I might wish to use some of the material in books one day, but that I would respect any restrictions to the contrary.

I felt that these considerations represented an adequate verbal contract with the informants, and they all seemed thoroughly satisfied. None chose to place any restriction whatsoever on his tape(s) beyond what I should personally deem appropriate.

Had I been recording material such as performances of dialect songs or poems, I should probably have felt constrained to ask for a signature, as such material is more open to commercial use, and may well be the original work of the informant.

A particular reason for not asking for signatures was a psychological one: I felt that a need for signatures might impair my relationship with my informants. Signing is associated with taking responsibilities, with acquisition and forfeiture, or commerce - it is not associated with transactions between friends. Having stressed the non-commercial nature of the study, it seems questionable that the dialectologist should go on to ask the informant to sign away the tape. I later discovered that Ruoff takes a very similar view to my own: he writes that a signature is legally unnecessary, because the informant agreed to make the tape on the assumption that it would subsequently be analysed, and that a request for a signature only runs the risk of souring the atmosphere and the relationship.[1]

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[1] Ruoff (1973: 95).

2.2.7. Eliciting Biographical Data:

In order to aid subsequent reconstruction of the interview,[1] background data to the interview should be available. Paramount here will be biographical details of the informants. I took the view that it would be undesirably formal to ask an informant to fill out a biographical questionnaire, and that it would be equally inadvisable to systematically request full biographical details, especially too early in the relationship. My procedure was rather to elicit biographical data gradually by talking with the informant about his past life.[2] Occasionally, a specific detail was requested at the end of a recording session, prefaced by the explanation that it was helpful to know the exact age, or whatever, of the person who had made the tape, and with some phrase such as "by the way".

It is probably advisable to try to go over the main biographical details several times - not because informants mislead, but because they sometimes forget. Three people eventually recalled periods of absence from the area, which they had not mentioned when first asked. In extensive discussions with an informant about his past, it is not difficult to broach the same issues several times, and perhaps in several different ways.

2.2.8. Degree of Participation:

There is, I believe, such a thing as degree of co-operation or participation. It is possible for an informant to feel obliged to make a tape recording without really wanting to. He could be the sort of person who does not like to refuse people, or he may feel obliged to co-operate through knowing the interviewer, or due to having been recommended. Considerations in sections 2.3, 2.2. and 2.4. are intended to assist the dialectologist in eschewing the problems of co-operation which is less than wholehearted. However, because an interview for some informants probably remains something of an ordeal, no matter how one may try to render it otherwise, it may prove difficult for them to co-operate fully. The attitude and the behaviour of the fieldworker are particularly significant here. Should the informant detect a lack of seriousness or genuineness, a superior attitude or a grovelling subservience on the part of the fieldworker, then the quality of an interview may be seriously affected.[1] Degree of participation is likely to affect the informant's style - it is therefore a crucial factor.

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[1] Cf. section 4.
[2] Cf. section 2.4.5.

2.3. Getting to Know the Informant:

The relationship with the informant is central to the interview situation, and has been placed there (section 2.4.3.). However, the relationship starts to form with the introduction to the informant, and develops through sections 2.2. and 2.3. Socialising with the informant, or getting to know him, prior to making recordings, very much determines the nature of the relationship during the interview session itself. Wax has stressed the social nature of fieldwork: fieldwork is something

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1. Cf. Ruoff (1973: 83), and sections 2.4.3.1. and 2.4.3.2. below.

which is "created" by all those involved, and its success or otherwise depends upon what the people involved managed to work out between them.[1] I agree with Wax that the researcher-informant relationships described in any account of fieldwork are to be viewed as illustrative of possibilities, and not as definitive procedures.[2] One of my own experiences was that rôle-playing of the teacher-pupil variety (where the informant is the teacher and the researcher the pupil) was successfully central to a number of relationships, but of course others might find different rôles preferable.

The researcher's relationship to the informant will be very much determined by whether or not the former tries to take an insider's view - to step in and out of the culture which he is studying.[3] My own position was ambivalent. On the one hand I was a native of the area, and had some knowledge of the dialect; on the other hand I had been away, and I had been educated. There is a sense, then, in which I was both an insider and an outsider to the culture of the area. More specifically, I was not a man over sixty, I had not worked down a pit, and residual dialect was not my customary means of communication, even if I did understand it, and therefore there seemed little point in pretending otherwise. I did not attempt to behave exactly as if I were one of my informants, and was not expected to do so. The matter will be discussed further in section 2.4.3.

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1. Cf. Wax (1971: 363).
2. Ibid. 363
3. Cf. ibid., 3ff. On the dangers of rigidity of approach, see pp. 8-10, and on socialisation into an alien culture, p. 13.

2.3.1. Socialising:

A certain amount of general socialising is involved in getting to know the informant. The nature of this socialising will usually be determined by the informant - the fieldworker will need to accommodate himself to the informant's wishes. It may be necessary to talk about politics or football, to meet the informant's wife, family or friends, to take meals or snacks with the informant, or to accompany him to the local alehouse. I have been obliged to consume meat pies made by an informant's wife when I was already quite replete, and to look appreciative thereafter; to suffer an attempted conversion to a minority religious sect; to humour an informant's dog, despite its aversion to the tape recorder and its interest in the microphone cable; and to socialise with an informant's children. In one household, I was expected to call for a meal whenever I was in the area, and generally to visit them extensively. The result was that the two informants in this household eventually made recordings which were markedly broader than the ones which they had made earlier. When the best recording took place, it was altogether by chance, as I had not even been expecting to make a recording.

It is often possible to develop quite a close relationship with informants. Ruoff has drawn attention to the fact that it is not possible to view one's informants simply as bearers of linguistic forms. He observed that confessions made by informants to the fieldworker could be quite astounding at times, and that the fieldworker could be required to function as an adviser, a judge, or even a priest.[1] Ruoff touched on a fundamental point, when he remarked that spontaneous, uninhibited speech implied a very "human" content and context:

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[1] Ruoff (1973: 105).

> Die Gewißheit, daß es sich bei der Mehrzahl unserer Aufnahmen um die natürliche Normalsprache der Gewährsleute und zugleich um die vorbehaltlose Äußerung von Menschen handelt, hat eben auch die Kehrseite, daß wir unsere Belege nicht nur als Linguistikum, sondern auch als Humanum erhielten und anzusehen haben.[1]

2.3.2. Styles:

Two distinct stylistic issues depend upon getting to know the informants reasonably well prior to recording them. It is only through protracted contact with an informant that one begins to acquire an insight into his range of styles, or repertoire.[2] It is impossible to know what the base dialect of an area is really like unless one has heard informants speaking in a variety of situations, and particularly with their most intimates. Secondly, given the first point, unless the dialectologist has some appreciation of the range of styles over which an informant disposes, he will not know which style the informant is using with him! The timing of a recorded interview will depend upon a sense of the style which the informant uses with the investigator.[3]

The concept style can be broadly defined in two different ways. As I use the term, it generally refers to a level or variety of speech, broadly typical of a social class, but also determined by the relationships between the collocutors and by

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1. Ruoff (1973: 105).
2. Cf. Gumperz (1971: 182 and xiii).
3. Cf. section 2.4.2.

the subject under discussion. The concept is broadly defined in this way by Wackernagel-Jolles.[1] Style, however, can also refer to the actual characteristics of speech, the details or devices employed, again as remarked by Wackernagel-Jolles.[2] Further work is urgently required on style in both these senses, and perhaps, especially the latter. Style, in the first sense defined here, becomes a crucial factor in the interview situation, and will be further discussed in section 2.4.

Wright observed:

> The working classes speak quite differently among themselves, than when speaking to strangers or educated people, and it is no easy matter for an outsider to induce them to speak pure dialect, unless the outsider happens to be a dialect speaker himself.[3]

Some dialectologists, such as Viereck,[4] have claimed that they did better at eliciting the right style of speech as they themselves learned to speak the dialect, and have recommended to other dialectologists that they should speak the dialect with their informants. Personally, I am not convinced that a single rôle can be advocated in a wholesale manner - which is not to deny that learning to speak the dialect can be stylistically effective. Indeed, it could well also improve the investigator's sense of kinesthetic feedback for the transcription and phonological analysis. One might also wonder whether trying to speak the dialect after the manner of the informants is not in fact particularly suited to foreign

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1. Wackernagel-Jolles (1971: 255).
2. Ibid., 257. For some linguists, style is more strongly associated with this second type of definition. Thus Ruoff (1973: 58) defines it more narrowly, as the totality of characteristics of individual speech, which mark off that speech from the average usage of a clearly defined group. In this definition, style is purely individual. It is not a property of groups.
3. Wright, J. (1905: iv).
4. Cf. Viereck (1966: 63).

dialectologists, although the point is somewhat speculative.

Despite the fact that I could speak the dialect to some extent, I did not generally do this with informants. Informants were, however, required to instruct and correct me on certain isolated matters, as these occurred. For example, the exact quality of /æː/ in many of its realisations is not easy to achieve, and in such instances I sought to imitate informants at some length. Otherwise, I used a casual style of speech, which included a considerable number of local traits, i.e. a style of speech appropriate to a younger person from that area. This did not involve any acting or efforts at an unnatural style, and consequently did not disrupt the flow of conversation, nor render the situation artificial. Such a style seemed very acceptable to the informants. I never received the impression that they expected me to try to be precisely like them. What did seem to concern the informants was whether I would accept them for what they were, and make myself at home with them. I was sometimes expected to answer questions, express opinions, or offer advice - i.e. actually to show some signs of education. I tried to take my informants as I found them, and discovered that they were largely willing to do precisely the same with me. It follows that differences in age, education and such like can be overcome without making oneself out to be a complete insider to a particular group. The way in which factors such as age and education might hamper or ruin fieldwork would be if they manifested themselves in an air of distance, superiority, or pretentiousness. I feel that many informants fear such things initially, and it is one of the functions of getting to know the informant to allay such fears. It is possible that the use of my more casual, and more strongly regional, style of speech may have been useful in this respect.[1]

Finally, the very real nature of multiple coding for the informants is reflected in the following well-balanced phrase, used by more traditional speakers say, when sitting in front of the fire on a particularly bad night:

/ðɵ(r)z ˈnoːbdι ɜɤt ɵz ˈmaθɵ(r)z ɜɤt/
'There's nobody out as matters *owt*.'

The first /ɜɤt/ is a modified form, the dialect pronunciation of *out* being /ɛːt/; the second, however, is the dialect word /ɜɤt/ 'anything'. I have also encountered the written puzzle

"*tin tin tin*"

To interpret this, one needs to supply the dialect

[t͡ʔtιnt͡ʔtιnt͡ʔtιn]
'it isn't in the tin'.

2.4. *The Interview Situation*:

The subheadings within this section are tentative. It is difficult to produce a set of headings which allow one to analyse adequately the interview situation. For instance, the boundary between personality and rôle-playing is impossible to ascertain.

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[1] After an evening spent socialising with an informant and his wife, the latter exclaimed: "Eeeh Graham! You're nor at all stuck up for somebody who's so clever!" I would gladly omit this accolade, except that it seems to illustrate informants' concerns when confronted with an academic.

2.4.1. Location of the Interview:

Except in the case of informants in institutions, tape recording was carried out in the informant's home. In a society where dialect is associated with the home, it seems particularly appropriate to proceed in this manner. The informant is surrounded by familiar objects and persons, and is likely to feel even more relaxed by virtue of the fact that he is, when on his own territory, very much in charge.

Melchers refers to the obvious technical disadvantages of recording in informants' homes, but feels that these are outweighed by the fact that informants speak more broadly there.[1] I think, however, that it is generally possible to make recordings which are technically good in informants' homes. Minor problems may be posed by gas fires, clocks with a loud tick, passing traffic, pets, other persons, and so on. If there is any choice of room, then obviously the more or most secluded is to be preferred. Some of the technicalities involved in recording in the home are discussed in section 2.4.4.

Informants in institutions were recorded there. In an old peoples' home, a "visitors' room" usually provides armchairs, a plug socket, and the requisite peace and quiet. In a school, one may have to make do with any nook or cranny,[2] although the quieter the better. The interviewer should carry rechargeable and/or disposable batteries for his tape recorder in addition to mains leads, so that it should never be necessary for power requirements to dictate the location of an interview.

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1. Melchers (1972: 19).
2. In many schools, overcrowding is such that lessons are being taught in corridors, the hall, the library, and the staff room. The dialectologist cannot expect to fare any better.

2.4.2. Timing of the Interview:

The reference here is primarily not to the duration and structure of an interview - which are infinitely variable depending on informant, task, circumstances and interviewer, and which are not predictable for nor crucially relevant to free speech interviews - but rather to the decision as to when it would be appropriate to record an interview with a particular informant. Considerations outlined in section 2.3.2. are paramount here. Ideally, the interviewer will know the informant's repertoire, and will be convinced that his relationship with the informant is such that the informant will speak to him in his most relaxed manner. At any event, the opportunity to record an informant on a plurality of occasions should not be overlooked, especially if there are any doubts about the style of a first recording,[1] and especially if variations in style are of interest within the terms of reference of the study. Indeed, for the examination of modified speech, it would not be at all perverse to make a deliberately premature tape recording for comparison with recordings to be made at a later date with the same informant.

The concepts of style and timing of interviews do not, in my view, receive sufficient attention in studies where large samples have to be interviewed in relatively brief periods of time. For the elicitation of traditional vernacular, the concepts are central.

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[1] Reference was made in section 2.3.1. to two informants who eventually made better recordings at a relatively late stage of my relationship with them.

One point may be made concerning the timing of interviews with regard to their possible duration. It seemed advisable to select a day when the informant had a whole morning, afternoon or evening free. Normally, I would talk with an informant for some time before the actual recording began. In addition to this fact, I found it useful to make recordings of up to two hours in length. Whilst some informants would not care to talk for anything like that amount of time, the possibility can at least be accommodated. Sometimes informants would ask how long the interview was to be: my answer was always that it would be for however long they cared to converse, and that there were no limits on my time, tapes or batteries. An atmosphere which is free of restrictions presumably is most conducive to uninhibited conversation. More extensive interviewing sessions also offer informants the best opportunity to get used to the equipment, and indeed to the whole situation. There is time to relax when discoursing at length.

If one time of day happens to be quieter in a particular area, or even one day quieter than another, due to local conditions, this could well be selected for the interview.[1]

There follows an instance of getting the timing of an interview slightly wrong. The informant involved was my youngest base-dialect informant. His speech was both broad & fluent and he betrayed no signs of worry about making a recording. I - no doubt mistakenly - thought that an interview would

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1. Cf. section 2.4.4.6.

proceed smoothly enough. I had not, of course, prepared the interview with the informant in any detailed way. After a few minutes, the informant felt a little stuck for words, and said: " Dost know when it's like this theaw doesn't know what t'say proper dost? [laughs]. If I'd 'ad abeawt[1] 3 or 4 pints I'd 'ave been yap yap yap all neet wunt I? [laughs] ". In retrospect, allowing for the fact that my interview technique might not have been at its best, I think that I should have researched the informant's favourite discussion topics rather more closely before recording him. Fortunately, although the informant was the youngest main informant for the base dialect, he was as near unable to switch codes as is possible. For that reason, I did not have to pay the stylistic price which might otherwise have been incurred, although the informant indicated what might have been: " Dost know I'm tryin' t'talk posh neaw an' I can't! [laughter]. Theaw wouldn't believe it! [laughter] If mi mam were 'ere neaw! " (Despite these initial worries, the informant nonetheless went on to make an excellent recording, in that the speech was residual and the delivery fluent.)

2.4.3. Relationship with the Informant:

Previous sections have treated various aspects of the dialectologist's introduction of himself and his project to the informant (section 2.2.), and the relationship which the dialectologist establishes with the informant in the course of getting to know him (section 2.3.). This relationship forms the basis of the recording session(s), but it is not the only factor involved. Section 2.4. aims to identify other salient features of the interview situation. In this way, it will become clear that the concept style is not merely determined by the social standing of the speaker, by his relationship to the interviewer, and by particular linguistic devices, but further by the specific nature of, and equipment belonging to, the interview situation. This present section, then, on the relationship with the informant, is not altogether a discrete unit. Previous considerations impinge upon the relationship, as do matters set out in other subsections here. Sections 2.4.4. and 2.4.5. in particular have a bearing on this present section. Nonetheless, there are matters which directly determine the nature of the personal relationship in the interview situation, and these are adduced here.

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[1] eaw = /ɛː/.

2.4.3.1. Rôles:

In the course of field interviews, the interviewer will play a number of rôles, or take up a number of stances, in relation to his informants. I found that a pupil-teacher relationship, in which the interviewee is the teacher and the interviewer the pupil, offered convenient rôles for both parties in a number of cases. Admittedly, in one case, the informant was a little too impressed by his rôle as instructor in local history, and was using a good deal of modified speech;[1] happily, his son came in, which changed the whole course - and style -

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[1] Please see footnote 1 on p. 157.

of the conversation. Otherwise, the rôle seemed to offer informants the opportunity to feel that they had something of significance to contribute.

Ruoff has alluded to the fact that in his fieldwork he was sometimes called upon to function as adviser, judge or even confessional priest.[2] I would agree that there are times when one can find oneself playing just such rôles - even if only for very short periods in my case. Other scholars have recommended that one should try to become a member of the group which one is studying, although Wax warns that it is the group itself which decides the conditions for entry, and that the extent to which anyone may be admitted to a group varies a great deal: rigidity of approach is therefore particularly inadvisable.[3] Wright's observation that it is difficult for an "outsider" to induce the working classes to speak dialect unless he is himself a dialect speaker,[4] and Viereck's advocacy of speaking the dialect with the informant,[5] are related to the question of insider status. Yet ultimately, one is not a man over sixty; one cannot expect to be a complete insider, and therefore it is relevant to discuss rôles which can be adopted.

A rôle such as that of the pupil in a pupil-teacher relationship might be considered a subordinate one. Equally, however, an interviewer might not have a particularly strong

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1. This gentleman, who has been already designated as conceivably the most awkward man in Farnworth, was appalled by my ignorance of minor local events (prior to my birth), and exclaimed, amongst other things, /wɛl ðæː(r)t ɵ 'blɒdɪ fʏː/ 'Well, thou art a bloody fool!'
2. Ruoff (1973: 105).
3. Cf. Wax (1971: 3ff, 45 and 47).
4. Wright, J. (1905: iv).
5. Viereck (1966: 63).

personality. Where the rôle may therefore be said to end, and the personality begin, is altogether unknown, and no attempt can be made to resolve such issues here. Reference has already been made to one informant whose personality was such that he operationalised his rôle differently from other informants: whereas the latter appeared to gain security and confidence from it, the former used it as a means to abuse the fieldworker, and attempt to adopt a superior attitude towards him. It would probably be true to add that the deliberate adoption of an unduly subordinate rôle on the part of the fieldworker, or a subservient attempt to chum up with the informant, would be just as ill-advised as the adoption of a superior attitude.[1] The general bearing and behaviour of the fieldworker, his trustworthiness and unforced friendliness, his self-confidence and cheerfulness (despite likely setbacks), have rightly been felt by Ruoff to be the most significant factors in the interview situation.[2]

2.4.3.2. Personalities and imponderables:

There is no exact science of the personality, nor can the fieldworker always allow for external circumstances, and the effect which these may have on the informant's mood, or the way in which his particular personality reacts to events. Regardless of rôles, if the informant does not happen to like the fieldworker, then there are going to be problems. Possibly there is a clash of personalities. Admittedly the phrase

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1. Cf. Ruoff (1973: 83).
2. Cf. ibid., 83, and section 2.2.8. above.

does not tell us a great deal scientifically speaking, yet it is nonetheless not invalid for that reason. One may well not have the slightest idea of what went wrong on an occasion when the interview did not live up to expectations. It could, after all, be practically anything. Perhaps the informant was feeling ill that day, perhaps he had suffered a recent bereavement, or heard bad news, perhaps he had taken some strong medicament, and so on. As far as I can tell, I did not have any personality clashes with informants, but there were certainly interviews or parts of interviews which did not go as well as I had hoped.

It was suggested in the previous section that rôles and personality overlap. If a particular informant is too formal or too aggressive when assigned a teacher's rôle, then the fieldworker must have a certain resilience to being lectured and possibly abused, and - short of a happy intervention - will need the presence of mind to search for rôles or topics of conversation more suited to the informant's personality, and to do this in mid interview if need be.

It was also suggested, with Ruoff, that the fieldworker's attitude and general bearing were probably the most important determinants of the interview relationship. Needless to say, the requisite friendliness, genuine interest, confidence and trustworthiness have much to do with the fieldworker's personality. They cannot really be acted out, and, if they are, they are not likely to meet with much success:

> Gerade der 'einfache Mensch' hat ja im allgemeinen ein sehr fein entwickeltes Organ für die Seriosität des Gegenübers und die Angemessenheit von dessen

> Äußerungen. Wenn davon nicht schon sein Einverständnis zur Aufnahme abhängt, so doch sicherlich deren Qualität...[1]

2.4.3.3. Interview technique:

Interview technique is a part of one's relationship with the informant at the time of recording, and it is not wholly separable from questions of rôle and personality. The use of particular topics of conversation (section 2.4.5.), and the handling of the technical equipment (section 2.4.4.) are also aspects of technique. In all these cases, the interviewer has only a limited amount of control over the factors involved. The informant will often dictate the topics of conversation, even if only by virtue of having a limited number of topics on which he converses with any readiness, whilst the technical equipment has its own particular requirements. In a similar way, personalities and rôles can only be manipulated to a limited extent. After a brief comment on these issues, I should like to look at certain other aspects of interview technique: these are matters of practical technique over which the interviewer has a considerable degree of control.

As far as rôles and personality are concerned, it probably helps if the interviewer is neither too nervous nor too formal. The latter possibility is a danger which should not be underestimated. The dialectologist is just as capable of switching codes as the informant. In addition, the knowledge that tapes are to be deposited in an archive, or perhaps even transcribed and edited by others, could induce an unwelcome formality on the dialectologist's part. I was quite horrified by my own performance on one tape, when I was using the S.E.D. Questionnaire. I was certainly being too formal on that occasion, although I hope that the tendency was largely eradicated after that. Topics of conversation may be changed in order to change the style, or in order to ensure the fluency of an interview, whilst the technical equipment should generally be handled with the minimum of fuss, in order not to keep drawing attention to it.[1]

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[1] Ruoff (1973: 83).

For all the main interviewing, tape-recording was preferred to note-taking and simultaneous transcription. Extensive use of the latter techniques would have detracted significantly from the naturalness of the conversation.[2] When making tape recordings, no transcription was carried out at the same time. It is altogether impossible for the interviewer to hold a natural conversation and to transcribe as well. Furthermore, note-taking and transcription in conversations which are not being recorded show that informants tend to pause whenever they see that the interviewer wishes to write something down.[3] My procedure was, therefore: 1) no writing during tape-recorded interviews; 2) use of memory, where possible, in unrecorded interviews; 3) transcription and note-taking in unrecorded interviews, when asking specific questions of informants, or when memory would have proved inadequate.

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1. Cf. section 2.4.4. Some male informants, however, clearly wish to inspect the equipment and to be told certain technical details about its performance. If an informant wishes to acquaint himself with the equipment, one has very little option but to comply with the request. Such compliance on the whole probably does more good than harm - cf., however, section 2.4.8.
2. Thus also Viereck (1966: 63).
3. Cf. Ruoff (1973: 90).

There is no reason why the interviewer should not speak at length on the tapes if this improves the naturalness of the conversation.[1] Conversation is, after all, a two-way process, and undue restrictions on the contribution of one of the parties can only lead to an artificial situation. Some informants require much more conversational support than others. Whereas some would answer a question with a word or a sentence, one informant spoke for two sides of tape (*circa* 30 minutes per side) virtually without pause or interruption on his favourite subject "the old days". My only function was to nod and use facial gesture copiously and appreciatively.

In order to record events in their natural environment, it was most unusual for me to stop the tape recorder, except to change tape - noise, unexpected callers, and other third parties were all recorded.[2] The policy of leaving the tape recorder running also eliminated problems resulting from constant awareness of the technical equipment. Tape-speed is an important consideration here. Too slow a speed is undesirable for the recording of speech for subsequent phonetic analysis, but the technically desirable 7.1/2 i.p.s. necessitates a change of tape every 15 minutes,[3] which is altogether too brief an interval between changes. The compromise reached was a speed of 3.3/4 i.p.s. for all recordings, which resulted in a change of tape every half hour.

When interviewing in the social sciences, one aspect of technique which the interviewer must learn is to refrain

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1. Cf. Ruoff (1973: 84).
2. So also *ibid*., 84.
3. When using archive-quality tape and 5" reels, which was the maximum size of reel on portable machines of a suitable design.

from expressing his own opinions, lest he influence the informant's statements. This condition does not obtain for the linguist, who is concerned more with the form of speech than with its content. If anything, the reverse holds true for the linguist: his opinions will often serve to stimulate the informant, and certainly to make the conversation more natural.[1] Platt and Platt feel that it is inadvisable to correct an informant, as one might thereby bias the information received, and - even in linguistics - one risks spoiling the relationship with the informant.[2] Frankly, I doubt whether one can generalise in this latter respect, as many informants are not averse to learning something during the course of an interview, and some even expect to. The fieldworker must surely judge each case on its merits.

It is certainly necessary for the dialectologist to develop the technique of keeping a conversation going naturally without interrupting the informant unnecessarily. The interviewer must know how and when to be a good listener. When the informant is speaking at length, he is most likely to be at his ease, and his uninterrupted speech will be technically superior for purposes of transcription, and generally useful for syntactic analysis too. Yet the dialectologist must equally know when to ask a question, or express a comment or opinion, in order to keep the conversation going, and to make it as stimulating as possible for the informant. Facial

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1. Cf. Platt and Platt (1975: 169); Ruoff (1973: 83, footnote).
2. Platt and Platt (1975: 169).

expression and gesture are excellent aids: they enable the informant to see that the interviewer is following, appreciating and taking part in the conversation, without obscuring the sound record. The more attention the interviewer is seen to be paying, the more natural the conversation will be.

2.4.3.4. Profiles of the informants:

It is valuable to include a brief comment on each informant in respect of his personality and his behaviour as an informant.[1] This is one reason why I have not given the informants' names. An indication of the attitude of an informant to being recorded, his range of speech styles, and his personality, is of more use in the reconstruction of an interview than the informant's name.[2] The numbers used here to represent the informants accord with those in section 2.1.5.

1. Genuine, utterly frank and unpretentious, and was pleased to assist me. His wife said of him: "There's no deceit in my husband", and: "My husband says whatever he thinks however he thinks, and he doesn't mind whose toes he's treading on". Never switched styles in ordinary conversation, even with a stranger, but he did to some extent on his first tape, where he seemed to feel that the content of his speech (his life history) was important. This resulted in a certain formality on his part. The same formality is absent from his other recordings. Excellent informant.

2. Introduced to me by 1. Quickly accustomed himself to being interviewed, and spoke very naturally. His

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[1] Cf. Ruoff (1973: 96).

[2] Admittedly, these profiles can be rather impressionistic when compared with biographical data, but in the present state of psychology they are the best that one can do.

willingness to co-operate had been previously intimated to me by 1 with the comment: "Oh, aye, 'e'll 'elp thee. There's no funny-ossities in eawr family". Excellent informant.

3. A remarkable find. He disliked young people, long hair, modern times, etc. and, according to his wife, did not speak much to strangers normally. The fact that the interviewer was interested in dialect and the old days, however, appeared to outweigh all other considerations! This informant gave incredibly detailed accounts of work, games, home life, and so on. Not only did he factually describe what happened, he always included - in the form of direct speech - whatever all concerned said at the time. His speech was clear, his delivery measured and fluent. I spoke very little indeed during the course of four sides of tape. His speech was slightly modified when talking about technical aspects of mining, bleaching and dyeing. His speech was residual when talking about the old days in general. Excellent informant, and a veritable boon to the oral historian.

4. Very much a take-me-as-you-find-me character, and a woman of few words. Her opening greeting to me on first sight was [wɔt͡ʔ dɷs want‘] 'what does thou want?' In the course of several visits, she became willing to talk to me personally at length (as long as I had plenty of questions), but resisted the tape recorder. Eventually, she agreed to be recorded on condition that someone else came along to do most of the talking. Her contribution was a valuable one, despite the lack of tape-recorded material. She used -en plural endings on verbs.

5. Something of a raconteur. A little nervous of the tape recorder to begin with, when he modified his speech very slightly. A classic case of the benefits to be had by making several visits and recording at some length. Not the easiest of informants to handle, especially when using a questionnaire - but he revealed one or two weaknesses in the S.E.D. Questionnaire in no uncertain terms, which an informant of a more accommodating temperament might well not have done. Very good informant.

6. Very obliging. Keen to help, but used her modified style when first talking about herself and her job. Quite excitable when one knows her well - very broad when excited. Made her best tape after many visits - completely by chance - when she related one long, humorous incident, and a tale about a ghost. She forgot the presence of the tape recorder on this last occasion. Very good informant, who illustrated the need to know one's informants well.

7. Was always interviewed with her sister. Very obliging, keen to help, not as broad as 6. Very calm temperament. Supplied a lot of factual corrections and supplementary material to the contributions of 5 and 6. Interviewing 6 and 7 together was not difficult, as they had lived together nearly all their lives. They complemented each other very well, and when both spoke at the same time it was often to say the same thing. I am convinced that to have attempted to interview them separately would have been a grave mistake.

8. Easy to get on with. Responded to the interview situation well. Signs of slight nervousness for a few minutes at the beginning of his first side of tape, reflected in certain slight, stylistic modifications. After that he was fluent and more relaxed. He discussed the depression, poverty, and hard times with eagerness, and stressed the benefits of having to provide one's own entertainment without resort to money. These were themes dear to other informants' hearts too. Easy to interview, keen to help. Very good informant.

9. A very nice man, whose wife thought the world of him, and told me so (when he was not present). Recommended by 10, prepared to help in any way. Intelligent, aware of changes in usage. No doubt able to modify his speech, at least to some extent, but was able to conceive of playing a rôle that would suit the purposes of the interview - namely, to talk as if he were in a pub or at work with his friends, and as if I were one of them, and to act out that rôle without any signs of difficulty. Excellent informant.

10. Markedly bidialectal. Self-made business man, natural leader. Humble origins, unbroken contact with relatives, and later workforce, ensured a residual dialect component in his repertoire. Business activities reflected in a modified style. Switched to and fro between styles when being interviewed. Keen to assist. Somewhat self-important.

11. Spent longer in the army than any of the other informants. Bidialectal, though less extremely so than 10. Interested in dialect - wanted to be interviewed. Showed signs of nervousness, despite his keenness to be recorded.

12. Needed a little persuasion to take part. Agreed when he heard that a friend of his had done so, and had recommended him. Adapted to the interview situation far more easily than I had imagined he would in view of his initial uncertainty. Spoke fluently, and at length, showing little or no fear of the technical equipment. Very good informant.

13. Able to discipline herself to the rôle of speaking residual dialect. Complained on several occasions that the interviews were causing her to speak dialect on other occasions too. Attitude to dialect remains negative. ("I wish Graham would do his Ph.D. on something else.") Extremely clear speaker, and good at questionnaires. Able to overcome any nervousness about the equipment.

14. Dubbed by his own close relatives as probably the most awkward man in Farnworth. Considerable persistence required to secure an interview. Inclined to be abusive. Used slightly modified style for quite some time, when he felt that he was instructing me on important historical matters. Switched into very broad dialect when talking about football, or when his son came in. For a time, when talking to his son, he appeared to forget the machine, and - I suspect - me too. Difficult, but worth it.

15. Broad, despite his age. A little nervous to begin with, and seemed to feel he would have been better with a drink of beer. Confessed to trying to "talk posh", but further that he could not. This was as near correct as makes no difference; only really had one style. Despite his initial worry, his tapes were actually very good. Perhaps I should

have given him a clearer sense of purpose, or prepared the interview more carefully, or conducted it differently. From talking to him off tape, I had not expected any uncertainty, as he seemed so fluent and self-confident.

When I first met him, he opened the door to me wearing only a pair of half-fastened trousers. This was his attire for the whole of our first discussions (unrecorded, of course). He was pleased to note that I made myself at home with him - as was his wife, although she clearly thought that he should have got up earlier and dressed! Clear speaker, very good informant.

16. Modified speech. Pleased to help. Seemed to appreciate both that I required something to contrast with her husband's speech, and that I wanted to hear about the old days from a woman's point of view too. Easy to talk to, and to interview. Interviewed separately from her husband. Very fluent, and no sign of nerves. Very good informant.

17. A useful modified accent, which owes nothing to formal education. A little nervous beforehand, but settled down well - she was able to pick her own time for the interview, as I was staying at her house. Excitable temperament, broader when excited. I did not find it hard to interview her, but a stranger might have done. Very clear speech, very good informant.

18. Very willing to help, but rather nervous about "doing it right". I think that she found it difficult to imagine that the content of her speech was not crucial. Modified speech, said she was perhaps a snob, but that she had always

"yearned for something better". Very typical modified accent. Clear speaker. A better informant than she thought herself to be. Needed reassurance, and probably benefitted from her husband's presence.

19. Recorded by accident, due to coming in whilst his father was being interviewed. Did not seem in the least perturbed. Spoke very naturally. Both he and his father spoke broadly and with enthusiasm about the horses which they had when his father was a carter.

Schoolchildren: varied reactions. Some quiet - group interviews seemed preferable. Topics such as games, ghosts, bonfire, family, jokes, school, etc. can all evoke a response, but the response varies a lot from one child to the next. There were signs of the ability to switch styles amongst nine-to-eleven-year olds. There was also, in more than one case, a very genuine and urgent need for speech therapy.

2.4.3.5. Profile of the interviewer:

I generally endeavoured to behave as naturally as possible, since I have spent much time in days gone by talking to older people in the Farnworth area.[1] From one tape I had to learn not to be formal myself.[2] Patience was also required with informants who could not immediately see what was required of them, or who showed signs of nervousness. I feel in retrospect that there were times when I did not explain clearly enough to informants what was required, and perhaps did not encourage them enough. When an interview does not run as smoothly as one would wish, one must, I think, as in teaching, not appear too discouraged oneself: setbacks are virtually inevitable. Various aspects of my behaviour when talking to informants, whether in recorded interviews or not, have been covered in sections 2.1.6., 2.2.1., 2.2.2., 2.2.3., 2.2.5., 2.2.6., 2.2.7., 2.2.8., and most of sections 2.3. and 2.4.

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[1] Reference has been made elsewhere to the use of my more regional, casual style of speech with informants. That is the one which comes naturally when talking to older working people.

[2] Cf. section 2.4.3.3.

2.4.4. Making Recordings (technical aspects):

In addition to the more human determinants of fieldwork, technical aspects must also be considered. Transcription (section 3) is completely dependent upon the technical quality of the material in the corpus, as is reinterpretation or re-use of the material (section 4). Through the transcription, the entire analysis equally depends upon technical aspects of fieldwork. For detailed work in phonetics, the technical quality of the recordings must be high.

2.4.4.1. The technical equipment:

Nearly all the recordings were made using a Sony TC-800B or a Uher 4000 Report - both portable reel-to-reel machines, which can yield results of a professional standard. Both are eminently portable in respect of both size and weight. At the time, cassette machines could not be considered for serious work in phonetics, as they could not produce recordings of a quality comparable to that achieved by reel-to-reel machines.

Source of power need not cause problems, as all eventualities can be guarded against. I carried a mains lead equipped with a plug that would adapt to any socket, an extension lead, a rechargeable nickel-cadmium cell, and at least one set of disposable batteries. In this way, the power source was never allowed to dictate the location of an interview, nor delay an interview. When mains voltage reductions were in operation at the time of power cuts, mains power was rejected in favour of fully-charged batteries.

Both machines used were conveyed in a carrying-case with shoulder strap, and when carried in vehicles were placed flat on the floor of the vehicle.

An extension microphone of the cardioid type, equipped with a pause-start switch,[1] was used, and generally on a microphone stand. On occasion, when I was sitting at some distance from an informant, I availed myself of the mixing facility which allows one to make use of the machine's built-in electret-condenser microphone in addition to the extension microphone. The choice of a unidirectional or omnidirectional microphone depends upon such factors as the number of informants, and the presence or absence of background noise. For work with a single informant at close quarters, a unidirectional microphone may be preferred.

The choice of recording level depended upon the circumstances. When the speech was variable in volume (e.g. with children), the automatic recording level facility was used. When there was background noise which I wished to exclude as

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1. Such as a Sony F-26S.

far as possible, or a fairly constant level of volume, I operated the recording level manually.

The tape used was Ampex 291 Professional Audio Visual Recording Tape, 1.5 Mil Polyester, 1/4" x 600' per 5" reel. The aim was to produce recordings of a high technical standard, both for analysis and for subsequent archiving. The tape speed selected was 3.3/4 i.p.s., which was something of a compromise. A faster speed is technically better, but changing tapes every quarter of an hour runs the risk of ruining the atmosphere. 3.3/4 i.p.s. gave half an hour per side of tape.

I carried a bag which contained items such as batteries, spare tapes, a mains lead, a notebook and pencil, and a map of the area.

Technical data in written form were placed with each tape after the interview session. These included the date and location of the interview, the names of the interviewer and the informant(s) - later to be given reference numbers in respect of their biographical data sheets and profiles - the machine used, the tape speed, and a reference number for the tape,[1] which for safety's sake may be written on the box and stuck onto the tape reel too. Notes on the contents of a tape, and on the behaviour of all concerned, make for a fuller and more useful field trip report. Tapes to be deposited in archives should have as much accompanying background data as possible.

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1. If it is not known in advance what the archival reference for the tape will be, an arbitrary reference system may be used provisionally.

2.4.4.2. The fieldworker's competence with the equipment:

It will be evident that the fieldworker should read and understand the operating instructions and technical specifications of his equipment. However, a technical knowledge of the equipment *in vacuo* is no substitute for a practical competence in handling the equipment. The fieldworker needs to experiment with his equipment prior to conducting real interviews. Only in this way will he discover the best microphone positions, and the variations in recording level required by different microphone positions, and the distance of the microphone from the machine at which feedback occurs.

Very good recordings could be made on my equipment with the microphone situated between 18" and 3'6" or so from the informant's mouth. When sitting at a table and leaning on it, the informant may never be much more than 18" away from the microphone. He should not be too close to it, as distortion may occur, or he may feel intimidated. With an informant sitting in an armchair, a position for the microphone can usually be found at a distance of perhaps three feet or so. Modern equipment is effective at even greater distances, but the best results will not be achieved if the microphone is too far away from the informant. More background noise will be picked up in such instances.

The machine itself is best positioned close to the fieldworker, so that he can operate it, but not too close to the informant, nor to the extension microphone. The machine should be on a firm, flat surface - the floor, a low table of Scandinavian design, or possibly a chair or stool - where the fieldworker can reach it, but where it is not obtrusive. I always tried to place the microphone on its stand between the informant and myself, but slightly to one side and at a lower level. In this way, the informant spoke to the interviewer, not to the microphone, yet "over" or "past" the microphone in so doing. In its position between the informant and the interviewer, the microphone pointed towards the informant. As long as the fieldworker speaks up, his contribution will still be adequately recorded. If there is more than one informant, a group can often be formed around a low table, so that the microphone is centrally positioned. Again, it should point towards the informants rather than the interviewer. Alternatively, the mixing facility may be used, so that the built-in electret condenser microphone picks up one of the parties involved (probably the interviewer). Built-in microphones, however, pick up noise from the machine's motor, and extension microphones are usually preferable. When interviewing across a higher table, the machine might well be placed out of sight on a chair next to the interviewer, and the microphone placed a little to one side of the line of communication between the informant and the interviewer.[1]

If ever a microphone must be held by hand, then only the interviewer should hold it. He will need not only to hold the microphone steady, but also to keep the microphone flex perfectly still, otherwise gross interference will result. Informants tend to fiddle nervously with microphones, and it is inadvisable to let them hold them. I have held the microphone by hand when interviewing a group of children, and perhaps moving around with them or amongst them.[1] I also held the microphone by hand when informant 6 was making her best recording for me. Having secured her permission to use the tape-recorder earlier in the evening, an unplanned interview took place in which the tape recorder was out of sight, and in which I held the microphone limply over the side of the couch. The informant forgot that we were recording, and it was worth holding the microphone by hand simply to have it virtually out of the informant's sight. In reality, the microphone was quite close to the informant, and the recording was a good one.

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[1] Ruoff (1973: 85) writes: "Wir ließen die Gewährsleute aber niemals 'ins Mikrophon' reden, sondern zu uns..." If the microphone is placed as suggested above, it is almost possible to have the best of both worlds.

For reasons of informality, I did not pronounce an archive number or reference number at the beginning of each tape as Ruoff did,[2] nor other technical details. If such are required on the tapes themselves, then a space could be left, and the data added afterwards. Even in larger surveys, a reference number stuck on the tape reel will prevent any unfortunate confusion of tapes.

In order to make natural recordings, and not to disturb the atmosphere, the tape was usually left running, despite any disturbances or interruptions.[3] Such a policy also resulted in one or two unexpected, but nonetheless welcome contributions from third parties. Constant switching on and off of the equipment would only serve to draw attention to it.

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1. The pause-start switch on the microphone can be useful under such circumstances.
2. Ruoff (1973: 84) admits that this might disturb the atmosphere.
3. Similarly, ibid., 84.

In the event of power cuts, voltage reductions, or difficulties of access to mains power, batteries may be used. A certain amount of preparation prior to setting out to conduct interviews was necessary in order to ensure that interviews ran smoothly. The machine was checked, and the heads cleaned with suitable materials. The nickel-cadmium cell was fully recharged, and an adequate supply of accessories and spares assembled. Since the length of an interview, or even the occurrence of an interview, cannot be predicted with any certainty, it seemed advisable always to be equipped for a full-length interview when visiting informants.

2.4.4.3. Effect of the technical equipment on the informant:

Ruoff has drawn attention to the fact that the reports of various fieldworkers on their procedures and experiences are sometimes strongly at variance, and that the possibility of making recordings of natural speech at all has been challenged, chiefly because of the effect of the equipment on the interview situation.[1] My own experience is that natural speech most certainly can be recorded: if this were not so, the dialectologist's corpus of recordings would be noticeably different from what he perceived when living in the area, or, if a native of the area, at variance with his intuitions about the dialect. Furthermore, in Farnworth and similar locations the tapes would not be rich in the most archaic features of the dialect *per definitio*, because the most residual dialect is not used under "unnatural" circumstances. Additionally, there are the not infrequent and unsolicited exclamations from informants - perhaps as one unavoidably draws attention to the equipment by changing a reel of tape - that they had forgotten all about "that". They are sometimes clearly surprised themselves that they had forgotten the equipment. At any rate, they have evidently become unconcerned or less concerned about it.

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[1] Cf. Ruoff (1973: 69 and 77f).

It was suggested in section 2.4.4.2. that the tape recorder be positioned so that it is not unduly obtrusive, and it was further suggested that the microphone be positioned so that it is not right under the informant's nose, nor directly in his line of vision when looking at the collocutor. If, in addition, the interviewer is able to avoid making adjustments to the equipment except when absolutely necessary, there will be long periods in the interview when the technical equipment may hopefully be forgotten, or put to the back of the mind. Once the interviewer is happy with the recording level, there is no real need even to look at the machine - if one does look, the informant will almost certainly notice this, and will probably pause and ask whether the machine is all right. It is not even necessary to check visually the amount of tape left on the reel, as one can hear quite clearly when the end of a tape has been reached.

The location of the interview in the informant's home, and the timing of the interview, are both intended to help minimise the effect of the equipment. I often found that informants seemed a little nervous to begin with, but that they became more relaxed as the interview progressed. For many, other, more personal aspects of the interview situation probably outweighed, or came to outweigh, technical ones. Where nervousness persists, several interviews are in order, so that the informant is afforded ample opportunity to accustom himself to the equipment, and to the interviewer.

See further sections 2.4.4.4., 2.4.4.5., and 2.4.8., and more indirectly section 2.4.5.

2.4.4.4. Presence or absence of third parties:

The presence or absence of third parties, such as a close relative, has both technical and stylistic implications. The situation is somewhat different from that described in section 2.4.4.5.: third parties often materialise unexpectedly, or may be present without taking an active part in the interview. The situation is therefore not quite the same as that in which one deliberately sets out to interview two or more people at once.

Technically, third parties can add to the background noise or interference, and, by speaking at the same time as the informant, may render subsequent transcription problematic. Ruoff has expressed the opinion, in the strongest possible terms, that, from the stylistic point of view, the danger of nervousness on the informant's part is substantially increased by the presence of others from the area, or members of his family.[1] Ruoff notes that the presence of others has sometimes been advocated to increase the naturalness of the conversation, but opposes this idea in the light of his own experience. He writes that, when two or more people are interviewed at once, almost always one takes it upon himself to answer questions addressed to the other; and that both speak at once, which results in transcriptional problems - problems which are undesirable, if there is no other gain.

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[1] Ruoff (1973: 79).

Despite Ruoff's insistence, and despite his undoubted experience, I think that a categorical judgement either way is impossible. Working with fewer informants than a national survey, and perhaps knowing them more closely, my experience was quite the opposite. The third parties in my interviews were always the very closest relatives of the informants, i.e. the very people with whom they lived and spoke dialect. People vary enormously: some welcome a little familiar support, and I feel quite sure that in a number of cases, the presence of a wife, husband, brother, sister, or children, was of nothing less than invaluable assistance. In free speech interviews, it hardly matters if one person answers a question addressed to another, as the interviewer is seldom asking questions to which he really needs a factual answer from a given person. Furthermore, if the interviewer has plenty of time and tape, then he will probably find that if one talks, the other will, and that over a significant period of time, all or both will make a substantial contribution. I have no tapes on which a third party or second informant said too much, or intimidated the (first) informant. As for the situation, say, where two brothers utterly forget the machine (and possibly at times even the interviewer), as they launch into one enthusiastic reminiscence after another - this and the like situations are altogether priceless.

If two or more people occasionally talk at the same time, this, in terms of transcriptional difficulties, seems to be a small price to pay for yards of good tape. With good equipment, most of it can be deciphered even so. The difference of approach that can exist between different types of study is exemplified by Ruoff's later observation[1] that two people talking at once is not so bad when you know them well enough to distinguish between them! A study carried out by a single researcher along the lines of the present one is unlikely to be afflicted by such a hazard as not knowing one informant from another.

My approach, then, was to leave the tape running when unexpected intrusions occurred, and to allow the informants to have anyone present whom they obviously wished to have. In view of the results obtained, I have no reason to regret this policy, and remain convinced that it was, on the whole, actually beneficial at the stylistic level, and of no great hindrance at the technical one. In studies where third parties are banished a priori from the interview situation, or interviews where third parties are absent by chance, it is impossible to discern the effect of such absences - but it is worth remembering that there might be one.

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[1] Ruoff (1973: 93).

2.4.4.5. Number of informants:

This section deals with the advisability of deliberately interviewing more than one informant at once. The question has much in common with that raised in the previous section, and to some extent has already been answered. I have no surviving tapes of interviews conducted jointly with adults who were not closely related to each other, and comment therefore applies only to interviews in which the informants were close relatives. Such interviews were perfectly manageable from a technical point of view (microphone position, recording level, subsequent transcription), and stylistically it often seemed beneficial to interview more than one person at once within the same family. Thus, where two members of the same family were both to be informants, I would interview them separately or together as the occasion presented itself. Interviews with the same informants - on one occasion alone, on another not so - further suggest that nothing was lost, and that something was often gained, by interviewing more than one person at once.

Schoolchildren were always interviewed in groups of two or more. In the case of children, Ruoff too favours group interviews, as nervousness and a tendency to modify speech are best overcome in this way with children.[1]

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[1] Ruoff (1973: 103f).

2.4.4.6. Interference or noise:

The most serious form of noise which I encountered in the urban environment was that caused by passing traffic, especially heavy vehicles. Although the informants did not live on main roads, heavy transport nowadays uses even the most minor roads in towns. In addition to picking the quietest room offered, the interviewer may use a unidirectional microphone, carefully positioned, and with the recording level adjusted so that background noise is kept to a minimum. If one time of day is said to be quieter than another, then this might be chosen for the interview. Other conceivable sources of noise outside of the informant's home range from construction work and industry to noisy neighbours and passing children. Again, questions of timing might be raised.

Within the home, a gas fire can cause a persistent background hiss on the tape, and a microphone should not be placed too near one. A coal fire too, can be quite noisy at close quarters. Some clocks have a very loud tick, and if the clock is small the informant will probably not be averse to its removal. The fieldworker will always have to judge each individual case on its merits, and decide where the borderline lies between a few simple adjustments which can be carried out with a minimum of fuss and disturbing the informant.

Callers, children and relatives were taken to be too much a part of the living situation to warrant readjustments by me. Twice informants objected to their wives' speaking when they were being interviewed: /ɛɩ 'mɩsɩz | ðɛːt nɔt fɵ(r)t tɔːk/ 'Hey, Missis! Thou art not for to talk!' I merely indicated on these occasions that I, for my part, had no objections. Two informants each had a dog. A pet may well be the informant's sole companion, and I do not believe that he should be asked to remove it, even though it may create a minor disturbance. If the informant decides to remove the offending creature of his own accord, that is another matter. The informant is likely to do this. A budgerigar is a strong contender for removal, or being covered up!

It is perhaps worth remembering that the equipment itself is a potential source of noise (the motor, feedback, the microphone and the microphone cable).

2.4.5. Topics of Conversation:

The style of speech elicited in an interview is likely to vary with the topic of conversation. However, there is no straightforward correlation between residual dialect and certain topics. Some guidelines can be laid down, but the reactions of different informants to the same topic vary. One informant will be happy to use residual dialect when describing something as familiar to him as his work; but another will think his detailed, technical account rather important, and will therefore speak a little more formally. One informant will consider the old days a subject for the most informal reminiscences, and for the recalling and recounting of humorous incidents; another may feel that the same topic is a matter of importance, of history, or even of philosophy. In consequence, it is when one knows the informant well that one can hope to switch the topics of conversation most effectively.

Men spoke with relish about sports, games, gambling, and even fighting. Organised entertainment (such as Sunday Schools' football leagues) and entertainments purely of one's own devising were both emphasised as important, because virtually no expense was involved. Informants continually stressed the fact that they had to entertain themselves, and at little or no cost. I found that the depression and unemployment were topics which people discussed very readily, as did Viereck.[1] The old days in general, customs and local events, dress, differences compared with today, living conditions, home life, the rôles of wives, husbands and children, work in the mills and the pits, the informant's life history - all of these were popular topics. Trips which the informant had made, people known to him of good (= /ɜʏd/ 'old' + christian name) or bad (= /ɜʏd/ + surname) repute, and humorous or strange happenings also proved to be suitable topics for discussion.

Humorous incidents or strange happenings, perhaps involving a ghost, or the danger of death, certainly tend to evoke a broad style, but it is not enough simply to ask for such stories.[2] When the informant decides that such a story is called for, that is altogether more natural. Subjects such as sports (especially football) and gambling tended to be discussed by male informants in their most relaxed style. Humorous incidents were recounted with enthusiasm by both male and female informants, whilst it was a female informant who produced a long ghost story.

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[1] Cf. Viereck (1966: 64).
[2] Cf. Trudgill (1974a: 51f).

Platt and Platt advocate steering clear of religious and political issues where possible, unless one's investigation specifically deals with them.[1] Certainly such issues can be sensitive, and it would be possible to upset informants, even if unintentionally. On the other hand, it must be recognised that firstly, it is the informants who often introduce such topics, and that secondly, they may well insist on learning the fieldworker's opinion. Judgement must depend upon the individual case. The fieldworker should not be aggressive on such subjects, but his opinion in certain cases will definitely serve a positive function by stimulating the informant. Furthermore, in dialectological work, the expression of the fieldworker's opinion can be used to stimulate discussion in a way that is not permissible in other social sciences, for only the form of the speech elicited is really important: it does not matter if the dialectologist influences the views which the informant expresses.[2]

Finally, a topic which may usefully be discussed at length is the informant's own life. In this way, biographical data can be both secured and checked.

2.4.6. Paralinguistic Features:

Paralinguistic features such as gesture usually remain unrecorded, yet they are an important part of the message. The effects of omitting these features in a purely spoken record can be considerable: a particular syntactic construction, or a particular choice of word, might only have been used and been felt to be adequate because it was also accompanied by a gesture at the time of utterance. Ruoff more or less writes off paralinguistic features as being usually ornamental, and, when not so, as occurring before or after the verbal expression of the same message.[1] I recall a number of instances which cannot be explained away so easily: to take a very simple, but at least straightforward example, I do not consider the utterance /bɔp/ 'bopp!' to be unambiguously indicative of a smack on the ear, unless one saw the accompanying gesture. The problems of recording paralinguistic features, on the other hand, would be equally considerable. The use of videotape is an obvious possibility, but its effect on the style of speech produced is likely to dwarf that of a tape recorder. Written notes would only capture the features in question partially, and would ruin the interview. At this stage in the development of field techniques, then, the dialectologist only really has one option left open to him, which is to make a mental note of any obviously significant uses of paralinguistic features, and to write these up afterwards, and later add notes to the transcriptions.

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[1] Cf. Platt and Platt (1975: 169).

[2] Cf. Ruoff (1973: 83, footnote).

2.4.7. Extralinguistic Features:

By extralinguistic I refer to features which are extraneous to the message. Wind or belches, vibrations, squeaks, passing lorries, animals, a face at a window, an event across the road - the possibilities are legion. Some of these will be captured on a sound record, others will not.[1] Categorisation as extralinguistic is not always straightforward: a cough may or may not be part of the message. Furthermore, how far such features as the ones mentioned are purely extraneous, and how far they become a part of the semantic reference, is difficult to say. For instance, the sudden appearance of a face at an informant's window might produce a comment, an exclamation, curious syntax or intonation, or, especially if expected (say a wave from a neighbour), nothing at all.

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[1] Ruoff (1973: 96).

The interviewer really does need to make a mental note of such events, to write them up after the interview, and to add notes later to the transcriptions. To fail to do this could have an untold effect on any subsequent re-use of the tapes or transcriptions. For example, one informant had a mild attack of wind, but managed to keep talking through it. This resulted in a certain belch timbre. Another informant produced a number of curious varieties of consonant due to absent-mindedly poking his unlit pipe in and out of his mouth.

Such features are not to be underestimated: they can explain a good deal. Linguistic jokes about the "false teeth sound shift" or the "belch particle" are in order in as far as they serve to remind us of the possibilities involved in

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1. Cf. also section 2.4.4.6.

accounting for sounds during the transcription process. Extralinguistic features are also a complicating factor with regard to any future mechanical analysis, for a machine would have trouble in taking them into account in a meaningful way, or in discounting them.

2.4.8. Playing Back Tapes to Informants:

My personal view is that it is not desirable to play back tapes to informants, but sometimes they insist on hearing a little of their tape, and when this happens, it becomes impossible to refuse. Many older people have never heard their voice on tape before and they are, of course, likely to be surprised, and may well react negatively. Here is a negative reaction:

[The informant has just said that it does not sound right to him.]

Interviewer: "It sounds all right to me."

Informant: /ɩt sɛːnd | ɩt 'dɷznt sɛːnd ɔə'riːt
'It sound[s]! It doesn't sound all right

tɵ miː/
to me!'

Interviewer: "Why not?"

Informant: /ðɛ dɒnt 'rɩəlaɩz ðɛt 'tɔːkɩn brɔːd
'Thou doesn't realise thou art talking broad

laɩk ðat ||| a noː aɩ tɔːk brɔːd | bɷt
like that. I know I talk broad, but

ðɛː ||| ðɛ θɪnks ||| 'ɛvrɪθɪŋz 'kʊmɪn
thou.. thou thinks.. everything is coming

ɛːt ɔə'riːt ðɛ noːz | en ɪts nɔt ||
out all right, thou knows, and it's not -

wɛl ɪts nɔt wɛn ðɛ ɪəz ɪt kʊm bak
well, it's not when thou hears it come back

ɔn ðɪ/
on thee.'

The interviewer must be prepared to explain under such circumstances, why the informant's voice seems strange to him. The informant can appreciate that the interviewer's voice is reproduced correctly, and also that of any other member of his family. Also, members of his family are able to assure him that the reproduction of his own voice is correct. These factors may help in explaining that one hears one's own voice differently.

If an informant insists on having some part of a tape played back to him, it is possible to agree, but to attempt to postpone the matter until the end of the interview. The playing back of tapes to informants is an eventuality for which the fieldworker should be prepared, but one which he should not actively seek to bring about.

2.4.9. Candid Work:

There are occasions when it would not be difficult to record people candidly, and the results would no doubt be excellent. However, legal matters aside, I take candid recording to be ethically unacceptable, and no tapes were obtained in this way. I should point out that, under circumstances which I shall not specify, I was most actively encouraged to make candid recordings, and that the strongest of refusals was necessary.

2.4.10. Terminating an Interview:

At the end of each session, I thanked the informant again, and reaffirmed my interest in the proceedings. It is always a good idea to ask for permission to return again,[1] in case one wishes to make a further recording, to check some points, or to supplement some aspects of previous recordings.

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[1] So also Atkinson (1971: 54).

3. TRANSCRIPTION

Transcription is not simply a procedure of a set design which can be divorced from the fieldwork on the one hand and the analysis on the other; it is not something which is simply carried out as a matter of course on whatever corpus has been obtained. The narrowness of the transcription is influenced by the type and purpose of the study, whilst the state of phonological theory also determines that which one may readily hope to achieve. The knowledge from dialectological theory that geographical, social and stylistic variation are often only manifest at the subphonemic level, and the knowledge that the construction of phonological systems is problematic, both militate in favour of narrow phonetic transcription.

The requirement of free conversation rather than spoken prose or clarity norms (section 1.2.1.3.) necessarily results in material which will be far more difficult to transcribe: material which is sometimes only minimally intelligible, and where the message is accompanied by interference, noise, or non-speech sounds (section 2.4.4.6.). It has already been suggested that paralinguistic (section 2.4.6.) and extralinguistic (section 2.4.7.) features must be borne in mind when transcribing. The presence or absence of third parties (section 2.4.4.4.), the number of informants (section 2.4.4.5.), the location of the interview (section 2.4.1.) and the technical conduct of the interview (especially section 2.4.4.) all have implications for the transcription. Transcriptions must also be meaningfully related to biographical data on the informants (section 2.1.5.), informants' profiles (section 2.4.3.4.), to the conduct of the interview (section 2.4.) and to considerations of style (section 2.3.2.). Transcriptions *in vacuo* have no meaning.

Transcriptions will usually be archived along with their tapes, and the adequate marking of or relation to the features just mentioned is a *sine qua non* for any subsequent use of the tapes and/or transcriptions (section 4). All such considerations serve to make it clear that transcription is not a separable process.

Additionally, it is then possible to consider transcription *qua* transcription, i.e. as a procedure in its own right. During the course of such considerations, however, the dependence of transcription on theory, purpose, methods and fieldwork should not be lost sight of. The actual range of problems associated with the transcription process is wide, as indicated, for instance, by Widdowson.[1] A full discussion of the problems of transcription could well constitute a study in its own right; such a full discussion cannot be essayed here, yet at the same time the very obvious dependence of the entire analysis upon the transcription necessitates the attempt at the isolation and a systematic arrangement of the more salient aspects of transcription.

A useful distinction may be made between simultaneous transcription (i.e. carried out virtually as the informant speaks), and transcription which is carried out at a later date. The former has certain advantages in respect of its immediacy, i.e. its lack of displacement in time, space and medium, its situational and contextual immediacy. It is also possessed of formidable disadvantages, chief amongst which must be that it effectively prevents the elicitation of free conversation as such; further, that it is all but impossible to transcribe both narrowly and simultaneously if the stretch of speech to be transcribed is of any length at all.[1] For the purposes of this study, remarks on the subject of transcription will refer to the second category of transcription: that which is carried out subsequent to the interview and from tape recordings.

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[1] Widdowson (1970).

3.1. Copying Tapes:

Before transcription can begin, tapes must be copied. The original recordings were marked "Master Tape", and a copy of each tape was made as soon as possible. Copies were made onto one side only of 5" reels of Ampex 291 or 331 professional quality recording tape. Transcription was carried out only from these copies, in order to avoid stretching, wearing, or otherwise damaging the originals. Master tapes were archived, their only function then being to facilitate the production of further copies. Aspects of storage and so on are a question of archives (section 4).

When tapes are being copied, it is possible, with any technically poorer tapes, to attempt to boost the signal somewhat. However, the process is not magic, and a bad tape remains a bad tape. When a junior technician copied two master tapes onto two other masters, I decided to carry out my own copying. If two good quality machines - such as a pair of Tandberg Series 15 21Fs - are linked with a suitable lead, excellent copies can be made. It is desirable to ensure that too much bass is not used when copying tapes: if there is too much bass on a recording, the speech will be obscured. This point has very serious implications for the transcription process.

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[1] Cf. section 2.4.3.3.

3.2. The Equipment:

Most of the transcription was carried out in a language laboratory booth in the Department of Linguistics (then Language Centre) or on a Tandberg Series 15 21F equipped with earphones and foot-switch in the Centre for English Cultural Tradition and Language (then Survey of Language and Folklore) at the University of Sheffield. With regard to the machine itself, only a good quality machine, on which the heads have been cleaned, is suitable for transcription. Earphones could be construed as contributing to the artificiality of the transcription situation, but, since the situation is already artificial, and at a remove in time from the original fieldwork, it seems reasonable to use whatever technical equipment affords the best reproduction. Earphones are particularly useful in that they exclude or minimise any background noise present when transcription is being carried out. A lightweight headset - say of the type produced by

Sennheiser - is comfortable during fairly protracted periods of use. A foot-switch is an indispensable item, which leaves the transcriber with both hands free to produce the transcription. The type of foot-switch used was not a pause or stop-start switch, but one with a pause-review function. After a little practice with such a foot-switch, the transcriber is able to review even the briefest stretches of speech with surprising ease. The tapes used were, as previously stated, copies made directly from the master tapes onto one side only of top quality tape.

A recording of the Cardinal Vowels pronounced by Daniel Jones[1] completed the essential equipment. Neither a spectrograph nor a segmentator were used in this study. It is readily conceded that such instruments can make a contribution to a phonetic analysis, although the contribution is of a specialised and limited character - the age of machine transcription has not yet dawned. The objectivity that a mechanical record would offer compared with a human transcription has been emphasised by Bloomfield:

> The phonetician's equipment is personal and accidental; he hears those acoustic features which are discriminated in the languages he has observed. Even his most "exact" record is bound to ignore innumerable non-distinctive features of sound; the ones that appear in it are selected by accidental and personal factors. There is no objection to a linguist's describing all the acoustic features that he can hear, provided he does not confuse these with the phonemic features. He should remember that his hearing of non-distinctive features depends upon the accident of his personal equipment, and that his most elaborate account cannot remotely approach the value of a mechanical record.[2]

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1. Two records (Eng. 252-3 and 254-5), the Linguaphone Institute.
2. Bloomfield (1955: 84f).

A mechanical record would be particularly useful by virtue of its reliability; not only is a machine more objective and consistent, but also it does not tire. Yet the stage has not been reached where a machine can transcribe speech better than a human being. Carney refers to features which make speech minimally intelligible, especially the principle of least effort, and comments:

> So the process of hearing is not just a sound-by-sound identification of what is heard, but is to some extent a reconstruction of what should have been heard. Or, to paraphrase the gesture theory of speech perception, a reconstruction of what we would have done in order to say what we think we have just heard. The boundary between real identification and guess-work is not clearcut. The ear of a trained phonetician who knows what to expect is therefore both more exact and less exact than would be an automatic scanning device programmed to read spectrograms or wave-forms. The program would not only have to "understand" the grammar of the language in some way, but it would have to treat non-linguistic features of the sound-wave as "noise". The sporadic creaky voice of an old man would disturb a computer programmed to expect a certain degree of regularity in vocal chord vibrations. Ambient noise - a passing lorry, an interested puppy, a belch - could easily mask features the program was searching for. The human listener is much better equipped to discount them.[1]

3.3. Use of the Equipment:

During university vacations, and during the evenings, transcription was carried out under relatively peaceful conditions. Whilst the transcribing, which was a very long process, could not be limited to these times alone, it is at least worth noting that some times can be more propitious than others. In addition to cleaning the heads of the machine to be used for the transcription, the transcriber should adjust the tone controls carefully for each tape - again, too much bass will obscure the speech, even though it reduces hiss. A tape recording of the Cardinal Vowels may be kept readily to hand, so that it can be played through whenever the need is felt.

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[1] Carney (1969: 11).

The length of time for which transcription can be carried out varies from person to person, from day to day, with the surroundings, and in accordance with the degree of narrowness of the transcription. No rule can be given, except to say that a human being grows tired, and that he should cease transcribing before or as soon as this point is reached. My transcriptions were fairly narrow, and I usually found that three hours were enough at any one sitting, or even sufficient for a whole day. Earphones tend (in my case, at any rate), to irritate and cause discomfort if worn for too long, and I often found it desirable to take a brief break during the course of transcribing.

The number of repetitions of each segment that may be required before the transcriber feels satisfied with his representation varies enormously. Whilst aware that the repetition of individual segments is a part of the artificiality of the transcription situation, I could see no point whatsoever in setting limits,which would have been arbitrary, to the number of permissible repetitions. I would therefore persistently review each segment until such a time as I felt reasonably happy with my representation of it, even if this necessitated twenty or more repetitions.

When the speed of a person's speech is borne in mind along with considerations such as those just discussed, it will be evident that it is impossible to specify the time required to transcribe each recorded minute of speech.[1] However, the time is certainly most considerable, and the transcription of my corpus took up a very appreciable amount of time indeed.

Occasionally, when confronted with a particularly obscure segment, I would resort to "stretching" it by playing it back on a machine which had a speed control, in addition to the slower speeds of 1.7/8 i.p.s. and 15/16 i.p.s.[2] Although such a technique risks distorting the segment, now and again it helps: perhaps to reveal a change of vowel quality, or a barely perceptible consonant. It is also desirable to have access to a machine equipped with a speed control, for the reason that field recordings are not always of exactly the same speed, especially if made on more than one machine, nor necessarily of exactly the same speed as that at which the transcription machine operates.

3.4. The Cardinal Vowels:

It was previously suggested that the analysis of speech by means of machines is not yet practicable (section 3.2.). A fundamental point here is that our knowledge of phonetics is well developed at the articulatory level, but not so well developed at the acoustic level, the latter being the level at which machines operate. The technique favoured by dialectologists - the representation of sounds on the basis of what is variously termed an imitation-label technique,[1] an aural-imitative technique, or kinesthetic feedback - relies primarily, although not exclusively, on an articulatory description of sounds, as remarked by Pike:

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[1] Ruoff (1973: 136) offers some very approximate indications.
[2] A Sony 800b.

> Jespersen's statement 50 years ago still seems applicable, "Not even the most ardent adherents of the 'acoustic' point of view have ever tried to base their phonetic terminology or any system of notation on the acoustic properties of those sounds." The acoustic criterion of the presence or absence of audible friction, however, is one of the most basic in phonetics, especially in consonant-vowel distinctions (see pp. 70-72) and gives a valuable supplement to articulatory descriptions.[2]

Whilst the aural-imitative technique is ultimately impressionistic, or subjective, it has nonetheless proved itself to be efficient and practical over a long period of time.[3] The use of such a technique ensures that a study enjoys wide comparability and comprehension.

For the description of vowels and diphthongs, the "yardstick" is the system of Cardinal Vowels set up by Jones.[4] To some degree, the basis of the Cardinal Vowel system is articulatory,[5] although less so than the basis for the description of consonants.[6] Largely, "'vowel' sounds require for their description a predominance of auditory impressions".[7] The auditory nature of the scale of Cardinal Vowels, and the

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1. Pike (1943: 21).
2. Ibid., 27.
3. Cf. for instance, O'Connor (1973: 110), Gimson (1974: 36).
4. Two records (Eng. 252-3 and 254-5), the Linguaphone Institute.
5. Gimson (1974: 35-7, 39-41).
6. Ibid., 27, 39.
7. Ibid., 27; and further pp. 35-7, 39.

auditory use of that scale, have recently been emphasised by O'Connor:[1]

> The fact that this diagram is derived from tongue positions tends to obscure the basically auditory nature of the cardinal vowel system,...[2]
>
> Then [e, ɛ, a] were determined in such a way that the quality intervals [i-e], [e-ɛ], [ɛ-a] and [a-ɑ] were judged auditorily to be equal.[3]
>
> The cardinal vowel system was devised partly on an auditory and partly on an articulatory basis, but our use of it in pinning down the qualities of real-life vowels is entirely auditory, in that we 'place' the new vowel by relying on our ear's capacity to relate it accurately to the known qualities of the cardinal vowels.[4]

Additional points of reference were those provided by my knowledge of German, French, and other varieties of English.

In using the Cardinal Vowels, I have borne in mind the tendency to hear the dialect norm rather than the cardinal vowel, as one's familiarity with the dialect increases. I also sensed that one might actually wish to place a sound from the dialect close to a cardinal reference point. I have tried to be as objective as possible on both these counts.

The references to the Cardinal Vowel system, and to articulatory, acoustic and auditory criteria for the description and classification of sounds, are indicative of some of the respects in which transcription is directly dependent upon phonological theory.[5]

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[1] Cf. further Albrow (1974: 50), and particularly the reference to Abercrombie.

[2] O'Connor (1973: 106).

[3] Ibid., 107. That the auditory judgements have been confirmed from an articulatory or acoustic point of view, cf. Gimson (1974: 37 and 39 respectively).

[4] O'Connor (1973: 108).

[5] Cf. further section 5.

3.5. The Phonetic Script:

The phonetic script used in this study is the Alphabet of the International Phonetic Association (IPA).[1] This alphabet is a subtle, well established and widely used[2] instrument, which incorporates the Cardinal Vowel system, and which is further to be recommended by virtue of its international standing. As suggested in section 3.4., consonants are defined in a predominantly articulatory manner, whilst the description of vowels relies to a greater extent on auditory impression.

Yet in studies which seek to offer a very narrow account of speech, the researcher must be wary of relying too closely on an established script. In a study of a Cockney dialect,[3] Hurford described a range of articulation for consonants which not only transcended other studies of Cockney dialect, but also the IPA script. Since Hurford's Cockney speakers are hardly likely to be exceptions, other researchers might look for similar detail too. In the case of vowels, the central area of the vowel chart is less clearly defined than the front and back extremes, so that further reference points for the description of central vowels would be useful.[4]

A number of specific problems relating to the choice of symbols will be discussed under problems of interpretation (section 3.9.), whilst the next section (section 3.6.) on the features marked depends upon the script available.

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[1] See the Appendix.
[2] E.g. in Gimson (1974).
[3] Hurford (1968).
[4] Cf. O'Connor (1973: 109).

3.6. Features Marked:

Since, theoretically, any feature which the human ear is able to perceive could have a function in differentiating varieties of language,[1] I have transcribed whatever I could hear, in other words the transcriptions are fairly narrow. I used IPA symbols, together with as many diacritics as proved necessary, e.g. [ø̞̈ʿ ː].

It was decided at an early stage to split up the transcriptions, at least for the most part, into sequences of words.[2] I was aware at the time of the impossibility of adequately defining the concept *word* in linguistics.[3] However, my corpus was rather large, and certain parts of this study contain extensive illustrative quotation. I therefore divided the texts into words largely as a matter of convenience:

> Pour que la lecture d'une transcription d'une certaine longeur reste facile, il sera parfois prudent de ménager un interval entre les mots; celui-ci rappellera, pour la commodité, les coupes qui sont en usage selon l'écriture habituelle. Il n'y a pas lieu de separer en trois éléments est-ce-que, [ɛskə]; mais il faudra tenir compte des possibilités de répérage des mots.[4]

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[1] Wakelin (1972a: 85) writes: "It should, however, be observed that although realisational differences may be relatively unimportant from the systemic point of view, they may yet have important *indexal* functions in differentiating between dialects."

[2] Some "sequences" were not divided up, however, e.g. [a̲ɫ] 'I will', or if it was desired to transcribe some junctural phenomenon exactly as it was heard.

[3] It would be possible to include a whole bibliography on this particular problem. An indication of the issues involved may be had from: Lyons (1969: 195-206), Hjelmslev (1970: 32, 91), Martinet (1962: 90, 92), Martinet (1964: 107-9), Hockett (1965: 58f, 166-71), Bloomfield (1955: 178-83), Chomsky (1965: 235). For further bibliography see Matthews (1972: section 6.4.3., especially p. 96, footnote 1).

[4] Chaurand (1972: 27).

The division of the transcription into words also renders the archived transcriptions (mainly of tapes of circa thirty minutes' duration, it will be remembered) rather more readable for most purposes. Although the division into words is necessarily somewhat arbitrary, it is worth pointing out that, when a transcription is not so divided, the dialectologist nonetheless subsequently proceeds to abstract forms from the run of transcribed material, and these forms are most frequently words.[1]

Since suprasegmental work, which is problematic,[2] has been declared to be outside the scope of this present study,[3] pitch was not marked, except in an ad hoc manner on odd occasions, when a particular intonation pattern had (perhaps) led to a distinctive or curious segment, e.g. a very long vowel in an exclamation.

Pauses were marked by vertical lines, [|] indicating the briefest discernible pause, [||] a slightly longer pause, and [|||] a more appreciable pause. I also used the symbol [#] to mark the beginning and end of an utterance.

Quantity, or vowel length, was marked as long [:], half-long [·], or short (no mark). As will become evident in the phonology, distinctions between certain realisations of certain pairs of phonemes (e.g. /θ - θ:/) appear to be based primarily on length. For instance, realisations of /θ/ are often not only quite round, but also quite front and tense. Somewhat more importance is therefore attached to length than in some other work on English and English dialects.

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[1] On the potential problems of operating with units beyond word, cf. Gimson (1974: 50f).
[2] Cf. Crystal (1975: vii).
[3] Cf. section 1.1.1.8. Suprasegmental work does need to be carried out, however, and the same view may be found in Viereck (1968: 564).

Three degrees of stress were also marked: [ˈ] main stress, [ˌ] secondary stress, whilst no mark was used for syllables which were *relatively unstressed*. Stress is important, as it relates directly to vowel quality. Strang suggests a basic stressed-unstressed contrast for current English usage,[1] although she points out that there is no agreed frame of reference,[2] and refers to the greater importance of *secondary stress* in eighteenth century English, and in Australasian and American speech.[3] Attention is drawn to the somewhat strange effect of the use of secondary stress on the R.P. ear.[4] For present purposes, it will be sufficient to remark that a level of secondary stress is clearly discernible in words such as *construction*, *employment*, *enjoyment*, etc. in the dialect. Whether the reader wishes to accommodate this secondary stress within a binary or tripartite system is probably not over-important.

It is useful to leave space above, below and to the sides of each line of phonetic transcription, and a translation or translations[5] can be given three lines or so below the phonetic transcription. This space is required for various marks and comments. An indication is needed of passages

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1. Strang (1974: 86, 53).
2. *Ibid*., 53, 56.
3. *Ibid*., 86.
4. *Ibid*., 86; cf. also Gimson (1974: 226) and O'Connor (1973: 252).
5. Cf. section 3.7.

which are garbled, or spoken at very high speed; of passages which are utterly incomprehensible; of passages whose meaning can be deduced, or partially deduced, but whose phonetic form cannot be precisely discerned; of fading voice; of laughter; of coughing; of two speakers speaking at the same time; of changes of speaker (for which I personally used different colours of ink); and so on.[1] There can also be situations in which it is desirable to transcribe the interviewer's remarks phonetically, as his speech may possibly influence that of the informant.[2]

One practical point is that the narrower a transcription, the more difficult is any subsequent typing and printing of the work. Such a problem is, from a scholarly point of view, utterly regrettable.

3.7. Levels of Translation:

A translation has a number of uses: it facilitates swift scanning of long texts, is necessary in publications, and also for archival purposes, to facilitate consultation of the transcriptions by others; it would also be impossible to offer an analysis of a text if one had not ascertained that one knew what it meant. It is no straightforward matter to decide, however, what form a translation should take, and, indeed, I often favour two levels of translation. A translation into S.E. is most widely useful in indicating meaning, but often fails to reveal enough of the dialect original; a transcription-cum-translation into a conventional dialect script, on the other hand, reflects the dialect more closely, but is not as clear in respect of meaning, unless the reader is acquainted with the dialect already, and preferably also with the particular dialect script.[1] An uncomplicated but typical example - in which the phonetic transcription has already been "translated" into a broad script, thereby bringing it closer to conventional orthographies - follows:

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[1] Cf. especially sections 2.4.6. and 2.4.7.
[2] Cf. Ruoff (1973: 141).

/ðɪn ʃʊt a deːnt ne ɛː menɪ pɪts ʊp
1.[2] 'They'n shut I durn't know 'eaw mony[3] pits up
2.[4] 'They have shut I do not know how many pits up,

en nɛː ðɪ deːnt ne wɔt de wɪ ðe'sɛl/
1. an' neaw they durn't know what t'do wi' theirsel'.'
2. and now they do not know what to do with themselves.'

The dialect original can be ambiguous,[5] which makes exact translation problematic, whilst items of vocabulary and grammar which are peculiar to the dialect are lost in a translation into S.E.[6]

3.8. The Transcriber:

The status of the transcriber is affected by his position when transcribing after the event (section 3), and, in more extensive surveys than the present one, severely by whether or not he is the person who carried out the fieldwork. The artificiality of transcription is most considerably increased if it is carried out by one other than the fieldworker.

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[1] Some of the strengths and weaknesses of dialect orthographies are discussed in Shorrocks (1978b).

[2] One possible translation into a fairly conventional dialect orthography.

[3] Note that it is virtually essential to supply the appropriate full vowel in this and similar instances, as the unstressed vowel can hardly be reliably represented.

[4] One possible translation into S.E.

[5] Note the inclusion of the preposition to, and see the discussion of to/the in section 3.9.

[6] E.g. in the above example, "themselves" does not adequately reflect the original grammatical form; whilst the translation of a word such as /lapt/ lapped = 'wrapped' is equally inadequate at the lexical level.

Biographical notes on myself (section 2.1.6.) and my parents (section 2.1.5.), and a profile of myself (section 2.4.3.5.), yield background data relevant to my position as transcriber.

Previous discussion of machines and transcription indirectly alluded to the subjective element in transcriptions carried out by human beings.[1] Kurath has observed:

> The fieldworker's personality, his interests, the intimacy of his contact with the informants, his hearing, his training in phonetics and in general linguistics, the character of his own speech and some other factors are inevitably reflected in the records he makes.[2]

I have already cited Ringgaard, who warned us of the influence of the fieldworker's own dialect on his transcription.[3] Melchers has likewise referred to the inability of even phonetically trained students to handle an unknown language, because of the influence of the patterns of their mother-tongue.[4] Ruoff, too, has remarked on the interference of the transcriber's own dialect, and the fact that the transcriber will find it difficult to hear some things in a strange dialect.[5]

These viewpoints militate in favour of transcription's being carried out by transcribers who are intimately acquainted with the dialect in question.[6] Yet this prerequisite knowledge of the dialect - and of the speakers and the subject matter of the recordings too[1] - can also be a hindrance, in that one can very easily hear that which one expects to hear.[2]

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[1] Cf. section 3.2., especially the quotation from Bloomfield.
[2] Kurath (1939: 127).
[3] In section 1.1.1.4., above.
[4] Melchers (1972: 41).
[5] Ruoff (1973: 134).
[6] Cf. also Carney (1969: 10f), Melchers (1972: 42f).

In my own case, I was a native of the area, and knew the dialect quite well. I felt that this helped me rather a lot, and there were very few passages in the corpus that I could not interpret grammatically and semantically.[3] My knowledge of foreign languages and other dialects provided me with useful reference points outside of the dialect under consideration, and offered some degree of protection against undue subjectivity. Nonetheless, I sought to guard against the limitations of my own hearing by checking some passages with other linguists.[4] Needless to say, I was not always able to accept their suggestions, and must take full responsibility for such errors as might remain. Definitely, however, I should have missed a number of aspects of phonetic detail if left to my own devices - almost certainly as a result of hearing the phoneme or regular variant rather than what was actually said!

Remarks in section 3.4. concerning psychological aspects of the transcriber's use of the Cardinal Vowels are also relevant here. The use made of a phonetic script

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[1] Cf. Melchers (1972: 42), Ruoff (1973: 131).

[2] Cf. Ruoff (1973: 131).

[3] Cf., however, section 3.9. on the problems of interpretation.

[4] Pre-eminently Dr. J.D.A. Widdowson of the Department of English Language and the Centre for English Cultural Tradition and Language, Dr. F.C. Stork of the Department of Linguistics, and Dr. G. Newton of the Department of Germanic Studies, all at The University of Sheffield. Particularly useful were two sessions with Dr. J. Jelinek of the Centre for Japanese Studies at the same university, especially by virtue of his foreign nationality, and also by virtue of his having played no part in teaching me phonetics in the first place. The substantial measure of agreement between linguists of different nationalities says a good deal for the exactness of the auditory-imitative technique.

(section 3.5.), the features marked (section 3.6.), and the nature and number of the problems of interpretation encountered at different linguistic levels (section 3.9.), are all determined by the transcriber and what he is able to hear. Clearly, the entire analysis is similarly dependent.

3.9. Problems of Interpretation:

At one level, the notion of interpretation recapitulates everything which has been written so far in section 3, for the equipment, one's use of it, the Cardinal Vowels, the phonetic script, the features marked, translations, and the transcriber, are all aspects of the interpretative situation, i.e. description and presentation are not independent of interpretation; additionally, however, the same notion eventually focuses our attention on quite specific, individual problems. It will be evident from section 3 that transcription and interpretation are somewhat artificial processes, and it will be further evident that it is impossible to account fully for paralinguistic and extralinguistic features. Nonetheless, the transcriber is actively seeking to make sense of the material before him. In trying to make sense of his material, the transcriber must cope with fast speech, low voice, noise, and two or more persons' talking at once; he will also meet:

> ...misencodings, false starts, hesitation forms, exclamations, omissions, elisions and repetitions which are commonly found in normal utterances. He [the transcriber] must be aware of tag-phrases and other devices used in conversation which are often part of the phatic communion employed

> to keep the oral communication channel open. The same is true of formulaic usages in oral narrative.[1]

Not the least of the problems involved here is to be sure about what constitutes a *misencoding* or, say, a *reformulation* rather than a single, continuous *formulation*. Consultation with a native speaker of the dialect is likely to be necessary at times. Examples of uncertainty over hesitation forms and phonetic or grammatical phenomena can be found in the grammar.[2]

There are problems of interpretation at the different linguistic levels. The greatest problems arise at the phonetic and phonemic levels, where the transcriber's own hearing and possible lack of familiarity with some or all of the varieties which he is seeking to describe will render his description and interpretation subjective to a varying degree and possibly downright "incorrect".[3] In examining new data, the transcriber does so in the light of the phonemic systems already known to him, and these systems are likely to determine the nature and subtlety of his discrimination. Furthermore:

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[1] Widdowson (1970: no pagination).

[2] An example at the grammatical level is included below, however, in this section. Examples of what I take to be errors or misencodings: *supernational strength*, 'supernatural strength'; *it's the best detriment for teeth today*, 'it's [bleach] the best detergent (?) for teeth today'; *what a bloody relevation!*, 'what a bloody revelation!'; *suppressors* for *compressors*; /ˈbɒlˌnoːzəz/ 'bulldozers' (said twice by same informant); *legible* for *elligible*; *our stable diet* - voicing or an error?; *phrase three*, 'Phase Three' (government policy); *pasteurised* for *pressurised*; /ˈpjɤːrəl/, 'plural'; *heart-rendering*, 'heart-rending'; /ˈtɛlɪbəl/, 'terrible'; etc.

[3] It is difficult to use such a word in respect of a process which is by definition subjective; but if, say, native speakers were unanimously to oppose a certain interpretation, it would have to be discounted as incorrect.

> In areas where more than one phonemic system is in common use, the transcriber's task becomes infinitely more complex. He must be able to transcribe and interpret not only very diverse systems but also any "intermediate" systems which may be in operation. For example, a given locality may have the basic phonemic system of a relic area, a variety of regional standard usage encroaching upon it and a type of transitional usage intermediate between the two. In this way, three or more phonemic systems may be in operation simultaneously.[1]

Certainly for Farnworth and district, these observations would be valid.

A further interpretative problem is that of narrow phonetic transcription on the one hand versus phonemic analysis on the other. It is true that the type of study pursued is relevant to the approach adopted. My own position on the matter is ambivalent. In favour of the phonemic approach - typified by Viereck[2] - it must be said that a phonemic analysis reflects the systematicity of language. This systematicity is a fundamental aspect of language, and should not be overlooked. On the other hand, not all significant differences between dialects or varieties of speech are systemic or distributional: some are realisational,[3] and an inspection of the S.E.D. Basic Material[4] is instructive in this respect;

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[1] Widdowson (1970: no pagination). Widdowson further observes that this was the case in his Filey research: "In Filey, at least three phonemic systems appear to be in operation simultaneously. Firstly, a relic system centred on the original fishing and farming community. Secondly, an encroaching variety of what might be termed Northern Regional Standard and thirdly a system or systems intermediate between these." Widdowson, (1970: no pagination).

[2] Cf. Viereck (1966).

[3] Cf. Wakelin (1972a: 84f). Social and psychological information (e.g. attitude) can be conveyed at the phonetic level in addition to more purely linguistic information. Cf. also section 1.1.1.3. and section 5.

[4] For the Northern Region Basic Material, see Orton and Halliday (1962-3).

secondly, a phonemic analysis constitutes a further stage of interpretation, which is a) not without its problems of execution,[1] and b) not unique in status. A major problem in setting up a phonemic inventory is that the speech on which the phonology is based is never stylistically homogeneous, i.e. more than one system is involved. It is a virtual commonplace that a phonemic system may be more readily distilled from the speech of a single informant. Whilst there is no doubt some degree of truth in this - especially if the transcriptions are of clarity norms or spoken prose, and perhaps of restricted duration too - my experience was that in texts of extensive free conversation, such variation as was encountered in the speech of the more residual speakers manifested itself not so much in differences between speakers, but within the speech of each individual. Consequently, I have not sought to distil the very tightest and tidiest phonemic system from my corpus, but have offered a slightly larger system, which admits of some options or variants. Phonetic variants are described in some detail, on the grounds that they represent a level of analysis of a less specific interpretative type. A single, tidy phonemic inventory runs the risk of oversimplification of the facts. The non-uniqueness of phonemic systems[2] is a further argument still in favour of phonetic detail.

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[1] It is arguable that traditional work in phonology is based on spoken prose and clarity norms rather than on continuous texts of spontaneous conversation. For the distinction between conversation and spoken prose, see Abercrombie (1965: 1-9).

[2] Cf. Chao (1934).

There are problems of interpretation at other linguistic levels too:

> At the syntactic and grammatical level, problems may arise in the general interpretation. A transcriber naturally tends to "make sense" out of a message, even though his interpretation may differ from what the speaker intended. We strive to interpret the message even though it may have been encoded "incorrectly" and we also tend to misinterpret syntactic and grammatical usages with which we are unfamiliar.[1]

Apparent misencodings and reformulations - the latter often in the company of hesitations - can be particularly difficult. Even with a good knowledge of the dialect, some recourse to native informants is necessary here and there.

At the grammatical level, it may not be perfectly clear which forms are being used. In

[ä wɛnt͡ʔ bäk͡ʔ fət͡ʔ gɛt͡ʔ bäk͡ʔ ˈnɷmbɵ foˑəɹ]
'I went back for to get back (to (the)) number four'

[bäk͡ʔ ˈnɷmbɵ] can theoretically be read as:

a) "back number"
b) "back the number"
c) "back to number"
d) "back to the number"

Context, of course, is helpful, and the informant is in fact saying that he went back in order to get back to the number four shaft. Yet it would still be impossible to prove the presence of the, unless the informant were questioned, and then gave /tet/, which may also be used for 'to the'.

At the lexical level, I can only say that from my own knowledge of the dialect alone, the differences in choice of words and phrases in a given context, and in the range of meanings of a given word or phrase, compared with S.E. are utterly vast. Words or phrases which are peculiar to a given dialect or dialects are merely a part of the differences which exist at the lexical level. Common words like folk and reckon have a deceptively different range of use, whilst to rake a fire (= 'put on coal dust/slack/ashes and close up for the night') or to eat your dinner (= 'midday meal') are examples of truly false friends.

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[1] Widdowson (1970: no pagination).

It is now appropriate to mention a number of rather more specific problems. When passages were spoken so quietly as to pose the slightest problem, the transcription was raised up off its line on the page. If particularly problematic, brackets were added around the relevant stretch of speech.

There is a lot of glottalisation in the Farnworth dialect, and it was necessary to decide upon appropriate symbols. Many studies would be considerably improved if note were taken of Ladefoged's comment:

> It is perhaps worth noting that the term glottalised has been avoided in all the preceding discussion, largely because it has been used by others in so many different ways. It might be appropriate as a phonological cover term for ejectives, implosives, laryngealised sounds, and pulmonic articulations accompanied by glottal stops. But it is not very useful in precise phonetic descriptions.[1]

When a consonant was accompanied by glottal constriction, and the consonant remained unreleased, I used the convention [p͡ʔ, t͡ʔ, k͡ʔ]; when there was glottal constriction, and the consonant was released - usually with aspiration or affrication in the case of our dialect - it seemed logical to place the signs the other way round, thus [ʔ͡t‘] etc.[1] A notation for implosives was not required, but ejectives were encountered, and IPA [tʼ] etc. may be used in such cases. Geminates are frequent in the dialect, both medially and word-finally, and are often accompanied by strong glottal constriction, thus:

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[1] Ladefoged (1971: 28).

['spɪt͡ʔtɪn] 'spitting', etc.
['ɔːp͡ʔˌp‘ɪkɪn] 'hop-picking', etc.
['ʃɔːp͡ʔp‘ɵ'gɛn] 'shop again', etc.

In the case of geminates, and also in the case of the glottal constriction which typifies the definite article and the preposition *to*, the glottal constriction may be held across a pause, e.g.

[dɛːn̥͡ʔ ‖ θɜʉd] 'down the old'

Due to the lack of agreed points of reference for vowels in the central area, I used one or two *ad hoc* "conventions": [ɵ] is more rounded than [ə, ɜ], and often fronter and more tense - the latter would therefore have been rather unrepresentative as phoneme symbols; yet, because /ɵ, ɵː/ occupy such a large area in the centre-front region of the mouth, [ø] or [œ] would have been unduly restrictive. I therefore chose /ɵ, ɵː/ as phoneme symbols, [ɵ] being in *IPA* parlance "a vowel between ø and o".[2] [ᵻ] and [ʉ] in my transcriptions both imply lowering as well as centralisation, as does [ɤ]. I used [ɜ] for unrounded vowels between [ɛ̈] and [ə]. [ü] is higher and less centralised than [ʉ] ([ɷ] being generally nearer to C[o]), whilst [ä] is taken to involve slight raising, and is to be clearly distinguished from [a̠]; [ɑ̈] and [ɑ̟] are to be similarly distinguished.

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[1] I shall call this latter type of glottalisation *preglottalisation*.
[2] Cf. *IPA* sheet, Appendix.

[ʏ] in the symbols /ʏː/, /ʏə/ and /ɜʏ/ can in fact be realised by back variants of the type [ʉ], since there is no contrast betweent front and back high rounded vowels. The use of [ʏ] in the phoneme symbols was therefore based upon my judgement of whether front or back varieties occurred the more often.

Reference has already been made to difficulties of hearing and interpretation, when speech is very quiet. A related phenomenon is that of the fall in volume and pitch encountered at the end of an English sentence.[1] Thus, in an occurrence of the word pit at the end of a "sentence" (or: under conditions of low pitch and volume before a pause of medium duration), I felt that I could hear a [t] and transcribed one, although a linguist who happened to check that particular piece of transcription insisted that he could not hear a final consonant. It is conceivable that I was wrong, but it is also conceivable that the other linguist could not detect this [t] on account of his greater age, as hearing usually declines with age.[1] At any rate, the instance is anything but untypical of the kind of problem encountered when transcribing.

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[1] The definition of this term is extremely problematic - although in a formal grammar the notion may be given a priori by the first rule S —> NP + VP. The definition of sentence for the spoken language is particularly difficult. In the above instance, however, a definition is not crucial. A quite pragmatic statement that pitch and volume were low before a pause (there happened to be one in the example to be considered) constitutes a sufficient context for the discussion of the particular phonetic problem.

Another interesting problem is the difficulty encountered in discerning slight or non-distinctive kinds of diphthongisation. Both /iː/ and /ʏː/ may be termed relatively pure vowel phonemes, as they quite often have diphthongal realisations. In the case of long vowels before /r, l/ (especially the dialect's rather dark [ɫ]), it is usual to discern diphthongisation of a centring type, even if this is sometimes only very slight, in which case a long vowel might well be transcribed followed by a raised schwa before the /r/ or /l/.

In one instance, where I had transcribed [ÿː], a second linguist transcribed [ÿˑʊ]. Whilst it came as no surprise to me that I might well have overlooked such an instance of a diphthong, on checking I found that I could not detect a change in quality. I therefore consulted a third linguist, and we decided that there was, in fact, a slight change of pitch, but not one of vowel quality, and that [ÿː] could stand.

It was found that there are very backed variants of /k/ in the dialect, and in one particular instance I toyed for some time with the possibilities of a pharyngeal stop,[2] before eventually deciding that the realisation in question

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1. It would be possible to add a discussion of age and state of health to the specification of the transcriber, section 3.8.
2. Cf. Ladefoged (1971: 41): "In the pharyngeal area, however, no language uses stops (most people cannot make them), and nasals are an impossibility. Even fricatives are not very common." Cf. further Albrow (1974: 50f).

was probably a very backed uvular sound. Yet it was difficult to be certain in such a case.

Difficulties in interpreting occurrences of the, to, or to the have already been referred to in this section. Under circumstances involving mumbling, lack of stress, or word- or sentence-final position, [z, ɹ, d and ð] could be quite difficult to distinguish from each other: all are in the dental or alveolar regions and have voice. In the case of post-vocalic /r/, it eventually becomes most difficult, indeed impossible, to discern at which point slight /r/-colouring of vowels becomes [ə] rather than [ɹ].

Assimilation of word-final consonants had to be borne in mind, and careful efforts made to distinguish between [n̪, m̪ and ɱ̪], and between [n, m and ɱ]. /θ, ð/ enjoy a wider distribution in the dialect than in R.P., and care was often necessary in distinguishing exactly between one realisation and another on the part of the same speaker: [θ, t͡θ, t͡ᶿ, ᵗ͡θ, t̪, t] are illustrative of the possibilities. Such variants, of course, did not hinder semantic interpretation, and it would have been easy to have overlooked some of them. It is at just such a phonetic level that machine assistance might be sought.

In words such as /ˈbɔtl, ˈbɔkl/ 'bottle', which have a final /l/ - some of which are very common, e.g. /ˈlɪtl, ˈlɪkl/ 'little' - it was sometimes difficult to decide whether the final /l/ was syllabic, or whether a raised vowel might not be transcribed between the final consonants. A full vowel is easier to hear.

One last difficulty worth mentioning was the difficulty sometimes encountered in distinguishing between voicing and devoicing, e.g. between [t̬] and [d̥]. Such problems were most in evidence in unstressed, fast or blurred sections of tapes.

The foregoing may be sufficient at least to give the flavour of transcriptional difficulties, although the issues have by no means been exhausted.

4. QUESTIONS OF ARCHIVING AND THE SCIENTIFIC STATUS OF THE RESEARCH

An important criterion of scientific status is that data be open to inspection, or checking. The availability of data for checking, along with biographical and other contextual data, and together with explicit statements concerning the setting up and conduct of an experiment, determines the repeatability of that experiment. Repeatability is an essential determinant of scientific status. Ultimately, particular data obtained from particular informants under circumstances x, y and z are unrepeatable: the fieldwork is a creative and subjective process, which cannot be specified in all its aspects. The transcription process too, has been shown to be somewhat subjective. Yet these facts do not invalidate the quest for a rigorous use of scientific method any more than the observation that no two snowflakes are alike invalidates the concept snowflake. The issue is one of degree, and the search for scientific status in linguistic work should not be abandoned simply because human beings provide slightly less hard data than, say, rocks. Consequently, it is an especial requirement on dialect studies, that an honest and thorough account be offered of all aspects of data gathering and data processing. Where problems or omissions are evident to the dialectologist in his work, they should be explicitly stated.

Data may be checked, an experiment reconstructed, repeated, or reinterpreted, or material may be put to completely new uses, if data (together with all appropriate background material) are archived. When transcriptions are archived, details of the transcription process, the features marked, and the problems of transcription (all as outlined in section 3) should also be available. Although the discussion of all the minutiae of archives lies outside of the scope of this study, the general tenor of the argument will be clear: archives play a crucial rôle in determining the scientific status of a study. The existence of extensive transcriptions is no substitute for archiving the original tape recordings, because transcriptions are processed material. Certain key issues in the field of archives may be mentioned here. It is necessary:

1) that tape recordings can be stored, and at the correct temperature;

2) that facilities exist for copying tapes;

3) that tape recordings be catalogued in such a way as to guarantee access thereto;

4) that an adequate system of filing be in operation, so that all relevant biographical data, field report sheets, transcriptions, analyses and contextual data - all in their turn adequately stored and filed - can be consulted along with the tapes;

5) that facilities be available for the consultation of data, whatever the medium of the data (tape recordings, photographs, films, slides, print, MSS, videotapes, microfilms, or whatever);

6) that staff be available, where necessary, to enable

those facilities to be used;

7) that adequate controls are retained over archived material, in spite of the requirement that it also be accessible.

In respect of point 7), archived material can be sensitive for a number of reasons: firstly, questions of copyright may be at stake, especially if access is sought to material for projects which have a commercial side to them; secondly, access to the material may have been restricted by the informant(s) and/or the fieldworker(s) or other depositor(s), even where no commercial interests are involved; thirdly, informants sometimes make confessions of a highly personal nature to the fieldworker, which could be embarrassing if revealed; fourthly, informants sometimes make slanderous accusations or false statements, which might conceivably result in legal action; and fifthly, the director of the archives might be of the opinion that certain materials could conceivably cause offence to, or be unsuitable for, certain persons or classes of person. There is therefore something of a dichotomy involved in ensuring that bona fide scholars have access to archived material - which has already been shown to be essential to the scientific status of dialectological work - but that such access is nonetheless carefully controlled. Special deposit options[1] may be formulated, which govern access, or terms of access, to all materials deposited in archives.
In respect of the use made of accessible material, however,

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[1] Cf. Appendix.

much must be left to the integrity and good sense of those to whom access is granted.

The materials on which this thesis is based are deposited in the Archives of the Centre for English Cultural Tradition and Language at the University of Sheffield.

5. PHONOLOGY

It is appropriate to begin with a number of remarks on method and presentation. The following account of the phonology of the dialect is based upon both phonemic and phonetic considerations.[1] Within terms of the work of de Saussure and the structuralist tradition, the abstract system inherent in language (langue) is to be seen as the object of linguistics. Bloomfield commented upon the subjective nature of phonetic transcription,[2] and concluded from this that it is only really the phonemic record which is of any great use until such time as there are substantial improvements in acoustic phonetics.[3] Segments are so very difficult to isolate and identify, but meaningfulness is imposed on speech sounds by the linguistic system.[4] The phoneme is therefore very much a functional concept. Viereck has called attention to the need to make greater use of modern linguistic methods, by which he means the phonemic approach:

> Wir benötigen strukturell ausgerichtete Dialektstudien, auch um Systeme einzelner Dialekte miteinander vergleichen zu können. Arbeiten, die auf der phonetischen Ebene verharren, genügen nicht.[5]

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[1] Cf. earlier remarks on broad and narrow transcription, section 3.9. The concept of the phoneme is treated separately in section 5.1.

[2] Bloomfield (1955: 84f), cited in section 3.2. above.

[3] Cf. ibid., 85.

[4] Cf. Gimson (1974: 42).

[5] Viereck (1968: 563). In footnote 65 he observes that there are only three purely phonological studies of English dialects: Sivertsen (1960), Wölck (1965) and Viereck (1966).

In order to reflect the systematic character of language, the attempt will be made here to set up an inventory of phonemes.

Nonetheless, there are reasons why a purely phonemic approach does not seem adequate to the object of description. It has been observed earlier in this study that different varieties of language may be differentiated at the subphonemic level.[1] O'Connor writes:

> Many of the meaningful differences of sound in a language simply cannot be accounted for on a phoneme basis, and to carry the phoneme principle too far, to try to make it carry more than it is able, is to reduce the utility in those areas where it has a real part to play.[2]

Furthermore, the difficulties of constructing phonemic systems from spontaneous spoken language,[3] and the non-uniqueness of a phonemic solution,[4] favour careful work at the segmental level. An attempt is therefore made to offer a detailed account of the phonetic variants in the transcriptions, whether or not these are determined specifically as positional variants (allophones) within phoneme theory. The comparisons with RP and the account of modification given for each phoneme are relevant to this aim, in that speech modification and the co-existence of different phonemic systems are factors which account for linguistic variation.

Wakelin referred to the fact that accents may be differentiated at three levels: the systemic, the distributional,

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1. See sections 3.6 and 3.9 above, and Wakelin (1972a: 84f). See also section 1.1.1.3.
2. O'Connor (1973: 190).
3. Cf. section 3.9 above.
4. Cf. Chao (1934); Gimson (1974: 45f). There may possibly be only one ideal phonemic solution for a set of data, but we are currently nowhere near achieving that ideal - cf. Pike (1959: 61, 64).

and the realisational.[1] I have tried to account for the dialect of Farnworth and district at all three levels. The systemic level is reflected in the phonemic side of the approach, and the realisational level in the phonetic. As far as the distributional level is concerned, particular emphasis has been laid on questions of distribution. Thus, distribution is treated both descriptively (i.e. distribution of phonemes in terms of their phonemic environment, and within the word, in initial, medial and final positions, and in consonant clusters) and comparatively. From a methodological point of view, it is worth noting that a thorough treatment of phoneme distribution requires a very large corpus.

From previous sections it will be clear that an attempt is made to set up an inventory of phonemes on the basis of tape recordings of spontaneous conversation.[2] Such a procedure is not without problems of interpretation.[3] The style of the speech elicited was informal conversation - at least as far as that proved possible in the event. Style is seen here as being directly influenced by fieldwork (section 2). A certain amount of material for the phonology was elicited by means of questionnaire or minimal pair techniques. This was necessary in order to clarify a number of obscure points or suspect pairs, and particularly in order to check out the possibilities of consonant clusters. Where tape-recorded evidence suggested a particular pattern, such as the use of a long a before voiceless fricatives, it seemed advisable to check out the pattern more thoroughly by eliciting further words of the required type. In these respects, then, the method used transcended a purely corpus-based approach.

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[1] See Wakelin (1972a: 84).
[2] See especially sections 1.2 and 1.2.1.6.
[3] Cf. section 3.9.

When observing that nothing was more directly useful than the evidence contained in a set of synchronic descriptions, McIntosh stated that it was desirable that a set of descriptions should be prepared along comparable lines.[1] The present study is arranged and presented largely in terms of a tradition of work, which is readily comprehensible and widely used in this country. Some aspects of the presentation of the description are modelled on Gimson's Introduction to the Pronunciation of English,[2] whilst this same work serves as the comparative base for comparisons between the dialect and RP. When it was necessary to check the RP pronunciation of a particular word, I chiefly consulted the Oxford Advanced Learner's Dictionary of Current English.[3] The use of an aural-imitative technique based upon the Cardinal Vowels[4] and the IPA alphabet[5] has already been described. The classification of the consonants is predominantly articulatory, whilst that of the vowels relies to a considerable extent on auditory impression. Other aspects of the transcription process were reported and commented upon in section 3.

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[1] See McIntosh (1961: 104f).
[2] Gimson (1974). Gimson's study is the culmination of a tradition of English phonological work which included such scholars as Sweet, Jones and Ward.
[3] Hornby (1975).
[4] Cf. section 3.4.
[5] Cf. section 3.5.

The description of the phonemes of the dialect is essentially synchronic, although it is also comparative and dynamic.[1] No attempt is made to account for the dialect systematically in diachronic terms. However, it would surely be unnecessarily dogmatic to banish all historical reference *a priori*, and occasional reference is made to historical criteria where these offer a possible explanation for current aspects of the dialect. For instance, the need to include the phonemes /oə, ɔə/ in the inventory may be understood not as due to pressure from RP, but within terms of the dialect's own system as resulting from the recession of historical post-vocalic /r/.

The description of the vowel and diphthong phonemes consists basically of four elements: *Description*, *Variants*, *Comparative Distribution* and *Modification*. There is a separate vowel chart for each phoneme. This is necessary as the alternatives are either an unacceptable degree of idealisation to separate the phonemes, or a chaos of circles, shaded areas, arrows and dots. The *Description* of each vowel makes reference to the criteria *close-open* (or *high*-*low*), *front*-*centre*-*back*, *long*-*short* and *rounded*-*unrounded*. Additionally, there is reference to the degree of tongue *tension*. Mention is also made of diphthongal variants of long vowels, and of the distribution of each phoneme. In the case of diphthongs, there is, of course, an account of the starting and finishing positions for each diphthong. The sections headed Variants give details of the variants of each phoneme, and illustrations in phonetic script. The Comparative Distribution of each phoneme arranges groups of words containing that phoneme in terms of RP correspondences or equivalents, e.g. dialect /eː/ in /reː(r)d/ 'reared', /kweː(r)/ 'queer' and /jeː(r)/ 'ear; hear' corresponds to RP /ɪə/. The sections headed Modification describe modifications of both a phonetic and a distributional nature of the dialect phonemes towards a variety or varieties of Northern Standard. The modifications described, unless there is any observation to the contrary, are those made by dialect speakers themselves, and not by more educated speakers.

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[1] A comparative component was justified in section 1.1.1.8. The basis for the description of modified variants was given in the same section.

The description of the consonant phonemes takes the form of eight subsections per phoneme. The first of these gives an articulatory description of the consonant, a summary of its distribution within the word, general comments on variants, together with other remarks of general interest. There follow subsections which describe the phoneme initially, in initial clusters, medially, finally, and in final clusters. Subsections 7 and 8 again present a comparative distribution of the phoneme, and indicate its directions of modification. Certain special uses of symbols in the description were indicated amongst the Problems of Interpretation in section 3.9. The terminology of the presentation is intentionally no more precise than the data will allow. Thus it includes such words as often, frequently, usual, sometimes, overlap, and so on. It is not intended that such terminology should create an impression of a lack of precision, but simply that it should indicate the fact that the data do not permit one continually to make watertight or unqualified statements. This state of affairs probably obtains in respect of the dialects of most, perhaps all localities, and is not restricted to the dialects of urban areas.[1]

With reference to the long vowels and diphthongs, all may be taken to be generally slightly shorter before a fortis consonant.[2] Examples of short and long forms to illustrate this very general principle are not given in the descriptions of the phonemes. The long vowels, especially /eː/ and /oː/, sometimes give the impression of being of very considerable duration. However, this matter is really a question for an instrumental study, and not for the present analysis. Length is marked for all long vowels in phonemic script, as some variants of certain pairs of phonemes are distinguished by length.[3] The pairs in question are /e - eː/, /ɛ - ɛː/, /ɔ - ɔː/ and, to a lesser extent and if post-vocalic /r/ is not pronounced, /a - æː/. Also /o - oː/ are sometimes distinguished by length. It seems unwise to state definitively that length either is or is not the chief distinctive feature, or only distinctive feature, in the case of any of these pairs of phonemes, but there are certainly occasions when, given a particular suspect pair of words, length would appear to be phonemic. Compare:

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[1] Cf. Göschel (1973: 8), especially the quotation from Jakobson.

[2] The same situation obtains in RP - cf. Gimson (1974: 94f).

[3] Cf. section 3.6.

	'Murray'	/'merι/	≠	/'me:rι/	'Mary'	
	'bet'	/bɛt/	≠	/bɛ:t/	'without'	
	'fetch'	/fɔt/	≠	/fɔ:t/	'fault'	
	'cat'	/kat/	≠	/kæ:t/	'cart'	(pronounce
onounce [o])	'cut'	/kɷt/	≠	/ko:t/	'coat'	[a:]

It has already been observed that the phonology in this study is basically segmental.[1] Reference has previously been made to the treatment of stress.[2] Examples of secondary stress may be found under the phonemes /ɛ/ and /ɔ/.[3] Additionally, the following may be noted. The element -ate receives the main word stress:

/ˌsɛpe're:t/	'separate'
/ˌɛgzadʒe're:tιn/	'exaggerating'
/ˌkɔngrι'ge:t/	'congregate'
/ˌkɔmplι'ke:tιd/	'complicated'
/re'le:tιvz/	'relatives' etc.

Regular pronunciations in the dialect include:

/ιn'dɷsθrι/	'industry'
/ˌjιsθe'de:/	'yesterday' (variable)
/ˌιnθ(e)'rɛstιn/	'interesting'
/ˌspɛk'tɛklz/	'spectacles'
/'mʏ:stɛιʃ/	'moustache'

Certain other stress patterns which correspond more closely to US than to traditional RP usage are difficult to classify from the point of view of whether or not they have belonged to the dialect system for any length of time, as US stress patterns are currently featuring very strongly in radio and television

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1. Cf. sections 1.1.1.6 and 1.1.1.8.
2. Cf. section 3.6.
3. See sections 5.3.2 and 5.3.4 respectively.

news programmes, and are unquestionably influencing the speech of ordinary people, and also that of RP speakers. Some instances of non-standard stress patterns from the corpus are:

/fʊtˈwəː(r)/	'footwear'	
/ˌeːˈmeːkɪn/	'hay-making'	
/ˌprɛsˈbʊtn/	'press-button'	
/ˌgriːnˈgroːsə(r)z/	'greengrocer's'	
/ˌspərɪt ˈlaɪsəns/	'spirit licence'	
/ˈriːflagd/	'reflagged'	
/ˈkɔmprɛst/	'compressed'	etc.

Since parts of the study contain extensive illustrative material, and since the materials on which the thesis is based have been deposited in an archive,[1] it was not thought necessary to add sample texts. Most of the illustrative material in the grammar goes well beyond the level of word.

A full glossary of the dialect would be too large an undertaking here. Difficult words, however, are glossed in the text as they occur. Round brackets are used.

5.1. Concept of the "Phoneme":

Hockett defines the phoneme as not a speech sound or allophone, but "...a range of speech sound which functions as a point of contrast in an interlocking network of contrasts".[2] This definition is essentially negative, and in that respect is strongly representative of the thought of de Saussure and the structuralists. Phonemes are defined as contrasting

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1. The Centre for English Cultural Tradition and Language at the University of Sheffield.
2. Hockett (1970: 134).

entities within an abstract system: it is not so much a question of what they are, but of what they contrast with. Thus again Hockett:

> The phonological system of a language is therefore not so much a "set of sounds" as it is a network of differences between sounds.[1]

The negative definition of the phoneme as a contrasting element within a system underlies the definition of the phoneme as "...the smallest linguistic unit which may bring about a change of meaning".[2] The methodological consequence of this definition is the establishment of the phonemic inventory by means of commutation or minimal pairs.[3] Gleason writes:

> The phoneme is the minimum feature of the expression system of a spoken language by which one thing that may be said is distinguished from any other thing which might have been said.[4]

Gleason adds two objective criteria for the non-native:

1. that "the sounds must be phonetically similar", and
2. that the sounds should show "certain characteristic patterns of distribution in the language or dialect under consideration".[5]

Whereas Hockett defines the phoneme only from the point of view of its differences from other phonemes, it is also possible to define the phoneme in a more positive way, namely to specify its distinctive phonetic characteristics. This latter approach is essential to distinctive feature analysis, and positive description of phonetic characteristics may also be said to play an important rôle in the British tradition in phonology.[1] Thus, in addition to stating that /p/ is not /t, k, etc./, one may proceed to state the phonetic characteristics of /p/.[2]

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[1] Hockett (1970: 24).
[2] Gimson (1974: 44).
[3] Cf. *ibid*., 44f.
[4] Gleason (1961: 16).
[5] *Ibid*., 26.

The view taken in this present study of the dialect of Farnworth and district is that the phoneme is an abstract, functional unit within a system. As Hjelmslev observed, phoneme in de Saussure's usage, when he invented the term, did not refer to usage or "linguistic sounds", but rather to the purely "algebraic entities" of his theory.[3] However, contrasts between phonemes are established by virtue of distinctive features, by positive, phonetic characteristics. It would therefore be unrealistic to try to keep phonetics and phonology apart;[4] phonemes are defined in terms of phonetic properties, and the relevance of phonetic information is decided by questions of function or phonology. Phonetic characteristics of phonemes are therefore specified in this study both for basic phonological reasons, and for the information which is revealed about the dialect at the subphonemic level.

Allophones or variants of phonemes are in complementary distribution when variation is positionally defined, and are in free variation when they occur in the same context.[5] Referring to a phoneme as a "family of sounds",[6] Jones gave

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1. Gimson (1974) may be taken to be the most recent definitive work within that tradition.
2. Cf. ibid., 46.
3. Hjelmslev (1970: 125).
4. Cf. Crystal (1971: 182f).
5. Cf. Gimson (1974: 47).
6. Jones (1957: 49). Cf. Gleason (1961: 26) "a class of sounds".

"the most frequently used member of that family" as the most important sound.[1] Caution is in order here, however, for, as Hjelmslev pointed out, what is common or frequent is a matter of opinion.[2] Consider in this connection the number of variants included in the present study under the phonemes /e/ and /eː/.[3] Where possible, the phoneme symbols in this analysis reflect the least restricted and most frequent variant. Where this is not possible, I have attempted to indicate the problem.

Whilst an inventory of phonemes should perhaps ideally be prepared on the basis of the speech of a single informant, the problems which confront the linguist would still persist in such a case. Within the speech of an individual, variation is still encountered.[4] Furthermore, a great deal would have to be assumed about the representativeness of that informant. In this present study, the phonemes result from the analysis of the speech of a plurality of informants. They are further defined by being essentially word-based, i.e. the _word_ is the basic unit within which the analysis takes place.[5]

The view that the phoneme is a concept in the speaker's mind[6] - which follows readily enough from de Saussure's concept of _langue_ - presents something of a problem. Whilst the native speaker may well have a concept of the phoneme in his mind or brain, there can be no proof in the present state of knowledge either that the speaker actually has such a concept, or - given such a concept - that it is close to the concept of the phoneme in the linguist's description. A phoneme in this study, then, is a unit in the abstract system imposed upon the data by the linguist: it is a unit of the description. In the first instance, it models the data. If the native speaker has a psychological concept of the phoneme[1] which underlies his speech sounds (*parole*, *performance*, the data for the study), then the phoneme of the description models that too, i.e. more indirectly and via the data.

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[1] Jones (1957: 49). Cf. Pike (1959: 62), where the phonemic _norm_ is defined as "that submember which is least limited in distribution and least modified by its environments".

[2] Hjelmslev (1970: 119).

[3] Cf. sections 5.2.8.1-2, 5.3.6.1-2.

[4] Cf. Gimson (1974: 50).

[5] Cf. _ibid_., 50f.

[6] See, for instance, Rosetti (1973: 89).

5.2. *Long Vowels*:

There are eight long vowel phonemes in the dialect:

/iː, ʏː, eː, ɛː, æː, ɔː, oː, ɵː/

Of these, two - /iː/ and /ʏː/ - may be described as *relatively pure* long vowels. Possible remnants of an earlier /ɑː/-phoneme are treated under /aɩ/ in this analysis.[2] /ɵː/ has many important front variants,[3] and could be accounted a front vowel. Indeed, the long vowel system as a whole is currently somewhat "front heavy", and two facts may usefully be considered against this background: 1) that there are optional back variants of /ʏː/ and /æː/; and 2) that there are optional modified variants of /ʏː/ and /æː/ in the back region (cf. RP /uː/ and /ɑː/).

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[1] I.e. as a part of *langue*, *competence*, or whatever.
[2] Cf. section 5.4.2 for further details.
[3] Cf. section 5.2.8.2.

When the dialect system is compared with that of RP, several important differences emerge. Dialect /ɵ:/ corresponds to both RP /ɜ:/ and /ɛə/: for instance, fare, fair, fir and fur are all pronounced /fɵ:(r)/ in the dialect.[1] Per contra, the dialect makes an extra distinction in terms of the comparison of systems in the case of /e:/ and /ɛɪ/: for instance, /we:t/ 'wait' ≠ /wɛɪt/ 'weight'. Furthermore, distinctions between /o:, ɔ:, oə, and ɔə/ give minimal pairs in the dialect which are homophones in RP, or some varieties of RP.[2] Examples:

/ɔ:/ ≠ /ɔə/ : /tɔ:k/ 'talk' ≠ /tɔə(r)k/ 'torque'; etc.
/ɔ:/ ≠ /oə/ : /pɔ:/ 'paw' ≠ /poə(r)/ 'pour';
/rɔ:/ 'raw' ≠ /roə(r)/ 'roar'; etc.
/ɔə/ ≠ /oə/ : /'mɔə(r)nɪn/ 'morning' ≠ /'moə(r)nɪn/ 'mourning';
/fɔə(r)/ 'for' ≠ /foə(r)/ 'four'; etc.

5.2.1. /i:/

5.2.1.1. Description:

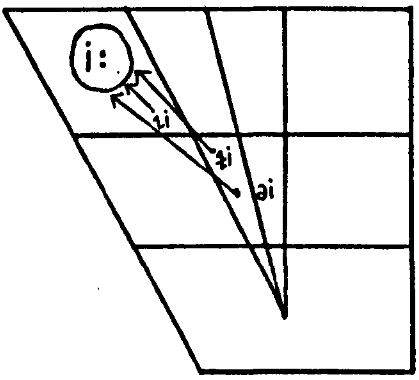

Fig. 1. - /i:/ and variants

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[1] Cf. the dialect's use of /ɒ/ in correspondence with RP /ʌ/ and /ʊ/, section 5.3.
[2] Cf. Gimson (1974: 115).

/iː/ is a long, unrounded, relatively pure[1] front vowel. It is a high vowel, although its position is a little below and to the centre of C[i]. It is only moderately tense, and not as high, tense and pure as, for example, German or French /iː/. The chief variant is of a type suggested by the placing of /iː/ in Fig. 1, namely [ï̞ː], where the centralisation diacritic is to be read as indicating a degree of centralisation, but not a truly central position. A diacritic indicating lowering from the Cardinal position is appropriate, as the degree of lowering is usually more than slight, and sometimes considerable. In diphthongal variants, [ï̞] will be simplified to [i]. The phoneme has been described as only relatively pure, and the variant [ιiˑ] is very common.

/iː/ does not normally occur before/l, r/: the dialect has /ιə/ in these environments.

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

/siː/ 'see'; /diː/ 'die'; /tiːm/ 'team';
/ˈbiːzem/ 'besom'; /ˈfriːtn/ 'frighten'; etc.
/ˈdeːliːt/ 'daylight'; /ˈkɔənkriːt/ 'concrete';
/ˈmιdniːt/ 'midnight'; etc.

5.2.1.2. Variants:

(i) [ï̞ː] A regular variant, possible in all positions. Examples: [ˈï̞ːðə] 'either' (more often with /eː, aι/); [fï̞ːʃ] 'fish'; [nï̞ːst] 'nest'; etc.

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[1] Gimson (1974: 91f) writes: "The so-called pure vowels of bee and do frequently contain a glide between two distinct elements, especially in a final position. Nevertheless, because the qualities of the elements are phonetically closely related and because a non-gliding vowel is not uncommon or thought to be un-English, these two vowels may on phonetic grounds be included in the 'long, pure' list."

(ii) [ɩi·] A regular variant, possible in all positions, but occurs especially a) in word-initial position; b) in a final open syllable. Examples: [ɩi·ʔ͡t‘] 'eat'; [θr̥ɩi·] 'three'; [sɩi·] 'see'; etc.

(iii) [i·ɩ] Occurs in present participles. Examples: [bi·ɩn] 'being'; [si·ɩn] 'seeing'; [t‘i·ɩn] 'tying'; etc.

(iv) [Yi·][1] Occurs sometimes after /w/. Examples: [bɩ'tʻw̥Yɨ̣n] 'between'; ['sw̥Yi·lɩn] swealing 'burning'; [sw̥Yi·p‘] 'sweep'; etc.

(v) [ɨi·] [əi·] Less common variants. Examples: [sɨi·n] 'seen'; [skɹ̥ɨi·m] 'scream'; ['lɨi·və̣] 'Lever'; [sləi·p‘] 'sleep'; [nɨi·t^h] 'night'; [lɨi·nd] 'leaned'; [mɨ̃i·n] 'mean'; [kw̥ɨi·n] 'queen'.

(vi) [i:] A very high, front, tense variant, which is rare. In the following examples, one occurrence of [i:] would appear to be due to extreme excitement and consequent emphasis: ['mi:tɩn] 'meeting'; [fi:t‘] 'feet'; [ġi:d] 'gave'.

5.2.1.3. Comparative Distribution:

Section 1. Corresponding to RP /i:/:
/'bi:zem/ 'besom'; /si:/ 'see'; /ti:m/ 'team'; and very many more.

Section 2. Corresponding to RP /aɪ/:
(a) /ri:t/ 'right'; /li:t/ 'light'; /di:/ 'die';

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[1] The sequence [wYi·] can be close to what a Frenchman would transcribe as [ɥi:].

/ɔ:'ri:t/ 'all right'; /ni:t/ 'night'; /'mɩdni:t/ 'midnight'; /i:/ 'eye'; /si:t/ 'sight'; /'fri:tn/ 'frighten'; /bri:t/ 'bright'; /ti:/ 'tie'; /'li:tnɩn/ 'lightning'; /'de:li:t/ 'daylight'; etc.

(b) /'i:ðə(r)/ 'either' (less usual than /e:, aɩ/); /'ni:ðə(r)/ 'neither' (less usual than /o:, e:, aɩ/)

Section 3. Corresponding to RP /e/:
/i:ndz/ 'ends'; /li:t/ 'let'; /ni:st/ 'nest'; /ʃi:d/ 'shed' (v.); /wi:t/ 'wet'; /si:t/ 'set' (pret. and pp.).

Section 4. Corresponding to RP /ɪ/ before /ʃ/:
/'di:ʃklɔ:θ/ 'dishcloth'; /fi:ʃ/ 'fish'; /wi:ʃ/ 'wish'; and other compounds of dish, fish and wish.

Section 5. Miscellaneous Preterites: Dialect /i:/ corresponds to RP

/ɒ/ - /gi:t/ 'got'
/ɪ/ - /li:t/ 'lit'
/ɔ:/ - /si:d/ 'saw'
/æ/ - /si:t/ 'sat'
/eɪ/ - /i:t/ 'ate'

5.2.1.4. Modification:

Phonetically: none.

Distributionally:

Section 1 retains /i:/

Section 2(a) —> /aɩ/

Section 2(b) may retain /i:/ (cf. US English)

Section 3 —> /ɛ/

Section 4 —> /ɩ/

Section 5 - The dialect's nearest equivalents of the RP phonemes are used, e.g. /gɔt/ 'got', except that /iː/ might remain in /iːt/ 'ate' in modified speech.

5.2.2. /ʏː/

5.2.2.1. Description:

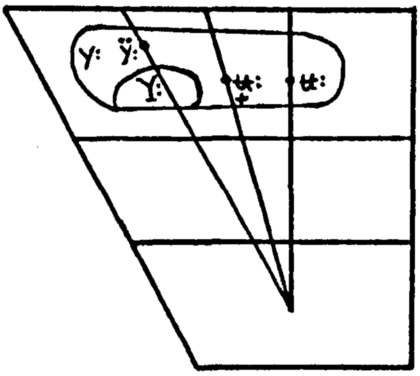

Fig. 2. - /ʏː/ and variants

/ʏː/ is a high, usually front, rounded, moderately tense,[1] relatively pure, long vowel. It lies between the close and half-close positions, and, there being no opposition between high, rounded, long vowels above the half-close position, it occupies a wide area of space from just centre of front to back of centre. Although some speakers use more backed forms in the main, such as [ʉ̟ː, ʉː], and although some others use back and front variants interchangeably, the front variants are in the majority. The most typical front variants are centralised and lowered, which makes /ʏː/ a suitable symbol for the phoneme. The vowel is less front, less tense, and less rounded than French or German /yː/. As in the case of /iː/, the vowel may be described as relatively pure, because diphthongal variants are quite common. Again, however, the movement between elements is not great, and it is between elements which are phonetically closely related, as will be seen in the Variants below.

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[1] Some realisations are more relaxed: cf. especially section (vi) of the Variants below.

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

/ˈsʏːlɪ/ soorly 'soiled, dirty'; /rʏː/ 'rue';
/ˈkʏːʃɵn/ 'cushion'; /rʏːm/ 'room';
/ˈmʏːstɛɪʃ/ 'moustache'; etc.
/ˈrɛfjʏːs/ 'refuse' (n.); /ˈpɵː(r)fjʏːm/
'perfume'; /ˈoə(r)ˌlʏːkɵː(r)/ 'overlooker'.

However, in relatively weakly stressed syllables, the dialect sometimes has /ɵ/ or /ɷ/ where RP has /uː/ or reduced /jʊ/.[1]

/ʏː/ is rare before /l/: RP final /l/ is often not present in the dialect, and when it is present /ʏə/ is usual.[2] /ʏə/ also occurs before /r/, or where historical post-vocalic /r/ has been lost.

Sometimes /ʏː/ is pronounced with considerable laxness, giving an [ɜ]-type first element, as in subsection (vi) of the Variants below. This results in an occasional overlap between variants of /ʏː/ and realisations of /ɜʏ/.[3]

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[1] See subsections 7 and 9 of section 5.3.6.3, and subsections 8 and 15 of section 5.3.5.3.
[2] See section 5.4.8.1.
[3] Cf. subsections 4(b) and (c) of section 5.4.4.3.

5.2.2.2. Variants:

(i) Long vowels

[ÿː] Examples: [əˈnÿˑf] 'enough'; [sÿˑtʻ] 'soot'; [fÿːd] 'food'; etc.

[ʏː] = [ÿ̟ː] Examples: [tʻÿ̟ː] 'too'; [sÿ̟ːn] 'soon'; etc.

[ʉ̟ː] Examples: [bɹʉ̟ː] brow 'hill'; [ʉ̟ːn] 'oven'; etc.

[ʉː] Examples: [ʉˑʃ] 'hush'; [bɹʉˑʃ] 'brush'; [mʉːn] 'moon'; etc.

These occur regularly in all positions

[yː] is met very occasionally, e.g. [ˈsyˑpɵˌmæːʴkɩt͡ʔ] 'supermarket'.

(ii) Diphthongs moving towards a more backed position

[ʉ̟ˑu] Rare, e.g. [tʻʉ̟ˑuʷɩt͡ʔ] 'to it'.

[ʉ̟ˑʉ] More common, examples: [ɐ fɹʉ̟ˑʉ pʻɜʉnd] 'a few pound[s]'; [θɾ̥ʉ̟ˑʉ ʷ ɩtʻ] 'through it'. Can occur before a pause.

[ÿ̞ˑʉ] , [ÿ̞ˑɷ] Common, especially before a pause. Examples: [tʻÿ̟ˑʉ] 'two'; [tʻÿˑɷ‖] 'too'; [dÿˑɷ] 'do'; [fjÿ̟ˑɷ] 'few'; [θɾ̥ÿ̟ːᶷ] 'through'; [jÿˑʉs] 'use'.

(iii) [ÿ̞ˑə] , [ʉ̟ˑʉ] etc. Before /l/. These variants are more usual in modified speech, where /l/ is more frequent in occurrence. They belong rather to /ʏə/ in this analysis, but are mentioned here since they occur in the modified forms of common words which have /ʏː/ in the residual dialect, e.g. [skʏː] 'school' becomes [skʉ̟ˑʉɫ], [skÿˑəɫ], etc. when /l/ is introduced.[1]

(iv) When /l/ is introduced, vowel groups with [w] may also replace the more residual

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[1] See further sections 5.4.8.1 and 5.4.8.2.(ii).

/ʏː/, e.g. [fʏː] 'fool' becomes ['fÿ̞ˑʷᵚɨ̵], etc.[1]

(v) Occasionally an [ɵ] or [ə] on-glide is noted, e.g. [ʃᶱÿ̞ˑʉ] 'shoe'. If the on-glide is particularly prominent, cf. (vi).

(vi) [ɜÿ̞ˑ] etc. Sometimes when /ʏː/ is pronounced in a more lax manner, a diphthong can result with an [ɜ]-type first element: [təÿ̞‘ˑ] 'two'; [ʃɜˑÿˑt͡ʔ] 'shoot'; [fɹ̥ɜʉ̟ˑt‘] 'fruit'; [ɹɜʉˑm] 'room'; [lɛ̝̆ʉ̟k‘] 'look'; etc. Although the first element is not always as prominent as in variants of /ɜʏ/, it becomes impossible to say with certainty in a few cases whether /ɜʏ/ or /ʏː/ is the phoneme.[2]

5.2.2.3. Comparative Distribution:

Section 1. Corresponding to RP /uː/:

/dʏː/ 'do'; /fʏːd/ 'food'; /ʃʏːt/ 'shoot'; /tʏː/ 'two', 'too'; and many others.

Section 2. Corresponding to RP /ʊ/

(a) /sʏːt/ 'soot'; /brʏːk/ 'brook'. These words also have /ɷ/ in the dialect, and /ɷ/ appears to be the more residual form.

(b) /pʏːʃ/ 'push'; /'kʏːʃen/ 'cushion'; /'bʏːʃɩz/ 'bushes'; /fʏːt/ 'foot'; /pʏːd/ 'pulled'. These words correspond to NS /ɷ/.

(c) /rʏːm/ 'room'.
/ʏːk/ 'hook'; /ʃʏːk/ 'shook'; /lʏːk/ 'look'; /bʏːk/ 'book'; etc. These words correspond to NS /ʏː/.

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[1] See further section 5.4.8.1.

[2] Cf. subsections 4(b) and (c) of section 5.4.4.3.

Section 3. Corresponding to RP /ʌ/:

/ˈstoːnˈklʏːf/ 'Stoneclough'; /rʏːf/ 'rough'; /ɵˈnʏːf/ 'enough'.
/rʏːʃ/ 'rush'; /brʏːʃ/ 'brush'; /ʏːʃ/ 'hush'.
/rʏːk/ (also with /ɷ/) 'ruck' ('slag heap'); /kʏːm/ 'come' (pp.)

Section 4. Corresponding to RP /ʌv/:

/ʏːn/ 'oven'.

Section 5. Corresponding to RP /eɪ/:

/kʏːm/ 'came'; /ˈʃʏːkn/ 'shaken'.

Section 6. Corresponding to RP /əʊ/:

/gʏː/ 'go'; /smʏːk/ 'smoke'; /ðʏːz/ 'those' (more often them).

Section 7. Corresponding to RP /ɑʊ/:

/brʏː/ brow 'hill'.

Section 8. Corresponding to RP /ə/:

/ˈmʏːstɛɩʃ/ 'moustache'.

Section 9. Corresponding to RP /juː/:

/ˈprɔdʏːs/ 'produce'; /ˈmʏːzɩk/ 'music'; etc. Such forms occur occasionally, although only from men in my corpus, and cannot be said to be typical of the dialect. They might perhaps be due to US influence.

5.2.2.4. Modification:

Phonetically, there is little modification. A particular speaker may adopt backed forms, or a greater number of backed forms, under the influence of other varieties of English, but /ɤː/ remains an appropriate phoneme symbol for modified speakers. Since /l/ is used in modified speech in positions where it has presumably been lost in the residual dialect, see sections (iii) and (iv) of the Variants above.

Distributionally:

Section 1 retains /ɤː/

Section 2(a) retains /ɤː/

(b) —> /ɑ/

(c) retains /ɤː/

Section 3 —> /ɑ/

Section 4 —> /ɑʊ/

Section 5 —> /eː/, or /ɑ/ in the case of /kɤːm/

Section 6 —> /oː/

Section 7 —> /ɜɤ/

Section 8 —> /ɑ/

Section 9 could retain /ɤː/.

5.2.3. /eː/

5.2.3.1. Description:

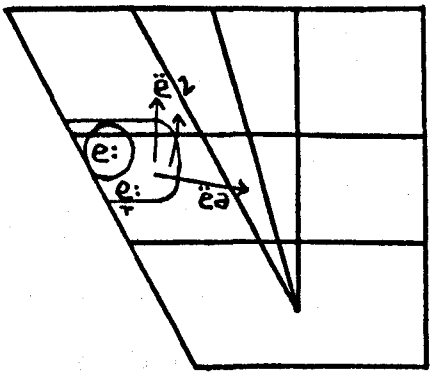

Fig. 3. - /eː/ and variants

/eː/ is a half-close, long, unrounded, pure vowel. It is on the half-close position around C[e], or a little below or to the centre thereof. The vowel is typically front and tense. There are diphthongal variants, but the main variants for the residual dialect are long, tense vowels, except before [ɫ], and occasionally /r/.

Even some speakers of residual dialect sometimes use more open variants reminiscent of more modified speech. The number of word pairs in which /eː/ and /ɛː/ contrast is perhaps not great - nonetheless, they are traditionally kept well apart. Examples of minimal pairs distinguishing /eː/ and /ɛː/:

'beaten, overtaken' /keːlt/ ≠ /kɛːlt/ 'cowardly, cringing'
'layed' /leːd/ ≠ /lɛːd/ 'loud'
'oh' /eː/ ≠ /ɛː/ 'how'
'no (contradictory)' /neː/ ≠ /nɛː/ 'now; no'
'bait' /beːt/ ≠ /bɛːt/ 'without'
'ace' /eːs/ ≠ /ɛːs/ 'house'
'hate' /eːt/ ≠ /ɛːt/ 'out'
'lace; hit' /leːs/ ≠ /lɛːs/ 'louse'
etc.

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

/ˈmeːzɩ/ '*mazy*, bewildered'; /weːk/ 'weak';
/teː/ 'tea'; /ˈkɔənkreːt/ 'concrete';
/ˈæː(r)greːvz/ 'Hargreaves'; etc.

/eː/ can occur before /r/,[1] having an [eˑə]-type realisation, but disyllabic vowel groups are perhaps more likely, e.g. /ˈleːe(r), ˈleːje(r)/ 'layer'. If historical post-vocalic /r/ is not pronounced, vowel-groups occur rather than diphthongs.[1] Vowel groups also occur now and then before [ɫ], e.g. [ˈtʻeˑɩʲöɫz] 'tales'; and in present participles they are in free variation with a diphthongal type of variant: [steˑɩn, ˈsteˑɩʲɩn] 'staying', etc.

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[1] See the *Variants*, section (i) below, for examples.

5.2.3.2. Variants:

(i) [eˑə] etc. Centring diphthongs, occurring: a) before /r/; b) usually before /r/ + vowel; and c) before [ɫ].[2] Starting positions are typically [e, ë, ẹ and ë̞], with movement to [ə, ɵ], and perhaps [ö] before [ɫ]. Examples: [lëˑəɹ, lë̞ˑəɹ] 'layer'; [əˈleˑəɹəˈtʻÿ̞ˑ] 'a layer or two'; [eˑəɫ] 'ale'; [ɹëˑəɫz̥] 'rails'; [wëˑöɫ] 'whale'; etc. A diphthong may also be heard optionally before medial /l/, e.g. [ˈtʻëˑəlɵ] 'Taylor'.

(ii) [eː] Common variant, occurring in all positions except those occupied by section (i) variants. Examples: [ˈfeːðɵ] 'father'; [ˈgɹɔnˌfeːðə] 'grandfather'; [geːtʻ] 'gate'; [ˈeːðə] 'either'; [ˈθɹ̥eːtɩd] 'treated'; [ˈpʻl̥eːd͡ʔ] 'played'; [eːf] 'half'; etc.

(iii) [ëː], [ëeˑ] Variants showing centralisation. Common. Examples: [pʻëːt͡ʔ] 'pay to'; [dëː] 'day'; [gëːm] 'game'; [ɹëːd] 'raid'; [pl̥ëeˑs] 'place'; [ˈsk(ə)ɹëeˑpɩnz] 'scrapings'; [ɹëeˑs] 'race'; [ˀëˑf] 'half'; etc.

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[1] Cf. subsection (v) of section 5.4.
[2] Cf. further section (v) of section 5.4.

(iv) [ë·ɩ],[ë·ᵻ],[ë:ᶥ] etc. Variants showing diphthongisation towards [ɩ]-types. Quite common. Examples: ['e·ɩpeθ] 'halfpennyworth'; [fë·ᵻnt] 'faint'; [ne·ɩm] 'name'; [ne·ᶥm] 'name'; [ˌk'ɔŋgɹᵻ'gë·ᵻt͡ʔ] 'congregate'; [gë·ᵻm] 'game'; etc; and in present participles such as [ste·ɩn] 'staying'; and before /j/ in vowel groups, e.g. ['t'e·ɩʲɷ̈ɫz] 'tales'.

(v) [e:ᵊ],[ᵊe:] Less usual. Examples: ['ɹe:ᵊgən] 'Reagan'; [ʃᵊe·m] 'shame'.

(vi) [ȩ:],[ȩ·ɩ],[ɛ̝·ɩ],[ɛ̝·ə],[ɛ·ᵻ],etc. Variants opening towards [ɛ:], either pure vowels or diphthongs. [ɛ:] may in fact be used in modified speech. Both diphthongisation and opening are a mark of modification. However, some such variants, particularly the less extreme ones, are not unusual in residual speech. Examples: ['lɛ̝·ᶥdɩ] 'lady'; [dɛ̝:ᶥ] 'day'; [lȩ:t'] 'late'; [tȩ:] 'tea'; ['æ:gɹȩ:vz] 'Hargreaves'; [lɛ·ᵻn] 'lane'; [mɛ̝·ɩk] 'make'; [ˌkʉm'p'l̥ɛ̝·ənɩn] 'complaining'; ['tɹ̥ȩ·ɩnɩn] 'training'; [tɹ̥ɛ̝̆·ᵻn][1]'train'; [p'l̥ɛ̝·ɩn] 'playing'; etc.

5.2.3.3. Comparative Distribution:

Section 1. Corresponding to RP /eɪ/:
/fre:m/ 'frame'; /ple:t/ 'plate'; /'le:dɩ/ 'lady'; /me:k/ 'make'; and very many others.

Section 2. Corresponding to RP /i:/
/we:/ 'we'; /'ke:lo:z/ 'kilos'; /'le:ve(r)/ 'Lever'; /'θre:k(e)l/ 'treacle'; /'swe:tn/ 'sweeten'; /'me:zlz/ 'measles'; /'se:saɩd/

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[1] Both forms evince the further modified feature of /t/ for /θ/.

'seaside'; /ˈfeːvɵ(r)/ 'feaver'; /ˈdeːz(ɵ)l/ 'diesel'; /teː/ 'tea'; /weːk/ 'weak'; /ˈθreːtɩd/ 'treated'; /ˈgreːsɩ/ 'greasy'; /ˈkreːtʃɵ(r)/, /ˈkreː(t)θɵ(r)/ 'creature', /ˈdeːs(ɵ)nt/ 'decent'; /dɩˈseːt/ 'deceit'; /ˈgreːnɛːs/ 'greenhouse'; /ˈkɔənkreːt/ 'concrete'; etc.; note also: /ˈæː(r)greːvz/ 'Hargreaves' and /ˈreːgɵn/ 'Reagan', which are sometimes pronounced with /iː/.

Section 3. Corresponding to RP /aɪ/:
/ˈeːðɵ(r)/ 'either' (more traditional than with /iː/ or /aɩ/); /ˈneːðɵ(r)/ 'neither' (also with /oː/, more modified /aɩ/, and less usual /iː/).

Section 4. Corresponding to RP /ɑː/:
/ˈfeːðɵ(r)/ 'father'; /ˈgrɔnˌfeːðɵ(r)/ 'grandfather'; /eːf/ 'half' (also with /ɔː/ and more modified /æː/); /ˈreːðɵ(r)/ 'rather'; /veːz/ 'vase'. /ˌtɵˈmeːtɵz/ 'tomatoes' is occasionally heard from older people, but could conceivably be due to US influence.

Section 5. Corresponding to RP /ɔː/:
/ˈweːθɵ(r)/ 'water'; /ˈkweːtθɵ(r)/ 'quarter' (also with /æː, ɔː, a, ɛ/).

Section 6. Corresponding to RP /əʊ/:
/weːnt/ 'won't' (also with /ɵː/); /eː/ 'oh'; /neː/ 'no (contradictory)'.

5.2.3.4. Modification:

/eː/ modifies phonetically by opening towards [ɛː], or by diphthongisation towards [ɩ], which may also be accompanied by a considerable degree of opening. The opening appears to be the more significant feature,[1] and often reaches [ɛː] with modified speakers. For such speakers, the requisite phonetic space is available, as they do not use traditional /ɛː/.[2]

Distributionally:

Section 1 retains /eː/
Section 2 ⟶ /iː/
Section 3 ⟶ /aɩ/
Section 4 ⟶ /æː/
Section 5 ⟶ /ɔː/
Section 6 ⟶ /oː/

5.2.4. /ɛː/

5.2.4.1. Description:

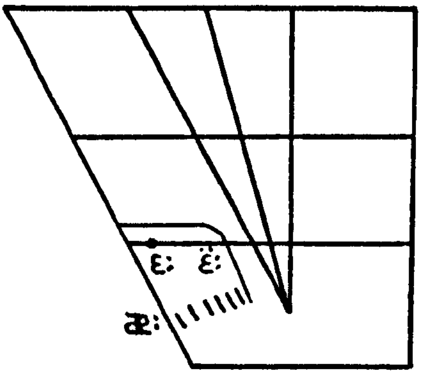

Fig. 4. - /ɛː/ and variants

/ɛː/is a long, front, half-open, unrounded vowel. In stressed syllables it is usually very front, and either on or a fraction below the half-open position. The vowel is tense, and diphthongal variants are in the minority, and of restricted distribution.

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[1] Cf. perhaps /oː/ where opening to or towards the nearby /ɔː/ signifies modification.
[2] Cf. section 5.2.4.4.

/ɛː/ occurs in stressed and relatively weakly stressed syllables. Examples: /kɛː(r) dɛːn/ 'sit down';[1] /ɛː(r)/ 'our; hour; ever'; /nɛː/ 'no; now'; /nɛː(r)/ 'never'; /bɛːt/ 'without'; /kɛːlt/ 'cowardly, cringing'; /bɛːn/ boun = 'going' (future tense); /ˈgreːnɛːs/ 'greenhouse'; /ˌɛːtˈsaɪdðə(r)/ 'outsider'; /ˈkɔlɪˌflɛː(r)/ 'cauliflower'; etc.

Most words containing /ɛː/ may also be pronounced with /æː/, although only with raised, or raised and centralised, front variants of /æː/, such as [æ̝ː, æ̝̈ː] and occasionally [äː]. However, for the main urban area at least, /ɛː/ may now be said to be decidedly the more usual. Some speakers use only /ɛː/, and reject /æː/ pronunciations if these are suggested to them. For the speakers who do not pronounce post-vocalic /r/, minimal pairs such as the following may be set up, which distinguish /ɛː/ from /æː/.

'house'	/ɛːs/	≠	/æːs/	'arse'
'down'	/dɛːn/	≠	/dæːn/	'darn'
'boun'	/bɛːn/	≠	/bæːn/	'barn'
'(foul) ugly'	/fɛː/	≠	/fæː/	'far'
'town'	/tɛːn/	≠	/tæːn/	'tarn'
'out'	/ɛːt/	≠	/æːt/	'heart; art'

etc.

Some speakers pronounce words such as tower with a vowel which is sufficiently high to distinguish it from /æː/, thus:

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[1] Used reflexively.

'tower'	/tɛː(r)/	≠	/tæː(r)/	'tar'
'power'	/pɛː(r)/	≠	/pæː(r)/	'par; parr; Parr; (pa)'
'shower'	/ʃɛː(r)/	≠	/ʃæː/	'Shah'

Also not dependent upon the loss of post-vocalic /r/ are:

'how'	/ɛː/	≠	/æː/	'ah'
'grouse'	/grɛːs/	≠	/græːs/	'grass'
'sit'	/kɛː(r)/[1]	≠	/kæː(r)/	'car'
'count'	/kɛːnt/[1]	≠	/kæːnt/	'can't'

From the point of view of the system as a whole, it seems advisable to attribute words such as house, town, shout, how (and most others which can be pronounced with /ɛː/) primarily to /ɛː/ nowadays, but clearly there remains some degree of overlap between /ɛː/ and /æː/. There is a continuous run of variants between the two phonemes from [ɛ̇ː] down as far as [äː].[2]

When post-vocalic /r/ is pronounced, it may colour the /ɛː/-vowel throughout its duration, and lead to a degree of centralisation. Nonetheless, /ɛː/ tends to be kept quite distinct from the usually higher and markedly rounder /ɵː/. Examples of minimal pairs distinguishing /ɛː/ and /ɵː/:

'our; hour; ever' 'how'	/ɛː(r)/ /ɛː/	≠	/ɵː(r)/	'air; hair; hare'
'ugly'	/fɛː/	≠	/fɵː(r)/	'fair; fare; fir; fur'
'flower; flour'	/flɛː(r)/	≠	/flɵː(r)/	'flare; flair'
'sit, cower' 'cow'	/kɛː(r)/ /kɛː/	≠	/kɵː(r)/	'care; cur'
'mount'	/mɛːnt/	≠	/mɵːnt/	'mustn't'
'shower'	/ʃɛː(r)/	≠	/ʃɵː(r)/	'share'
'town'	/tɛːn/	≠	/tɵː(r)n/	'turn'

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1. These words are also listed under /æː/, therefore the contrast would not occur with all speakers.
2. Fig. 4. suggests this overlap with the lack of a clear lower boundary.

'power' /pεː(r)/ ≠ /pɵː(r)/ 'pare; pair; pear; purr'

'tower' /tεː(r)/ ≠ /tɵː(r)/ 'tear' (in the sense of 'rip')

/εː/ is occasionally heard in words which usually have /ɜʏ/ in the dialect: /ˈbεːlɪn/ 'bowling'; /ˈmεːtɪn/ 'moulting'; /εːd/ 'old'; /ˈpεːlθrɪ/ 'poultry'. These do not have an alternative pronunciation with /æː/.[1] Two unrelated informants also gave /spεːl/ 'spoil' independently of each other. The word usually has /εɪ/.

5.2.4.2. Variants:

(i) [ε̈ː] [ε̝̈ː] These are the most common variants. Examples: [tʻε̝ː] 'tower'; [fl̥ε̈ːz] 'flour is'; [ˈkʻɔlɪˌflε̝̈ː] 'cauliflower'; [bε̝ːnt͡ʔ] 'boun to'; [ε̝̈ː] 'how'; [nεː#] 'now'; [dεːn] 'down'; [bɹεːn] 'brown'; [nε̈ː] 'now'; etc.

(ii) Variants with an off-glide: a number of such variants have been noted in final open syllables, before /l/ (where /l/ has not been lost), and before /n/. Examples: [nεːə] 'now'; [tʻε̝ːᵊ̝] 'tower'; [ˈbε̈ːᵊlɪn] 'bowling'; [ɹεːᵊnd] 'round'; [gɹεːᶟnd] 'ground'; etc. This category shades imperceptibly into the next - e.g. [spε̈ːᵊɫt̬͡ʔ] 'spoiled', spoil also occurring in the next section.

(iii) Diphthongal variants: Examples: [εˑəɹ]+vowel 'our';

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[1] Whilst /ˈbεːlɪn/ is most certainly an acceptable alternative to the pronunciation with /ɜʏ/, there are many speakers who would not admit /εːd/ 'old' alongside of /ɜʏd/. Whether /εːd/ is therefore a genuine alternative is difficult to say. There are, it will be noted, a large number of words in which dialect /εː/ corresponds to RP /ɑʊ/; whether this correspondence could have led to dialect /ɜʏ/'s becoming dialect /εː/ in one or two words, is rather a matter for speculation, but, when several systems of speech are in use at the same time, it is perhaps a possibility. Analogy might also constitute an explanation.

[spɛ'əɫ] 'spoil'; [ɛ'ɜɹ]+vowel 'hour'; [nɛ̝'ə] 'now'; [pʻɛ'ɵnd] 'pound'; etc. See also subsection (ii) of these Variants, and subsection (iv) of section 5.4. The chief environments in which [ɛ'ə] etc. occur are those given for variants with an off-glide, and before /r/, particularly when the latter precedes a vowel.

(iv) Low variants overlapping with /æː/: Since, as noted in the Description, /ɛː/ and /æː/ may occur in the same words, variants between the two phonemes occur. Many speakers distinguish the pair

'count' /kɛːnt/ ≠ /kæːnt/ 'can't'

yet [kʻæ̝ːnˀtʻ] 'count' must be close to blurring the distinction.[1]

(v) /r/-coloured variants: When /r/ colours the vowel, the latter may well be considerably centralised, e.g. [ʃɛ̝ʴː] 'shower'.

5.2.4.3. Comparative Distribution:

Section 1. Corresponding to RP /ɑʊ/: /ɵ'bɛːt/ 'about'; /brɛːn/ 'brown; Brown'; /dɛːn/ 'down'; /ðrɛːn/ 'drown'; /ɛː/ 'how'; /grɛːnd/ 'ground'; /ɛːt/ 'out'; /kɛː/ 'cow'; /kɛːnt/ 'count'; /'kɛːnsɪl/ 'council'; /'kɛːnθɵ(r)/ 'counter'; /klɛːd, tlɛːd/ 'cloud'; /krɛːd/ 'crowd'; /krɛːnt/ 'crowned'; /mɛːθ/ 'mouth'; /nɛː/ 'now'; /pɛːnd/ 'pound'; /rɛːnd/ 'round'; /sɛːnd/; /ʃɛːt/ 'shout'; /tɛːn/ 'town'; and nearly all other cases of RP /ɑʊ/. (Also, but less often, with /æː/).

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[1] See further section 5.2.5.2.(iii), and note an extreme, high variant there in can't.

Section 2. Corresponding to RP [ɑʊə] > [ɑːə]:[1]
/ɛː(r)/ 'our; hour'; /flɛː(r)/ 'flour; flower'; /ˈkɔlɪˌflɛː(r)/ 'cauliflower'; /kɛː(r)/ 'cower; sit'; /pɛː(r)/ 'power'; /sɛː(r)/ 'sour'; /ʃɛː(r)/ 'shower'; /tɛː(r)/ 'tower'. (Also with /æː/.)

Section 3. Corresponding to RP /əʊ/:
(a) /nɛː/ 'no' (also with /ɜʏ, æː, oː/, and /eː/ when contradictory).
(b) Words more usually having /ɜʏ/ in the dialect: /ɛːd/ 'old'; /ˈbɛːlɪn/ 'bowling'; /ˈmɛːtɪn/ 'moulting'; /ˈpɛːlθrɪ/ 'poultry'.

Section 4. Corresponding to RP /evə(r)/ (poet. /ɛə/):
/ɛː(r)/ 'ever'; /nɛː(r)/ 'never'. (Also with /æː/.)

5.2.4.4. Modification:

/ɛː/ is lost in all the preceding word classes:
Section 1 —> /ɜʏ/
Section 2 —> /ɜʏwɵ(r)/ or /ɜʏɵ(r)/
Section 3 —> /oː/
Section 4 —> /ɛvɵ(r)/

Whether the phoneme therefore disappears entirely in modified speech is perhaps a question for a specialist phonology of the modified speech of the area, since, despite the disappearance of /ɛː/ in the words above, other words have phones such as [ɛː, ɛ̆ː, ɜː] and [ɛˑə] in their modified forms:

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[1] Cf. Gimson (1974: 139).

1) Words with /eː/ in residual dialect often modify to or towards [ɛː].[1]

2) Words with /eː/ in residual dialect modify in some cases to or towards [ɛː, ɛˑə].[2]

3) Some words which modify from /e/ to /eː/ may have forms with [ɛː, ɛˑə].[3]

Whether a phoneme /ɛː/ or /ɛə/ is therefore required in varieties of NS is a question which goes beyond the bounds of this study.

5.2.5. /æː/

5.2.5.1. Description:

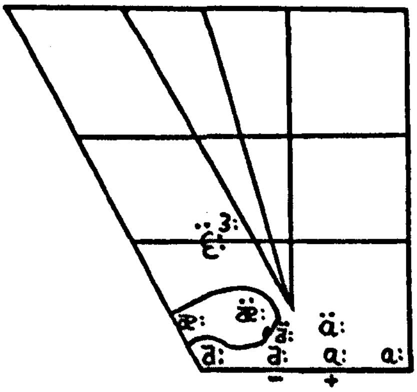

Fig. 5. - /æː/ and variants

/æː/ is a low (open), front, tense, unrounded, long vowel. Its height is somewhat variable, particularly because of the overlap with /ɛː/.[4] Generally speaking, however, high variants above [æ̈ː] are not very common with my speakers in

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1. Cf. sections 5.2.3.2.(vi) and 5.2.3.4.
2. Cf. section 5.2.8.4.
3. Cf. section 2 of 5.3.6.3. and section 5.3.6.4.
4. See sections 5.2.4.1., 5.2.4.2.(iv) and 5.2.5.2.(iii).