

A GRAMMAR OF THE DIALECT

OF

FARNWORTH AND DISTRICT

(Greater Manchester County, formerly Lancashire)

by

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September, 1980

Published by University  
Microfilms International,  
30-32 Mortimer Street,  
London, W1N 7RA, reference  
order number 81-70,023.

Available in microform  
and xerographic form.



## **IMAGING SERVICES NORTH**

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words not having /ɛ:/ as an alternative, although see the high variants used before /r/.<sup>1</sup> Those variants between the half-open and open positions (i.e. [æ:], [ɛ:] and [ä:]) are the most common, whilst fully open variants are regular, but not as frequent as those just mentioned. The main variants are in an area from front to front of centre. Backed variants (i.e. [ɑ:], [ɔ:], [ö:] and [a:] are regular, but even then not compulsory, before /f, s, θ/; front variants are also possible before these voiceless fricatives. Backed variants are optional in words where /æ:/ is not followed historically by /r/; they may even be encountered before /r/, or where /r/ followed historically, but rather infrequently. It should be noted that at one time there appears to have been a phoneme /ɑ:/ in the dialect, but that the residual traces of it are assigned in this analysis to /a/.<sup>2</sup>

/æ:/ is usually quite long, even before a fortis consonant.<sup>3</sup> Post-vocalic /r/ is retained more often after /æ:/ than after other vowels, and sometimes colours the vowel throughout its duration. This explains the existence of the more central [ɜ:] -type variants before /r/: heavy centralisation, sometimes combined with raising, is concomitant with /r/-colouring, and the [ɜ:] -types seem to represent the most extreme form of this development.<sup>4</sup>

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1. The use of [ɜ:] -types before /r/ is probably more widespread in the less populous areas around the outskirts of Bolton, where /r/ is sometimes used more extensively in final post-vocalic and preconsonantal positions - cf. section 5.5.21.1.
  2. Now that there is no remaining open, back, unrounded phoneme of any definite status, it is possible for modified speakers to use more backed variants of /æ:/ without much danger of confusion. Cf. sections 5.4.2. and 5.2.5.4.
  3. Gimson (1974: 110) makes the same observation in respect of RP /ɑ:/. Both are slightly shorter before fortis consonants, but the shortness is not as noticeable as in the case of other long vowels.
  4. Cf. sections (ii) and (iii) of the Variants below.

Whether [ɛ:] -types were previously variants of an /a:/ phoneme occurring before /r/ is a speculative consideration. At any rate, raised variants are now in the majority, and are often used by speakers who do not use post-vocalic /r/:

[sɛ:v] 'serve'; [k'æ:d] 'card'; etc.<sup>1</sup>

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

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

/'stæ:ln/ 'starling'; /'mæ:le/ 'Marlowe'; etc.

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

/mæ:(r)ps/ 'marbles'; /'væ:(r)nɪ/ 'very near';

/'jɛdwæ:(r)tʃ/ 'head-ache'; /'kæ:(r)zli/ 'Kearsley';

/kæ:(r)/ 'sit'; /'ɔ:fpe:st/ 'half-past'; /,æ:fθe'ny:n/ 'afternoon'; etc.

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

1. Cf. further the Variants below.

2. See section 5.2.4.1, and the minimal pairs listed there. Cf. further sections 5.2.4.2.(iv) and 5.2.5.2.(iii).

3. Cf. section 5.2.4.1., especially the minimal pairs distinguishing /ɛ:/ from /æ:/.

4. Cf. sections 5.2.4.2.(iv) and 5.2.5.2.(iii), and Fig. 4.

in words which take either phoneme. Minimal pairs which distinguish /æ:/ from /ɛ:/ are given in the discussion of /ɛ:/.<sup>1</sup>

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

Examples:

/sæ:(r)v/ 'serve'; /'sæ:(r)men/ 'sermon';  
/læ:(r)n/ 'learn'; etc.<sup>2</sup>

Phonemic overlap between high, central, variants of /æ:/ and variants of /ɛ:/ is largely avoided due to the rounded quality of the latter.<sup>3</sup>

#### 5.2.5.2. Variants:

- (i) Front variants: [a:] [ɑ:] [ɶ:] [æ:]: All regular variants - [a:]: ['fa:ʝnwɛθ] 'Farnworth'; ['fa:ʝmlɑ'nd] 'farmland'; ['ma:kɪtʔ] 'market'; [dʒa:z] 'jars'; ['a:fθɛ] 'after'; [wa:p<sup>h</sup>] 'warp'; [la:st'] 'last'; [p'a'st'] 'past'; ['wa:ðro:bz] 'wardrobes'; ['fa:meʒ] 'farmers'; [gʝa:s] 'grass'; etc.
- [ɑ:] [sɑ:vɔ] 'served'; [ɑ:] 'our'; ['fɑ:nɛθ] 'Farnworth'; [k'ɑ:v] 'calf'; ['fɑ:mɛ] 'farmer'; etc.
- [ɶ:] [stɶ:ʝt'] 'start'; ['mɶ:ʝkɪtʔ] 'market'; ['fɶ:nɛθ] 'Farnworth'; ['wɶ:nɪn] 'warning'; etc.
- [æ:] [sæ:v] 'serve'; [ˌmɛ'næ:kə] 'Monaco'; [gʝæ:s] 'grass'; [ˈbʝæ:stɪn] 'bursting'; [k'æ:] 'sit'; ['læ:ʝnɪn] 'learning';

1. Cf. section 5.2.4.1.

2. Cf. further sections 5.2.5.3. (subsection 3), 5.2.8.1.

3. Cf. section 5.2.8.1.

[jæ:d] 'heard'; ['wæ:ɹtʔn] 'Warton';  
[k'æ:d] 'card'; etc.

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

[ä:] ['dä:sen<sup>2</sup>t'] 'dare not'; [jä:] 'year';  
[k'ä:ɹt] 'cart'; [nä:] 'no'; ['stä:ɹtɪd] 'started';  
['bä:ɹnzɪz] 'Barnes'; ['vä:nɪ] 'very near' ('almost');  
['bä:skɪt'] 'basket'; ['wä:dli] 'Wardley'; etc.

[æ:] [k'æ:nt'] 'can't'; ['stæ:ɹtɪd] 'started';  
[jæ:z] 'ears'; [k'hæ:pɛtʔ] 'carpet';  
[k'æ:ɹpɪtʔ] 'carpet'; [æ:s] 'house';  
[æ:ɹ] 'our'; [læ:ɹnt'] 'learned'; etc.

- (iii) High front and central variants: [ɛ:], [ɛ:], [ɛ:], [ɛ:]:

High front variants may occur in words which have /ɛ:/ and /æ:/ as alternants, e.g.

[k'ɛ:n<sup>2</sup>t'] 'count'; [ɛ:] is a regular variant of /ɛ:/. In other words high front and central variants are less frequent than those variants in sections (i) and (ii), and occur mainly before /r/. Examples:  
['gɛ:ɹdɪn] 'garden'; ['jɛdɹwɔ:tʃ] 'head-ache';  
[wɔ:ɹm] 'warm'; [jɛ:ɹz] 'ears';  
[k'ɛ:ɹtʔ] 'cart'; [k'hɛ:ɹpɪt'] 'carpet';  
[kɛ:nt] 'can't'; etc.

- (iv) Back variants: [ɑ:], [ɑ:], [ɑ:], [ɑ:]: Less frequent than the variants in sections (i) and (ii), but regular before the voiceless fricatives /f, s, θ/:<sup>1</sup> [ʃɑ:fs] 'shafts'; ['p'ɑ:dɹn] 'pardon'; [sə'fɑ:ɹɪz] 'safari';

1. Cf. the parallel /ɔ:/ before /f, s, θ/ - sections 5.2.6.1., 5.2.6.3. (subsection 4(b)).

[,bɛ'nɑ:nɛz] 'bananas'; [brɑ:s] 'brass';  
 [glɑ:s] 'glass'; [grɑ:s] 'grass';  
 [ðrɑ:ft] 'draught'; [,ɑ:fθə'nɜ:n] 'afternoon';  
 ['wɑ:ɹtɪn] 'Warton'; [jɑ:ɹd] 'yard';  
 ['pɑ:sɪŋ] 'passing'; [wɔ:ɹ] 'war'; [grɑ:f]  
 'graft'; ['mɑ:vələs] 'marvellous';  
 ['ɔ:fpɑ:s] 'half-past'; [lɑ:s] 'last';  
 [bɑ:θ] 'bath'; [p'ɑ:θ] 'path'; etc.

(v) Diphthongal variants and variants with off-glides:

These variants may occur before word-final /r/ when the next word begins with a vowel, or in place of historical /r/,<sup>1</sup> and occasionally in other words. Examples: [nɛ:ə] 'never'; [nɛ:əɹ] 'never'; [ɹɪ'gɑ:ədz] 'regards'; ['kɑ:ətɛz] 'carters'; [æ:ə'ɹɪ:n] eawr een 'our eyes'; etc. [æ:əd] 'hard'; [nɛ:ə] 'never'; ['mɛ:əkɪtɪ] 'market'; etc.

5.2.5.3. Comparative Distribution:

Section 1. Corresponding to RP /aʊ/:

Also with /ɛ:/ in the dialect in all cases:  
 /æ:t/ 'out'; /pɛ:nd/ 'pound'; /ðɛ:/ 'thou';  
 /æ:s/ 'house'; /kɛ:nt/ 'count'; /nɛ:/ 'now';  
 /klɛ:d/ 'cloud'; and many others.<sup>2</sup>

Section 2. Corresponding to RP /aʊə/ (> [a:ə] etc.<sup>3</sup>):

/æ:(r)z/ 'ours'; /flɛ:(r)/ 'flower; flour';  
 /æ:(r)/ 'hour'; /sɛ:(r)/ 'sour'; /ʃæ:(r)/  
 'shower'; /tɛ:(r)/ 'tower'; etc. These  
 forms may also have /ɛ:/.<sup>4</sup>

1. Cf. further section 5.4.(iv).  
 2. Cf. section 1 of 5.4.2.3.  
 3. Cf. Gimson (1974: 139).  
 4. Cf. section 2 of 5.4.2.3.



## Section 3. Corresponding to RP /ɜ:/:

Also with /e:/ in all cases: /sæ:(r)v/ 'serve'; /'sæ:(r)men/ 'sermon'; /læ:(r)n/ 'learn'; /jæ:(r)/ 'year' (also with /a, e/); /wæ:(r)k/ 'work' (noun only. Also with /e/); /jæ:(r)d/ 'heard'; /jæ:(r)bz/ 'herbs'; /bræ:st/ 'burst' (forms with /e, e:/ are also used, in which case the /r/, if retained, is post-vocalic after /e:/; after /e/ it will not be retained).

## Section 4. Corresponding to RP /ɪə/:

/jæ:(r)/ 'hear'; /jæ:(r)z/ 'ears'. Also with /ɛ, ɛ:, a, e, e:/ in both cases.

Section 5. Corresponding to RP /ɔ:/ after /w/ and before historical /r/:<sup>1</sup>

/,θri:'kwæ:(r)tθe(r)z/ 'three-quarters'; /'θwæ:(r)tɪd/ 'thwarted'; /wæ:(r)m/ 'warm'; /'wæ:(r)nɪŋ/ 'warning'; /kwæ:rt/ 'quart'; /wæ:(r)p/ 'warp'; /wæ:(r)/ 'war'; /'wæ:(r)dli/ 'Wardley'; /'wæ:(r)tn/ 'Warton'; /'wæ:(r)ðrɔ:bz/ 'wardrobes'; etc.

## Section 6a. Corresponding to RP /ɑ:/ before /f, s, θ/:

/glæ:s/ 'glass'; /græ:s/ 'grass'; /'plæ:sθe(r)/ 'plaster'; /ʃæ:fts/ 'shafts'; /'pæ:sɪŋ/ 'passing'; /'bæ:skɪt/ 'basket'; /græ:ft/ 'graft'; /læ:st/ 'last'; /'ɔ:fpe:st/ 'half-past'; /'fæ:sn/ 'fasten'; /,æ:fθe'nɪ:n/ 'afternoon'; /ðræ:ft/ 'draught'; /pæ:θ/ 'path'; /bæ:θ/ 'bath'; etc.

1. This correspondence parallels the correspondence between dialect /a/ and RP /ɒ/ after /w/, although /r/ is not a crucial part of the environment in this latter case. Cf. section 6 of section 5.3.3.3.

Section 6(b). Corresponding to RP /ɑː/:

/kæ:nt/ 'can't' (also with /œ/); /kæ:(r)t/  
'cart'; /'kæ:(r)pɪt/ 'carpet'; /'gæ:(r)dɪn/  
'garden'; and very many others.

Section 7. Corresponding to RP /ɛə/:

/kæ:(r)/ 'care' (also with /e:, e/; /dæ:(r)/  
'dare' (also with /a, e, e:/); /skæ:(r)d/  
'scared' (also with /e:/).

Section 8. Corresponding to RP /evə/:

/æ:(r)/ 'ever'; /næ:(r)/ 'never'; both  
also with /ɛ:/.

Section 9. Corresponding to RP /əv/:

/næ:/ 'no' (also with /ɛ:, ɜ, o:, e:/).

Section 10. Corresponding to RP /æ/:

/'plæ:sθɪk/ 'plastic'; /'plæ:sθe:si:n/  
'plasticine'.

Section 11. Corresponding to RP /eɪ/:

/bæ:θ/ (v.tr. and refl.) 'bathe'.

#### 5.2.5.4. Modification:

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

from RP.<sup>1</sup>

Distributionally:

Section 1 → /ɜr/

Section 2 → /ɜr(w)ə/

Section 3 → /e:/, or /e/ in the case  
of year and work

Section 4 → /ɪə/

Section 5 → /ɔə/ (or /ɔ:/)

Section 6(a) → /a/

Section 6(b) retains /æ:/

Section 7 → /e:/<sup>2</sup>

Section 8 → /ɛve/ (although such common  
words as ever and never do  
not always modify)

Section 9 → /o:/

Section 10 → /a/

Section 11 → /a/

5.2.6.

/ɔ:/

5.2.6.1. Description:

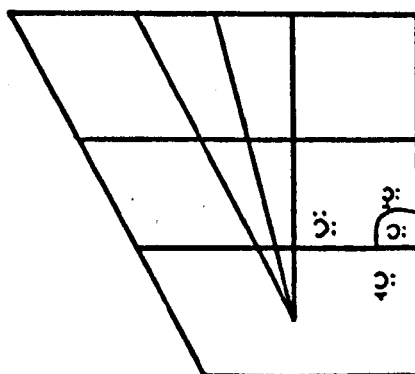


Fig. 6. - /ɔ:/ and variants

1. See Knowles (1976: 4) and Shorrocks (1977c). The tendency to see the North as marked off from the South by the use of a short vowel before /s, f, θ/ (as also in Wakelin (1972a: 86)) is based on a slight oversimplification.
2. Or [ɛ:], [ɛ'ə] etc. See the discussion of the modification of /e:/, section 5.2.8.4.

/ɔ:/ is a long, back, rounded, tense, half-open vowel. It is typically on or above the half-open position - lowered variants are less frequent. /ɔ:/ may be back, or slightly centralised. The degree of lip-rounding is variable, depending upon both the phonetic context and the individual speaker.

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

/mɔ:p/ 'fool'; /'mɔ:pjɛd/ 'fool'; /fɔ:s/ 'false, cunning, cute'; /'gɔ:mles/ 'stupid'; /gɔ:p/ 'stare foolishly'; /'gɔ:kin/ 'idiot, fool'; /mɔ:/ 'belly'; /pɔ:/ 'kick'; etc.

/'plɔ:fɔ:m/ 'platform'; /ɔ:'ri:t/ 'all right'; /,ɔ:t'gɛðe(r)/ 'altogether'; /'di:ʃklɔ:θ/ 'dishcloth'; etc.

/ɔ:/ traditionally occurs before the voiceless fricatives /f, s, θ/,<sup>1</sup> although occasionally a residual speaker will use the modification to /ɔ/.<sup>2</sup> /ɔ:/ has been recorded in a number of other contexts,<sup>3</sup> where it is not established as regular. In such words /ɔ/ is to be regarded as more normal.

/ɔ:/ is very rare before /l/. Many words which have /l/ in RP after /ɔ:/ do not do so in the dialect. Examples: /fɔ:t/ 'fault'; /kɔ:d/ 'called'; /wɔ:z/ 'walls'; etc.<sup>4</sup> /ɔ:/ has been noted in /'tɔ:let/, although this word is also pronounced with /ɔɪ/ and /ɔə/. /ɔ:/ may occur before /l/ in /r/-less pronunciations of /'mɔ:lɪ/ 'Morley', /'tʃɔ:lɪ/ 'Chorley', and also in /ɔ:lez/ 'always', although these last

1. Cf. sections 5.2.6.3, 4(b) and 5.2.5.3, 6(a).

2. See the Modification below. The degree of fluctuation varies somewhat from one word to another.

3. See section 4a of the Comparative Distribution below.

4. Further examples will be found in the discussion of /l/ - cf. section 5.5.19.7(d).

three more often have /ɔə/, and the /l/ is optional in always.

/ɔ:/ is also rare before /r/, e.g. /'fɔ:rtɪ/ 'forty'. Historical /ɔ:/ + /r/ tends nowadays to be /ɔə/, due to the recession of post-vocalic /r/.<sup>1</sup> /ɔ:/ is a possible alternative to /ɔə/, however, when post-vocalic /r/ has been lost, e.g. /rɪ'kɔ:de/ 'recorder', although pronunciations with /ɔə/ are more usual.

/ɔ:/ sometimes occurs where /ɔɪ/ would be more normal, perhaps due to the low prominence of the second element of the /ɔɪ/ diphthong: /'tɔ:lets/ 'toilets'; /'dʒɔ:nə(r)z/ 'joiners' (more traditionally with /ɛɪ/). In examples with off-glides, the borderline between /ɔ:/ and /ɔə/ is not very clear in a number of cases.<sup>2</sup>

In the environment /w - (r)/, the dialect often has /æ:/, e.g. /wæ:(r)/ 'war'.<sup>3</sup>

#### 5.2.6.2. Variants:

- (i) [ɔ:] [ɔ̃:]: Regular variants in all positions. Examples: [lɔ:z] 'lose'; [fɔ:s] 'false'; [k'ɔ:p] 'Co-op'; etc. [t'ɔ̃:s] 'toss'; [ɔ̃:f] 'off'; [ɔ̃:pɪ] 'halfpenny'; etc.
- (ii) [ɔ̃:] [ɔ̃̃:]: Centralised variants. Regular in all positions. Examples: [ɔ̃:f] 'off'; [kɔ̃:v] 'calf'; [ə'kɔ̃:s] 'across'; etc. [gɔ̃:mlɪs] 'stupid' (gaumless or gormless); [ɔ̃̃:pɪ] 'halfpenny'; [wɔ̃̃:z] 'walls'; etc.

1. For more detailed discussion, see section 5.4.6.1. The word forty is phonemicised as /'fɔə(r)tɪ/ for the dialect system as a whole.

2. Cf. section (v) of the Variants below, and further section 5.4.6.1.

3. For further examples see section 5 of the Comparative Distribution of /æ:/, section 5.2.5.3.

- (iii) Lowered variants, e.g. [ɔ:]: rare in the residual dialect. Examples: ['fɔ:wed] 'forward' (but this form shows signs of modification, cf. /'fɔ:red/); [ɒ:f] 'off'. [ɔ:] is more common in modified speech, and I noted it quite frequently in the speech of some schoolchildren, where even [a':] was reached, since lowered variants are also sometimes fronted to varying degrees.
- (iv) Half-long variants, e.g. [ɔ:]: a number of half-long variants have been noted in words which more normally have /ɔ/, but which have also occasionally been transcribed long.<sup>1</sup> Examples: [dʒɔ:ˈbz] 'jobs'; [e'kɫɔ:k] 'o'clock'; [stɔ:p̃] 'stop'; etc.
- (v) Variants with off-glides:
- (1) In words more usually having /ɔɪ/:  
 ['ɛn'dʒɔ:ˈmɛnt̃] 'enjoyment'; [bɔ:ˈɪd] 'boiled' (modified form; residual form has /ɛɪ/); ['tʃɔ:ˈsɪz] 'choices'.
  - (2) In words which would more normally have /ɔə/ in the absence of historical /r/:  
 ['θɔ:ˈsɪz] 'the horses'; [kɔ:ˈɪps] 'corpse'; [wɔ:ˈɪn] 'worn'.
  - (3) Before /l/, although /l/ does not usually occur after /ɔ:/ in residual speech:  
 [stɔ:ˈɪl] 'stall'; [ɔ:ˈɪl] 'all';  
 ['mɔ:ˈɪlɪŋ] 'mauling'.
  - (4) In other words, intermittently: [ɔ:ˈɒf] 'off'; [mɔ:ˈɒs] 'moss'.

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

5.2.6.3. Comparative Distribution:

## Section 1. Corresponding to RP /ɔ:/:

- (a) /fɔ:t/ 'fault'; /sɔ:t/ 'salt'; /fɔ:s/ 'false'; /'ɔ:tθe(r)/ 'alter'.
- (b) In words which more often have /ɔə/ in the dialect:<sup>1</sup> /ɔ:s/ 'horse'; /,rɪ'kɔ:de/ 'recorder'; etc. In the event of a speaker's retaining post-vocalic /r/, /ɔ:r/ is a possible phonemicisation for that speaker.<sup>2</sup>
- (c) Words given here in section 4(b) with dialect /ɔ:/ before /f, s, θ/, also contain /ɔ:/ in the speech of more conservative RP speakers. In the case of those speakers, dialect /ɔ:/ corresponds to RP /ɔ:/.

## Section 2. Corresponding to RP /ɑ:/:

/kɔ:nt/ 'can't' (also with /æ:, ɔə/);  
/kɔ:v/ 'calf'; /ɔ:v, ɔ:f/ 'half' (also with /e:, æ:/).

## Section 3. Corresponding to RP /əv/:

More often with /o:/ in all cases:  
/'klɔ:ðɪn/ 'clothing'; /'mɔ:zli/ 'Mosley';  
/nɔ:/ 'know; no'. (In modified speech there are more such forms with [ɔ:] due to the lowering of /o:/).

## Section 4. Corresponding to RP /ɒ/:

- (a) Words having /ɔ:/ irregularly,<sup>3</sup> more usually with /ɒ/:

1. Cf. /ɔə/, Description, section 5.4.6.1.

2. /ɔə(r)/ is the solution adopted here for the system as a whole - cf. section 5.4.6.1.

3. But where the length cannot be obviously attributed to a particular stress pattern, or a following pause. There appears to be a preponderance of these forms before bilabial stops.

/lɔ:t/ 'lot'; /e'klɔ:k/ 'o'clock'; /bɔ:b/ 'bob; Bob'; /dʒɔ:b/ 'job'; /ʃɔ:p/ 'shop'; /stɔ:p/ 'stop'; /drɔ:p/ 'drop'; /tɔ:p/ 'top'; /'ɔ:p,pɪkɪŋ/ 'hop-picking'.<sup>1</sup>

- (b) Regular occurrences of /ɔ:/ before the voiceless fricatives /f, s, θ/, (which are also the environments of long /æ:/ in words which have short /a/ in N.S.):
- /dɔ:f/ 'doff'; /'dɔ:fe(r)/ 'doffer';  
 /e'ɫɔ:ft/ 'aloft'; /sɔ:ft/ 'soft';  
 /'sɔ:flɪ/ 'softly'; /'ɔ:fn/ 'often;  
 /ɔ:f/ 'off'; /'kɔ:fl/ 'coffee'; /'di:ʃklɔ:θ/ 'dishcloth'; /brɔ:θ/ 'broth' (cf. also the voiced /'brɔ:ðjɛd/ 'broth-head, fool');  
 /frɔ:θ/ 'froth'; /krɔ:s/ 'cross'; /e'krɔ:s/ 'across'; /mɔ:s/ 'moss'; /'krɔ:spi:s/ 'cross-piece'; /frɔ:st/ 'frost'; /tɔ:s/ 'toss'; /ɫɔ:st/ 'lost'; /kɔ:st/ 'cost'; etc.
- (c) With /ɔ:/ or /ɔ:/: /e'kɔ:z, bɪ'kɔ:z/ 'because'.

Section 5. Corresponding to RP /əʊp/:

/kwɔ:p, kɔ:p/ 'Co-op'.

Section 6. Corresponding to RP /eɪ/:

/'ɔ:pni/ 'halfpenny'; /,θri: '(j)ɔ:pms, ,θri: '(j)ɔ:pns/ 'three-halfpence';  
 /'skrɔ:pɪŋ/ 'scraping'.

Section 7. Corresponding to RP /ɔɪ/:

These words more often have /ɔɪ/ in the dialect: /'tɔ:let/ 'toilet'; /'ɛn'dʒɔ:mɛnt/ 'enjoyment'; /bɔ:ld/ 'boiled' (usually

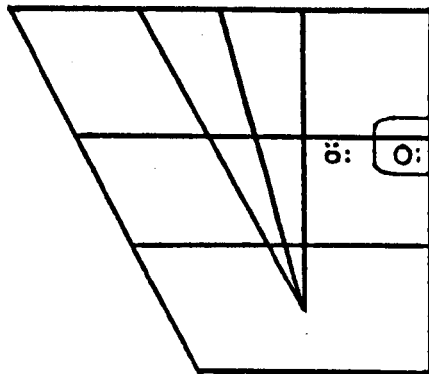
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1. Cf. section 5.3.4.1.





5.2.7.

/o:/'5.2.7.1. Description:Fig. 7. - /o:/' and variant

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

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

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

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

/'röskö/ 'Roscoe'; /'pöle/ 'pillow';  
'šale/ 'shallow'; etc.<sup>1</sup> Note also:  
'ne'vembe(r)/ 'November'; /e'tel/  
'hotel'.

1. The final syllables are therefore unstressed in the dialect. For further examples see section 6(b) of section 5.3.5.3, and section 6 of section 5.3.6.3.

/o:/ is of limited distribution before /r/, or in words which have now lost historical, post-vocalic /r/.<sup>1</sup> /œ/ is now more usual, although /o:/ can sometimes occur in such words.<sup>2</sup> An off-glide of a schwa-type can occasionally obscure the boundary between /o:/ and /œ/. Examples: [bo:ᶰd] 'bored'; [p'o:ᶰk] 'pork'; [ɪm'p'o:ᶰtɪnt] 'important'; etc.

There is an area of overlap between the /o:/ and /və/ phonemes, due to the fact that /və/ is gradually being replaced by /o:/ in those words which have /əv/ in RP.<sup>3</sup>

In modified speech, forms may begin to overlap with /ɔ:/ due to lowering of /o:/.<sup>4</sup>

#### 5.2.7.2. Variants:

- (i) [o:], [ö:] These are the main variants. [o:] is the more representative of the phoneme. Examples: [k'o:s] 'of course'; [qo:t] 'cote'; [lo:n] 'lane'; etc. ['fö:pʔms] 'fourpence'; [rö:d] 'road'; [sö:] 'sew'; etc.
- (ii) [ɔ:], [ö:], [vɔ], etc. Variants between /o:/ and /və/, or overlapping with /və/. Examples: [k'ö:t] 'coat'; [ö:n] 'own'; [stəvɔn<sup>2</sup>] 'stones'; [bɔ:t] 'boat'; etc.<sup>5</sup>
- (iii) [o:ᶰ] Variants with a schwa off-glide. Occur

1. For fuller discussion, see section 5.4.7.1. My phonemicisation for the system as a whole is /œ(r)/.

2. For examples, see section 4 of the Comparative Distribution below.

3. Cf. section (ii) of the Variants below; sections 5.4.8.1. and 5.4.7.3(iii).

4. Cf. section (vi) of the Variants and the Modification below; and section 3 of section 5.2.6.3.

5. For further examples see sections 5.4.8.1. and 5.4.7.2(iii).

a) in words which also have /œ/:  
 [bo:ᵘd] 'bored'; [ɪm'p'o:ᵘtɪnt] 'important';  
 [p'o:ᵘk] 'pork'; etc. and b) before /l/,  
 e.g. [k'o:ᵘɪ] 'coal' - but see the next  
 subsection.

- (iv) [ᵘo] etc. Before /l/: [t'o:ᵘɔɪd] 'told'; [k'o:ᵘɪ]  
 'coal'; etc.
- (v) [ᵘu] etc. More typical of modified speech. Examples:  
 [ɔ:ᵘɪd] 'old'; [lɔ:ᵘf] 'loaf'; [ᵘɔnɪ]  
 'only'; etc.
- (vi) [ᵘ:], [ᵘ:], [ᵘ:], etc. Lower variants which are typical  
 of modified speech. Examples: [ðᵘ:] 'though';  
 [jə nɔ:] 'you know'; [ᵘsɔ:] 'so'; [sɔ:]  
 'so'; [nɔ:] 'no'; [gɔ:st] 'ghost'; etc.
- (vii) [ᵘ:] etc. Variants with heavier centralisation, and  
 possibly some loss of lip-rounding at times.  
 Again, more typical of modified speech.  
 Example: [dᵘ:nt] 'don't'.

### 5.2.7.3. Comparative Distribution:

Section 1. Corresponding to RP /əʊ/:

/no:/ 'know'; /lo:f/ 'loaf'; /bo:t/ 'boat';  
 /ko:l/ 'coal'; /ko:t/ 'cote; coat'; and  
 very many more. Many of the words in this  
 class can also be pronounced with /və/,<sup>1</sup>  
 such as the last three examples given here.

Section 2. Corresponding to RP /əʊɪ/:

An optional form of 'going' uses /o:/:  
 /'go:nə/ 'going to'; /'go:naf/ 'going to  
 have to'.

---

1. For further examples see section 3 of section 5.4.8.3.

## Section 3. Corresponding to RP /ɒ/:

/no:n/ 'not'.

## Section 4. Corresponding to RP /ɔ:/:

All of these forms also have /œ/ in the dialect and are most likely to be pronounced without post-vocalic /r/, even by speakers who use /r/ after other vowels: /'fo:pns, 'fo:pms/ 'fourpence'; /fo:'fi:t/ 'four feet'; /'fo:ti:n/ 'fourteen'; /bo:d/ 'bored'; /ɪm'po:tnt/ 'important'; /'fo:mon/ 'foreman'; /ko:s/ 'of course'; /po:k/ 'pork'; /so:t/ 'sort'; /spo:ts/ 'sports'; etc.

## Section 5. Corresponding to RP /u:/:

/lo:s/ 'loose'; /'lo:s(e)n/ 'loosen'; /sko:p/ 'scoop'.

## Section 6. Corresponding to RP /i:/:

/skwo:z/ 'squeezed' (pret.); and the modified p.p. /'skwo:z(e)n/ 'squeezed'.

## Section 7. Corresponding to RP /eɪ/:

/lo:n/ 'lane'; /ʃo:mt/ 'shamed, ashamed'.

## Section 8. Corresponding to RP /aɪ/:

/do:v/ 'dived'; /'no:ðe(r)/ 'neither' (also with /e:, aɪ/).

5.2.7.4. Modification:

Phonetically, lowering to or towards /ɔ:/, increased centralisation, and diphthongisation are all indicative of

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

Distributionally:

Section 1 retains /o:/

Section 2 retains /o:/

Section 3 → /ɔ/

Section 4 retains /o:/, or → /œ/

Section 5 → /ɹ:/

Section 6 retains /o:/

Section 7 → /e:/

Section 8 → /aɪ/

5.2.8.

/e:/

5.2.8.1. Description:

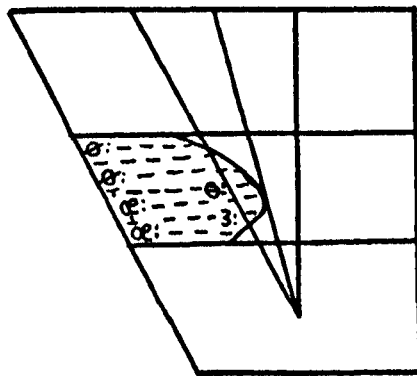


Fig. 8. - /e:/ and variants (simplified)

/e:/ is a long, rounded vowel. Its height varies between the half-close and half-open positions. The position of the vowel varies also between front and centre. The vowel is consequently of variable tension. Front variants are fully tense; [e:], although placed much closer to the central area (see Fig. 8), is nonetheless not quite in the central area generally speaking, and therefore very few realisations of this phoneme are as lax as RP /ɜ:/. /e:/ is typically rounded - variants pronounced with spread lips are in a decided minority. The phoneme symbol is really a label for a group containing many variants.<sup>1</sup> [ø:, ø' :, œ:, œ' :, ɜ' :] are typical realisations which enjoy the least restricted distribution: [e:] is a cover symbol for variants of this type, in as far as it is given as the phonemic norm.<sup>2</sup>

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

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

/skwe:(r)z/ 'squares'; /'de:(r)bɪ/ 'Derby';  
 /we:nt/ 'won't'; /'fɪge:(r)z/ 'figures';  
 /'sli:pə:(r)z/ 'sleepers'; /'ne:be:(r)z/  
 'neighbours'; /'mɪljə,ne:(r)/ 'millionaire';  
 /'rɪ:be:(r)b/ 'rhubarb'; etc.

In relatively unstressed syllables (figures, sleepers, neighbours,

1. See the Variants below.

2. In the Variants below, precise values are given, however, and [e:] has there a much more restricted meaning: it is a rounded vowel in the central area, or fractionally to the front thereof.

etc.), /e:/ is in free variation with /e/. The latter is the more common.

In stressed syllables, /e/ and /e:/ are sometimes in free variation. The reader should consult the words listed in sections 1(a), 1(b), 2 and 8 of the Comparative Distribution of /e/.<sup>1</sup> In these words the likelihood of one phoneme or the other depends upon the phonetic environment: short /e/ is almost - but not quite - compulsory in the residual dialect, when a voiceless consonant follows (my informants do not use /r/ between /e/ and a voiceless consonant in words such as shirt, skirt, circle etc.<sup>2</sup>); before /r/ (when word-final or followed by a vowel) or zero (i.e. in words such as fair, stirring, or fair without historical /r/), /e:/ is the more usual, although there are exceptions with certain speakers and in certain words,<sup>3</sup> which may be pronounced with either /e/ or /e:/; /e/ is not encountered in stressed syllables before a voiced consonant (historically /r/+ voiced consonant). Indeed, /e/ hardly appears before voiced consonants in any group of words at all in stressed syllables except a) before /r/ as I have just stipulated; b) before /r, l/ in words such as Billy, where it is in free variation with /ɪ/;<sup>4</sup> c) in the word /'blɛmɪn/ 'blooming' where it is in free variation with /ɑ/; and d) in a number of compounds such as /'dɛ(r)nɛ:l/ 'doornail'. Before historical /r/ + /s/, the more residual dialect has

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1. See section 5.3.6.3.

2. For further examples see section 1(b) of the Comparative Distribution of /e/, section 5.3.6.3. In the event of /e:/, /r/ may follow if the speaker uses post-vocalic /r/. There are more occurrences of /e:/ in modified speech, but even then they remain in the minority before voiceless consonants.

3. Cf. section 2 of the Comparative Distribution of /e/, and the Description, section 5.3.6.

4. See the Description and section 3 of the Comparative Distribution of /e/, section 5.3.6.



/ɔ/, e.g. /nɜːs/ 'nurse',<sup>1</sup> and less often /e/, whilst modified speakers have /e/, and less often /e:/. Some minimal pairs which distinguish /e/ from /e:/ are given in the discussion of /e/.<sup>2</sup> In cases such as [dɛː] 'dare', it may be difficult to decide which phoneme is involved.

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

/'ke:(r)zɪ, 'kæ:(r)zɪ/ 'Kearsley';  
/sɛ:(r)v, sæ:(r)v/ 'serve'; /e:(r)bz,  
jæ:(r)bz/ 'herbs'.

The same phonemes are in free variation in care,<sup>3</sup> year,<sup>3</sup> murps<sup>4</sup> 'marbles', sermon, work<sup>4</sup> (noun only), learn, dare, heard.

Cases of possible confusion between /æ:/ and /e:/ are very occasional. Some speakers sometimes use a very high variant of /æ:/ before /r/: [ɜ:] or even [ɜ:] (rare). Such a high variant may overlap with the [ɜ:] variant of /e:/. But as the latter is also rare, in its unrounded form, especially in stressed syllables, there is very little opportunity of confusing the two phonemes. Variants of /e:/ are normally at least a shade more rounded than those of /æ:/, and a following /r/ is not as prominent as it is after /æ:/. Thus:

- 
1. For further examples see /ɔ/, section 5.3.5.3, subsection 3.
  2. See the Description of /e/, section 5.3.6.1.
  3. Also pronounced with short /e/.
  4. Pronounced with /e/ more often than /e:/.

'warm' ≠ 'worm'

[wæ:(ɹ)m, wœ:(ɹ)m, wɜ:ɹm, (wɜ:ɹm)] ≠ [(wɜ':(ɹ)m), wœ:(ɹ)m, etc.]

Very high variants of /æ:/ are not common in my corpus.

/e:(r)/ is also kept distinct from /ɛ:/ + /r/. Minimal pairs are given in the discussion of /ɛ:/.<sup>1</sup>

#### 5.2.8.2. Variants:

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

(i) Variants around [æ:]: [æ:], [œ:], [œ:], [œ:], [œ:], etc.:

Regular variants in stressed syllables, and especially after bilabials. Examples: [ˈs<sup>ɹ</sup>wœ:ɹɪn] 'swearing'; [mœ:ɹ] 'mayor'; [wœ:dz] 'words'; [ɹɪˈpˈœ:ɹtʃ] 'repair the'; [p<sup>ɹ</sup>ɪˈpˈœ:dʃ] 'prepared'; [ˈbœ:ndən] 'Burnden'; [skwœ:ɹ] 'square'; [ˈmœ:ɹɪ] 'Mary'; etc. However, these variants are also encountered other than after bilabials, and occasionally in relatively weakly stressed syllables: [ˈæ:ɹɪə], [ˈœ:ɹɪə] 'area'; [œ:d] 'heard'; [ˈmɪlɪə.nœ:] 'millionaire'; [ˈkœ:zlɪ] 'Kearsley'; [ˈfœ:klɪf] 'Fairclough'; [œ:ɹ] 'air'; [ðœ:] 'there'; etc.

(ii) Variants around [ɔ:]: [ɔ:], [ɔ:], [ɔ:], [ɔ:], etc.

Regular variants in stressed syllables, and occasionally in relatively weakly stressed syllables. Examples: [ɹɪˈtˈɔ:n] 'return'; [tˈɔ:n] 'turn'; [ɔ:n] 'earn'; [ˈkˈɔ:,teˈkə] 'caretaker'; [bɔ:d] 'bird'; [dɔ:ntʃ] 'don't';

1. See section 5.2.4., Description.

[ʔ<sup>h</sup>:k<sub>o</sub>ɹaf] 'aircraft'; [ɹɔ: d] 'reared';  
 [fɔ<sup>h</sup>:] 'fare'; [e'k'ɔ<sup>h</sup>:] 'occur'; [k'wɔ:ɹ]  
 'queer'; ['fɪgɔ<sup>h</sup>':z] 'figures'; ['gɔ:dɔ:z]  
 'girders'; etc.

- (iii) More centralised variants (still rounded): [ɜ<sup>h</sup>:] [ɜ<sup>h</sup>:]  
 [e:] etc.: [dɜ<sup>h</sup>:nt'] 'don't'; [mɜ<sup>h</sup>:nt]  
 'mustn't'; [dɜ<sup>h</sup>:bɪ] 'Derby'; [t'ɜ<sup>h</sup>:ntʔ]  
 'turn the'; ['ɜ<sup>h</sup>:kʌtʔ] 'haircut'; [fɛ:ɹ]  
 'fair'; ['mɛ:ɹɪ] 'Mary'; etc.
- (iv) Unrounded variant [ɜ:]: In relatively unstressed  
 syllables, but infrequently encountered in  
 stressed syllables. Examples: ['kɹɹakɜ:ɹz]  
 'crackers'; ['mɹɹnɜ:ɹz] 'miners';  
 ['wɹɹndɹɜ:ɹz] 'Wanderers'; ['dɹɹnsɜ:ɹz]  
 'dancers'; ['slɹɹ:p'ɜ:ɹz] 'sleepers';  
 ['blɹɹsθɜ:z] 'blisters'; ['slɹɹɔbɜ:z] 'slubbers';  
 ['ne:bɜ:ɹz] 'neighbours'; etc.  
 [fɜ:ɹm] 'firm'; [bɜ:dz] 'birds'.  
 One case of [ɜ:] in a stressed syllable  
 was noted: ['θɜ:t'ɪ] 'thirty'.
- (v) Diphthongal variants: [æ'ə] etc.: May occur before  
 /l/, e.g. [æ'əɫ] 'Earl'.<sup>1</sup>
- (vi) Variants with off-glides: Examples: [pɛ:<sup>ə</sup>ɫ] 'pearl';  
 [t'ɔ:<sup>ə</sup>n] 'turn'; [sɜ:<sup>ə</sup>vɪn] 'serving'; etc.
- (vii) Variants with on-glides: Rare. Examples: [ʃ<sup>ɛ̃</sup>ɜ<sup>h</sup>:]  
 'share'; [ʃɜɹ<sup>h</sup>'dɪ] 'shared'.

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1. See section 5.4(iii) for further examples.

5.2.8.3. Comparative Distribution:

## Section 1. Corresponding to RP /ɜ:/:

/fɛ:(r)/ 'fir; fur'; /e:(r)/ her, 'she, her' (emphatic, otherwise /e(r)/);  
 /me:(r)/ 'myrrh'; /ke:(r)dz/ 'curds';  
 /we:(r)dz/ 'words'; /'ge:(r)dɛ:(r)z/  
 'girders'; /pe:(r)/ 'purr'; /ste:(r)/  
 'stir'; etc. Most other cases of RP /ɜ:/  
 have /e:/ in the dialect, except: a) words  
 usually pronounced with short /e/, as out-  
 lined in the Description here;<sup>1</sup> b) words  
 also pronounced regularly with /æ:/ in the  
 dialect: /'se:(r)mən/ 'sermon'; /sɛ:(r)v/  
 'serve'; /lɛ:(r)n/ 'learn'; /e:(r)bz/  
 'herbs'; /we:(r)k/ 'work' (noun; /æ:/ and  
 /e/ much more likely); /jɛ:(r)d/ 'heard';  
 /je:(r)/ 'year'; c) words sometimes  
 pronounced with /e/, sometimes with /e:/,  
 as mentioned in the Description here; and  
 d) words cited as having other (regular or  
 more regular) phonemes - /brɪd, bɛ:(r)d/  
 'bird'; /fɔst, fest, fɛ:(r)st/ 'first';  
 /wɔθ, wɛθ, we:(r)θ/ 'worth'; etc.

## Section 2. Corresponding to RP /ɛə/:

/'mɪljɛ:nɛ:(r)/ 'millionaire'; /fɛ:(r)/  
 'fare; fair'; /skɛ:(r)d/ 'scared'; /skwɛ:(r)/  
 'square'; /e:(r)/ 'air; hare; hair';  
 /'swɛ:rɪn/ 'swearing'; /me:(r)/ 'mayor; mare';  
 /ʃe:(r)/ 'share'; /ste:(r)/ 'stair; stare';  
 /ke:(r)/ 'care' (also with /æ:/); /dɛ:(r)nt/  
 'daren't' (also with /æ:, ɛ:, e+s, a+s/); etc.  
 Most other cases of RP /ɛə/ have /e:/ as the

1. Cf. also section 1 of the Comparative Distribution of /e/,  
 section 5.3.6.3.

regular correspondence in the dialect, except a) words pronounced, or occasionally pronounced, with /e/;<sup>1</sup> b) a few words having other phonemes, e.g. /tʃɪə(r)/ 'chair'.

Section 3. Corresponding to RP /əʊ/:

/dɛ:nt/ 'don't'; /wɛ:nt/ 'won't' (less often with /e:/).

Section 4. Corresponding to RP /ə/:

All of the following also have /e/:  
 /'fɪgɛ:(r)z/ 'figures'; /'ne:bɛ:(r)z/  
 'neighbours'; /'gɛ:(r)dɛ:(r)z/ 'girders';  
 /'blɪsθɛ:(r)z/ 'blisters'; /'slɒbɛ:(r)z/  
 'slubbers'; /'krakɛ:(r)z/ 'crackers';  
 /'sli:pɛ:(r)z/ 'sleepers'; /'ɒndɛ:(r)d/  
 'hundred'; /'wɒndrɛ:(r)z/ 'Wanderers';  
 /'dɒnsɛ:(r)z/ 'dancers'; /'maɪnɛ:(r)z/  
 'miners'; etc.

Section 5. Corresponding to RP /ɔ:/:

/mɛ:(r)/ 'more' (also with /rə/, modified form /œ/); /dɛ:(r)/ 'door' (also with /e, rə/ and modified /œ/); /fɛ:(r)/ 'for' (also with /e, ɔ, œ/ and /frɛ/).

Section 6. Corresponding to RP /ɪə/:

/rɛ:(r)d/ 'reared'; /kwɛ:(r)/ 'queer';  
 /jɛ:(r)/ 'hear; ear' (also with /e, a/  
 and /æ:/).

---

1. Cf. section 2 of the Comparative Distribution of /e/, section 5.3.6.3.

Section 7. Corresponding to RP /ɑ:/:

/ˈde:(r)bɪ/ 'Derby'; /ˈde:(r)bɪʃe(r)/  
 'Derbyshire'; /kle:(r)k, tle:(r)k/ 'clerk'  
 (also with /e/); /ˈrɪ:be:(r)b/ 'rhubarb'.  
 Note also /me:(r)ps/ 'marbles' (also with  
 /e, a, æ:/).

Section 8. Corresponding to RP /ʌs/:

/me:nt/ 'mustn't'.

#### 5.2.8.4. Modification:

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

1. See further section 5.2.4.4.

2. Cf. section 5.3.5.4.

3. In such verbs the dialectal /ðrink, ðronk, ðronk/ pattern, which is retained by some modified speakers in the form /drɪnk, drɒnk, drɒnk/, gives way to /drɪnk, drɒnk, drɒnk/ on the part of some other modified speakers.

## Distributionally:

Section 1 retains /e:/, or possibly →  
[ɛ:], [ɛ·ə], etc.

Section 2 retains /e:/, or → [ɛ:], [ɛ·ə],  
etc.

Section 3 retains /e:/, or → /o:/'

Section 4 → /e/ (hundred → /ɪ/)

Section 5 more, door → /œ/; for →  
/ɔ, ɔə, e/

Section 6 → /ɪə/

Section 7 → /æ:/'

Section 8 → /os/'

5.3. Short Vowels:

There are six short vowel phonemes in the dialect:

/ɪ, ɛ, a, ɔ, ɒ, e/'

From a comparative point of view, it is interesting to note that /e/ occurs in stressed as well as unstressed syllables, and that it may even contrast with /e:/.<sup>1</sup> Dialect /ɒ/ corresponds to both RP /ʊ/ and /ʌ/, e.g. /pɒl/ 'pull', /kɒt/ 'cut', etc. /ɒ/ features extensively in unstressed syllables where it is in free variation with /e/: /ɒm/ 'them'; /'gre:jɒm/ 'Graham'; /'ɔ:lɒs/ 'always'; /'sɒmɒt/ 'something'; etc.

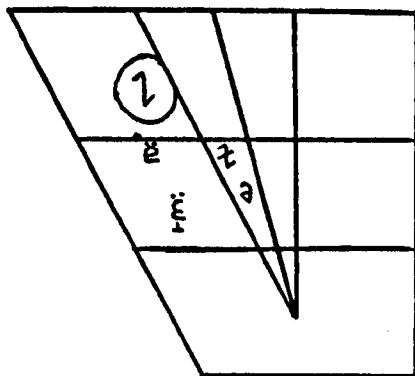
Short vowels may lengthen and sometimes become diphthongised when they occur in a word before a pause, or when a word is said slowly, whether due to hesitation or emphasis.

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1. See section 5.3.6.1. for details.

## 5.3.1.

/ɪ/

5.3.1.1. Description:Fig. 9. - /ɪ/ and variants

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

/ɪ/ occurs in all positions within the word, in stressed, relatively weakly stressed or unstressed syllables. Examples:

/wɪ/ 'with'; /'ɪve(r)/ 'ever'; /ɪ'vent/ 'event';  
 /'fɪðe(r)z/ 'feathers'; /gɪ/ 'give'; /'wagɪn/  
 'waggon'; /'prɪtɪ/ 'pretty; fairly, quite'; /ɪ/ 'in';  
 /,ɪ'mædʒɪn/ 'imagine'; /mɪ/ 'my' (unstressed);  
 /'rɪbɪn/ 'ribbon'; /fɪl/ 'fill'; etc.

Note the presence of /ɪ/ in open syllables. The word /gɪ/



'give' can take a surprising degree of stress without sounding as if it contained /i:/ or /e:/.

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

### 5.3.1.2. Variants:

- (i) [ɪ] Occurs in all positions, especially in stressed syllables, but is rare in the environment of /l/. Examples: [kɪdz] 'kids'; [ˈrɪbɪn] 'ribbon'; [ˈɪndʒən] 'engine'; etc.
- (ii) [ɪ̥] Occurs occasionally due to heavy stress, but especially before /j/ or [j]: [gɪ̥ jɜ:] 'give you'; [bɪ̥ jəˈnɒðə] 'be another'; [wɪ̥ jɪm] 'with him'; etc.
- (iii) [ɛ̥] A slightly lower variant than [ɪ] or [ɪ̥] on the half-close position. Occurs in stressed syllables, but more especially in final open syllables:<sup>3</sup> [sɛ̥kʔs] 'six'; [ˈmɒŋkɛ̥] 'monkey'; [ˈpʰɪgɛ̥] 'piggy'; [ˈlɒkʔkɛ̥] 'lucky'; etc.
- (iv) [ɚ] Typical in (a): Unstressed syllables, apart from final, open, unstressed syllables: [ˈkɒssɪn] 'cursing'; [ˈlɛ̥ːʌfɪn] 'laughing'; [wɚd] 'we'd' (unstressed); [ɚm] 'him' (unstressed); [ˈswɛ̥ːjɪn] 'swearing';

1. Cf. section (vii) of the Variants, and sections 5.3.6.1., 5.3.6.3, subsection 3(b).

2. Cf. further sections 5.3.6.1. and 5.3.6.3. subsection 3(a).

3. Cf. remarks on the accentual pattern of the dialect in section 5.3.6.1.

[ɜːˈlɛvɪn] 'eleven'; [ɪˌɜːˈmɑːdʒɪn] 'imagine';  
 [ɪˌɜːˈmɛmbəz] 'remembers'; ['lɜːmɜːˌtɪd]  
 'Ltd.'; etc; (b): In the environment of  
 /l/, where it is almost compulsory before  
 [ɪ]: [fɪɪ] 'fill'; [mɪɪz] 'mills';  
 [kˈwɪɪt] 'quilt'; ['lɜːmɜːˌtɪd] 'Ltd.';  
 [tɪɪ] 'till'; [ˈʃɪɪlɪŋ] 'shilling'; [bɪɪt]  
 'built'; [stɪɪ] 'still'; etc.; (c) After  
 a bilabial: ['bɜːznɪs] 'business';  
 ['wɜːpɪtʃ] 'whippet'; [bɜːg] 'big';  
 ['mɜːsɪz] 'Misses'; ['wɜːmɪn] 'women';  
 ['pɜːdʒən] 'pigeon'; etc. Occasionally  
 it is met in other contexts: ['sɜːvɪ]  
 'civvy'; ['nɜːgəz] 'niggers'; ['kɪtʃən]  
 'kitchen'; etc.

## (v) [ɛ̃ːɪ]

Like [ɛ̃] it occurs in final, open, relatively  
 unstressed syllables, especially before a  
 pause, or if the speech is slow (hesitation,  
 emphasis, rhythm, or whatever). Examples:  
 [bɛ̃ːɪ||] 'be'; [ˈmɛ̃ːɪnlɛ̃ːɪ] 'mainly';  
 [ˈtɛ̃ːwɛ̃ːntɛ̃ːɪ||] 'twenty'; [ˈɪɪˌɛ̃ːlɛ̃ːɪ] 'really'.  
 It may also occur in a stressed syllable  
 before a pause, or due to such factors as  
 hesitation or intonation: [tʃɛ̃ːɪps|]  
 'chips'; [dɛ̃ːɪd#] 'did'.

## (vi) [ɛ̃ː]

Occurs sometimes word-finally in open  
 syllables, although more with some speakers  
 than others - the variant is more widely  
 used in modified speech. Examples: [ˈmɔ̃ːndɛ̃ː]  
 'Monday'; [ˈdɛ̃ːːɪɪ] 'dairy'; [ˈɪɪˌɛ̃ːlɛ̃ːɪ]  
 'really'; etc. Occurs sometimes in stressed  
 syllables, again more so with some speakers,  
 particularly modified ones. Four words  
 containing [ɛ̃ː] across several speakers

are: ['fɛftɪ] 'fifty'; [lɛft] 'lift';  
 ['spɛnə] 'spinner'; ['dɛdnt̪].<sup>1</sup>

- (vii) [ə],[e], etc. These may occur before /l/, and at this point the phoneme overlaps with /e/.<sup>2</sup>  
 Examples: [stət̪] 'still'; ['vɛ'lɪdʒ]  
 'village'; ['wɛlfɪd] 'Wilfrid'. In some unstressed syllables there is free variation between /ɪ/ and /e/. Examples:  
 /'spɒtlɪs, 'spɒtləs/ 'spotless'; /mɪ'sɪ:n,  
 mɛ'sɪ:n/ 'machine'; /'θrɛntʃɪ,bɔ:n,  
 'θrɛntʃe,bɔ:n/ 'a kind of coal';  
 /'be:(r)ndɪn, 'be:(r)ndən/ 'Burnden'; etc.

Whilst some uses of /ɪ/ are essential in the dialect in unstressed syllables - e.g. in /mɪ'sɛl/ 'myself'<sup>3</sup> - there are very many words in which at least some RP speakers use /ɪ/ in relatively unstressed syllables, but which could never have /ɪ/ in the dialect. For instance, the dialect must have /ɔ/ or /e/ in /'prɒbləm, 'prɒbləm/ 'problem'.

### 5.3.1.3. Comparative Distribution:

Section 1. Corresponding to RP /ɪ/:

/'mɪdl/ 'middle'; /'sɪsθe(r)/ 'sister';  
 /'mɒndɪ/ 'Monday'; /'mɪnɪts/ 'minutes';  
 and very many others.

Section 2. Corresponding to RP /e/:

/'ɪndʒən/ 'engine'; /'sɪmθrɪ/ 'cemetery';

- 
1. There are some dialect words which have /ɛ/ where RP has /ɪ/ (see section 5.3.2.3, subsection 3(b)), and possibly others too had /ɛ/ in the past. It is conceivable that one or two [ɛ̃] occurrences reflect this correspondence, although this cannot be proven.
  2. Cf. sections 5.3.6.1. and 5.3.6.3, subsection 3(b).
  3. Cf. further sections 4, 6, and 7 of the Comparative Distribution.

/'kɪmɪkəl/ 'chemical'. Also with /ɛ/ in the dialect: /'ɪvə(r)/ 'ever'; /'nɪvə(r)/ 'never'; /'fɪðə(r)z/ 'feathers'; /gɪt/ 'get'; /lɪt/ 'let' (more often with /i:/).

Section 3. Corresponding to RP /ʌ/:

Also with /o/ in the dialect: /sɪtʃ/ 'such'; /mɪtʃ/ 'much'.

Section 4. Corresponding to RP /ə/:

/'so:fi/ 'sofa'; /'θri:pni/ 'threepenny'; /'kɒmɪn/ '(Mosley) Common'; /'wɪɡɪn/ 'Wigan'; /'ʌnkɪtʃə/ 'handkerchief'; /'rɪbɪn/ 'ribbon'; /'wɑɡɪn/ 'waggon'; /'pæ:(r)lɪmənt/ 'parliament'.

Section 5. Corresponding to RP /i:/:

/wɪk/ 'week'; /'siðl/ see thee 'look!', etc.; /'pi:lɪnz/ 'peelings'; /pɪlt/ 'peeled'; /'pi:lɪn/ 'peeling' (also with /ɪə/); /sɪn/ 'seen'.

Section 6. Corresponding to RP /ɑ:/:

/'ɡɑrɪdʒ/ 'garage'; /'mɛrɪdʒ/ 'mirage'.

Section 7. Corresponding to RP /aɪ/:

- (a) /'fɔə(r)tnaɪt/ 'fortnight'.  
 (b) /mi/ 'my'; /mɪ'seɪl/ 'myself'; /bi/ 'by'.

Section 8. Dialect /dɪn/ corresponding to RP /dn/:

/'gæ:(r)dɪn/ 'garden'; /'mɪdɪn/ 'midden'.

Section 9. Corresponding to RP /ɔ:/:

/'altʃɪ mɪə(r)/ 'Halshaw Moor'; /sɪn/ 'saw'.

Section 10. Dialect /rɪ/ corresponding to RP /ɜ:(r)/:  
/brɪd/ 'bird'.

Section 11. Corresponding to RP /eɪ/:  
/gɪd, gɪv, gɪn/ 'gave'; /sɪz/ 'says'  
(and other forms of to say).

Section 12. Corresponding to RP /æ/:  
/sɪt/ 'sat'; /spɪt/ 'spat'.

#### 5.3.1.4. Modification:

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

#### Distributionally:

Section 1 retains /ɪ/

Section 2 → /ɛ/

Section 3 → /ɔ/

Section 4 → /e/ in most cases, but /ɪ/ might be retained, especially in threepenny and parliament.

Section 5 see thee retains /ɪ/ if still used; week retains /ɪ/ (by virtue of being a common word), or more probably → /i:/; other cases → /ɪə/.

Section 6 retains /ɪ/ (or → /æ:/)

Section 7 (a) → /aɪ/

(b) retains /ɪ/ (or → /e/ in the words my and myself)

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

Section 9 → /e/

Section 10 → /e:(r)/

Section 11 retains /ɪ/,<sup>1</sup> or → /e:/

Section 12 retains /ɪ/, or → /a/

### 5.3.2.

/ɛ/

#### 5.3.2.1. Description:

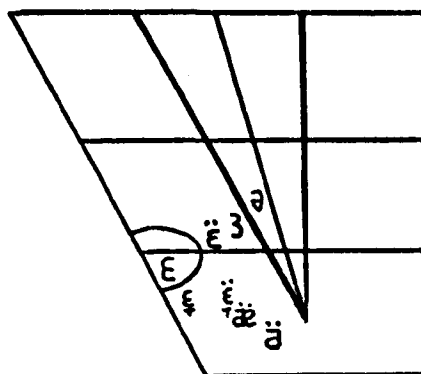


Fig. 10. - /ɛ/ and variants

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

1. Only, however, in the form /gɪv/ of the three forms of gave, as the other forms are not used in modified speech.

Some words containing such variants may be interpreted as containing either phoneme. Examples of such words from the corpus appear under /a/.<sup>1</sup> Whilst the phonetic quality of a variant such as [ä] (especially before /r/, which is more likely to cause raising and centralisation than lowering)<sup>2</sup> permits phonemicisation as /a/, alternative pronunciations with [ɜ, ɛ] etc. suggest that it is also reasonable to attribute /ɛ/ to these words; the direction of modification is towards /ɛ/.

Some centralised variants of /ɛ/, e.g. [ɜ] before /r/, and, to a lesser extent /l/, overlap with variants of /e/.<sup>3</sup>

/ɛ/ occurs in stressed syllables, and also in syllables which often seem to carry a marked secondary stress. Examples:

/sθrɛt/ 'tight'; /ɛgz/ 'eggs'; /,ɛn'kerɪdʒ/  
'encourage'; /nɛb/ 'peak (of cap)'; /ɪm'prv:vɪmənt/  
'improvement'; /ʃɛd/ 'shed'; etc. There are interesting occurrences of /ɛ/ in open monosyllables:  
/ɛ/ 'eh'; /sɛ/ 'say'; /ðɛ/ form of 'thou'; /jɛ/  
'yes'; -[jɛ] form of 'hear'.

Note:

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

5.3.2.2. Variants:

- (i) [ɛ]            The normal variant, but it does not often occur before /r, l/. Examples: [t'ɛn] 'ten'; ['sɛθədi] 'Saturday'; ['jɛvɪtʃ] 'rivet'; etc.

1. See subsection 2(b) of section 5.3.3.3; and sections 5.3.2.2(v), 5.3.3.2(ii), (v), (vi) and (ix).  
2. Cf. variants of /a/ before /r/, section 5.3.3.2(ii), (v), (vi) and (ix). Note similarly variants of /æ:/ before /r/ - section 5.2.5.2(i), (ii) and (iii).  
3. Cf. subsections (ii) and (iii) of the Variants, and section 5.3.6.1.

- (ii) [ɛ̃] Variant with slight centralisation, occurs in free variation with [ɛ] and is common in words which receive relatively less stress within the 'sentence'. As the centralisation increases, the distribution becomes more typical of the next variant.
- (iii) [ɜ] Occurs before /r, l/, especially /r/.  
Examples: ['dʒɜrɪ] 'jerry'; ['pɜrɪ] 'Perry'; [tʷɜɪv] 'twelve'; [wɜɪ] 'well'; etc. Centralisation is greatest with the more markedly retroflex realisations or /r/.
- (iv) [ɛ̄] This slightly lowered variant is not used in so consistent a manner as to allow of a precise distributional specification, but it seems to appear with some regularity before /l, r, n/, and sporadically in other contexts. Examples: ['fɛ̄ləz] 'fellows'; [lɛ̄ɪ] 'let'; [sɛ̄nd] 'send'; etc.
- (v) [ɛ̆],[ɛ̇],[ä] These variants occur before /l, r/.  
Examples: [wɛ̆ɪ] 'well'; ['vɛ̇rɪ] 'very'; [tɛ̆ɪz] 'tells'; ['sɛ̇ɪdɒm] 'seldom'; etc.
- (vi) [ɛ:],[ɛ̄:] The short vowel may be lengthened before pauses, or due to hesitation, emphasis, or intonation.

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



5.3.2.3. Comparative Distribution:

## Section 1. Corresponding to RP /e/:

- (a) /vɛt/ 'vet'; /'pɛnɪ/ 'penny'; /ɛgz/ 'eggs'; and very many others.
- (b) /'vɛrɪ/ 'very'; /'fɛlə/ 'fellow'; etc.  
This second subgroup also appears under /a/, where it is more fully listed.<sup>1</sup>

## Section 2. Corresponding to RP /ə/:

/'θrɛpms/ 'threepence'; /,ɛnθə(r)'te:nɪmənt/ 'entertainment'; /dɪ'pɛ:(r)tɪmənt/ 'department'; /ə'tʃi:vɪmənt/ 'achievement'; /ɪm'prɪ:vɪmənt/ 'improvement'; /,spɛk'tɛklz/ 'spectacles'; etc.

## Section 3. Corresponding to RP /ɪ/:

- (a) /,ɛn'kɜrɪdʒ/ 'encourage'; /ɛm'plɔɪ/ 'employ', etc. /'fɔrɛd/ 'forehead'; /,ɛkə'nɒmɪk/ 'economic'; /ɛgz'zɛkt/ 'exact'; etc.
- (b) This subgroup also has /ɪ/ in the dialect: /'rɛvɪt/ 'rivet'; /'mɛsθə(r)/ 'mister'; /sθrɛŋg/<sup>2</sup> 'string'; /spɛɪl/ 'spill' (noun, when meaning 'taper').

## Section 4. Corresponding to RP /æ/:

/'sɛtdɪ, 'sɛθə(r)dɪ/ 'Saturday'; /ɛs/ 'ash'; /slɛk/ 'slack (coal)'; /'blɛdðə(r)/ 'bladder'; /'rɛdɪʃɪz/ 'radishes'; /ɛz/ 'has'; /'blɛgbrɪ/ 'blackberry'; /'blɛgbə(r)n/ 'Blackburn'; /'kɛkl, 'kɛtl/ 'cackle'.  
These words also have /a/ in the dialect, except ash which has /ɛɪ/.

1. See subsection 2(b) of section 5.3.3.3.

2. [ŋ] is an allophone of /n/ before /k, g/ - cf. section 5.5.18.

## Section 5. Corresponding to RP /i:/:

/ˈɛtn/ 'eaten'; /ˈjɛziə(r)/ 'easier';  
 /klɛn, tlɛn/ 'clean'; /lɛv/ 'leave';  
 /plɛz/ 'please'; /tʃɛp/ 'cheap'; /tʃɛt/  
 'cheat'; /bjɛt/ 'beat'; /ˈbjɛtn/ 'beaten'.

## Section 6. Corresponding to RP /eɪ/:

/ɛ/ 'eh'; /ɛt/ 'ate'; /ˈmɛbi:/ 'maybe';  
 /mɛk/ 'make' (usually with /e:/); /sɛ/  
 'say'; /tɛk/ 'take' (also with /a/);  
 /tʃɛn/ 'chain'; /ˈwɛskot/ 'waistcoat'.

## Section 7. Corresponding to RP /ɒ/:

/ˈgɛtn/ 'got' (p.p.).

## Section 8. Corresponding to RP /aɪ/:

/mɛt/ 'might' (vb.).

## Section 9. Corresponding to RP /ɔ:/:

/ˈkwɛtθe(r)/ 'quarter' (also with /æ:, ɔ:,  
 a, e:/).

## Section 10. Corresponding to RP /aʊ/:

/ˈnɛðɛn/ 'now then'.

## Section 11. Corresponding to RP /rʊ/:

/ˈfɛbrɪ:, ɛrɪ/, more often /ˈfɛbjɪ:, ɛrɪ/  
 'February'.

## Section 12. Corresponding to RP /iə/:

/jɛ(r)/ 'hear; ear' (more often with /a,  
 æ:, ɛ:, e, e:/).

5.3.2.4. Modification:

Phonetically, the vowel is usually very fronted in modified speech, and the main variant for some speakers would be the slightly more open [ɛ̟]. Sometimes [æ] is reached. The vowel features very strongly in words carrying secondary stress which are spelt with 'e', e.g. /'kɒnsɪkwɛntlɪ/ 'consequently'.<sup>1</sup> [ɜ]-types tend toward [ɛ]-[æ] in modified speech.

## Distributionally:

Section 1 retains /ɛ/

Section 2 retains /ɛ/

Section 3(a) retains /ɛ/

(b) → /ɪ/

Section 4 → /a/

Section 5 → /i:/

Section 6 → /e:/, but eh, ate, say and take are more likely to retain /ɛ/

Section 7 → /ɔ/

Section 8 → /aɪ/

Section 9 → /ɔ:/

Section 10 retains /ɛ/

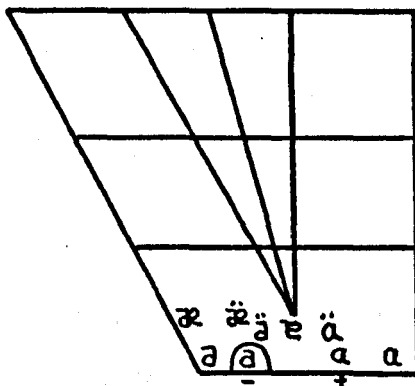
Section 11 retains /ɛ/

Section 12 → /ɪə/

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

## 5.3.3.

/a/5.3.3.1. Description:Fig. 11. - /a/ and variants

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

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

/ˈanɪ/ 'any'; /mɑm/ 'mam, mother'; /ˈpeɪˈswɑd/  
 'pea pod'; /ˈtænə(r)/ 'tanner, sixpence (2.1/2p)';  
 /ˈkærəˌvæn/ 'caravan'; /əkˈsept/ 'accept';  
 /ˌkɒnˌtæmɪˈneɪtɪd/ 'contaminated'; /snek/ 'sneck,  
 latch'; etc.

/ja(r)/ 'year', /ja(r)/ 'hear', /ja(r)/ 'ear' and /fa(r)/ 'far' all have the short pronunciation indicated by the phonemic rendering here, although in all cases there are other pronunciations too. Therefore, for speakers who do

not pronounce post-vocalic /r/, /a/ may occur in open syllables in final position. In the dialect, words with reduplicating syllables in children's language end in /a/:

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

Needless to say, these words are used by adults as well as by children. Note also: /a/ 'I'; /a(r)/ 'are'.<sup>1</sup>

Traditionally long /æ:/ occurs before /f, s, θ/ and for most traditional speakers /a/ may be said to occur infrequently in these environments.<sup>2</sup> However, there is some variation from one word to another.

/a/ does not occur before /ʃ/. The [æː] and [ɛɪ] variants which traditionally occur before /ʃ/ to the total exclusion of [a]-types, are assigned in this analysis to /ɛɪ/.<sup>3</sup>

/a/ has a somewhat restricted distribution before /m, n/, since in many common words such as /pɔn/ 'pan', /'ɔmə(r)/ 'hammer', /ɔ/ is used.<sup>4</sup>

### 5.3.3.2. Variants:

- (1) [a] is the most common variant and occurs in all positions. It is less usual, however, in those contexts designated for [ä, ɶ, æ, ä and ɛ] below. Examples: [gam<sup>ə</sup>] 'game';

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1. Cf. Gimson (1974: 105) who notes that RP /æ/ does not occur in final open syllables.  
2. Cf. sections 5.2.5.1, 5.2.5.2(iv) and subsection 6(a) of section 5.2.5.3.  
3. Cf. section 5.4.1.2(ii) and subsection 6 of section 5.4.1.3.  
4. For further examples see subsection 4 of section 5.3.4.3.

['anɪ] 'any'; ['k'wɑtʔθəz] 'quarters';  
 ['p'ap'ə] 'paper'; etc.

- (ii) [ä] Occurs in most contexts (where it is less frequent than [a]), and especially before /r, l/ - although note also the raised and centralised variants in subsection (vi) below. [ä] also occurs in words which are not heavily stressed. Examples: [fäkʔ] 'fact'; [ðätʔ] 'that'; ['väɪ] 'very'; [äɪ<sup>2</sup>p'] 'help'; [wäɪ] 'well'; etc.
- (iii) [a] The variant occurs in free variation with [a], although it is less frequent. It is typical of: a) words which often have an even higher variant before /k, g/ and [ŋ] - as in subsection (v); b) full stress; c) modified speech. Examples: ['baŋkɪn] 'banking'; [mam] 'mam, mother'; [k'ampʔ] 'camp'; ['babɪ] 'baby'; [flæg] 'flag'; etc.
- (iv) [ɑ],[ɑ̄],[ä] Back variants. There is no back open phoneme contrasting with /a/, therefore the existence of optional back variants is not surprising. They are in free variation with [a], but are in a decided minority by comparison. Their use appears to be largely a matter of idiolect: some speakers do not have them at all, whilst others use them with some frequency, or intermittently. In some idiolects they can even occur before /k/, which usually causes raising of /a/ in the dialect, as will be seen in subsection (v). Examples: [blɑ̄kʔ] 'black'; [ɑ̄s] 'I shall'; ['brɑ̄klɛ] 'Brackley'; [lad] 'lad'; [ðätʔ] 'that'; [plɑ̄nt'] 'plant'; etc.

- (v) [a̠],[æ] Raised variants. These occur especially before /k, g/ and [ŋ]. They also occur before /r/, and to a lesser extent in other contexts. A preceding /j/, and occasionally, perhaps, a preceding /k/ or /g/, may also cause raising. Examples: [b̠aɡ] 'bag'; ['b̠aŋkɹɔf] 'Bancroft'; [f̠ak] 'fact'; ['k̠æɪd] 'carried'; [f̠æɹ] 'far'; ['aŋg̠n] 'hanging'; ['dʒ̠ak<sup>2</sup>sen] 'Jackson'; [f̠r̠æŋ<sup>2</sup>k] 'Frank'; ['p̠æles] 'palace'; [æ̠θ] 'health'; ['dʒ̠akɪtʃ] 'jacket'; [t̠ækʃ] 'take'; ['g̠æɪdʒ] 'garage'; ['j̠æɹə] 'ear-hole'; [dʒ̠æk<sup>2</sup>s] 'Jack's'; [w̠ɪ<sup>2</sup>h̠ən] 'we han = have'; [g̠as] 'gas'; etc.
- (vi) [æ̠],[ä̠] Raising, together with marked centralisation, is found most frequently before /l/, and also with considerable regularity before /r/. Examples: ['tʃ̠æ̠rə,baŋg] 'char-à-banc'; ['k̠æ̠ɪd] 'carried'; ['ä̠ɹɪ, 'ä̠ɹɪ] 'Harry'; ['f̠æ̠lə] 'fellow'; [w̠æ̠t] 'well'; ['æ̠lʃə] 'Halshaw'; [ä̠l<sup>2</sup>ts] 'else'; [p̠æ̠lz] 'pals'; etc.
- (vii) [a̠], etc. A rounded variant is sometimes encountered: a) before /m, n/, in which respect it must be borne in mind that some words which sometimes appear with /a/ also have /ɔ/;<sup>1</sup> and b) after /w/. Examples: ['f̠a̠mlɪ] 'family'; [g̠r̠a̠n<sup>2</sup>t] 'grant'; ['w̠a̠tʃsɪtʃ] 'whatsit'; [s̠a̠m] 'Sam'; [dʒ̠a̠m] 'jam'; [l̠a̠nd] 'land'; etc.
- (viii) [ä̠:] etc. Lengthened variants may occur due to a

1. Cf. especially subsection 4 of section 5.3.4.3, and further section 5.3.4.2(v).

pause, hesitation, or a particular intonation pattern. Occasionally I have transcribed a lengthened form for which I cannot see any apparent explanation, e.g. [t'a:ps] 'taps'.

- (ix) [ɛ̃], etc. Occasionally a word contains a very high variant before /r/: ['kɛ̃ɹɪd] 'carried'; ['kɛ̃ɹɪ] 'carry'; [fɛ̃ɹɛnd] 'far end'. In these cases the variants are more reminiscent of /ɛ/, and one is reminded of some variants of /æ:/ before /r/.<sup>1</sup>

### 5.3.3.3. Comparative Distribution:

Section 1. Corresponding to RP /æ:/

/bak/ 'back'; /'kær,van/ 'caravan';  
/tʃap/ 'chap'; and very many others.

Section 2. Corresponding to RP /e/:

- (a) /'anɪ/ 'any' (also with /ɔ/); /'anɪ,jɜɪ/  
'anyhow' (also with /ɔ/); /'ævri,θɪŋ/  
'everything'; /land/ 'lend' (also with  
/ɔ/); /lant/ 'lent' (vb.).

- (b) The following occurrences of /a/ before  
/l, r/ overlap allophonically in the dialect  
with allophones of /ɛ/ and either phoneme  
may be assigned to the words: /'salerɪ/  
'celery'; /als/ 'else'; /'fale/ 'fellow';  
/al(t)θ/ 'health'; /tal/ 'tell'; /ɪz'sal/  
'himself'; /wal/ 'well'; /alp/ 'help';  
'varɪ/ 'very'; /balt/ 'belt'; /'balɪ/  
'belly'; /'jale/ 'yellow'; etc.

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1. Cf. section 5.2.5.2(iii).



- (c) Note also /snak/ 'sneck, latch', which often has [ɛ] in other varieties of English and Scottish.

Section 3. Corresponding to RP /eɪ/:

/ˈmake(r)/ 'maker' (also with /e:/);  
 /ˈfave(r)z/ 'favours'; /gam/ 'game';  
 /ˈpape(r)/ 'paper'; /ˈwaknɪn/ 'wakening';  
 /tak/ 'take' (also with /ɛ/ but /a/ appears to be the more traditional); /tan, 'takn/ 'taken'; /ˈbabi/ 'baby'; /ˈakɔə(r)n/ 'acorn'; /gan/ 'gave'.

Section 4. Corresponding to RP /ɑ:/:

/fa(r)/ 'far' (also with /æ:/); /ba(r)/ 'bar' (also with /æ:/); /ˈantɪz/ 'aunties'; /at/ 'art, art thou?'; /ˈpadn/ 'pardon' (also with /ɔ, æ:/); /ˈdaren/ 'Darwen'; /a(r)/ 'are'.

Section 5. Corresponding to RP /ɪə/:

/ˈjare, 'jaro:l/ 'ear-hole'; /ja(r)/ 'ear; hear' (also with /æ:, e:, ɛ:, ε, e/).

Section 6. Corresponding to RP /ɒ/ after /w/:

/ˌwaˈrɪzɪt/ 'what is it?'; /ˈwɑndrɛ:(r)z/ 'Wanderers'; /want/ 'want'; /ˈwatsɪt/ 'whatsit'; /ˈkwari/ 'quarry'; /watʃ/ 'watch'; etc.

Note also: /ˈpɛɪˈswad/ pea-swad 'pea-pod', which is rendered in Northern Standard with /ɔ/.

Section 7. Corresponding to RP /ɔ:/:

/ˈkwatθe(r)/ 'quarter' (also with /ɛ, æ:, ɔ:, e:/); /ˈwaθe(r), 'wate(r)/ 'water' (more usually with /e:/).

Section 8. Corresponding to RP /aɪ/:

/a/ 'I'; /am/ 'I'm'.

Section 9. Corresponding to RP /ɜ:/:

/ja(r)/ 'year' (also with /æ:, e, e:/).

Section 10. Corresponding to RP /ə/:

/ak'sept/ 'accept'.

#### 5.3.3.4. Modification:

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

Distributionally:

Section 1 retains /a/

Section 2(a) → /ɛ/

(b) → /ɛ/, but some slight degree of overlap still remains

(c) retains /a/ if the word is used at all

Section 3 → /e:/

Section 4 retains /a/, except → /æ:(r)w/ in Darwen

Section 5 → /ɪə/

Section 6 → /ɔ/

Section 7 → /ɔ:/

Section 8 retains /a/, or → /aɪ/

Section 9 → /e, e:/'

Section 10 retains /a/

5.3.4.

/ɔ/

5.3.4.1. Description:

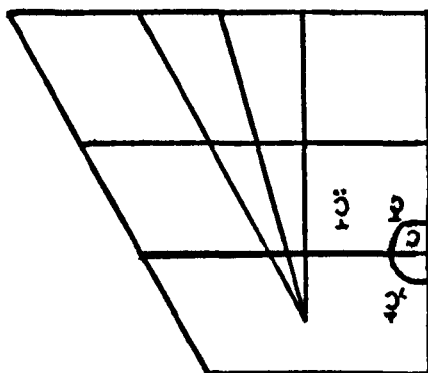


Fig. 12. - /ɔ/ and variants

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

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

/fɔ(r)/ 'for'; /,kɔn'dɔkθe(r)/ 'conductor';  
/mɔn/ 'man'; /'ɔni/ 'any'; etc.

As in the case of /ɛ/,<sup>1</sup> there is often a marked impression of secondary stress in syllables containing /ɔ/, but not carrying

1. Cf. section 5.3.2.1.

the main word stress. Examples:

/,kɔn'dɔkθe(r)/ 'conductor'; /,kɔn'dæmd/  
'condemned'; /,kɔn'dɪʃ(ə)nz/ 'conditions';  
etc.

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

/ɔ/ has a restricted or intermittent distribution  
before certain consonants where /ɔ/ appears in correspondence  
with RP /ɒ/ and ME /ɔ/. Examples: /dɔg/ 'dog'; /lɔŋg/  
'long'; etc. A detailed treatment is given under /ɔ/.<sup>2</sup>  
Variants of /ɔ/ and /ɒ/ overlap and the boundaries between  
the two phonemes are sometimes anything other than clear.<sup>3</sup>

/ɔ/ does not usually occur traditionally before  
/f, s, θ/ where the dialect has /ɔ:/. Examples: /brɔ:θ/  
'broth'; /ɔ:f/ 'off'; /tɔ:s/ 'toss'; etc.<sup>4</sup> More marginally,  
a few words which are normally pronounced with /ɔ/ have been  
transcribed occasionally with [ɔ:] in contexts where there  
is no reason to expect lengthening. In such cases, phonemici-  
sation with /ɔ:/ is possible although /ɔ/ is more usual.  
This lengthening seems to occur most often before /p/:

---

1. Cf. Gimson (1974: 112).

2. See subsection 4 of section 5.3.5.3 for a full discussion.

3. Cf. subsection 4 of sections 5.3.5.3 and 5.3.4.2(iii) and (iv)

4. See section 4(b) of section 5.2.6.3. for further examples.

/tɔ:p/ 'top'; /stɔ:p/ 'stop'; /'ɔ:p,pɪkɪn/ 'hop-picking'; etc. Occasionally /ɔ:/ also occurs before other consonants: /e'kɫɔ:k/ 'o'clock'; /lɔ:t/ 'lot'; etc.<sup>1</sup>

/ɔ/ is not usually met before the combination /lt/ in common words. NS /ɔ/ + /lt/ is rendered by /ɔ:/ + /t/ in the dialect, e.g. /sɔ:t/ 'salt'; etc.<sup>2</sup>

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

#### 5.3.4.2. Variants:

- (i) [ɔ] A normal variant of unrestricted occurrence. Examples: [skɔn] 'scone'; [stɔnd] 'stand'; [kɔn'dɛmɔd] 'condemned'; etc.
- (ii) [ɔ̃] A normal variant occurring especially in words which are not heavily stressed within the utterance. Examples: ['k'ɔ̃lɛɪ] 'colliery'; ['bɔ̃bɪn] 'bobbin'; [e'kɫɔ̃<sup>2</sup>k'] 'o'clock'; etc.
- (iii) [ɔ̂],[ɔ̃̂] Raised variants occur quite frequently and have been noted especially before /p, b, n, k and t/. A raised and centralised variant has been noted before the same phonemes and also /ks/.<sup>4</sup> Examples: [k'ɔ̂<sup>2</sup>k'] 'cock'; [nɔ̂tʔ] 'not'; [dʒɔ̂n] 'John'; [nɔ̂b] 'knob'; [bɔ̂ks] 'box'; [stɔ̂pʔ] 'stop'; etc.

1. Cf. subsection 4(a) of section 5.2.6.3.

2. Cf. section 5.2.6.1, and subsection 1(a) of section 5.2.6.3.

3. Cf. section 5.3.3.3, subsection 6 for further examples.

4. Cf. the higher variants in subsection (iv) and the environments given for occurrences of /ɔ/ in subsection 4 of section 5.3.5.3 - 4B and especially 4C.

- (iv) [o],[ö] These very high variants are around C[o] and at this point we are within the territory of the /o/ phoneme.<sup>1</sup> Note under /o/ those words which correspond to RP /ɒ/ and ME and NS /ɔ/.<sup>2</sup> Examples: [t'öp̃] 'top'; ['bobbe t'ɪ:] 'bob or two'; ['bɒk<sup>2</sup>sɪn] 'boxing'; etc.
- (v) [ɔ̃],[ɔ̃̃],[ɔ̃̃̃], etc. Lowered variants occur infrequently in the traditional dialect. Examples: ['fɔ̃ɪm] 'for him'; [dʒɔ̃'n] 'John'; [fɔ̃] 'for'; etc. Lowered variants become much more common in modified speech. They may also occur in words which also have /a/, or which modify to /a/: ['p'ɔ̃'dɜ:n] 'pardon'; [stɔ̃nd] 'stand'; etc.
- (vi) [ɔ̃],[ɔ̃:], etc. /ɔ/ seems to lengthen quite readily before a pause or hesitation, or due to intonation, or, as far as I can ascertain, in a word at the end of any phrase or sense-unit. It is perhaps not implausible to suggest that the lengthening of a short vowel could itself constitute a pause or hesitation of sorts.

#### 5.3.4.3. Comparative Distribution:

##### Section 1. Corresponding to RP /ɒ/:

/dʒɔ̃b/ 'job'; /'fɔ̃rɛd/ 'forehead';  
 /'kɔ̃lɪrɪ/ 'colliery'; /skɔ̃n/ 'scone';  
 /ʃɔ̃p/ 'shop'; and very many more.

---

1. Cf. section 5.3.5.2.

2. Cf. subsection 4 of section 5.3.5.3.

## Section 2. Corresponding to RP /əʊ/:

/kɒm/ 'comb'; /'spɒkn/ 'spoken';  
 /'brɒkn/ 'broken'; /'ɔpn/ 'open';  
 /'frɔzn/ 'frozen'; /'wɔvn/ 'woven';  
 /wɒm/ 'home' (also with /ɔ/); /e'wɒm/  
 'at home' (also with /ɔ/).

## Section 3. Corresponding to RP /ɔ:/:

Also with /ɔə, ɔ:/: /fɔ(r)/ 'for' (also  
 with /ə/); /'fɔttɪ/ 'forty'; /ɔ/ only:  
 /'fɔrə(r)d/ 'forward(s)'.

Section 4. Corresponding to RP /æ/ before nasals,  
especially /n/:

/sænd/ 'sand'; /stænd/ 'stand'; /kən/  
 'can'; /mən/ 'man'; /'grɒn,fe:ðə(r)/  
 'grandfather'; /'grɒn,mɒðə(r)/ 'grandmother';  
 /'bɒnksmən/ 'banksman'; /ɒnt/ 'hand';  
 /'ɒndə(r)/ '-hander'; /'ɒndɪd/ '-handed';  
 /'ɒŋkl/ 'ankle'; /spən/ 'span'; /'ɒnsə(r)t/  
 'answered'; /'mɒnɪ,dʒə(r)/ 'manager';  
 /'ɒnfɒl/ 'handful'; /'ɒndl/ 'handle'; /pən/  
 'pan'; /'pɒnke:k/ 'pancake'; /lɒnd/ 'land';  
 /lɒnd/ 'lend' (also with /a/); /'ɒmə(r)/  
 'hammer'; etc.

## Section 5. Corresponding to RP /e/:

/fɛt, fɛtʃ/ 'fetch'; /'rɒsl/ 'wrestle'  
 (similarly all derivative forms); /'ɒnɪ/  
 'any' (similarly in compounds); /'mɒnɪ/  
 'many'; /lɛnt/ 'lent' (vb.).

## Section 6. Corresponding to RP /ə/:

/,kɒn'dɛmɪd/ 'condemned'; /,kɒn'dɪʃ(ə)nɪz/  
 'conditions'; /,kɒn'dɒkθə(r)/ 'conductor';  
 etc.

Section 7. Corresponding to RP /ɑ:/:

/brɔs/ 'brass' (more usually with /æ:/);  
 /'fɔsn/ 'fasten' (more usually with /æ:/);  
 /'lɔðe(r)/ 'lather'.

Section 8. Corresponding to RP /i:/:

/'skwɔzn/ 'squeezed' (p.p.).

Section 9. Corresponding to RP /ɪ/:

/'ðrɔvn/ 'driven'.

#### 5.3.4.4. Modification:

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

Distributionally:

Section 1 retains /ɔ/

Section 2 → /o:/'

Section 3 → /ɔə/ (although for can retain /ɔ/)

Section 4 → /a/

Section 5 → /ɛ/

Section 6 retains /ɔ/

Section 7 → /a/

Section 8 → /o:/'

Section 9 → /ɪ/

In section 6, /ɔ/ remains in syllables taking secondary stress



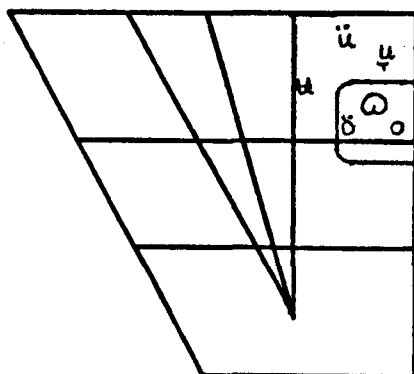
in what is, in fact, a rather large group of words. /ɔ/ is also used in NS in a number of words spelt with 'o', where RP has /ə/ and the dialect /e/ or /ɑ/, e.g.

NS /'pɑɪlɔn/ 'pylon' - dialect /'pɑɪlɔn/ - RP /'paɪlən/.<sup>1</sup>

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

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

5.3.5.

/ɔ/5.3.5.1. Description:Fig. 13. - /ɔ/ and variants

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

/ɔ/ has a wider distribution within the word than its common RP equivalents. It occurs initially, medially and finally in open syllables.<sup>1</sup> Examples:

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1. Cf. RP /ʌ/ and /ʊ/, Gimson (1974: 107, 117).

/ʊp/ 'up'; /'ɔvərɪn/ 'hovering'; /fɔst/ 'first';  
 /sθrɒŋg/ 'strong'; /rɒk/ ruck 'slag heap' (also  
 with /r:/); /'flɔzə(r)/ 'e.g. a cotton cop,  
 spindle or bobbin from which the cotton is over-  
 flowing'; /'mɔzɪ/ 'muzzy'; /'sɒmət/ 'something';  
 /'wɒmən/ 'woman'; /sɒt/ 'soot'; /dɒ/ 'do' (also  
 with /r:/); /gɒ/ 'go' (also with /r:/); /'jələʊ/  
 'yellow'; /pɒns/ 'kick'; /'ɔləs/ 'always';  
 /mɒn/ 'must'; /ɔ'pɛ:(r)t/ 'apart'; etc.

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

/'wɒmən/ 'woman'; /'sɒmət/ 'something'; /'jələʊ/  
 'yellow'; /'vəkəm/ 'vacuum'; /'lɒndən/ 'London';  
 /'dɒmɪnɔz/ 'dominoes'; /'swɪtsə(r),lənd/  
 'Switzerland'; /'brekfɔs/ 'breakfast'; /'ɪnsədənt/  
 'incident'; /'wi:vərɒm/ 'Weaverham'; /'prɒbləm/  
 'problem'; /'bɒntəmz/ 'bantams'; etc.<sup>2</sup>

In final consonant clusters, /l/ is often syllabic, and its quality is reminiscent of /ɔ/; on other occasions, /ɔ/ can be heard before /l/, e.g. /'pi:pl, 'pi:pəl/ 'people'. /ɔ/ and /e/ perhaps occur most frequently between /ʃ/ and /n/, e.g. /dɪ'tenʃən/ 'detention'.<sup>3</sup>

1. Cf., however, the occurrence of /ɔ/ and /ɛ/ in syllables carrying secondary stress, sections 5.3.4.1. and 5.3.2.1. respectively.

2. See also /e/, section 5.3.6.1.

3. Cf. section 17 of the Comparative Distribution below.

There is some overlap between /o/ and /ɔ/ which will be the subject of attention in the Comparative Distribution below.

### 5.3.5.2. Variants:

- (i) [o],[ö],[ɤ],[ü], etc. These variants all occur in free variation with each other, and particularly in stressed syllables. However, the very high and backed variants [ü] and [ɤ] are somewhat more typical of certain environments: 1) in the environment of [q] and [G], especially if these variants precede the /o/: ['qʷpö] 'couple'; [qʷm] 'come'; [Güm] 'gum, God'; and 2) in the environment of bilabials: [p'ɤ bʔ] 'pub'; ['wüman] 'woman'; [ɤ<sup>2</sup>p'] 'up'; [büm] 'bum'; etc. It should be stressed that these environmental considerations reflect a tendency, and no more; they do not define a clearly delimited subclass. Other examples: ['mönɪ] 'money'; [wom] 'home'; and, using the cover symbol [ɔ] for variants around [o] and [ö]: [mɔs] 'moss'; [stɔ<sup>2</sup>k'] 'stuck'; [bɔks] 'box'; ['θɔŋ: kɪn] 'thinking' (jovial form); etc. These variants may also occur in syllables which are relatively unstressed: ['sɔmɔfʔ] 'something'; ['p'e:vɔnɔfʔ] 'pavement'; ['ɔtɔn<sup>d</sup>] 'Holland'; etc.
- (ii) [ɔ],[ö], and variants between [ɤ] and [e]: These variants are common in syllables which do not carry the primary word stress, or in words which are very weakly stressed within the utterance as a whole. Examples: [bɤɤ]

'but' (weak stress); [kʌm] 'come' (weak stress); [θəm] 'them' (weak stress); [a'levɪnpəns] 'elevenpence'; ['pɹɛstɔnz] 'Preston's'; [dɒtʰ] 'do the' (unstressed); ['ɪŋglənd] 'England'; ['lemən] 'lemon'; etc.<sup>1</sup>

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

### 5.3.5.3. Comparative Distribution:

#### Section 1. Corresponding to RP /ʊ/:

- (a) /brʊk/ 'brook'; /krʊkt/ 'crooked'; /sʊt/ 'soot'; /'blʊmɪŋ/ 'blooming' (also with /e/). These words also have /ɹ:/, although less frequently.
- (b) /pʊt/ 'put'; /fʊl/ 'full'; /'wʊmən/ 'woman'; /gʊd/ 'good'; /wʊd/ 'wood'; etc.

#### Section 2. Corresponding to RP /ʌ/:

- (a) /e'mʌŋg/ 'among'; /wʌn/ 'one' (also with /ɔ/); /'nʌθɪŋ/ 'nothing'; /tʌŋg/ 'tongue'; /'skændəl,mʌŋge(r)/ 'scandalmonger'; /'mʌŋgrel/ 'mongrel'; /'ɪɪ(j)e(r)n,mʌŋge(r)/ 'ironmonger'. These words have /ɔ/ in NS.
- (b) /'mʌðe(r)/ 'mother'; /stʌk/ 'stuck'; /'jʌŋgsθe(r)/ 'youngster'; and many others. These words have /ɔ/ in NS.

#### Section 3. Corresponding to RP /ɜ:(r)/:

/fɜst/ 'first'; /'wɜslɪ/ 'Worsley'; /bɜst/

1. Cf. also /e/, section 5.3.6.2(iv) for the more heavily centralised and lowered variants shading imperceptibly from [ɔ] and [ʌ] into variants of /e/.

2. Cf. section 5.3.4.2(iii) and (iv).

'burst'; /wɒs/ 'worse'; /wɒst/ 'worst';  
 /'kɒssɪn/ 'cursing'; /pɒs/ 'purse'; /nɒs/  
 'nurse'; /'nɒssɪn/ 'nursing'; /nɒst/  
 'nursed'; /brɒn/ 'burn'; /wɒθ/ 'worth';  
 /'dɒs(ə)nt/ 'daren't' (also with /æ:, a, e, e:/

#### Section 4. Corresponding to RP /ɒ/:

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

The problem has been touched upon in the description of the /ɔ/-phoneme, both in terms of distribution,<sup>1</sup> and of phonetic variants.<sup>2</sup>

It will be treated in greater detail here.

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

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

##### (i) Before /ng/:

/rɒŋ/ 'wrong'; /e'ɒŋ/ 'along'; /lɒŋ/

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1. Cf. section 5.3.4. Description.

2. Cf. section 5.3.4.2(iv).

'long'; /bɪ'long/ 'belong'; /sθrɒŋ/ 'strong'; /'rɒŋ'ro:dɪd/ 'wrong-roaded'; /æɪ'lonɡleɡz/ 'Harry-longlegs, crane fly'; /,dɑdɪ'lonɡleɡ(z)/ 'daddy longlegs'; and other compounds containing long, strong and wrong.

(ii) Before /g/:

/tlog, klog/ 'clog'; /dɒg/ 'dog'; /fɒg/ 'fog'; /frɒgz/ 'frogs'; /tɒgz/ 'togs = clothes'; /'ɛdʒɒg/ 'hedgehog'.

(iii) Before /m/:

/tɒm/ 'Tom'; /'tɒmɪ/ 'Tommy'; /'bɒm,fɛɪ(j)ɛ(r)/ 'bonfire'; /'bɒmɪ/ 'bonfire' (children's word). /'bɒm,fɛɪ(j)ɛ(r)/ could be assigned to a category headed with /n/, but the distinction between /m/ and /n/ is neutralised before /f/.

(iv) Before /v/:

/'ɒvɛ(r)/ 'hover'; /'ɒvɛ(r),kræ:ft/ 'hovercraft'; /'ɒvɒl/ 'hovel'; /'kɒvənθrɪ/ 'Coventry'.

(v) Before /d/:

/θrɒd/ 'trod'.

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

(i) Before /nk/:

/'dɒŋkɪ/ 'donkey'.

(ii) Before /n/:

/ʃɒn/ 'shone'.

(iii) Before /m/:

/fɹom/ 'from' (also /fɛ(r), frɛ/).

(iv) Before /ks/:

/bɔks/ 'box'; /'bɔksɪn brɪð/ 'boxing booth'; /'bɔksɪn de:/ 'Boxing Day'; /stɔks/ 'stocks'.

(v) Before /l/:

/ɪ'vɔlv/ 'evolve'; /'ɔlədɪz/ 'holidays'.

(vi) In syllables not carrying the main stress:

/e:dʒkrɔft/ 'Agecroft'; /'θɔə(r)nɪ.krɔft/ 'Thorneycroft'.<sup>1</sup>

### C. ISOLATED OCCURRENCES OF DIALECT /ɔ/

CORRESPONDING TO RP /ɒ/:

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

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

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

2. See section 5.3.4.2(iii) and (iv).



/wɔn, wɔn/ 'one', /wɔm/ 'home' and /e'wɔm/ 'at home'.

Furthermore, in comparison with NS /ɔ/, there are occurrences of dialect /ɑ/, especially before /ng/, which correspond to /ʌ/ in RP;<sup>1</sup> and occurrences of dialect /ɔ/ optionally in words such as /kɔm'ple:nts/ 'complaints'.

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

#### Section 5. Corresponding to RP /ə/:

/ɑ'pæ:(r)t/ 'apart'; /'bɔnksmɔn/ 'banksman';  
/əd ɔm/ 'had them'; /ɑ'levnɔns/ 'elevenpence'  
/'krɪsmɔs/ 'Christmas'; /'ɪŋɡlənd/ 'England';  
/'leɪmɔn/ 'lemon'; /'lɒndən/ 'London'; and  
many others.

Sometimes a speaker of residual dialect will use /ɑ/ in syllables not carrying the primary stress where a more modified speaker would use /ɔ/ or /ɛ/: /kɔm'ple:nts/ 'complaints'; /e'mjʌ:zmənt/ 'amusement'; etc. Nowadays, /ə/ is in free variation with /ɑ/ in all such cases.<sup>3</sup>

1. For examples see section 2(a) of this Comparative Distribution

2. Cf. section 5.3.4.2(iii) and (iv). The overlap between /ɑ/ and /ɔ/, and the wide range of phonetic contexts in which /ɑ/ corresponds to RP /ɒ/, NS /ɔ/ and ME /ɔ/, make any explanation of the development of dialect /ɑ/ in such words extremely complicated - cf. Ford (1974), Wright, P. (1976: 52f), and Shorrocks (1977b).

3. Cf. section 5.3.6.1.

## Section 6. Corresponding to RP /əʊ/:

- (a) /gəʊ/ 'go' (also with /ɜ:/); /wəʊm/ 'home' (less often with /ɔ/); /e'wəʊm/ (less often with /ɔ/).
- (b) /'rɒskoʊ/ 'Roscoe'; /'dɒmɪnəʊz/ 'dominoes'; and all cases of RP /əʊ/ in final, open, unstressed syllables.<sup>1</sup> /e/ is now slightly the more usual in this context, but /ɔ/ is still permissible in all cases.

## Section 7. Corresponding to RP /aʊ/:

/bɒn/ 'bound'; /fɒn/ 'found'; /wɒn/ 'wound'; (forms with /ɛ:/ and final /d/ are possible in all three cases).

## Section 8. Corresponding to RP /u:/:

/dʊ/ 'do' (stressed and unstressed; also with /ɜ:/), and in relatively unstressed syllables in July, fortune, statue, tissue, etc.<sup>2</sup>

## Section 9. Corresponding to RP /e/:

/'ʃɒlɪn/ 'shelling'.

## Section 10. Corresponding to RP /æ/:

/plɒŋk/ 'plank' (more normally /ɔ/);  
 /'dʒɜ:snɒp/ 'Dewsnap' (normally /a/);  
 /ðrɒŋk/ 'drank'; /rɒŋ/ 'ran'; /rɒŋg/  
 'rang'; /sɒŋk/ 'sank'; /sɒŋg/ 'sang';  
 /spon/ 'span'; /sprɒŋg/ 'sprang'; /stɒŋk/  
 'stank'; /swɒm/ 'swam'.

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1. For a fuller list see subsection 6 of section 5.3.6.3.

2. /e/ may also be used in these unstressed syllables. Forms are given in subsection 9 of section 5.3.6.3.

Section 11. Corresponding to RP /ɪ/:

/sɒt/ 'sit' (/ɪ/ is more usual).

Section 12. Corresponding to RP /juə/:

/'vækəm/ 'vacuum'.

Section 13. Corresponding to RP /ʊə/ in relatively unstressed syllables:

In visualise, eventually, aperture, etc.<sup>1</sup>

Section 14. Corresponding to RP /wɪ/:

/'ɔ:lʊs/ 'always'.

Section 15. Corresponding to RP /ju/ in relatively unstressed syllables:

In regulations, celluloid, deputies, ambulance, etc.<sup>2</sup>

Section 16. Corresponding to RP /eɪ/:

/kəm/ 'came' (also with /ɪ:/).

Section 17. Corresponding to RP consonant clusters:

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

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1. These words also have /e/. Forms are given in subsection 10 of section 5.3.6.3.

2. These words also have /e/. Forms are given in subsection 7 of section 5.3.6.3.

/'pi:pəl/ 'people' cf. RP /-pl/  
 /,ɛk'sɛpʃənəl/ 'exceptional' cf. RP /-ʃnl/  
 /dɪ'tɛnʃən/ 'detention' cf. RP /-ʃn/  
 See further under /e/.<sup>1</sup> A vowel would not  
 be interposed in the clusters /fn, vn, dn,  
 tn, dl, tl/.<sup>2</sup>

#### 5.3.5.4. Modification:

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

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

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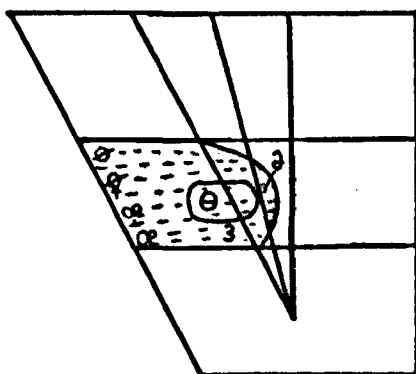
1. Cf. section 5.3.6.1.

2. /bɛ:(r)ndən/ 'Burnden' is an exception, no doubt because of the /n/ which precedes the /d/.

## Distributionally:

- Section 1(a) → /r:/  
 (b) retains /o/
- Section 2(a) → /ɔ/ (nothing sometimes  
 retains /o/)  
 (b) retains /o/
- Section 3 → /e/ (less often /e:/;  
 /brɔn/ → /be:(r)n/).
- Section 4 → /ɔ/
- Section 5 → /e/
- Section 6(a) retains /o/ (if the words are used)  
 (b) → /e/, or, more extremely,  
 → /o:/
- Section 7 → /ɜv/ (add final /d/)
- Section 8 → /e/ or /r:/
- Section 9 → /ɛ/
- Section 10 → /a/, or - in the case of the  
 preterites - more likely  
 retains /o/
- Section 11 → /ɪ/
- Section 12 → /e/ or /jv:/
- Section 13 → /e/ or /ve/
- Section 14 → /e/ or /wɪ/
- Section 15 → /e/, /jel/ or /jv:/
- Section 16 retains /o/, or → /e:/
- Section 17. As in the dialect, but with  
 greater use of /e/ rather  
 than /o/

5.3.6.

/e/5.3.6.1. Description:Fig. 14. - /e/ and variants (simplified)

/e/ is a short vowel which varies between front and centre and between half-open and half-close. It is typically rounded, even if sometimes only slightly so. It is tenser than RP /ɛ/, being used in stressed syllables; even when used in relatively unstressed syllables it still tends to be tenser than /ɛ/. For instance, there is no decidedly low variant in word-final position to parallel the word-final variant of /ɛ/ in RP<sup>1</sup> - rather, the dialect uses a higher and usually tenser and more rounded variant such as [e]. This tendency is due to the different accentual pattern of the dialect (which unfortunately lies outside the scope of this segmental analysis), and to the preglottalisation and

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1. Cf. Gimson (1974: 124).

gemination of medial consonants. Thus, in [<sup>s</sup>slɪp<sup>h</sup>p<sup>e</sup>] 'slipper', the first syllable is heavily stressed, there is a hold between the syllables and, when the second syllable is pronounced, slight tongue tension is evident in the realisation of the vowel.

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

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

/et/ 'hurt'; /e'ke(r)/ 'occur'; /bet/ 'Bert';  
 /de(r)/ 'door'; /de(r)/ 'dare'; /wek/ 'work';  
 /'lɛrɪ/ 'lorry'; /'settɪnli/ 'certainly'; /jɛ(r)/  
 'year'; /'tɛtkɪ, 'tɛkɪ/ 'turkey'; /'θɛtti/  
 'thirty'; /θɛt'ti:n/ 'thirteen'; /tʃɛtʃ/ 'church';  
 /ʃɛt/ 'shirt'; /sket/ 'skirt'; /'fe:ðe(r)/ 'father';  
 /'aksɛdɛnt/ 'accident'; /e'kɔz/ 'because'; /e'kɔ:d/  
 'because'; /e'foe(r)/ 'afore, before'; etc.

/e/ occurs frequently in unstressed syllables where it is in free variation with /ɔ/, e.g. /'jale, 'jalɔ/ 'yellow'.<sup>3</sup>

1. Cf. the Variants and Fig. 14.

2. Note, however, the possibility of /r/ in an unstressed syllable: /'pɛmbe(r)tn/ 'Pemberton'; /'bɔge(r)t/ 'buggered = broken, tired'; etc.

3. Cf. sections 5.3.5.1. and 5.3.5.3.





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

'Billy' /'belɪ/ ≠ /'be:(r)lɪ/ 'barely'  
 'spirit' /'spɛrɪt/ ≠ /'spe:rɪt/ 'spare it'  
 'furry' /'fɛrɪ/ ≠ /'fe:rɪ/ 'fairy'  
 'hurry' /'ɛrɪ/ ≠ /'e:rɪ/ 'hairy'  
 'worry' /'wɛrɪ/ ≠ /'we:rɪ/ 'wary'  
 'worried' /'wɛrɪt/ ≠ /'we:rɪt/ 'wear it'  
 'curry; Curry' /'kɛrɪ/ ≠ /'ke:rɪ/ 'Carey'  
 'her, she' /e(r)/ ≠ /e:(r)/ 'air; hair; hare'  
 'dare he?' /'dɛrɪ/ ≠ /'de:rɪ/ 'dairy'  
 'Murray' /'mɛrɪ/ ≠ /'me:rɪ/ 'Mary'

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

1. Cf. further section 5.2.8.1.

2. Cf. O'Connor (1973: 154): "So /e/ must be considered to be a separate phoneme in RP, though in many other accents, e.g. Yorkshire, Lancashire, American, this is not so." /e/ contrast: with /o/ and with /e:/, and is accounted a separate phoneme in this analysis.

be found in /'sterə,laɪzd/ 'sterilised' and /'berəl/ 'Beryl'.<sup>1</sup>

/e/ also overlaps somewhat with /ɪ/ before /l/, especially if there is a preceding bilabial. Examples:

/ 'bɛlɪ/ 'Billy'; / 'wɛlfrɪd/ 'Wilfrid';  
/ 'pɛlkɪz/ 'Pilky's = Pilkington's';  
/ 'ɔɪtbɛldɪn/ 'out-building'; etc.<sup>2</sup>

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

/ 'mɛrɪdʒ/ 'mirage'; / 'spɛrɪt/ 'spirit';  
/ 'stɛrɛp/ 'stirrup'; / 'mɛrɪkl/ 'miracle';  
/ 'skwɛrəl/ 'squirrel'; / dɛ 'rɛkθə(r)/  
'director'.

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

/ 'tækə(r)/ 'tackler'; / 'fɛkəlɪt/ 'fettle it,  
mend it'; / 'dʒɛnkəlɪ/ 'gently'; / 'le:bɛrɛz/  
'labourers'; etc.<sup>3</sup>

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

[b<sup>ə</sup> 'lɒdɪ] 'bloody'; [ 'p<sup>ə</sup> 'ʒe:teɪz] 'potatoes'.

### 5.3.6.2. Variants:

During the course of transcription, very many variants were noted which are now brought together under /e/: [æ, ɛ, œ, ɛ̃, ɛ̄, ɛ̅, ɛ̆, ɛ̇, ɛ̈, ɛ̉, ɛ̊, ɛ̋, ɛ̌, ɛ̍, ɛ̎, ɛ̏, ɛ̐, ɛ̑, ɛ̒, ɛ̓, ɛ̔, ɛ̕, ɛ̖, ɛ̗, ɛ̘, ɛ̙, ɛ̚, ɛ̛, ɛ̜, ɛ̝, ɛ̞, ɛ̟, ɛ̠, ɛ̡, ɛ̢, ɛ̣, ɛ̤, ɛ̥, ɛ̦, ɛ̧, ɛ̨, ɛ̩, ɛ̪, ɛ̫, ɛ̬, ɛ̭, ɛ̮, ɛ̯, ɛ̰, ɛ̱, ɛ̲, ɛ̳, ɛ̴, ɛ̵, ɛ̶, ɛ̷, ɛ̸, ɛ̹, ɛ̺, ɛ̻, ɛ̼, ɛ̽, ɛ̾, ɛ̿]. Phonemically

1. Cf. sections 5.3.2.1, 5.3.2.2(ii) and (iii), and subsection 5 of the Comparative Distribution.

2. Cf. sections 5.3.1.1, 5.3.1.2(vii), 5.3.6.3, subsection 3(b).

3. Cf. sections 5.3.5.1, 5.3.5.3, subsection 17.

/e/ represents all of these; phonetically, [e] represents the common variants in the area [ɐ̃, ɛ̃, ɛ̃, ø̃]. Not unexpectedly, a discrete set of restrictions cannot be given for each variant which would serve to distinguish it from every other variant: rather, there is considerable overlap amongst these variants in respect of their distribution. They are therefore rearranged here under several more general heads in order to present the major discernible tendencies.

(i) Variants towards [œ]: [œ], [œ̃], [œ̃], [œ̃]

These occur in stressed syllables, and are often preceded by a bilabial. Examples: [p'œ̃] 'pair'; [wœst] 'worst'; [wœk] 'work'; [bœ̃] 'bear'; [bœ̃tʔ] 'Bert'; ['stœ̃rɪn] 'staring'; [ʃœ̃] 'share'; etc. Occasionally, such variants may occur in a relatively unstressed syllable, especially after a geminate.

(ii) Variants towards [ø]: [ø], [ø̃], [ø̃], [ø̃], [ø̃]

These occur in stressed syllables. Examples: [ø] 'she'; [jø] 'year'; ['dø̃tʔt'ɪ] 'dirty'; ['wø̃kʔk'ɪn] 'working'; [skø̃tʔs] 'skirts'; ['p'ø̃tʔʃɪz] 'perches'; [stø̃] 'stir'; [dø̃] 'door'; [dø̃] 'dare'; [ʔø̃tʔ] 'hurt'; [ʃø̃tʔs] 'shirts'; etc. Occasionally, such variants may occur in relatively unstressed syllables, especially after a geminate, e.g. [stæ:ʔtʔ wø̃kʔkø̃tʔh] 'start work at'.

(iii) Variants towards [ə]: [ə], [ø̃], [ɜ̃], [ɜ̃], [ə̃], [ə̃], and in unstressed syllables only [ə] and (rare) [ə̃]

These occur in:

- 1) stressed syllables: [ʃɔ̃ˈtʃɪs] 'shirts';  
[ˈθɜːtʃɪˈtɪːn] 'thirteen'; [ɜːˈtʃɪ] 'hurt';  
[dɜːˈtɪ] 'dirt'; [jɜːtʃ] 'hear the'; etc.
- 2) unstressed syllables: [ˈdɪnə] 'dinner';  
[ˈʃɹɒpʃɪə] 'Shropshire'; [ˈmʌsθɜːˈtɪ] 'mustard';  
[bətʃ] 'but' (unstressed);  
[ˈbærə] 'Barrow'; etc.

(iv) Variants between /e/ and /o/: [ɛ̃ː], [ɜ̃ː], etc.<sup>1</sup>

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

Examples: [ˈɪnsəˌdɪnt] 'incident'; [ˈnɛksdɔ̃] 'next door'; [tˈɛːn] 'ton'; [tˈɜ̃ːn] 'ton'; [wɜ̃ːdʒ] 'would'; [ˈpˌɹɛstɜ̃ːnz] 'Preston's'; [wɜ̃ːθ] 'worth'; etc. Variants such as these are common in modified speech.

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

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1. Cf. section 5.3.5.2(ii).

2. Cf. Description above.

5.3.6.3. Comparative Distribution:

## Section 1. Corresponding to RP /ɜ:/:

- (a) Also long in the dialect: /stɛ(r)/ 'stir'; /slɛ(r)/ 'slur, slide'; etc.
- (b) Almost always short in the dialect: /'wɛkɪn/ 'working'; /wɛk/ 'work' (also /æ:/ when a noun); /e(r)/ 'she, her' (stressed); /jɛ(r)/ 'year' (also with /æ:, a, e:/); /bɛk'nɛd/ 'Birkenhead'; /'sɛttɪnli/ 'certainly'; /'sɛkɪl/ 'circle'; /'tɛtkɪ, 'tɛkɪ/ 'turkey'; /e'ke(r)/ 'occur'; /'pɛppɛs/ 'purpose'; /'dɛsɛnt/ 'daren't' (also with /ɔ, a, æ:, e:/); /wɛ(r)/ 'were' (stressed); /'wɛtnt/ 'weren't thou?'; /ɛt/ 'hurt'; /bɛθ/ 'birth'; /'θɛttɪ/ 'thirty'; /θɛt'ti:n/ 'thirteen'; /'dɛttɪ/ 'dirty'; /'θɛstɪ/ 'thirsty'; etc.
- (c) More often with /ɔ/ traditionally: /nɔs/ 'nurse'; etc.<sup>1</sup>

## Section 2. Corresponding to RP /ɛə/:

Before /r/, or historical /r/: /dɛ(r)/ 'dare'; /'bɛrɪn/ 'bearing'; /pɛ(r)/ 'pair'; /ʃɛ(r)/ 'share'; /'skɛrɪn/ 'scaring'; /'stɛrɪn/ 'staring'; etc. These words also have /e:/ and dare and scare also have /æ:/.

## Section 3. Corresponding to RP /ɪ/:

- (a) Before /r/: /'mɛrɪdʒ/ 'mirage'; /'spɛrɪt/ 'spirit'; /'stɛrɛp/ 'stirrup'; /'mɛrɪkl/ 'miracle'; /'skwɛrɛl/ 'squirrel'.

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1. See the words given in section 3 of section 5.3.5.3.

- (b) Before /l/: /'belɪ/ 'Billy'; /'wɛlfrɪd/ 'Wilfrid'; /'pɛlkɪz/ 'Pilky's = Pilkington's'; /'ɔɪtbɛldɪŋ/ 'out-building'; etc. Also with /ɪ/ in the dialect.
- (c) Unstressed: /'aksɛdɛnt/ 'accident'; /'ɪnsɛdɔnt/ 'incident'; etc.

Section 4. Corresponding to RP /ʌ/:

Before /r/: /'ɛrɪ/ 'hurry'; /,ɛn'kɛrɪdʒ/ 'encourage'; /'kɛrɪ/ 'Curry; curry'; /'θɛrɪ/ 'thorough'; /'wɛrɪ/ 'worry'; etc.

Section 5. Corresponding to RP /e/:

Before /r/: /'stɛrɪ,ləɪzɪd/ 'sterilised'; /'bɛrɪl/ 'Beryl'; /'dʒɛrɪd/ 'Gerrard'; and optionally in many other words before /r/.

Section 6. Corresponding to RP /əv/ (relatively unstressed):

/'jærɪ/ 'ear-hole'; /'dɛpɪ/ 'depot'; /e'tɛɪl/ 'hotel'; /'pɪlə/ 'pillow'; /'rɒskɛz/ 'Roscoe's'; /'mɛdə/ 'meadow'; /'pjænɪ/ 'piano'; /tɛ'me:tez/ 'tomatoes'; /'fælə/ 'fellow'; /'fɒlə/ 'follow'; /'ʃælə/ 'shallow'; /'wɪlə/ 'willow'; /'mɪnɪz/ 'minnows'; /'wɪndɪz/ 'windows'; /ne'vɛmbɛ(r)/ 'November'; /'wɛskɪt/ 'waistcoat'; etc. All words ending in /əv/ in RP when the syllable is not carrying the main word stress end in /e/ in the dialect. All these words may also have /ɔ/.

Section 7. Corresponding to RP /jv/ (unstressed):

/,rɛgɪ'le:ʃɛnz/ 'regulations'; /'sɛlə,lɔɪd/ 'celluloid'; /'dɛpɪtɪz/ 'deputies'; /'ambɛləns/ 'ambulance'; etc. /ɔ/ is also possible in these words.

## Section 8. Corresponding to RP /iə/:

/kwe(r)/ 'queer' (also with /e:/); /je(r)/  
'year' (also with /e:, a, æ:/; /je(r)/  
'hear; ear' (also with /a, æ:, ε, ε:, e:/).

## Section 9. Corresponding to RP /u:/ (relatively weakly stressed):

/dʒe'laɪ/ 'July'; /'fɔ:tʃən/ 'fortune';  
'statʃe/ 'statue'; /'tɪʃʃe/ 'tissue'; etc.  
/ɔ/ is also possible in these words.

## Section 10. Corresponding to RP /ʊə/ (unstressed):

/'vɪʒʊəlaɪz/ 'visualise'; /ɪ'ventʃəli/  
'eventually'; /'apɜ:tʃe/ 'aperture'; etc.  
/ɔ/ is also possible in these words.

## Section 11. Corresponding to RP /ɔ:/:

- (a) Also with /və/, except corridor: /de(r)/  
'door'; /'de(r)ne:ɪl/ 'door-nail';  
'de(r)nɒb/ 'door-knob'; /ɪn'de(r)z/  
'indoors'; /'nɛksde(r)/ 'next door';  
'kɔ:ɪde(r)/ 'corridor'.
- (b) Place-names and personal names ending in  
-shaw: /'brɑ:ʃe/ 'Bradshaw'; /'ɑ:lʃe/  
'Halshaw'; etc.
- (c) Place-names and personal names ending in  
-all: /'rɔ:səl/ 'Rossall'; /'nɔ:te/  
'Nuttall'; etc.

## Section 12. Corresponding to RP /ə/:

/'premətʃe/ 'premature'; /'brʌðe(r)/  
'brother'; /e'laɪv/ 'alive'; and very  
many others. /ɔ/ may also be used in  
the dialect.

Section 13. Corresponding to RP /v/:

/'lɛrɪz/ 'lorries'.

Section 14. Corresponding to RP /u/:

/'blɛmɪn/ 'blooming' (also with /o/);  
/'weste(r)/ 'Worcester, Worcester apple';  
/'westeʃe/ 'Worcestershire'; /'westɪd/  
'worsted'.

Section 15. Corresponding to RP /i:f/:

/'ɪnkɪtʃe/ 'handkerchief'.

Section 16. Corresponding to RP /jə/:

/'kɔlərɪ/ 'colliery'.

Section 17. Corresponding to RP /wɪ/:

/'ɔ:lɛz/ 'always' (also with /o/).

Section 18. Corresponding to RP consonant clusters:

/'dʒɛnkəlɪ/ 'gently'; /'fɛkəlɪt/ 'fettle  
it, mend it'; /'le:bərəz/ 'labourers';  
/'tækələ(r)/ 'tackler'; etc. Consonant  
clusters without an intervening /e/ or /o/  
are also found.<sup>1</sup>

Section 19. Corresponding to RP /eɪ/:

/'kro:ʃe/ 'crochet'; /'fɔɪ(j)e(r)/ 'foyer'.

Section 20. Corresponding to RP /ɑ:/:

/klɛk/ 'clerk'.

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1. Cf. section 5.3.5, Description and Comparative Distribution, section 17.



5.3.6.4. Modification:

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

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

Distributionally:

Section 1(a) → /e:/ or /e/ is retained  
 (b) retains /e/ or → /e:/. If the medial consonantal gemination in certainly, circle, turkey, purpose, thirty, thirteen dirty is lost, then → /e:/; if it is retained, retain /e/.  
 /'wetnt/ → /we:nt je/ 'weren't you'.

(c) retains /e/ or → /e:/

Section 2 retains /e/ or → /e:/ (or → [ɛ:, ɛ·e]).<sup>1</sup>

Section 3(a) retains /e/ or → /ɪ/

(b) retains /e/ or → /ɪ/

(c) retains /e/ or → /ɪ/

---

1. Cf. section 5.2.8.4.

- Section 4 retains /e/
- Section 5 retains /e/ or → /ɛ/
- Section 6 retains /e/ or → /o:/
- Section 7 retains /e/ or → /je/ or [jɹ·]
- Section 8 → /ɪə/  
year retains /e/ or → /e:/
- Section 9 retains /e/ or → /ɪ:/
- Section 10 retains /e/ or → /ɪə/
- Section 11(a) → /œ/ (/e/ can be retained in corridor)  
 (b) retains /e/ or → /ɔ:/  
 (c) retains /e/ or → /ɔ:/ (+ /l/ if required)
- Section 12 retains /e/
- Section 13 retains /e/ or → /ɔ/
- Section 14 blooming retains /e/ or → /ɪ:/  
Worcester, Worcestershire retain /e/ or  
 → /ɔ/  
worsted retains /e/
- Section 15 retains /e/ or → /i:f/
- Section 16 retains /e/
- Section 17 retains /e/ or → /wɪ/
- Section 18 as in the dialect
- Section 19 retains /e/
- Section 20 retains /e/ or → /e:/ or → /æ:/

5.4. DIPHTHONGS:

There are eight diphthong phonemes in the dialect:

/ɛɪ, aɪ, ɔɪ, ɜɪ, ɪə, ʏə, oə, ɔə/

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

It is conceivable that a phonemic inventory for an earlier stage of the dialect might dispense with /oə/ and /ɔə/, but as /o:+r/ and /ɔ:+r/ are now unusual, it is necessary to include /oə/ and /ɔə/ as additional identifiable phonemes.<sup>1</sup> Both /ɜɪ/ and /ʏə/ have back variants ([ɜ'ʌ, ʌ'ə] etc), as there are no contrasting phonemes moving to/from back positions.<sup>2</sup> /aɪ/ is now firmly established in the dialect, but may have entered the system under the influence of varieties of English closer to RP, and in this analysis subsumes a possible earlier /ɑ:/ phoneme.<sup>3</sup> Comparatively speaking, /ɛɪ/ could probably be described as the most distinctive diphthong phoneme in the dialect: /wɛɪ/ 'weigh' ≠ /we:/ 'way', etc. However, /oə/ and /ɔə/ also yield 'extra' distinctions from a comparative point of view.

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

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1. Cf. sections 5.4.6.1. and 5.4.7.1.

2. Cf. sections 5.4.4.1 and 2, and 5.4.8.1 and 2.

3. Cf. section 5.4.2.

consonants, so too with diphthongs. This state of affairs accords with that in RP, and I have not felt it necessary to give short and long variants under each phoneme.

Diphthongs not accorded phonemic status:

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

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

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

The second class will be discussed here.

- (i) [ɹ·ɪ], [ʌ·ɪ], etc. This type of diphthong is encountered in free variation with vowel groups containing a [w]- glide in present participles:  
 [brʌ·ɪn] 'brewing'; [dʌ·ɪn] 'doing';  
 [gʏ·ɪn] 'going'; etc. Vowel groups containing [w] are at least as likely to occur:  
 ['gʌ·<sup>w</sup>ɪn, 'gʏ·wɪn], etc. 'going'; etc.  
 In a word which is not a present participle, the vowel group is the more likely:  
 ['sʏ·wɪt'] 'suet'. Phonemic solution:  
 /ɹ:ɪ/ or /ɹ:wɪ/.

- (ii) [oːɪ], etc. Similarly, [oːɪ]-type diphthongs may occur in present participles, e.g. [göːntˈ] 'going to'. Again, however, a vowel group containing [w] is at least as likely, e.g. [ˈgɔːɔwn] 'growing'. There is one word which is not a present participle in which [oːɪ] is sometimes used: [moːɪst] 'most' (more often with /və/). Phonemic solution: /oːɪ/ or /oːwɪ/.
- (iii) [eːə], etc. occur sometimes before /l/, especially [ɫ]. Examples: [wɔːəɫ] 'world'; [ˈɜːəɪɫ] 'early'; [ˈæːəɪɫ] 'early'; [gɔːəɪz] 'girls'; [gæːəɪz] 'girls'; etc. A relatively pure long vowel, or vowel + schwa-type off-glide, is also used. In forms such as [tˈɜːəɪn] 'turn', the schwa off-glide might possibly suggest a trace of diphthongisation reflecting historical post-vocalic /r/. However, there is no evidence to suggest any /eːə/ ≠ /eː/ contrast. [eːə] etc. are therefore accounted variants of /eː/.
- (iv) [ɛːə] etc. and [æːə] etc. These two types may be treated together, since /ɛː/ and /æː/ often occur in the same words (/dɛːn, dæːn/ 'down'; etc.). These diphthongs arise in contexts analogous to those for /œ/ and /ɔə/, i.e. when speakers no longer pronounce historical post-vocalic /r/: e.g. [næːə, næːə, nɛːə], etc. 'never'. Similarly: [æːə] 'our'; [ɛːə] 'ever'; [flɛːə] 'flour', and [ɛːə] 'hour'; etc. (Note also before /r/+ vowel: [næːəɪ ɜːntɪ] 'never earned'; [ˈflɛːəɪ] 'floury'; etc.). Such forms might suggest the contrasts
- 'our; hour' /æə/ ≠ /æː/ 'ah'  
 'never' /næə/ ≠ /næː/ 'no; now'  
 'never' /nɛə/ ≠ /nɛː/ 'now'

However, the diphthongisation is generally not so clear as in the case of /œ/ and /ɔ̃/. Long pure vowels and relatively pure vowels, and long vowels with schwa off-glides occur more frequently. It therefore seems advisable to treat the long vowel variants as the norm, and to describe diphthongal variants such as [æ·ə] as being in free variation therewith in the contexts indicated in sections 5.2.4.2(i) and (ii) and 5.2.5.2(v). An appropriate and economical phonemicisation for the system is then:

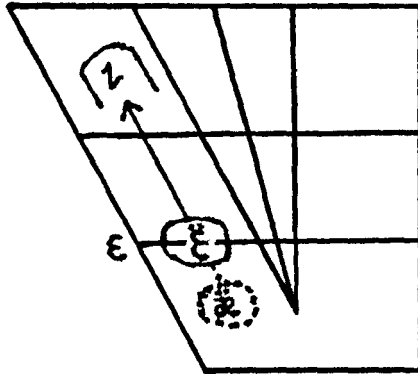
/flɛ:(r), flæ:(r)/ 'flour; flower'  
 /ɛ:(r), æ:(r)/ 'our; hour; ever'  
 /nɛ:(r), næ:(r)/ 'never'  
 etc.

- (v) [e·ə], etc. This type of diphthong occurs most noticeably before [ɹ], and sometimes also before /r/.<sup>1</sup> Due to the phonemic status of the centring diphthongs /ɪə, ʏə, œ, ɔ̃/, it is relevant to ask whether [e·ə] ever contrasts with /e:/ when post-vocalic /r/ is not pronounced. The number of word pairs in which a contrast /eə/ ≠ /e:/ might be observed is highly restricted. In the words gayer, greyer, layer, payer, player, stayer and sprayer, which theoretically might contrast with gay, grey, etc., I tend to hear two syllables on those occasions when post-vocalic /r/ is not pronounced. Such forms can be phonemicised as vowel groups, sometimes with and sometimes without an appreciable [j] glide, e.g. /'le:e(r)/ and /'le:je(r)/ 'layer'.

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1. Cf. sections 5.2.3.1. and 5.2.3.2(i).

5.4.1.

/ɛɪ/5.4.1.1. Description:Fig. 15. - /ɛɪ/ and variants

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

Within the word /ɛɪ/ tends to occur in stressed syllables. Cf., however, the well established import /'mɪ:stɛɪʃ/ 'moustache'

1. The diphthong contrasts very much with dialect /aɪ, ɔɪ/ in this respect. These latter diphthongs can have quite a prominent second element in towns not far from Bolton, but in our area they have a short second element of low, sometimes extremely low, prominence.

and the compounds: tea-break, overdrive, potash, etc. although /'pɒtæɪʃ/ 'potash' perhaps hardly strikes the speaker as a compound. /ɛɪ/ may occur in open syllables: /pɛɪ/ 'pea; Pee (= Peter)'; /ɛɪ/ 'hey; Hey; pardon?; high'; /kɛɪ/ 'key'.

/ɛɪ/ sometimes occurs directly before /r, l/, especially if another syllable follows, e.g. /'bɔɪlə(r)/ 'boiler', but often /jə/ or /ə/ intervenes between /ɛɪ/ and /r, l/. Examples:

/'ɛɪjə(r)n, 'ɛɪə(r)n/ 'iron'; /'ɛɪə,rɪʃ/ 'Irish';  
/'sɔɪjəl, 'sɔɪəl/ 'soil'; /'ɛɪəl/ 'oil; paraffin';  
/'fɛɪjə(r), 'fɛɪə(r)/ 'fire'; /'stɛɪəl/ 'steal'.

Before [ɫ], /ɔ/ may be used in place of /ə/. Raised forms of [j], [e] and [o] are often found in the transcriptions in such vowel-and-glide groups, e.g. ['ɛɪ<sup>j</sup>eɫ] 'oil'.

Comparatively, we may note that Hargreaves gave a diphthong aī before ʃ for Adlington. Of the phonetic quality he observed: "The ī is high-front-narrow and is long."<sup>1</sup>

#### 5.4.1.2. Variants:

- (i) [ɛɪ],[ɛ̃ɪ],[ɛ̃ɪ],[ɛ̃ɪ] These are all normal variants which may occur in any position. However, in the most traditional speech there is a marked tendency for only [æ]-types to occur before /ʃ/. Examples: [brɛɪk] 'break'; [p'ɛ̃ɪz] 'peas'; [ɔ̃rɛ̃ɪ] 'dry'; [rɛ̃ɪ<sup>2</sup>t] 'right'; etc.
- (ii) [æɪ],[äɪ] These variants are strictly defined. They occur only as allophones before /ʃ/. Examples: [k'æɪʃ] 'cash'; ['p'ɔ̃tæɪʃ] 'potash'; [flæɪʃ] 'flash'; [kʁäɪʃɪn] 'crashing'; etc. [ɛɪ]-types are also possible before /ʃ/, although they are less frequent.

1. Hargreaves (1904: 2).



5.4.1.3. Comparative Distribution:

## Section 1. Corresponding to RP /eɪ/:

/eɪ/ 'hey; Hey'; /weɪ/ 'weigh', /eɪt/ 'eight';  
 /breɪk/ 'break; brake'; /greɪt/ 'great';  
 /tʃeɪndʒ/ 'change'; /sθreɪt/ 'straight';  
 /eɪt/ 'ate'.

Note also: /steɪəl/ 'stale = shaft, handle'.<sup>1</sup>

## Section 2. Corresponding to RP /aɪ/:

/eɪ/ 'high'; /'eɪ(j)e(r)n/ 'iron';  
 /'eɪə,rɪʃ/ 'Irish'; /beɪ/ 'buy'; /ðreɪ/  
 'dry'; /ðreɪv/ 'drive'; /'meɪze(r)/  
 'miser'; /feɪt/ 'fight'; /'feɪ(j)e(r)/  
 'fire'; /'eɪdn/ 'hiding'; /'tʃeɪne/ 'China  
 /reɪt/ 'right' (more often with /i:/);  
 /ʃeɪn/ 'shine'; /meɪs/ 'mice'; /leɪs/  
 'lice'.

## Section 3. Corresponding to RP /ɔɪ/:

/'eɪ(j)əl/ 'oil; paraffin'; /beɪəl/ 'boil';  
 /'beɪ(ə)le(r)/ 'boiler'; /dʒeɪn/ 'join';  
 /'dʒeɪne(r)/ 'joiner'; /neɪz/ 'noise';  
 /'peɪzn/ 'poison'; /'seɪ(j)əl/ 'soil';  
 /beɪ/ 'boy' (also with /ɔɪ/); /'meɪðə/  
 'molder';<sup>2</sup> /'peɪznes/ 'poisonous'.

## Section 4. Corresponding to RP /i:/:

/weɪv/ 'weave'; /'greɪnɛ:s/ 'greenhouse'  
 (also with /e:, i:/); /beɪnz/ 'beans';  
 /'weɪve(r)/ 'weaver'; /keɪ/ 'key'; /speɪk/  
 'speak'; /eɪt/ 'eat'; /reɪtʃ/ 'reach';

1. In those varieties of English in which the word is still known, [e:] or [eː] is a customary pronunciation, cf. Geddie (1970: 1074).

2. molder is classed as a dialect word - cf. e.g. Geddie (1970: 685). In modified speech, /'meɪðə(r)/ → /'maɪðə(r)/.

/neɪd/ 'knead'; /bleɪtʃ/ 'bleach'; /peɪ/  
 'pea; Pee'; /teɪtʃ/ 'teach'; /meɪt/  
 'meat, food'; /preɪtʃ/ 'preach'; /'steɪəl/  
 'steal'; /leɪn/ 'lean'; /skweɪz/ 'squeeze'.

Section 5. Corresponding to RP /e/:

/'eɪvɪ/ 'heavy'; /'eɪvɪn/ 'heaving';  
 /θreɪd/ 'tread'; /reɪtʃ/ 'retch'; /frɛɪʃ/  
 'fresh'.

Section 6. Corresponding to RP /æ/ before /ʃ/:

/kɛɪʃ/ 'cash'; /ɛɪʃ/ 'ash'; /gɛɪʃ/ 'gash';  
 /splɛɪʃ/ 'splash'; /flɛɪʃ/ 'flash'; /lɛɪʃ/  
 'lash'; etc.

Section 7. Corresponding to RP /ɒ/ before /ʃ/ and  
 after /w/:

/wɛɪʃ/ 'wash'; /skwɛɪʃ/ 'squash'.

Section 8. Miscellaneous occurrences of /ɛɪ/ in words  
 which usually contain a different phoneme:

/leɪv/ 'leave' usually with /ɛ/  
 /neɪt/ 'night' usually with /i:/  
 /skreɪk/ 'skrike' usually with /aɪ/  
 /'neɪli/ 'nearly' usually with /ɪə/  
 /'veɪnli/ 'very near, almost' usually with /æ:/  
 /ʃɛɪv/ 'shave = slice (n.)' usually with /e:/

Section 9. Corresponding to RP /ɑ:/:

/'mɪ:steɪʃ/ 'moustache'.

(Note that the accentuation is other than  
 in RP).

5.4.1.5. Modification:

All the words in the Comparative Distribution contain the straightforward NS equivalent of the RP vowel or diphthong in modified speech except the following words from section 1, which retain /ɛɪ/ even with many highly educated speakers: hey, weigh, eight, straight. /ɛɪ/ therefore persists in the modified system - /wɛɪ/ 'weigh' ≠ /we:/ 'way'; /ɛɪ/ 'hey; pardon?; Hey' ≠ /e:/ 'hay; oh'; /ɛɪt/ 'eight' ≠ /e:t/ 'ate; hate' - but carries a highly reduced functional load. The phonetic quality is as in the dialect.

Distributionally:

Section 1 → /e:/ except in hey, weigh,  
eight and straight, which retain /ɛɪ/

Section 2 → /aɪ/

Section 3 → /ɔɪ/, except that /'mɛɪðe(r)/  
→ /'maɪðe(r)/

Section 4 → /i:/, and /tə/ in steal

Section 5 → /ɛ/

Section 6 → /a/

Section 7 → /ɔ/

Section 8 These words are dealt with under  
their more customary phonemes

Section 9 → /a/

## 5.4.2.

/aɪ/

(subsuming a possible relic /ɑ:/)

Although /aɪ/ is now well established in the dialect, it has probably been introduced into the system under the influence of varieties of English which are closer to SE: /aɪ/

has only RP /aɪ/ forms as its comparative reflexes,<sup>1</sup> although the reverse does not obtain,<sup>2</sup> and it alternates with what may well be the remnants of an /a:/ phoneme. There are several possibilities for the phonemicisation of variants such as [a:] in words such as [la:f] 'life':

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

- (i) it only occurs in free variation with /aɪ/,<sup>3</sup> and none of my informants uses it to the exclusion of /aɪ/.
- (ii) variants of /aɪ/ shade quite imperceptibly into monophthongs and back variants.
- (iii) it is not kept entirely distinct from /æ:/,<sup>4</sup> although it unquestionably tends to be more backed.

2) [a:] etc. might be viewed as variants of /aɪ/, especially the [a'ə]-types, since diphthongal variants shade imperceptibly into monophthongal ones,<sup>5</sup> and since they are further in free variation. Also, none of my informants uses [a:]-types exclusively.

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

- 
1. An inspection of the Comparative Distribution of other vowel and diphthong phonemes will reveal that such a restricted comparative distribution is unusual.
  2. Which is precisely as one would expect, if /aɪ/ has been introduced into the system more recently.
  3. Unless the back variants of /æ:/ were assigned to /a:/. But since back variants of /æ:/ are in free variation with front ones, it seems undesirable to do this.
  4. [a:], for example, occurs in both cases, i.e. as a variant of both /æ:/ and possible /a:/.
  5. See the Description and the Variants below.

before /f, s, θ/, and even then they can also be front, whereas monophthongal variants in free variation with /aɪ/ are never more front than [a:]. Theoretically, there are contrasts between /æ:/ and possible /a:/:

'shout' /ʃæ:t/ ≠ /ʃa:t/ 'shite'  
 'half' /æ:v/ ≠ /a:v/ 'hive'  
 'frown' /fræ:n/ ≠ /fra:n/ 'frying'  
 'charm' /tʃæ:m/<sup>1</sup> ≠ /tʃa:m/ 'chime'  
 'town' /tæ:n/ ≠ /ta:n/ 'Tyne'  
 etc.<sup>2</sup>

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

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

- 
1. Phonemicised for a speaker not using post-vocalic /r/.
  2. There are many pairs if /r/ is not pronounced after /æ:/. However, a speaker who regularly used /a:/ in the second word of each pair would probably (although not certainly) use post-vocalic /r/ after /æ:/ too. Also, the tendency of the first word of each pair (in those cases where there is no post-vocalic /r/) to be increasingly pronounced with /ɛ:/ is a disambiguating factor.
  3. I.e. when in free variation with [a'ɪ] etc.
  4. Lodge (1966: 26-8).

for each phoneme under the influence of SE, and that the modified forms were not confused. I doubt, however, if we can draw any certain conclusions about the internal structure of the residual system simply on the strength of these modified forms which are, by definition, part of a different system.

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

5.4.2.1. Description:

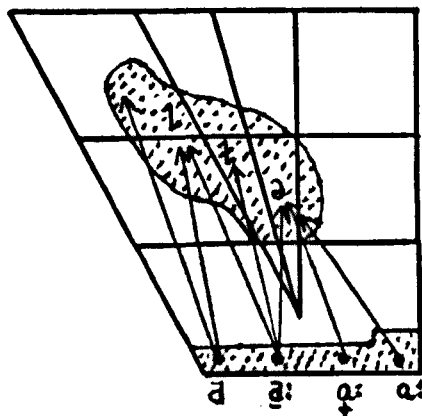


Fig. 16. - /aɪ/ and variants

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1. Lodge (1966: 28).

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

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

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

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

Although the diphthong moves generally in the direction of [ɪ], it does not always quite reach this point.<sup>1</sup> The variant [a̲.ʔ] is very common. Only the variant [aɪ] with a short first element moves to a relatively high front position.<sup>2</sup>

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

- 
1. As also with variants of /ɔɪ/, cf. sections 5.4.3.1. and 5.4.3.2.
  2. See the Variants, section (i), and the Modification below.

dialect has a phoneme /ɛɪ/ with an allophone [æɪ].<sup>1</sup>

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

Within the word, /aɪ/ may occur in syllables which are relatively weakly stressed, e.g. /ɪpaɪ(j)ə'nɪə(r)/ 'pioneer', and in open syllables, e.g. /rɪ'plaɪ/ 'reply', as well as in stressed and closed syllables. /aɪ/ with many traditional speakers does not occur in the environment /v - l/ where /ɔɪ/ is used.<sup>2</sup>

The phoneme often occurs in present participles simply followed by /n/: [flaɪ'n] 'flying'; [a:n] 'having'; [a:n] 'eyeing'; [θɹaɪ'ntʃ] 'trying to'; etc. Vowel groups containing a [j] element are equally possible: ['flaɪjɪn] 'flying'; etc. [j] is also common after /aɪ/ before /e/, e.g. ['laɪje] 'liar'.

#### 5.4.2.2. Variants:

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

- (1) [aɪ]            short first element, fairly high front second element. Occurs before [j]: ['kwaɪjətɪli] 'quietly'; ['daɪjeɪlək<sup>2</sup>t] 'dialect';

1. Cf. sections 5.4.1.1. and 5.4.1.2(ii)

2. Cf. section 5.4.3.3. , subsection 2.



[ɹɪ't'aɪəd̥] 'retired'; [p'aɪjən]  
'pie on'; etc.

- (ii) [a'ɪ], etc: Falling diphthongs with front starting positions, used by some speakers more than others, and gaining ground fast, as such variants are preferred by modified speakers. [a'ɪ] may now be considered to be firmly established in the dialect as an optional variant. Examples: [wa'ɪ<sup>2</sup>t'] 'white'; [na'ɪn] 'nine'; [sa'ɪd] 'side'; etc.
- (iii) [a'ɪ],[a'ɹ],[a'ə]: Diphthongs with a backed front starting position. These are the most common in the dialect. Examples: [stɑ'əɪ] 'stile'; [t'a'ɹm] 'time'; [fa'ɹn] 'fine'; [t'wɑ'əs] 'twice'; ['smɑ'ɪlɹn] 'smiling'; etc.
- (iv) Variants with [ə] as second element: These usually have a backed first element, and are common before /l/. Examples: [ä'əɪ] 'I'll'; [stɑ'əɪ] 'stile'; [kɹɑ'əm] 'climb'; [wɑ'əɪ] 'while'; [jɑ'ə] 'yigh = yes (contradictory)'; [mɑ'əɪ] 'mile'; [k'ä'ənd] 'kind'; etc. After a long back vowel, a schwa off-glide is quite frequent: [ɪn'sɑ:ə<sup>ə</sup>d] 'inside'; [nɑ:ə<sup>ə</sup>n] 'nine'; ['fɑ:ə<sup>ə</sup>və] 'fiver'; etc. These are not always easy to distinguish from diphthong variants. Before [ɹ], the off-glide may have an [ɔ]-quality, e.g. [stɑ:ə<sup>ɔ</sup>ɪ] 'style'.
- (v) Variants with a centralised first element: These do not appear to be environmentally conditioned. Examples: [k'ä'ənd] 'kind'; [ä'əɪ] 'I'll'; [t'ä'əm] 'time'; etc.

- (vi) Nasalised variants: The more front variants are particularly prone to a slight to moderate nasalisation with some speakers, even when the phonetic environment does not contain a nasal. Examples: [wãːɪft̪] 'white'; [sl̪ãːɪs] 'slice'; [ɹãːət] 'right'; [sãːn] 'sign'; etc.
- (vii) Diphthongs with a back starting position: [ɑ̃ːə], [ɔ̃ːə] [ü̃ːə], etc. Used frequently by some speakers and hardly at all by others. How far such forms are variants of /aɪ/, or how far variant of an original /ɑː/, is a moot point. As in the case of the long vowels in section (viii) these variants seem to occur more frequently in certain very common words. Examples: [ɹɔ̃ːt] 'right'; [jɔ̃ːə] 'yigh = yes (contradictory)'; [kʰü̃ːənd] 'kind'; [k̪ɪɔ̃ːəm] 'climb'; [mɑ̃ːə] 'my'; etc.
- (viii) [ɑ̃ː], [ɔ̃ː], [ɑː]: Long vowel variants: Of these forms, [ɑ̃ː] is perhaps the most common. The very back forms are not used by some speakers, and hardly by some others. These forms appear to be most often met with in common words, which is perhaps understandable in forms which are on the decline. Examples: [lɑ̃ːk̪] 'like'; [sɑ̃ːd] 'side'; [mɑ̃ː] 'my'; [ɑ̃ːm] 'I'm'; [lɑ̃ːf] 'life'; [ɑ̃ːs] 'ice'; [pʰɑ̃ː] 'pie'; [tʰɑ̃ːm] 'time'; etc. There is no long centralised variant [äː] of the phoneme /aɪ/. If there were, confusion with /æː/ would be rife, especially for a speaker who had lost, or partially lost, historical post-vocalic /r/.

The question of off-glides is discussed in section (iv) above.

(ix) Rounded variants: [a̠'ɜ], etc. As mentioned in the Description, these variants may in some cases reflect earlier /ɔɪ/ forms, for in some of the following examples rounding cannot readily be attributed to the phonetic environment; in other cases, the environment is a decidedly possible influence: [a̠':v] 'I've'; [k'w̠a'ɪət, k'w̠a'ɪət] 'quiet'; [m̠ö'ɜɪ] 'mile'; [p:] 'I'; [m̠ä'ë] 'my'; [k'w̠a'ɪt] 'quite'; ['t'antə,l̠a'ɪz] 'tantalize'; [f̠a'ɪəd] 'fired'; [l̠a'ɪk̠ʔ, l̠a'ɪk̠ʔ] 'like'; [m̠a'ɪnd] 'mind'; [a̠'ɜ] 'I'; [t'q'ɪmz] 'times'; [ɟ̠ä'ɪʔz] 'rise'; [s̠a'ɪd̠ʔ] 'side'; [n̠a'ɪs] 'nice'.

(x) [a̠'ɜ], etc. Variants with a raised front first element. These are infrequent, and appear not to be environmentally conditioned: [a̠'ɜ, a̠'ə, a̠:] 'aye'; [a̠'ɜz] 'eyes' (modified form); [l̠a'ɪk̠ʔ] 'like'; etc.

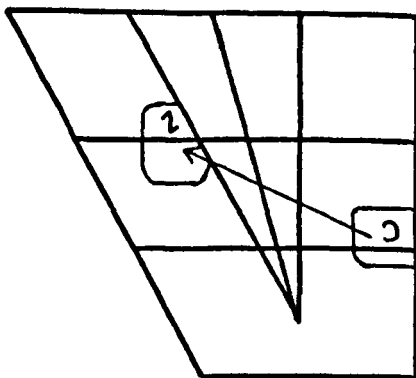
#### 5.4.2.3. Comparative Distribution:

Dialect /aɪ/ corresponds only to RP /aɪ/. Examples: /laɪk/ 'like'; /saɪd/ 'side'; /waɪt/ 'white'; and very many more.

#### 5.4.2.4. Modification:

In modified speech there is a sharp decrease in the number of back variants. The general movement seems to be towards [a'ɪ] as the main variant, and there is also an increase in the number of [äɪ] forms - particularly, it would appear, before /t/: [wäɪ<sup>2</sup>t'] 'white'; [t'äɪ<sup>2</sup>t'] 'tight'; etc. Nasalised variants also seem to feature more strongly in modified speech.

5.4.3.

/ɔɪ/5.4.3.1. Description:Fig. 17. - /ɔɪ/ and variants

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

/ɔɪ/ occurs in both stressed and relatively weakly stressed syllables. Examples:

/dɪ'stɔɪ/ 'destroy'; /tɔɪ/ 'toy'; /'vɔɪlɪn/  
'violin'; /'sɛləˌlɔɪd/ 'celluloid'; etc.

/ɔɪ/ occurs in present participles where historical /l/ has been lost after /ɔ:/: /fɔɪn/ 'falling'; /kɔɪn/ 'calling'.

/ɔɪ/ may be replaced by /ɔə/ before /l/, e.g. [t'ɔ'ələt'] 'toilet'. /ɔ:/ occasionally appears for /ɔɪ/,<sup>1</sup> in an apparently unsystematic way, except before /l/ in a word such as /'tɔ:let/ 'toilet', where this development occurs more often. When a long vowel is used, off-glides or traces of a diphthongal second element may sometimes be discerned.

Examples:

[p'ɔ:nt] 'point'; [t'ɔ:ʒsɪz] 'choices';  
 ['ɛn'dʒɔ:ʒmɛntʃ] 'enjoyment'; [bɔ:ʒd]  
 'boiled'.

/j/ often occurs between /ɔɪ/ and /e/: /'rɔɪjəl/  
 'royal'; /'lɔɪjə(r)/ 'lawyer'; etc.

#### 5.4.3.2. Variants:

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

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

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1. As also for /ɔə/, cf. section 5.2.6.1.

positions are [ɔ, ɔ̃, ɔ̄, ɔ̇] and appear in any combination with the second elements [ɛ̃, ɛ̄, ɛ̇, ɛ̈]. Examples:

[fɔ̇ˈɪn] 'falling'; [dɪˈsθɔ̇ɔ̄ˈɹd] 'destroyed';  
[ˈsɛlɛˌlɔ̇ˈɪd] 'celluloid'; [bɔ̇ˈɛ̄] 'boy'; etc.

#### 5.4.3.3. Comparative Distribution:

Section 1. Corresponding to RP /ɔɪ/:

/dɪˈsθɔɪd/ 'destroyed'; /bɔɪ/ 'boy' (also with /ɛɪ/); /ˈsɛlɛˌlɔɪd/ 'celluloid'; /tɔɪ, 'toy'; etc. etc.

Section 2. Corresponding to RP /aɪə/:

/'vɔɪlɛt/ 'violet'; /'vɔɪlɪn/ 'violin';  
/'vɔɪl(ə)n(t)s/ 'violence'; and sometimes one hears /kwɔɪə(r)/ 'choir'.

Section 3. Corresponding to RP /wa:/ in words of French origin:

/'rɛzɛˌvɔɪ/ 'reservoir'; /ɔːrɛˈvɔɪ/  
'au revoir' (brought back from France by soldiers in first war); note also  
/ɛˈvɔɪˌdʒɪˈpɔɪ/ 'avoir du pois'.

Section 4. Corresponding to RP /ɔː/:

(a) /'lɔɪjɛ(r)/ 'lawyer'.

(b) The remainder are possible forms in the dialect, but they are used inconsistently. They may all be replaced by /ɔɛ/, and occasionally /ɔː/: /kɔɪn/ 'corn'; /ɔɪn/ 'horn'; /ɔɪs/ 'horse'; /dʒɔɪdʒ/ 'George'; /'mɔɪnɪn/ 'morning'.

5.4.3.4. Modification:

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

Distributionally:

Section 1 retains /ɔɪ/

Section 2 → /aɪə/

Section 3 tends to retain /ɔɪ/

Section 4(a) retains /ɔɪ/

(b) → /ɔə/ (or sometimes /ɔ:ə/)

## 5.4.4.

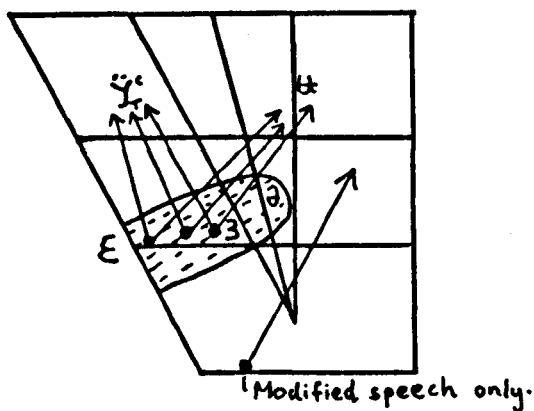
/ɜɪ/5.4.4.1. Description:

Fig. 18. - /ɜɪ/ and variants (simplified)

/ɜy/ is a falling diphthong, although variants with approximately equal elements are also encountered, especially when the diphthong has a central starting position, and a relatively high front second element.<sup>1</sup> The diphthong most frequently has a starting position around [ɛ̃] or [ɜ]. The shaded area extending from [ɛ], and slightly lowered varieties thereof, to a point somewhat to the back of [ə] and [e] indicate the approximate range of starting positions. The choice of [ɹ] as the second element in the phoneme symbol /ɜy/ is dictated by the fact that the diphthong moves to or towards [y̥] in a majority of cases. The question of the least restricted variant does not really arise, as the diphthong moves to or towards [ɥ], [ʌ] and [ɔ̃], perhaps with a degree of unrounding, in any environment, just as it moves towards a front second element in any environment. When one speaker seems to use a preponderance of front or back variants, this is, as far as I am able to ascertain, a matter of idiolectal preference. Indeed, it is not at all unusual to find a speaker who - in some common word such as /tɜrd/ 'told' - pronounces the same word with both back and front variants time and time again. My impression is that all speakers use both varieties, even if they have a preference for one or the other, and that the front varieties are the more common. In some modified accents, however, a greater number of back variants may possibly be found.

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1. Rising variants are not impossible either, but an accurate account of their distribution would appear to be dependent on a description of sentential stress and intonation.



/ɪ:/, when pronounced with little tongue tension, can occasionally become indistinguishable from varieties of /ɜɪ/.<sup>1</sup>

/ɜɪ/ is now beginning to appear here and there in free variation with /ɛ:/ and /æ:/ in words which have RP /aʊ/.<sup>2</sup>

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

['blɔwə] 'Blower'; ['bɔɪ<sup>ə</sup>lɪn] 'bowling';  
 ['nɔwɪz] 'Knowles'; etc.

/ɜɪ/ occurs in syllables which are stressed, or relatively weakly stressed. Examples:

/'sɜɪwɪn/ 'paste for interior decorating made from flour and water'; /ɜɪ/ 'owe'; /nɜɪ/ 'no';  
 /nɜɪt/ 'nothing'; /nɜɪt/ 'bad-tempered';  
 /sɜɪəl/ 'soul'; /gɜɪd/ 'gold'; /mɜɪd/ 'mulled';  
 /'lɜɪfɪn/ 'laughing'; /dɜɪf/ 'dough'; /kɜɪf/  
 'cough'; /'ɛntɪ,jɜɪ/ 'anyhow'; /'græn(d),dɜɪtθe(r)/  
 'granddaughter'; etc.

#### 5.4.4.2. Variants:

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

- (1) Regular starting positions: [ɛ̃, ɛ, ɛ̄, ɜ, ɜ̄, ɞ, ɞ̄, ɞ̃]  
 Of these, the rounded variants may follow a

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1. Cf. section 5.2.2.1. and section 4(b) and (c) of the Comparative Distribution below.

2. Cf. section 5 of the Comparative Distribution below.

preceding bilabial; [ɛ̃, ɜ, ɝ] are very common.

Regular finishing positions, with optional unrounding: [ỹ, ʏ, ʊ, ɔ̃], or points somewhat short of those values intermediate between the starting and regular finishing positions. Examples: [p'e·y] 'pole'; ['bɜ·ʊtʃn] 'Bolton'; [t̃ʰθɜ̃·ʊd] 'the old'; [t̃ʰθẽỹd] 'the old'; ['ɜ̃ỹ'de] 'older'; [lɛ·ỹf] 'laugh'; [ɹɜ̃·ỹ'nd] 'round'; [nɜ̃ʏ] 'now'; [nɜ̃ʏt'] 'naughty'; etc.

- (ii) [ä·ʊ], [ä̃·ʊ], [ä̃·y], etc. Variants with a low starting position. Apart from occasional irregular occurrences, and apart from the occurrence of such forms in modified speech, such variants are consistently to be encountered in a single, but very common, word: no. Thus: [nɜ̃·y], [nɜ̃·ʏ, nɜ̃·ʊ], etc. 'no'. It is more usual for variants with low starting positions to move towards a back position such as [ʊ] or [ɔ].

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

#### 5.4.4.3. Comparative Distribution:

Section 1. Corresponding to RP /əv/:

/sɜyd/ 'sold'; /bɜyt/ 'bolt'; /pɜy/  
 'poll = to cut, haircut; pole'; /tɜyd/  
 'told'; /ɜy/ 'owe'; /nɜy/ 'no'; /'nɜyɛlz/  
 'Knowles'; /'blɜy(w)e(r)/ 'Blower';  
 /'skɜykrɔ:f(t)s/ 'Scowcroft's'; /kɜyd/  
 'cold'; /gɜyd/ 'gold'; /dɜyf/ 'dough';  
 /'bɜytn/ 'Bolton'; /fɜyd/ 'Fold'; /rɜyɛl/

'roll'; /stɔːn, 'stɔːlən/ 'stolen';  
 /'stɔːl/ 'stole'; /bɔːd/ 'bold'; /'sɔːl/  
 'soul'; /'bɔː(ə)lɪŋ/ 'bowling'; /ɔːd/  
 'old; hold'; /flɔːn/ 'flown'; /mɔːd/ 'moul

Section 2. Corresponding to RP /ɔː/:

/ɔːt/ 'ought; ought = anything'; /nɔːt/  
 'nought = nothing; (bad-tempered)'; /'nɔːtɪ,  
 'bad-tempered; naughty'; /bɔːt/ 'bought';  
 /brɔːt/ 'brought'; /'dɔːtθə(r)/ 'daughter';  
 /kɔːf/ 'cough';<sup>1</sup> /'tɔːfɪ/ 'toffee';<sup>1</sup> /θɔːt,  
 'thought'; /bɪ'θɔːt/ 'bethought' (refl.);  
 /fɔːt/ 'fought'; /tɔːt/ 'taught'.

Section 3. Corresponding to RP /ɒ/:

/kɔːf/ 'cough'; /'tɔːfɪ/ 'toffee'.

Section 4. Corresponding to RP /uː/:

- (a) French origin: /rɔːt/ 'route'; /dɔːtʃ/  
 'douche'.
- (b) Optional /ɔː/, more often /yː/: /frɔːt/  
 'fruit'; /skrɔː/ 'screw'; /mɔːv/ 'move'.
- (c) Irregular instances which may well be lax,  
 diphthongised forms of /yː/.<sup>2</sup> Examples:  
 [lɪk] 'look'; [fɔːt] 'foot'.

Section 5. Corresponding to RP /aʊ/:

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

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1. In the speech of some RP speakers - cf. section 3 below.  
 2. Cf. sections 5.2.2.1 and 5.2.2.2(vi).

in free variation with /ɛ:/ (and /æ:/) even amongst residual speakers: /'θɜːrsən(d) 'thousands'; /ˈɜː(w)ɜːz/ 'hours; ours'; etc.

Section 6. Corresponding to RP /ʌ/:

/mɜːrd/ 'mulled'.

Section 7. Corresponding to RP /ɑː/:

/lɜːf/ 'laugh'.

#### 5.4.4.4. Modification:

With some speakers - probably the great majority, and certainly the base informants for this study - there is little or no modification in the phonetic quality of the phoneme;<sup>1</sup> with others, there is a decided movement towards [a'ʌ] or [a'ɔ] as the main realisation. The first element tends towards low, front positions: [ɛ̃, ɛ̆, æ̃, a, ä]; these are usually followed by a back second element: [ʌ, ʊ, ɔ]. [a'ʌ]-types are used in some surrounding areas of Lancashire, so that levelling-out processes may result in their becoming the norm over a period of time; [a'ʌ]-types are also, of course, a move in the direction of RP /aʊ/.

Distributionally:

Section 1 → /oː/

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

Section 3 → /ɔ/

Section 4(a, b, c) → /ɜː/

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

Section 5 retains /ɜr/

Section 6 → /ɔ/

Section 7 → /a/

5.4.5.

/ɪə/

5.4.5.1. Description:

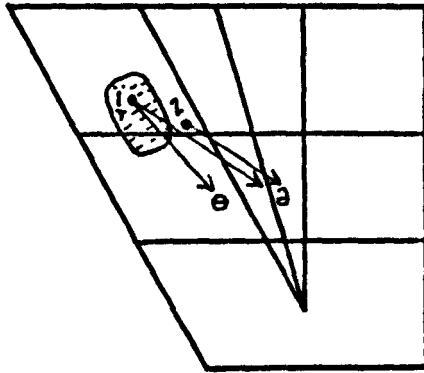


Fig. 19. - /ɪə/ and variants

/ɪə/ is a falling, centring diphthong. The first element is the longer and more prominent. Sometimes in unstressed syllables the second element may be the more prominent, e.g. ['tʃæmpjən] 'champion'.<sup>1</sup> /ɪə/ moves from a starting position below and to the centre of C[i] to a position around [ə] or [e], as shown in Fig. 19. When /ɪə/ occurs in a final, open syllable, the second element is higher, and sometimes decidedly tenser and more rounded than the second element of the equivalent RP /ɪə/; the final position of /ɪə/

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1. Cf. Gimson (1974: 142).

is also higher, and sometimes more front, rounded and tense than that of RP /ɪə/ in closed syllables.<sup>1</sup> Sometimes the starting position is a little lower than [ɨ̥], being on or just above the half-close position. In unstressed syllables, a more centralised starting position around [ɪ] is to be expected.

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

/tʃɪə(r)/ 'chair'; /dɪəθ/ 'death'; /dɪəf/ 'deaf'; /ðɪə(r)/ 'there'; /fɪəlt/ 'field'; /stɪə(r)/ 'steep'; /fɪə(r)t/ 'frightened, afraid'; /ɪnɪə(r)'si:tɪd/ 'near-sighted'; /nɪə(r)'baɪ/ 'nearby'; /'mɛnɪə,θɪn/ 'many a thing'; /'kɛnɪən/ 'Kenyon'; /bɛ'talɪən/ 'battalion'; /'mɪljən/ 'million'; etc.

In stressed syllables, variants of /ɪə/ containing a [j]-glide are quite common.<sup>2</sup> After [j] and before [ɛ̃], the second element may well have an [ɔ] or [ɤ]-quality, e.g. [fɪ̃·ɤ̃<sup>ɛ̃</sup>] 'feel'. There are also occasional occurrences of [ɪ̃·ɔ]-type diphthongs in stressed syllables other than before [ɛ̃], and these may once have been more common.

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

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1. Cf. Gimson (1974: 141f).

2. For examples see section (iii) of the Variants below.



'premium bonds'; etc. There are also traces of [ɪ'ə]-type diphthongs in stressed syllables and these may formerly have been more common.

#### 5.4.5.3. Comparative Distribution:

##### Section 1. Corresponding to RP /ɪə/:

/ɪə(r)/ 'here'; /'ri:əlɪ/ 'really'; /fɪə(r)/ 'fear'; and many others.

##### Section 2. Corresponding to RP /ɜ:/:

/ðɪə(r)/ 'there'; /tʃɪə(r)/ 'chair';  
/wɪə(r)/ 'where'; /skɪət/ 'scared'  
(more usually with /e:/ + /d/).

##### Section 3. Corresponding to RP /e/:

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

##### Section 4. Corresponding to RP /i:/:

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

(b) There are occasional traces of /ɪə/ in words which now usually have /i:/ in the dialect, e.g. /mɪən/ 'mean'.<sup>1</sup>

#### 5.4.5.4. Modification:

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

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



Distributionally:

Section 1 retains /ɪə/

Section 2 → /e:/

Section 3 → /ɛ/

Section 4(a) retains /ɪə/

(b) → /i:/

5.4.6.

/ɔə/

5.4.6.1. Description:

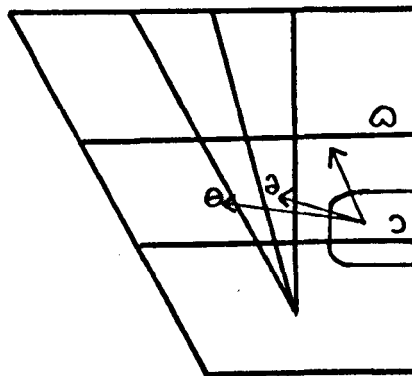


Fig. 20. - /ɔə/ and variants

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

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

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

The phoneme has a restricted distribution. It occurs:

1) Before /l/ - or rather, usually, historical /l/, for  
 /l/ has usually been lost after /ɔ:/ or /ɔə/. Examples:

/fɔət/ 'fault'; /fɔən/ 'fallen'; /ɔə/ 'all';  
 /ɔəz/ 'always'; /'ɔəsɔə(r)ts/ 'all sorts';  
 /'wɔəwɔks/ 'Wallworks'; /kɔəl/ 'call'; /'ɔələz/  
 'always'; etc.

And across words boundaries:

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

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

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

/'kɔəne/ 'corner'; /'mɔənɪŋ/ 'morning'; /ɔəs/  
 'horse'; /ʃɔət/ 'short'; etc.

Speakers who use post-vocalic /r/ after some vowels and diphthongs usually do not after /ɔə/ and /ə/. Further, whilst /ɔ:/ is occasionally used in this type of word,<sup>1</sup> /ɔə/ is customary. Thus, discounting for the moment the occasional phonemicisation

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1. More often, it would seem, in some words than others. In the words which have just been listed, /ɔ:/ would not be unusual in horse, but it most certainly would in short. For the whole group of words, /ɔə/ is the normal phoneme.

of /ɔ:/ without /r/, and admitting that /ɔ:r/ would have been a suitable phonemicisation at a time when post-vocalic /r/ was regularly pronounced, the appropriate phonemicisation for the present system is /ɔə(r)/. This solution does justice to the prevalent pronunciation [ɔ'ə] and allows for a following /r/ or trace of /r/-colouring - and, since an element of diphthongisation is phonetically inevitable before /r/, the phonemic solution /ɔə(r)/ is not inappropriate phonetically speaking on those occasions when /r/ is pronounced. Thus, the word horse might have: /ɔ:s/ as an occasional phonemicisation; /ɔ:rs/ as a historical phonemicisation; /ɔəs/ as the current phonemicisation appropriate to most speakers; and /ɔə(r)s/ as the phonemicisation appropriate to the current system, thereby catering for occasional residual occurrences of /r/.

The diphthong /ɔə/ is often clearly to be heard before /r/ in /'ɔə'ri:t, ə'rei:t/ 'all right'.

3) In the words /kənt/ 'can't'; /'kɛnkri:t/ 'concret'; /'tɔələt/ 'toilet' (also with /ɔ:/ and /ɔɪ/).

In distinguishing between /ɔ:/ and /ɔə/, it is not always easy to make a phonemic decision between variants such as [ɔ:ᵀ], [ɔ:ə] and [ɔ'ə].

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

'or' /ɔə/ ≠ /ɔ:/ 'oh!; all'  
 'torque' /tɔək/ ≠ /tɔ:k/ 'talk'  
 'cord' /kɔəd/ ≠ /kɔ:d/ 'called'  
 'drawer' /ðrɔə/ ≠ /ðrɔ:/ 'draw'

'drawers = knickers,  
 underpants' /ɔ̃rɔ̃z/ ≠ /ɔ̃rɔ̃:z/ 'draws'  
 'sort' /sɔ̃t/<sup>1</sup> ≠ /sɔ̃:t/ 'salt'  
 'morse' /mɔ̃s/ ≠ /mɔ̃:s/ 'moss'  
 etc.

To distinguish /ɔ̃/ from /ɔ̃:/

'mourning' /'mɔ̃(r)nɪn/ ≠ /'mɔ̃(r)nɪn/ 'morning'  
 'mourn' / mɔ̃(r)n/ ≠ /mɔ̃(r)n/ 'tomorrow'  
 'four' / fɔ̃(r)/ ≠ /fɔ̃(r)/ 'for'  
 'hoarse' /ɔ̃(r)s/ ≠ /ɔ̃(r)s/ 'horse'  
 'over' /ɔ̃(r)/ ≠ /ɔ̃(r)/ 'or'  
 'oars' /ɔ̃(r)z/ ≠ /ɔ̃z/ 'always'  
 'fort' /fɔ̃(r)t/ ≠ /fɔ̃t/ 'fault'  
 etc.

#### 5.4.6.2. Variants:

- (i) [ɔ̃·ə], [ɔ̃̂·ə], [ɔ̃̇·ə], [ɔ̃̈·ə]. These are the regular variants. The only environmental restriction is that they are rare before final /l/ ([ɫ]) - but /ɔ̃/ is seldom followed by a final /l/ in the dialect. Examples: [k'ɔ̃·ənkrɪ:t], [k'ɔ̃̂·ənkrɪ:t] 'concrete'; [fɔ̃̇·ən] 'fallen' [ɔ̃̈·əz] 'always'; [ɔ̃̂·əs] 'horse', etc.
- (ii) [ɔ̃̂̇·ə], [ɔ̃̂̈·ə], etc. Before [ɫ]: [ɔ̃̂̇·ɫ] 'all'; [k'ɔ̃̂̈·ɫ] 'call'. Such examples are not very common, because /l/ has usually been lost.
- (iii) [ɔ̃̇·ə], [ɔ̃̈·ə], etc. Lowered variants. These occur less frequently than the variants in section (i). They are used more extensively in modified speech. Examples: [tə'wɔ̃̇·əd<sup>2</sup>]

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1. More often with /ɔ̃:/.

'towards'; [kɔːəd] 'cord'; ['fɔːətʃən]  
'fortune'.

- (iv) Variants with an [ə]-type second element: Occasional variants: [t'ɔːədʒ] 'towards'; [ɔːə] 'all'; etc.

#### 5.4.6.3. Comparative Distribution:

##### Section 1. Corresponding to RP /ɔː/:

Nearly all occurrences of dialect /ɔə/ correspond to RP /ɔː/. Examples:

- (a) /fɔət/ 'fault'  
(b) /ɔə/ 'all'; /kɔːəl/ 'call'; /fɔːən/ 'fallen'; etc.  
(c) /ʃɔə(r)t/ 'short'; /kɔə(r)d/ 'cord'; /ɔə(r)s/ 'horse'; and many others.

##### Section 2. Corresponding to RP /ɒ/:

/'kɒnkri:t/ 'concrete'.

##### Section 3. Corresponding to RP /ɔɪ/:

/'tɔɪlət/ 'toilet' (also with /ɔɪ/, /ɔː/).

##### Section 4. Corresponding to RP /ɑː/:

/kɑːnt/ 'can't' (also with /æː/).

#### 5.4.6.4. Modification:

Phonetically the variants with a lower first element become more common; [ɔːə], [ɔːə] remain common; the variants with a raised first element become less common - but are possible in words such as cord, short, etc. when pronounced by more



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

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

/dɪ'vœ(r)s/ 'divorce'; /wœ(r)/ 'wore';  
 /soœ(r)t/ 'sort'; /'le:dɪ,ʃœ(r)/ 'Ladysshore';  
 /'ɔ̄esoœ(r)ts/ 'all sorts'; /foœ(r)'ti:n/  
 'fourteen'; etc.

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

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1. Cf. section 5.4.6.1.

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

/broæk/ 'broke'; /stoenz/ 'stones'; /roəd/  
'road'; /loəd/ 'load'; etc.

Diachronically, then, I suspect that these forms are transitional between /rœ/ and /o:/, but synchronically, since /œ/ is included in the inventory of phonemes, /œ/ may be said to occur in such words in free variation with /rœ/ and /o:/.

Some words which normally contain /œ/ may occasionally have /o:/.<sup>1</sup>

/œ/ can sometimes be difficult to distinguish from /o:/ with a schwa off-glide.

Vowel groups containing a slight [w]-glide occur occasionally, e.g. ['bö.<sup>uw</sup>ed] 'board'.

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

'over; oar' /œ/ ≠ /o:/ 'oh; o'  
'four' /foœ/ ≠ /fo:/ 'foe'  
'mower; (moor; more)' /moœ/ ≠ /mo:/ 'mow'  
'oars' /œz/ ≠ /o:z/ 'hose'

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1. See sections 5.2.7.1. and 5.2.7.3, subsection 4.



'mourners' /'moəneɪz/ ≠ /'mo:neɪz/ 'moaners'  
 'shore' /ʃoə/ ≠ /ʃo:/ 'show'  
 'roar' /roə/ ≠ /ro:/ 'row'  
 etc.

Minimal pairs distinguishing /oə/ and /œ/ are listed under /œ/.<sup>1</sup>

#### 5.4.7.2. Variants:

- (i) [ö̞ə], [œ̞ə]: These are the most typical variants. A rounded second element is not at all unusual with this phoneme. Examples: [sö̞.ətʃ] 'sort'; [bo̞.əd] 'board'; [no̞.ən] 'none'; [ˈrɔ̞.əɪɪn] 'roaring'; [mö̞.ə] 'more'; etc.
- (ii) [ö̞̊], [œ̞̊], etc. Variants with a high, rounded second element. In free variation with section (i), but less frequent.<sup>2</sup> Examples: [ko̞̊.s] 'course'; [fö̞̊.ɹ] 'four'; [spo̞̊.ɹ̥t] 'sport'; etc.
- (iii) [ö̞̊ə], [œ̞̊ə], etc. Variants with a high first element. These occur in words in which /oə/ is in free variation with /yə/. Examples: [fö̞̊.ə, fœ̞̊.əɪ] 'four'; [ɹö̞̊.ɹ̥d, ɹœ̞̊.ɹ̥d] 'road'; [ö̞̊.ən] 'own'; [ˈbœ̞̊.ɹ̥ɪɪn] 'boring'; [p̥ö̞̊.ə] 'pour'; etc.

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1. Cf. section 5.4.6.1.

2. See also /o:/ before /l/, section 5.2.7.2(iv).

### 5.4.7.3. Comparative Distribution:

#### Section 1. Corresponding to RP /ɔ:/:

/sœ(r)t/ 'sort'; /bœ(r)d/ 'board';  
 /œ(r)/ 'oar'; /kœ(r)s/ 'course';  
 /mœ(r)/ 'more' (often with /və/);  
 /spœ(r)t/ 'sport'; /œ(r)s/ 'hoarse';  
 /'snœərɪn/ 'snoring'; /'mœ(r)nœ(r)z/  
 'mourners'; /bœ(r)/ 'bore'; /wœ(r)/  
 'wore'; /tœ(r)/ 'tore'; and many others.  
 (Also with /və/ in some cases.)

#### Section 2. Corresponding to RP /ʌ/:

/noæn/ 'none' (also with /o:/).

#### Section 3. Corresponding to RP /u:/:

/jœ/ 'you' (also with /o:/).

#### Section 4. Corresponding to RP /əv/:

/stoæn/ 'stone'; /poəst/ 'post';  
 /broæk/ 'broke'; /roəd/ 'road';  
 /lœd/ 'load'; etc. (More often with  
 /o:/ and /və/).

#### Section 5. Corresponding to RP /əvə/:

/œ(r)/ 'over'.

### 5.4.7.4. Modification:

Phonetically /œ/ may have the same realisations as in the dialect with some speakers, whilst with others slight lowering (and/or centralisation and slight unrounding) takes place. When such variants as [ɔ̞·ə] and [ö·ə] are used, /œ/ may still be distinguished from /œ/ because /œ/ can also



/və/ is a falling, centring diphthong. The first element is the longer and more prominent. It is a rounded sound above the half-close position, which may occupy an area from centre of front to slightly more centre of back. The rounding is not usually very strong, but of course varies in degree in relation to the phonetic context. The diphthong has an [ə]-type second element, which again is higher than the second element in RP centring diphthongs. The second element is also sometimes a little more rounded and tense than its RP equivalent, i.e. [ə]. Variants with a back starting position are in free variation with those having a front starting position. /və/ was chosen as the phoneme symbol on the grounds that the front variants appear to be the more common. However, the choice of symbol should not be allowed to obscure the fact that variants commencing with [ʌ] and [ɹ] are frequent.

/və/, in those words corresponding to RP /əv/, is in free variation with /o:/, and perhaps, to a lesser extent, /œ/,<sup>1</sup> whilst /və/ in those words corresponding to RP /ɔ:/ is in free variation with /œ/.<sup>2</sup> These facts result in a series of indeterminate forms, or intermediate forms. Examples:

[fʌ'əv] 'four'; [ʃɔ'əd] 'road'; [ʃɔ'ə]  
'shore'; etc.

The shaded area in Fig. 22 illustrates the area of overlap between back variants of /və/ and /o:, œ/.

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1. Cf. section 3 of the Comparative Distribution, and sections 5.2.7.1, 5.2.7.2(ii), 5.4.7.1, 5.4.7.2(iii) and 5.4.7.3, subsection 4.
  2. Cf. section 4 of the Comparative Distribution, and section 5.4.7.3, subsection 1.

Vowel groups containing a [w]-element are quite common, and words which are monosyllabic in RP may often be heard as disyllabic in the dialect:

[ˈflɔ̃wːz] 'floor'; [ˈskɪ:wʉː] 'school'; etc.

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

In addition to its occurrence in stressed syllables - /mvrə(r)/ 'moor; more'; /tlvrz/ 'clothes'; /dvrə(r)/ 'door'; etc. - /rə/ may also occur in relatively weakly stressed syllables: /ˈblakprəl/ 'Blackpool'; /ˈjv:zvrəl/ 'usual'; etc. However, occurrences before /l/ are not as frequent as in modified speech, since the dialect has /r:/ alone in some words: /ˈblakpr:/ 'Blackpool'; /fvr:/ 'fool'; /skv:/ 'school'; /str:/ 'stool'. /rə/ in a word such as usual may also give way to unstressed /e, ə/.<sup>1</sup>

Strang has drawn attention to the vulnerability of RP /rə/ due to its low frequency of occurrence and light functional load.<sup>2</sup> It will be clear from the Comparative Distribution that /rə/ enjoys a somewhat wider distribution in the dialect, but its significance is being reduced by /o:/ and /əə/.

#### 5.4.8.2. Variants:

- (1) [ɥ̃·ə], [ɥ̃̄·ə], [ɥ̃̄̄·ə], [ɥ̃̄̄̄·ə] - Regular variants, often with slight unrounding [ʻ] of the first element.

1. See section (v) of the Variants below.

2. Cf. Strang (1974: 46). See Gimson (1974: 148) for a table showing the frequency of occurrence of RP vowel phonemes.

Some speakers use a back first element more often than others do, but this is largely a matter of idiolectal preference. Examples: [ˈdʒɹ̩əɪn] 'during'; [mɹ̩ˈe] 'more'; [tɹ̩ˈez], [kɹ̩ˈez] 'clothes'; [ʃɹ̩ˈe] 'sure'.

- (ii) [ɹ̩ˈɔ̃], [ɹ̩ˈʌ], etc. Diphthongs with a back second element  
Used before [ɹ̩]: [ˈblakɹ̩pɹ̩ˈɔ̃] 'Blackpool';  
[ˈjɹ̩ːɹ̩ˈʌɹ̩] 'usual'; etc.
- (iii) [yˈe] Occasionally a diphthong with a very close, front, tense, rounded first element is heard. It is not environmentally conditioned. Examples: [tˈyˈed] 'toad'; [ɹ̩yˈeɹ̩] 'rule' (the second element appears to have been pulled forward by the first, despite the following [ɹ̩]); etc.
- (iv) Variants containing [w]: See the Description above.
- (v) [ɔ̃], [ʌ], [e], etc. = /e, ɔ̃/<sup>1</sup> In unstressed syllables before [ɹ̩] as an alternative to relatively weakly stressed /rə/. These unstressed variants are, in fact, the more likely. Examples: [ˈjɹ̩ːɹ̩ɔ̃ɹ̩] 'usual'; [ˈvɹ̩ːɹ̩eɹ̩] 'visual'; etc.
- (vi) The rising variants encountered in RP in unaccented syllables<sup>2</sup> are not normally found in the dialect, which has /e/ or /ɔ̃/.

1. Cf. section 5.3.5.3, 13 (note also section 12), and section 5.3.6.3, 10.

2. As described in Gimson (1974: 144f).

### 5.4.8.3. Comparative Distribution

Section 1. Corresponding to RP /uə/:

/pjvə(r)/ 'pure'; /ʃvə(r)/ 'sure'; /mʌvə(r)/  
'moor'; /'dʒvərɪn/ 'during'; etc. etc.

Section 2. Corresponding to RP /u:/ followed by [ɹ]:

/rʌɹ/ 'rule'; /tʌɹlz/ 'tools'; /kʌɹl/  
'cool'; etc. etc.

Section 3. Corresponding to RP /əʊ/:

/bʌəθ/ 'both'; /kʌɹl/ 'coal'; /rʌəd/  
'road' (plus all compounds thereof);  
/lʌəd/ 'load'; /tlʌz, klʌz/ 'clothes';  
/θrʌt/ 'throat'; /stʌn/ 'stone'; /brʌn/  
'bone'; /tʌəd/ 'toad'; /mʌst/ 'most';  
/prʌst/ 'post'; /rʌk/ 'oak'; /krʌt/  
'coat'; etc. All these words may also  
have /o:/ (and perhaps, to a lesser extent,  
/əʊ/) in the dialect.

Section 4. Corresponding to RP /ɔ:/:

/mʌvə(r)/ 'more'; /dʌvə(r)/ 'door' (also  
with /e/), and all compounds thereof;  
/fʌvə(r)/ 'four'; /flʌvə(r)/ 'floor';  
/brʌvə(r)d/ 'board'; /spʌvə(r)t/ 'sport';  
/kʌvə(r)s/ 'course'; /'fʌvə(r)men/  
'foreman'; etc. All these words may also  
have /əʊ/ (and perhaps, to a lesser extent,  
/o:/) in the dialect.

Section 5. Corresponding to RP /ɜ:/:

/jʌvə(r)/ 'hair'; / mɔn'svə(r)/ 'Monsieur';  
/ ,kɔn'svə(r)/ 'connoisseur'.

5.4.8.4. Modification

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

Distributionally:

Section 1 retains /və/, except moor → /œ/

Section 2 retains /və/

Section 3 → /o:/

Section 4 → /œ/

Section 5 yure → /e:(r)/

/və/ may be retained in the French words.



5.5. CONSONANTS:

There are 22 consonant phonemes in the dialect.

These are:

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

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

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1. Cf. section 5.5.23.

2. Cf. section 5.5.18. The specification of 24 consonant phonemes for RP follows Gimson (1974: 149).

3. This will depend upon the linguist. Cf. Gimson (1974: 171ff), Houck (1967: 5).

Table of the Consonant Phonemes of the Dialect

	Bilabial	Labio-dental	Dental	Alveolar	Post-alveolar	Palato-alveolar	Palatal	Velar
Plosive (Stop)	p, b			t, d				k, g
Affricate						tʃ, dʒ		
Fricative		f, v	θ, ð	s, z		ʃ, ʒ		
Nasal	m			n				
Lateral				l				
Frictionless Continuant or glides (semi-vowels)	w				r		j	(w)

Consonant phonemes are described in terms of the opposition fortis-lenis rather than voiceless-voiced.<sup>1</sup> When a word is pronounced in isolation, or with a preceding and a following pause, initial lenis plosives, affricate and fricatives are partially devoiced, and final lenis plosives, affricate and fricatives may be completely devoiced. However, final lenis consonants may also be released with a schwa off-glide, or parasitic schwa. In running texts, the presence or absence of initial and final devoicing depends upon the immediate phonetic environment. Therefore in the description of the consonants, lenis plosives, affricate and fricatives are described as being subject to devoicing in initial and final positions.

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

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1. See Gimson (1974: 32, 149).

2. This and the following observations, particularly that concerning the fairly heavy aspiration of /p/, contrast strongly with comments on the aspiration of consonants in Higginbottam (1962: 26) and Lodge (1966: 28), although these studies are of course describing different varieties of northern speech.

released with affrication - more so with some speakers than with others - there is no resemblance on this count between the dialect of Farnworth and that of, say, Liverpool.

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

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1. Cf. section 3.9.

2. See Higginbottam (1962: 26f).

3. Ibid., 26.

Higginbottam's example, pronounced by a Farnworth informant, is:

['wɪtʃɪə] 'Wiltshire' - ['pɪlʃəd] 'pilchard'.

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

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

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1. And similarly with other pairs such as great reign and grey train etc., since /t/ would not be released even before a semi-vowel in great reign.

2. See Gimson (1974: 171-4, especially 171).

without context - from check round pronounced with [kʔ].

The glottalisation of final stop consonants is a key factor in signalling certain grammatical phenomena: the definite article; the preposition to; and the second person singular interrogative of modal and auxiliary verbs. Note further the glottalic realisation of the prefix to- in ['ʔgɛdðə<sup>[ʔ]</sup>] 'together'. A glottalic element may also be heard preceding the release stage of the initial consonant of /ni:t/ 'tonight' and /mɔə(r)n/ 'tomorrow'.

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

/ˈbɒtʃə(r)/ 'butcher'; /ˈvɪmptə/ 'Vimto'  
(cordial drink); /ˈθriːpɪnz/ 'threepence';  
/ˈkre:(t)ʊə(r)/ 'creature'; /ˈɛltsɪ/ 'Elsie';  
/ˈfæntsɪ/ 'fancy'; /ɛ:nts/ 'ounce'; /ɛlts/  
'else'; /əltθ/ 'health'; etc.

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

Gemination may occur:

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

Examples:

- (a) ['dɔ̃rɪp̃pɪn] 'dripping';
- (b) ['<sup>2</sup>ɔ:p̃p̃ɪkɪn] 'hop-picking';
- (c) ['ʃɔ:p̃p̃e'gɛn] 'shop again';
- (d) [ət̃t̃'ɜ:] 'at er...';
- (e) [p̃'i:jjɔ̃nt̃] 'pea on the'; etc.

Accounts of gemination in J. Wright (1905), Hargreaves (1904) and Sieß (1929) do not reflect the full range of gemination found in the dialect of Farnworth and district. Firstly, they are concerned only with case (a) of the five cases given above. Secondly, the range of consonants involved is more restricted: Wright gives /p, b, t, d, m, k, g/;<sup>1</sup> Hargreaves gives the same list, these being the consonants "most geminated";<sup>2</sup> and Sieß gives /b, p, d, t, g, k, m, n, r, l/.<sup>3</sup> For the Farnworth area, it would be necessary to add /ʃ, ʒ, s, z/ word-medially to Sieß' list; and further /f, v/ word-finally in hesitations, together with the glides /j, w/ in vowel groups, diphthongs, and between words. Also, medial /tʃ, dʒ/ are often preceded by /t, d/ respectively,<sup>4</sup> and in some words the same applies to /θ, ð/. Thirdly, Hargreaves, Sieß and Wright all give gemination "only after a short syllable" (or "when preceded by a short vowel").<sup>5</sup> Whilst word-medial gemination does indeed usually follow a short vowel, there are exceptions, cf. Farnworth:

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1. Wright, J. (1905: 7).  
 2. Hargreaves (1904: 74).  
 3. Sieß (1929: 139).  
 4. See sections 5.5.7.4. and 5.5.8.4. for examples.  
 5. Cf. Wright, J. (1905: 7); Hargreaves (1904: 74); Sieß (1929: 139).

/'fraɪddɪ/ 'Friday'; /'fɔə(r)ttɪ/ 'forty';  
/'jɔ:nɪn/ 'yawning'; /'jʌ:ʒʒəl/ 'usual'.

Furthermore, in types (b), (c), (d) and (e), the geminate follows long vowels and diphthongs frequently. Fourthly, Sieß gives gemination only before a derivative affix.<sup>1</sup>

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

/'fraɪddɪ/ 'Friday'; /'θetti:n, θet'ti:n/  
'thirteen'; /'θetti/ 'thirty'; /'peppes/  
'purpose'; /'tekkɪ/ 'Turkey; turkey';  
/'fɔə(r)ttɪ, 'fɔtti/ 'forty'; /'nappɪ/  
'nappy'; /'wɪkkənd/ 'weekend'; /'səkkəl/  
'circle'; /'lɒkkɪ/ 'lucky'; /'tɪʃʃe/  
'tissue'; /'vɪʒʒəlɪz/ 'visualise';  
/'kɑʒʒəl/ 'casual'; /'rɛnnɪt/ 'rennet'; etc.

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

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1. Sieß (1929: 139).
  2. Wright, J. (1905: 7).
  3. Hargreaves (1904: 74).



In addition to occurring with plosives, and in place of plosives before consonants, the glottal stop also occurs:

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

(b) intervocalically between words, e.g. [wən jə<sup>ʔ</sup> ɪtʔ] 'when you hit';

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

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

(i) stress, e.g. [ |'ʔa:ʔd | ] 'hard', pronounced with a deliberate stress,

(ii) the indefinite article, e.g. [ |||ʔət ɪtʔ kə'næɪ ||| ] 'a hat in the canal',

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

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

From the foregoing general observations, and from the following descriptions, it will be seen that the dialect has a rich array of realisations of plosives in word-final position. To summarise, final plosives may be realised:

- (a) as plosives pure and simple, i.e. other than as follows
- (b) with aspiration
- (c) with affrication
- (d) with preglottalisation
- (e) with glottalisation, but unreleased
- (f) as geminates
- (g) as [ʔ]
- (h) occasionally as ejectives
- (i) with a schwa-type off-glide, or parasitic schwa
- (j) with devoicing
- (k) with voicing
- (l) in free variation with /r/ in the case of /t/ in some words.

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

5.5.1. /p/

## 5.5.1.1.

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

5.5.1.2. Initial /p/:

Examples: ['p'ap'ə] 'paper'; ['p'ɛp'ə] 'pepper'; [p<sup>h</sup>ɪn] 'pin'; [ə'p<sup>h</sup>ɒp<sup>h</sup>ɪz] 'on purpose'; etc.

5.5.1.3. In Initial Clusters:

/pl, pr, pj, sp, spl, spr, spj/. Examples:  
/spɪt/ 'spit'; /sprɪŋ/ 'spring'; /splɛɪʃ/  
'splash'; /plɛz/ 'please'; /pjvə(r)/ 'pure';  
/'prɪtɪ/ 'pretty; fairly'; /spjv:/ 'spew'; etc.

5.5.1.4. Medial /p/:

['ræp'ɪt] 'rabbit'; ['k'æp'ɪtʃ] 'cabbage'; etc.  
Medial /p/ is frequently geminated: ['æp<sup>h</sup>ɪp<sup>h</sup>ɒz]  
'apples'; ['slɪp<sup>h</sup>ɪp<sup>h</sup>ə] 'slipper'; similarly in  
/'læpɪŋ/ 'lapping'; /'skræpɪŋ/ 'scrapping';  
/'drɪpɪŋ/ 'dripping'; /'sɒpɪŋ/ 'supping';  
/'næpɪ/ 'nappy'; /'sθræpɪŋ/ 'strapping';  
/ə'pɛpɪz/ 'on purpose'; etc.

A /p/-element may often be detected in the environment /m/-consonant: ['ɛm<sup>h</sup>ptɪ] 'empty';<sup>2</sup> ['vɪmp<sup>h</sup>tɪ'o:] 'Vimto

1. Cf. Gimson (1974: 159).

2. Cf. Hargreaves (1904: 65, section 70), who gives no /p/ between /m/ and /t/ for Adlington.

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

#### 5.5.1.5. Final /p/:

- (a) [p'] and [p<sup>h</sup>], e.g. [t'ɑp<sup>h</sup>] 'top'.
- (b) [pʔ]:
- (i) Final /p/ is almost always unreleased before a consonant occurring initially in the next word, e.g. [üpʔ 'jɑndə] 'up yonder'. Note that this rule applies before /w, l, j, r/ - which is not the case in all varieties of English.
  - (ii) Optionally before a pause, or in utterance-final position, e.g. [ɑpʔ#] 'up#'.
  - (iii) Occasionally before a vowel, in which case it may approach [ʔ].
- (c) Geminated:
- (i) Before a word beginning with a vowel - especially when following a short vowel, e.g. [ɑpʔp'ɪn] 'up in'.
  - (ii) Before a hesitation<sup>1</sup> of the type /ə:(r)/.
  - (iii) Before a word beginning with /p/ or /b/.  
A geminate may be held across a pause, e.g. [ɪi'z 'swɑlədʔ mapʔ | p'ɪm] 'he's swallowed the map, him = he is a know-all, conceited'.
- (d) [<sup>2</sup>p']:  
[sɑ<sup>2</sup>p'] 'sup', etc. Final /p/ sometimes approaches the quality of an ejective stop. However, it is not so definitely ejective as certain occurrences of final /t/ and /k/, and is probably best described as being preglottalised.

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1. Geminates often seem to be an integral part of a hesitation or pause. The specification "before a hesitation" will be taken throughout to include this possibility.

(e) Occasionally one encounters a suggestion of what, in the case of a voiced consonant, would be described as a parasitic schwa: [p<sup>ə</sup>, p<sup>hə</sup>, p<sup>ʔ</sup>].

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

#### 5.5.1.6. In Final Clusters:

/p/ occurs in the final clusters: /pt, pθ, ps, mp, lp, sp, pst, pθs, mpt, mps, lpt, lps, spt, sps/.  
 /pts/ is usually /ps/. Examples: /lamp/ 'lamp';  
 /rasp/ 'rasp'; /dɛpθs/ 'depths'; /mɔmp/ 'mumps';  
 /alpt/ 'helped'; /alps/ 'helps'; /lɪspt/ 'lisped';  
 /prɔmp/ 'prompt'; /dɛpθ/ 'depth'; /θre:pst/  
 'traipsed'; /wasps/ 'wasps'; /kɔpt/ 'copped = caught';  
 /rɪps/ 'rips'; /tʃɛlp/ 'chelp = speak (perj.)'; etc.  
 /sps/ may occur as such, or as [s:].

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

#### 5.5.1.7. Comparative Distribution:

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

#### 5.5.1.8. Modification:

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

There are fewer instances of gemination, especially  
 of the word-medial variety.<sup>1</sup>

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

5.5.2. /b/

## 5.5.2.1.

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

5.5.2.2. Initial /b/:

[b ɔ:] 'ball'; [b ɔtʔ] 'but'; etc.

5.5.2.3. In Initial Clusters:

/bl, br, bj/. Examples: /'blɛdðe(r)/ 'bladder'; /'brɔkn/ 'broken'; /'bjʏ:tɪ/ 'beauty'; etc.

5.5.2.4. Medial /b/:

[b'ʌbɪ] 'baby'; ['lɔbɪ] 'lobby'; etc. Medial /b/ between vowels is often geminated, as in /'blabbɪn/ 'blabbing, talking'; /'skrɔbbɪn/ 'scrubbing'; /'bɔbbe(r)/ 'bobber, large marble'; /'lɪ:m, jɔbbe(r)/ 'loomjobber'; etc. In the environment /m - l/, /b/ occurs in /'tʃɪmblɪ/ 'chimney'; /'gɪmblɪt/ 'gimlet', and /'sɪmblɪn/ 'Simnel'. A double consonant [b̥d̥] may be heard in /'no:bdɪ/ 'nobody' and /'sɔmbdɪ/ 'somebody'. Note also: /'wɪmbɪrɪ/ 'bilberry'; /bap'taɪz/ 'baptise'.

5.5.2.5. Final /b/:

(a) [b̥ʔ]: The distribution is as for final [p̥ʔ],<sup>1</sup> except that /b/ may be released, if only rather

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1. Cf. section 5.5.1.5(b).

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

- (b) [p̥], [p<sup>h</sup>]: The former is the more common. Examples: ['dɒnɒp<sup>h</sup>] 'doorknob'; [b'ɒp̥, b'ɒp<sup>h</sup>] 'Bob'; etc. A trace of preglottalisation may be discerned on some occasions.
- (c) [b], [ɸ]: Regular variants.
- (d) [b<sup>ə</sup>]: Sometimes a variant with a parasitic schwa is encountered, in which case the final /b/ is fully voiced. Examples: [p'ɒb<sup>ə</sup> |] 'pub'; [t'ɒb<sup>ə</sup> ||] 'tub'. Again, a trace of preglottalisation may well be discerned, e.g. [dʒɔ<sup>2</sup>p<sup>ə</sup> |] 'job'.
- (e) Geminates: Final /b/ is geminated in the same environments as final /p/.<sup>1</sup>

#### 5.5.2.6. In Final Clusters:

/bd, bz, lb, lbz/. Examples: /bɒlbz/ 'bulbs'; /rɒbd/ 'rubbed'; /nɛbz/ 'nebs, peaks of caps'; etc.

#### 5.5.2.7. Comparative Distribution:

Dialect /b/ corresponds widely to RP /b/.<sup>2</sup> Note, however, the presence of /b/ in dialect /'tʃɪmblɪ/ 'chimney'; /'gɪmblɪt/ 'gimlet'; /'sɪmblɪn/ 'Simnel'; /bæb'taɪz/ 'baptise'; /'bæptɪst/ 'Baptist'; /'bæptɪzəm/ 'baptism'; /'wɪmbəri/ 'bilberry'. Dialect /b/ corresponds to RP /p/ in /,lɒb'saɪdɪd/ 'lop-sided'.

#### 5.5.2.8. Modification:

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

1. See section 5.5.1.5(c).

2. Cf., however, the occurrences of dialect /p/ corresponding to RP /b/ in section 5.5.1.7.

less frequent. The form /'wɪmbri/ 'bilberry' is retained in modified speech, and probably also /,lɒb'saɪdɪd/ 'lop-sided'.

## 5.5.3.

/t/

## 5.5.3.1.

/t/ is a fortis alveolar plosive, which occurs initially, medially and finally within the word. It is not articulated with the very tip of the tongue, but with the blade. This observation applies to the other alveolar consonants as well (i.e. /d, s, z, n, l/).<sup>1</sup> The articulation of /t/ with the blade of the tongue often results in slight affrication, [t<sup>s</sup>], although the [s] is faintly reminiscent of [θ]. /t/ may be aspirated ([t<sup>h</sup>]) initially, medially and finally, but not in the combination /st/. The position of the lips is conditioned especially by a following vowel or semi-vowel.

The distribution of /t/, if viewed comparatively, is restricted due to the use of /sθr/, /θr/, and unaccented /(t)θe(r)/ and /θɪk/ in the dialect, where RP, and many other varieties of English, use /str/, /tr/, /tə(r)/ and /tɪk/ respectively.<sup>2</sup> The possibility of treating /tr/ as a unit phoneme does not arise in the dialect, which has the combination /θ + r/, the latter element being realised as [ɹ] or [r].

/t/ was transcribed in a few words which normally have /p, k/:

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



/ki:ts/ 'keeps'; /ki:t 'ʃovɪn/ 'keep shoving';  
/nɛt ðɛm/ 'neck-them'; etc.

This type of assimilation is not common in the dialect.

#### 5.5.3.2. Initial /t/:

The main initial variant is [t']; [t<sup>h</sup>] and [t<sup>s</sup>] also occur; aspiration is less marked if the first syllable does not carry the main word-stress.

Examples: /'tɛɪtʃə(r)/ 'teacher'; /tɛn/ 'ten';  
/tak/ 'take'; /ti:m/ 'team; teem, pour'; etc.

#### 5.5.3.3. In Initial Clusters:

/t/ occurs in the initial clusters /tɪ, st, tw/.

RP /tr, str/ correspond to dialect /θr, sθr/.<sup>1</sup>

/tj/ is rare, being usually /tʃ/.<sup>2</sup> /t/ is

unaspirated after /s/. Examples: /twang/ 'accent,  
way of speaking'; /ste:/ 'stay'; /tɫvɛz/ 'clothes';  
etc.

/tɪ/ alternates with /kɪ/ quite freely:<sup>3</sup> /'tɪlə(r),  
klɪə(r)/ 'clear'; /'tɪɫfn, 'klɪfn/ 'Clifton';

/tɫvɛz, klvɛz/ 'clothes'; etc.

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

#### 5.5.3.4. Medial /t/:

/t/ occurs medially between vowels, and in the environment of consonants. /t/ is often geminated between vowels, and it is not audibly released before a consonant, e.g. ['sɛtʔdɪ] 'Saturday'. [tʔ] may serve as a glottalic element before the fortis medial consonants /θ, tʃ, s/, which may be strongly preglottalised, e.g. ['ɛɫtʔsɛ] 'Elsie'. Examples:  
/'sɛtdɪ/ 'Saturday'; /'dɛttɪ/ 'dirty'; /'ɛɫtsɪ/  
'Elsie'; /'kre:(t)θe(r)/ 'creature'; /'θɛtti:n/

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1. Cf. section 5.5.11.3 below. Correspondingly, dialect /θr/ is equivalent to RP /dr/ - cf. section 5.5.12.3 below.  
2. Cf. sections 5.5.22.3(d) and 5.5.7.7(a).  
3. Cf. section 5.5.5.3. Similarly, initial /dl/ and /gl/ are in free variation - cf. sections 5.5.6.3. and 5.5.4.3.

'thirteen'; /'vɛttɪn/ 'vetting = acting in the capacity of a vet'; /'θɛttɪ/ 'thirty'; /'fɔttɪ, 'fɔə(r)ttɪ/ 'forty'; /'ɛttɪn/ 'hurting'; /'pɪttʃɛz/ 'pictures'; /ɛɪt'ti:n/ 'eighteen'; /'battɪn/ 'hitting'; /'attʃɛli/ 'actually'; /'fantsɪ/ 'fancy'; /'njɪ:ttʃrɒl/ 'neutral'; etc.

Note also: [ɛ:<sup>2</sup>'atʃt'ə] 'how art thou?'

Medial /tɪ/ and /kɪ/ are in free variation.<sup>1</sup> Examples: /'ratɪf, 'rakɪf/ 'Radcliffe'; /'pɪttɪn, 'pɪkɪn/ 'pickling'; /'dʒɛntɪ, 'dʒɛnkɪ/ 'gently'; etc.

This corresponds to the occurrence of /dɪ/ and /gɪ/ in free variation medially,<sup>2</sup> and to the free variation between /tɪ/ and /kɪ/, and between /dɪ/ and /gɪ/ word-finally.<sup>3</sup>

RP medial /tr, str/ correspond to dialect /θr, sθr/, and RP unaccented /tə(r)/ and /tɪk/ correspond to dialect /((t)θə(r)/ and /θɪk/ respectively.<sup>4</sup>

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

Final /t/ is also prone to elision.<sup>5</sup>

1. Cf. section 5.5.5.4.

2. Cf. sections 5.5.4.4. and 5.5.6.4.

3. Cf. sections 5.5.3.6. and 5.5.5.6, and 5.5.4.6. and 5.5.6.6. Melchers (1972: 69f), in her study of Yorkshire dialects, refers to realisations of /kɪ/ as /tɪ/ as "assimilation". Note, however, that in the dialect of Farnworth and district, /kɪ/ and /tɪ/ on the one hand, and /dɪ/ and /gɪ/ on the other, are completely interchangeable. Thus, not only may RP /kɪ/ be realised as /tɪ/, and RP /gɪ/ as /dɪ/, but also RP /tɪ/ may be realised as /kɪ/, and /dɪ/ as /gɪ/, medially and finally. Melchers' observation that the combination /tɪ/ (initial) is difficult to pronounce, strikes me as rather implausible. When one is accustomed to pronounce initial /tɪ/ and /dɪ/ from birth, there is not the remotest difficulty - even if these combinations are rare in the languages of the world!

4. Cf. section 5.5.11.4. Similarly, dialect medial /ðr/ and /((d)ðə(r)/ correspond to RP /dr/ and /də(r)/ respectively - cf. section 5.5.12.4.

5. Cf. subsections 5 and 6 below. Medial and final /d/ are similarly prone to elision.

[t'] and [t<sup>s</sup>], and to a lesser extent [t<sup>h</sup>] and [t] all occur medially. [tʔ] occurs before consonants in a following syllable. An additional important allophone is the voiced flap [ɾ],<sup>1</sup> which occurs intervocalically in free variation with variants such as [t'], and - in some words - in free variation with /r/ too.<sup>2</sup> [ɾ] bears a phonetic resemblance to /d/, and to a single flapped [r].<sup>3</sup> /t/ is optionally realised as [ɾ] between vowels:

/'prɪtɪ/ 'pretty; fairly'; /'gɛtɪn/  
'getting'; /'we:tɪn/ 'waiting'; etc.

[ɾ] may occur after /r/, e.g. ['θɜ:ɹɪtɪ] 'thirty', and sometimes after /n/, e.g. ['sɛnɾə] 'centre'. Gimson refers to the use of [ɾ] as being in "weakly accented" positions;<sup>4</sup> note, however, [ˌp'eɪtɾeɪtə] 'potato'.

[ʔ]: Medial /t/ can be realised as [ʔ], but the phenomenon is relatively rare. It is not at all typical of the dialect, as of some others, although younger people use [ʔ] medially between vowels more than their elders. Two instances from an older speaker are: ['no:ʔɪs] 'notice' and ['gɛʔɪn] 'getting'.

#### 5.5.3.5. Final /t/:

/fɜ:ɪt/ 'fold'; /dɛt/ 'dirt'; /læt/ 'lath'; /dʒɛt/  
'jerk'; /skræt/ 'scratch'; /fɛt/ 'fetch, fetched';  
/sɪt/ 'such' (more often /stɪʃ/); and - with the

- 
1. Cf. Sivertsen (1960: 109ff).
  2. See section 5.5.21.4. The restriction "in some words" refers to the distribution of /r/, not [ɾ].
  3. Cf. Gimson (1974: 163), O'Connor (1973: 131). The former describes [ɾ] as lenis, the latter as being fortis, although voiced. The resemblance to /r/ is interesting in view of the dialect's use of /r/ both medially and finally in free variation with [ɾ] in some words.
  4. Gimson (1974: 163).

/r/ not pronounced - /'bɔgə(r)t/ 'buggered';  
 /'mɔsθə(r)t/ 'mustard'; /'ɒndə(r)t/ 'hundred';  
 /'bake(r)t/ 'backward'; /'mæθə(r)t/ 'mattered';  
 /'kɒbə(r)t/ 'cupboard'; etc. etc.

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

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

Final /t/ is in free variation with /r/ in some common words, e.g. /am nɔr 'avɪn ɪt/ 'I am not having it'.<sup>2</sup> In such cases, before a word beginning with a vowel, /t/ may be realised as [ɹ̥]:

[ðäɹ̥ ʒʌtʔ] 'that anything'

[wɔɹ̥ ɪz ɪt] 'what is it?'

[p'ʌɹ̥ ɪɹ̥ ə'gɛn] 'put it again (= next to)'

etc.

Although /r/ is only in free variation with /t/ at the end of some words, [ɹ̥] may occur as the realisation of /t/ word-finally whenever the next word begins with a vowel.<sup>3</sup>

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

Final /t/ - when audibly released - may be realised as [t], [t̪] and [tʰ]. Some aspiration is customary,

1. Cf. the assimilation of final /d/ to /b, g/ - section 5.5.4.5.

2. Cf. section 5.5.21.5. for details.

3. Note the restrictions on medial /r/ in free variation with medial /t/ - section 5.5.21.4, and the unrestricted optional use of [ɹ̥] medially between vowels.

although affricated variants also occur. Glottal constriction is often noticeable: [ʔt', ʔtʰ]. Occasionally the release is ejective, [tʰ], e.g. [ni.i't'] 'night'. Before a consonant, and sometimes before a pause, or occasionally a vowel, /t/ is not audibly released, [tʔ]. Final unreleased /t/ has a dental articulation before a word beginning with /θ/ or /ð/. Final /t/ is geminated before /t, d/, and quite often before a hesitation or a word beginning with a vowel, e.g. [detʔ't'ə'we:] 'dirt away'. Final /t/ is occasionally realised as a pure glottal stop [ʔ] before a word beginning with a vowel, e.g. [ɹi.ʔ ə'nɒf] 'right enough'. However, this is not a regular feature of the dialect, and seems to have greater currency amongst younger people.<sup>1</sup> Occasionally, a trace of a "parasitic schwa" accompanies the release of final /t/, although parasitic schwa is more obviously associated with the release of voiced consonants. Example: ['bʌktʰʊ] 'bucket'.

/t/ may result from /d/ under three clearly definable grammatical conditions. Firstly, the preposition to:  
 [wɛʤ ɹtʰ stɒp'] 'we had to stop'  
 [wɛʤ ɹtʰ wɔ:k ɪtʰ] 'we had to walk it'

Secondly, the definite article:  
 [sɪ:tʰ θo:ʊ] 'seed (= saw) the hole'.

Thirdly, modal or auxiliary verbs in the second person singular interrogative:  
 [k'ɔʔt'] 'could thou?'

Forms with [dʔ] are also possible in the first and second cases, more particularly if the following word begins with a voiced consonant.

Final /t/ is in free variation with /d/ in  
 /'kærɪt/ 'carried' and /'berɪt/ 'buried'.

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1. Admittedly, the line between [ʔ] and [tʰ] can be hard to draw, and there are a good few cases of [tʰ] before a word beginning with a vowel in the transcriptions.

5.5.3.6. In Final Clusters:

/t/ occurs in the final clusters: /pt, tθ, kt, nt, lt, ft, θt, st, ʃt, pts, pst, tθs, dst, kts, kst, mpt, ntθ, nts, ntʃt, nst, nkt, lpt, lkt, ltʃt, fts, spt, sts, skt/

Of these, /pts/ is usually realised as /ps/, /kts/ as /ks/ and /fts/ as /fs/; /sts/ may be realised as [s:] or /sɪz/.<sup>1</sup> Examples: /kɒpt/ 'copped, caught'; /eɪtθ/ 'eighth'; /lɪkt/ 'licked; beat'; /bænt/ 'energy'; /bælt/ 'belt'; /lɪft/ 'lift'; /bæ:θt/ 'bathed'; /mɪst/ 'missed; mist'; /fɪ:ʃt/ 'fished'; /θre:pst/ 'traipsed'; /eɪtθs/ 'eighths'; /mɪdst/ 'midst'; /mɪkst/ 'mixed'; /prɒmpt/ 'prompt'; /tɛntθ/ 'tenth'; /tɛnts/ 'tents, guards (of a dog)'; /pɪntʃt/ 'pinched, stole'; /wɒnst/ 'once'; /θɒnkt/ 'thought (joc.)'; /ɛlpt/ 'helped'; /mɪlkt/ 'milked'; /bɛltʃt/ 'belched'; /raspt/ 'rasped'; /wɪskt/ 'whisked'; etc.

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

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

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

Final /tl/ and /kl/ are in free variation: /'bɒtl, 'bɒkl/ 'bottle', /'pɪtl, 'pɪkl/ 'pickle'; etc.<sup>4</sup>

/t/ appears as [t̪] before /θ/ in /eɪtθ/ 'eighth'.

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

1. See section 5.5.13.6. for further details.

2. Cf. section 5.5.4.6. for the nasal release of /d/.

3. Cf. section 5.5.4.6. for the lateral release of /d/. The realisation of /t/ as [t̪] before [l̩] may be heard sometimes from younger speakers.

4. Cf. section 5.5.5.6; there is a parallel case of free variation between /dl/ and /gl/: cf. sections 5.5.4.6. and 5.5.6.6.

/t/ is not audibly released before other consonants in final clusters, e.g. [ɪtʰs] 'it's'. It often serves as the glottalic element in final clusters.<sup>1</sup> Examples: /ɛ:nts/ 'ounce'; /twɛlt(f)θs/ 'twelfths'; /bɛ:nts/ 'bounce'; /ɛlts/ 'else'; /altθ/ 'health'; etc.

/t/ is used in final clusters with both positive and negative forms of the second person singular interrogative of modal or auxiliary verbs: [k'änʔt'] 'can thou?'; [k'ætʔnt'] 'can't thou?'; ['wɛtʔnt'] 'weren't thou?'; etc. /t/ may also result from a final /d/ in clusters due to the influence of the definite article or the preposition to: [ʃɛ:nd] 'round', cf. [ʃɛ:ntʔ] 'round the; round to'. In such cases [dʔ] might occur instead of [tʔ] if the next word begins with a voiced consonant.<sup>2</sup>

/t/ occurs in final clusters after /n, l, ɐ(r) and m/,<sup>3</sup> where many other varieties of English have /d/. The forms in question are often preterites or past participles, but by no means always so,<sup>4</sup> nor are they always monosyllabic.<sup>5</sup> Examples: /'ɛɪ(j)ɐ(r)nt/ 'ironed'; /'wɒndɐ(r)t/ 'wondered'; /tliɐ(r)t/ 'cleared'; /'kɒbɐ(r)t/ 'cupboard'; /fiɐ(r)t/ 'feared, afraid'; /riɐ(r)t/ 'reared'; /smɛɐ(r)t/ 'smeared'; /tʃiɐ(r)t/ 'cheered'; /ɔnt/ 'hand'; /fɪlt/ 'filled'; /kɪlt/ 'killed'; /tʃaɪlt/ 'child'; /'bɒgɐ(r)t/ 'buggered'; /'mɒsθɐ(r)t/ 'mustard'; /ɒndɐ(r)t/ 'hundred'; /'θɛ:z(ɐ)nt/ 'thousand'; /blaɪnt/ 'blind'; /bɪ'(j)aɪnt/ 'behind'; /'mɪzlt/ 'mizzled'; /fiɛlt/ 'field'; /ti:mt/ 'teemed, poured'; /'apmt/ 'happened'; /niɛlt/ 'knelt'; /ʃo:mt/ '(a)shamed'; /tlaɪmt/ 'climbed'; /'ratlt/ 'rattled'; /'fri:tnt/ 'frightened'; etc.

1. Cf. subsection 4 above for the same use of /t/ in medial clusters.

2. Cf. subsection 5 above.

3. Wright, J. (1905: 7, 233) only states "after l, n, r".

4. Cf. Hargreaves (1904: 69), Wright, J. (1905: 233).

5. Wright, J. (1905: 7) emphasises such occurrences in monosyllables, but p. 233 (section 303) gives t as a reflex of ME d in words of more than one syllable.

Further interesting occurrences of /t/ in final clusters: /r:ʃt/ 'hush!'; /krɔkt/ 'crooked'; /wɔnst/ 'once'; /mɛ:nt/ 'must not'; and, in free variation with /dnt/: /wɔnt/ 'wouldn't'; /kɔnt/ 'couldn't'; /ʃɔnt/ 'shouldn't'.

/t/ is often elided in final clusters.<sup>1</sup> Examples: /'ɔ:fn/ 'often'; /ʃæ:fs/ 'shafts'; /'ɪnne/ 'isn't her (she)?'; /'wɛ:ni:/ 'weren't (wasn't) he?'; /dɔs 'wane/ 'does thou want to?'; /fɛt las ɛm/ 'for to last them'; /e:f pas foə/ 'half past four'; /sɔf mɪk/ 'soft Mick'; /læ:s ni:t/ 'last night'; /ðɛ 'kɔdn ɛk'spɛkt ɪt/ 'thou couldn't expect it'; /'e:kraf fɛr/ 'aircraft for'; /lɛf lɛgz/ 'left legs'; /ɪn fak ||/ 'in fact'; /paɪn ||/ 'pint'; etc. /t/ appears to be elided most readily after /n, f, s/.

#### 5.5.3.7. Comparative Distribution:

- (a) The dialect has initial /sθr, θr/ and medial /sθr, θr, (t)θɛ(r), θɪk/ in correspondence with RP /str, tr, tɜ(r), tɪk/. There is therefore no possibility of a unit phoneme /tr/ in the dialect.
- (b) Dialect /tʃ/ corresponds to the RP initial cluster /tj/.
- (c) /tl/ and /kl/, which are in free variation in the dialect, correspond initially to RP /kl/.
- (d) /tl/ and /kl/ are in free variation in the dialect medially and finally, and correspond to both RP /tl/ and /kl/.
- (e) /t/ features as a glottalic element in medial and final clusters on a more extensive basis than it does in RP.

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1. Cf. subsection 5 above; sections 5.5.4.5. and 6; and Gimson (1974: 294-9).



- (f) Some cases of the elision of /t/ medially, finally, and in final clusters, are more typical of the dialect than they are of RP. Examples: /'plɛnɪ/ 'plenty'; /'wʌnɪd/ 'wanted'; /'lɛmɪ/ 'let me'; etc.
- (g) The distribution of allophones is different in the dialect. Note especially: the more extensive use of [ɟ] in the dialect, and its occurrence in free variation with /r/ in some contexts; the use of geminated variants; the existence of a final ejective variant; the use of [tʔ]; the use of [t', t<sup>h</sup>] medially and finally.
- (h) Dialect /t/ corresponds to RP /d/ finally, or in final clusters after /l, m, n, ɔ(r)/. The total number of words involved is considerable.<sup>1</sup>
- (i) Dialect /t/ results from /d/ finally and in final clusters under grammatically defined conditions. The grammatical features involved are the definite article, the preposition to, and thou in certain interrogative forms.
- (j) Dialect /t/ corresponds to RP /tʃ/ in /skrat/ 'scratch'; /fɔt/ 'fetch'; /sɪt/ 'such'.
- (k) Dialect /t/ occurs in: /lat/ 'lath'; /dʒet/ 'jerk'; /bæ:θt/ 'bathed'; /krɔkt/ 'crooked'; /wɔnst/ 'once'; /r:ʃt/ 'hush'; /,pɔlɪ'(j)ant/ 'polyanthus'.
- (l) /t/ does not occur in /'brɛkfɔs/ 'breakfast'.

#### 5.5.3.8. Modification:

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

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1. See subsections 5 and 6 above for examples.

occasionally sounds slightly retracted - but this is not a regular feature.

With reference to subsection 7:

Section (a) /θ/ → /t/.

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

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

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

Section (e) As in the dialect.

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

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

Section (h) /t/ → /d/.

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

Section (j) /t/ → /tʃ/.

Section (k) The forms /lat/, /ˌpɔliˈ(j)ant/, /dʒet/, /baθt/ (the last with a shortened vowel) are retained.

/krɔkt/ may become /ˈkrɪ:kɪd/.

/wɔnst/ → /wɔns/.

/rɪʃt/ → /ɔʃt/, or /ɔʃ/.

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

## 5.5.4.

/d/

## 5.5.4.1.

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

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

5.5.4.2. Initial /d/:

/dɔg/ 'dog'; /dɒn/ 'press, urge (a person); /dant/ 'a kind of coal dust'; etc.

5.5.4.3. In Initial Clusters:

/d/ does not feature very strongly in initial clusters. /dw/ is used, but only in a few words, e.g. /'dwɪndl/ 'dwindle'. /dj/ is rare, the dialect usually having /dʒ/.<sup>2</sup> RP /dr/ corresponds to /ðr/ in the dialect.

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1. Cf. section 5.5.3.1.

2. Cf. section 5.5.8.7(a). Similarly /tj/ is rare - cf. section 5.5.3.7(b).

/dl/, however, may be used in the dialect in free variation with /gl/, e.g. /dlas, glas/ 'glass'. This parallels the occurrence of /tl/ and /kl/ in free variation.<sup>1</sup> /d/ in the combination /dl/ is laterally released.

#### 5.5.4.4. Medial /d/:

/d/ occurs medially between vowels, and in the environment of consonants. It is sometimes geminated, and is not audibly released before a following consonant - nor, generally speaking, before a following semi-vowel in the next syllable. Examples: /'fraɪddɪ/ 'Friday'; /'kɒddɪn/ 'pretending, hoaxing, deliberately misleading'; /'blɛdðe(r)/, /'bladðe(r)/ 'bladder' (cf. for some speakers /'blaðe(r)/, /'blɛðe(r)/ 'blather, blether'); /'ladðe(r)/ 'ladder' (cf. /'laðe(r)/ 'lather'); /'bandɪn/ 'string'; /'mɪdlɪn/ in the expression fair to middlin 'moderately well'; /'sɑdnɪs/ 'sadness'; etc.

/dl/ and /gl/ are in free variation: /'mɪdlɪn/, /'mɪglɪn/ 'middlin'; /'wɪdlɪn/, /'wɪglɪn/ 'wiggling'; etc.<sup>2</sup> The same variation occurs in final clusters too.<sup>3</sup>

Dialect /ðr/ and /((d)ðe(r)/ correspond to /dr/ and /dɛ(r)/ respectively in RP and many other accents.<sup>4</sup>

Medial /d/ is prone to elision, as is medial /t/,<sup>5</sup> especially after /n/ (as also in final clusters).<sup>6</sup>

Examples: /'ɛnlɪs/ 'endless'; /'grɒn,fe:ðe(r)/ 'grandfather'; /'lanlɔe(r)d/ 'landlord'; /'waɪnɪn/

1. Cf. sections 5.5.3.3. and 5.5.5.3.

2. Cf. the medial free variation between /tl, kl/ - sections 5.5.3.4. and 5.5.5.4.

3. Cf. subsection 6 below.

4. Cf. the use of the voiceless dental fricative in correspondence to /t/ in RP and many other accents - sections 5.5.3.4 and 5.5.11.4.

5. Cf. section 5.5.3.4.

6. See subsection 6 below.

'winding'; /'frɛnlɪ/ 'friendly'; /'pɛnɛltɪn/  
 'Pendleton'; /'wɒnə(r)d/ 'wondered';  
 /'lɑːnrɔːvə(r)/ 'Landrover'; /'θɒnərɪŋ/ 'thundering';  
 /,ɒnə(r)'stɒn/ 'understand'; etc; and - before /n/ -  
 /'ɔː(r)nərɪ/ 'ordinary'; /dɪnt/ 'didn't'; /ʃɒnt/  
 'shouldn't'; etc. /'tɪlzli/ 'Tyldesley'.

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

Preglottalisation of medial /dʒ, ð/ takes the form  
 of [dʒ̥] in words such as /'fɪdʒɪt/ 'fidget';  
 /'bɒdʒə(r)/ 'badger'; /'mɪdʒɪt/ 'midget';  
 /'ʃɔːdʒə(r)/ 'shoulder'; /'pɔːdʒə(r)/ 'powder'; etc.

#### 5.5.4.5. Final /d/:

/siːd/ 'saw'; /bɪ'kɔːd, e'kɔːd/ 'because'; /soːd/  
 'so that'; /dɪd/ 'did'; etc.

If /r/ is not pronounced, /d/ may occur finally in  
 words such as /'ɔːkəd/ 'awkward', but such use of /d/ is  
 considerably restricted in the traditional vernacular of the  
 Farnworth area due to the occurrence of final /e(r)t/, e.g.  
 /'ɔːkə(r)t/ 'awkward'.<sup>1</sup>

Final /d/ may assimilate to /b/ or /g/ before /p, b, m/  
 or /k, g/ respectively,<sup>2</sup> and is geminated before a homorganic  
 consonant at the beginning of the next word, and sometimes  
 before a vowel or hesitation. Before /θ, ð/, the suspended  
 /d/ has a dental articulation. /d/ is not audibly released  
 before a following consonant, nor - generally speaking - before

1. See subsections 5 and 6 of section 5.5.3. for further  
 examples.

2. Likewise final /t/, section 5.5.3.5.

a following semi-vowel. Sometimes there is no audible release before a pause. Otherwise, when released, final /d/ is usually devoiced, and a very slight delay in the release is sometimes suggestive of a trace of glottal constriction. Final /d/ is fully voiced when the release is accompanied by a parasitic schwa: ['ɛn.ʝo:d<sup>ə</sup>] 'anyroad, anyhow'; [jɛd<sup>hə</sup>] 'head'. The release of a final /d/ may be accompanied by a degree of aspiration or affrication.

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

#### 5.5.4.6. In Final Clusters:

/d/ occurs in the final clusters: /bd, dz, gd, dʒd, md, nd, ld, vd, ɔd, zd, ngd, dst, ndz, ndʒd, nzd, ldz, ldʒd, lmd, lvd/. Of these, /md, nd, ld/ are restricted because of the tendency to use /mt, nt, lt/ respectively.<sup>2</sup> Furthermore, in the case of /ld/, the dialect does not always have the /l/ which would be present in many other accents of English: /bɜvd/ 'bold'; /fɜvt/ 'Fold'; etc.

Examples: /rɔbd/ 'rubbed'; /sɔdz/ 'suds'; /bagd/ 'bagged'; /dʒɔdʒd/ 'judged'; /ti:md/ 'teemed, poured'; /i:nd/ 'end'; /swɪld/ 'swilled'; /lovd/ 'loved'; /sɜ:ðd/ 'soothed'; /plɛzd/ 'pleased'; /bangd/ 'banged'; /mɪdst/ 'midst'; /i:ndz/ 'ends'; /ɪndʒd/

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1. See section 5.5.3.5. for details.

2. See section 5.5.3.6. for examples.

'hinged'; /tʌnzd/ 'cleansed'; /fɪəldz/ 'fields';  
/bɒldʒd/ 'bulged'; /fɪlmd/ 'filmed'; /sɒlvd/  
'solved'; etc.

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

Final /dn/ occurs widely, and the /d/ is nasally released [d̥n̩], except in the words /'gæ:(r)dɪn/ 'garden' and /'mɪdɪn/ 'midden', and /'be(r)ndɪn, 'be:(r)nden/ 'Burnden'. In the combination /dl/, the /d/ is laterally released, [d̥l̩].

Final /dl/ and /gl/ are in free variation:<sup>1</sup> /'snɒdl, 'snɒgl/ 'snuggle'; /sprɛd 'i:dl/ 'Spread Eagle'; /'rɪglz/ 'riddles'; etc.

/d/ can occasionally appear in final clusters when there is glottal constriction, e.g. [mɪl̥<sup>d</sup>z] 'mills'.<sup>2</sup>

/d/ in final clusters may be devoiced, or may become /t/ under the influence of the preposition to, the definite article, and the second person singular interrogative of modal or auxiliary verbs.<sup>3</sup>

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

/d/, like /t/, is often elided in final clusters.<sup>4</sup>  
Examples: /stɒn t/ 'stand in the'; /ɜɪnz/ 'hounds'; /'θɛ:zɛnz/ 'thousands'; /wɒnt/ 'wouldn't'; /dɪnt/ 'didn't'; /kɒnt/ 'couldn't'; /fɪəlz/ 'fields'; etc.  
Again, a preceding /n/ appears to be the most influential factor in the environment.

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

5.5.4.7. Comparative Distribution:

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

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

(c) /dl/ and /gl/, which are in free variation in the dialect, correspond word-initially to RP /gl/.

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

(e) Some instances of the elision of /d/ medially and in final clusters are more typical of the dialect than of RP. Examples: /'θəne(r)/ 'thunder'; /stən ɪt/ 'stand in the'; etc.

(f) The traditional dialect often has /t/ in final clusters after /m, n, l, e(r)/ in correspondence to RP /d/.

(g) /d/ finally, or in final clusters, is subject to devoicing, or may become /t/ under the influence of the definite article, the preposition to, or the second person singular interrogative of modal or auxiliary verbs.

(h) Dialect /d/ occurs in: /bɪ'kɔ:d, e'kɔ:d/ 'because'; /so:d/ 'so that', and in various preterites and past participles which are weak: /si:d/ 'saw, seen'; /gro:d/ 'grew, grown'; etc.

(i) /d/ is not present in the preterites and past participles: /bɒn/ 'bound'; /fɒn/ 'found'; /wɒn/ 'wound', nor in /baɪgɔv/ 'by God!'.



5.5.4.8. Modification:

Phonetically /d/ remains the same, apart from a reduction in the number of medial geminates.

With reference to subsection 7:

Section (a) /ðr/ → /dr/; /(d)ðe(r)/ → /de(r)/.

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

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

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

Section (e) /d/ is added to forms such as /'θʌne(r)/ 'thunder'; /'wʌne(r)/ 'wonder'; etc. However, in some other forms /d/ remains prone to elision, as in RP.

Section (f) /t/ → /d/.

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

Section (h) /d/ → /z/ in because and so that.  
/d/ may be retained in some weak past forms.

Section (i) /ɔn/ → /ɛ:nd/ (= still broad)  
→ /ɜvnd/ (= modified).

5.5.5. /k/

## 5.5.5.1.

/k/ is a fortis velar plosive which occurs initially, medially and finally within the word.

5.5.5.2. Initial /k/:

The lip position is influenced by the following vowel. Also, there are front, central and back variants of /k/ which are determined by the front, central and back

positions respectively of the following vowels. Of these variants, the back variant is rather distinctive, and I have quite often been induced to transcribe a uvular stop [q] before /o/ and - to a lesser extent - /o:/. The variant [q] has a parallel variant [G] under the phoneme /g/,<sup>1</sup> but the fortis uvular stop is the more common of the two. Accented initial /k/ is aspirated, [k<sup>h</sup>] and sometimes [k<sup>h</sup>]. [q] is not noticeably aspirated. Examples:

[ḳiːp<sup>h</sup>] 'keep'; [k<sup>h</sup>ɛ<sup>2</sup>k<sup>h</sup>] 'keck = turn up (of a cart)'; [k<sup>h</sup>o:mz] 'combs'; [qʌm] 'come'; [qʌt] 'cut'; [qo:t] 'cote'; etc.

Initial /k/ is only slightly aspirated in a word such as construction, as the main word stress does not fall on the first syllable.

### 5.5.5.3. In Initial Clusters:

The lip position is determined by a following vowel or semi-vowel. /k/ may be front before /l/, and the clusters /tl/ and /kl/ are in free variation.<sup>2</sup> There is a parallel case of free variation between /gl/ and /dl/.<sup>3</sup> /k/ is relatively unaspirated when it follows /s/. /k/ occurs in the initial clusters /kl, kr, kj, kw, sk, skr, skj, skw/. For /skl/, see section 5.5.19.3. Examples:

/klɛm/ 'die of hunger'; /kri:p/ 'creep'; /kʃy:t/ 'cute'; /kwɛ:(r)/ 'queer'; /skraɪk/ 'weep'; /'skʃy:we(r)/ 'skewer'; /skwɛɪʃ/ 'squash'; etc.

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1. Cf. section 5.5.6.1, 2.
  2. Cf. section 5.5.4.3.
  3. Cf. sections 5.5.6.3. and 5.5.4.3.

5.5.5.4. Medial /k/:

Previous observations concerning the lip position, aspiration, front-back articulation, and /k/ in clusters apply to medial /k/ too. Medial /k/ between vowels is often geminated. /k/ is not audibly released, [k̚], before a syllable commencing with a consonant. Examples:

/'wɛkkɪn/ 'working'; /'wɪkkɛnd/ 'week-end';  
 /'lɒkkɪ/ 'lucky'; /'sɛkkəl/ 'circle'; /'tɛkkɪ/  
 'turkey'; /'skraɪkɪn/ 'crying'; /'θɪnkɪn/ thinking;  
 /'bɒlkɪ/ 'bulky'; ['lɔ:qʌtɪz] 'locals'; etc.

Example of /tɪ, kɪ/ in free variation: /'rɑtɪf, 'rɑkɪf/ 'Radcliffe'. The variation between /kɪ/ and /tɪ/ in final clusters, below, may also be construed as occurring "medially" in a sense, in that /e/, /o/ may be interposed between /k/ and /l/; more obviously medial occurrences of /kɪ/ in free variation with /tɪ/ are: /'mɑnkɪ.pɪ:s/ 'mantlepiece'; /'dʒɛnk(e)ɪ/ 'gently'; /'pɪtɪlɪn/ 'pickling'; etc.

5.5.5.5. Final /k/:

/kɛk/ 'turn up (of a cart)'; /skraɪk/ 'weep';  
 /bɔ:k/ 'baulk'; etc.

Variants:

- (a) [k̚]: before a word beginning with a consonant, including the semi-vowels. A common variant, with no audible release. It may also occur before a pause, or even - occasionally - a vowel.

- (b) [ $\widehat{k^x}$ ],[X]: Some speakers use more affricated or fricative variants than others. They are, however, not a strong feature of the dialect. Examples: [wɔ:k<sup>x</sup>] 'walk'; [<sup>t</sup>θɔ:k<sup>x</sup>] 'track'; [la:ɜ<sup>x</sup>] 'like'; [la:ɜX] 'like'; [ɔ:k<sup>x</sup>] 'rock'; etc.
- (c) [k]
- (d) [ $\underline{k}$ ],[q]: [q] occurs after /ɔ/, /ɔ:/, and to a lesser extent /ɔ:/, /o:/, and a following back vowel at the beginning of the next word constitutes an appropriate environment, when supplementary to the first consideration. Examples: [p'ɫɪ<sup>2</sup>k'] 'pluck'; [dɔq<sup>x</sup>] 'dock'; ['dɔqɪqun] 'dock and'; [ɫɪq 'apɪmt] 'luck happened'; etc.
- (e) [k'],[k<sup>h</sup>]: Aspiration of final plosives is common, and is occasionally heavy, e.g. [bak<sup>h</sup>] 'back'.
- (f) [ʔk']: Preglottalised and released with aspiration, or sometimes affrication. Very common variant, e.g. [ɫɪ:ʔk'] 'look'.
- (g) [k']: A genuinely ejective release of /k/ is not unusual, e.g. [wɪk'] 'week'.
- (h) Geminated: Final /k/ geminates readily before a hesitation or a word beginning with a vowel, or /k, g/, e.g. /e wɪk kə 'fraɪddɪ/ 'a week on Friday'. The phonetic form of the geminate is [kʔk'].
- (i) [ $\underset{\downarrow}{k}$ ]: Before a word beginning with a front vowel.

#### 5.5.5.6. In Final Clusters:

/k/ occurs in the final clusters: /kt, ks, nk, lk, sk, kts, kst, ksθ, nkt, nkθ, nks, lkt, lks, skt, sks/. With

regard to /nkθ/, length and strength are often pronounced with /nθ/. /kts/ is usually realised as /ks/ in running speech. /sks/ may be realised as such, or as [s:].

Examples:

/lɪkt/ 'beat'; /sɪks/ 'six'; /sɪnk/ 'sink'; /mɪlk/ 'milk'; /rɪsk/ 'risk'; /akts/ 'acts'; /akst/ 'asked'; /sɪksθ/ 'sixth'; /wɪnkt/ 'winked'; /lɛnkθ/ 'length'; /tɒnks/ 'tanks'; /mɪlkt/ 'milked'; /sɪlks/ 'silks'; /rɪskt/ 'risked'; /wɪsk/ 'whisks'; etc.

Final /tɪ/ and /kɪ/, the latter sometimes containing a vowel, are in free variation:

/'bɒkɪ/ 'bottle'; /'sɛkɪz/ 'Settles'; /'ʃɒkɪ/ 'shuttle'; /'rɒkɪ/ 'rattle'; /'lɪkɪ/ 'little'; /'fɛkɪ/ 'fettle, repair'; /'θrɒkɪ/ 'throttle'; /'ɪkɪ/ 'it will'; etc. /'atɪ/ 'hackle'; etc.

Similarly, final /dɪ/ and /gɪ/ are in free variation.<sup>1</sup>

#### 5.5.5.7. Comparative Distribution:

(a) Contrast the position of /k/ in dialect /aks/ 'ask', /akst/ 'asked'.

(b) Corresponding to RP /g/: /'alɪke(r)/ 'alegar, vinegar'.

(c) The dialect does not use /k/ in /wæ:rtʃ/ 'ache';<sup>2</sup> /'blɛgbɪ/ 'blackberry'; /'blɛgbe(r)n/ 'Blackburn'.

(d) Dialect /tɪ/ or /kɪ/ corresponds medially and finally to RP /tɪ/ and RP /kɪ/.<sup>3</sup>

1. Cf. section 5.5.6.6.

2. Cf. section 5.5.7.7(f).

3. Cf. subsections 4 and 6 above.

(e) Dialect /tɫ/ or /kɫ/ corresponds initially to RP /kɫ/.<sup>1</sup>

(f) On the distribution of allophones, note dialect [q], and the greater range of final variants.<sup>2</sup>

(g) In the dialect, length and strength more often have /nθ/ - cf. RP /ŋkθ, ŋθ, nθ/.

#### 5.5.5.8. Modification:

Use of [q] is diminished, especially if a speaker uses a more centralised form of /ɑ/. Medial geminates are less frequent. With regard to subsection 7, the free variation in the use of /tɫ, kɫ/ described in (d) and (e) is often retained; /aks/ → /ask/; /'alɪkə(r)/ is not used in modified speech, nor is /wæ:(r)tʃ/; /g/ → /k/ in blackberry and Blackburn.

#### 5.5.6. /g/

##### 5.5.6.1.

/g/ is a lenis velar plosive, which occurs initially, medially and finally within the word. /g/ is subject to initial and final devoicing. As with /k/, the lip position for /g/ is conditioned particularly by a following vowel or semi-vowel.<sup>3</sup> Similarly, a following vowel conditions the front, central or back quality of /g/,<sup>4</sup> and there is an

- 
1. Cf. subsection 3 above.
  2. Cf. subsections 2, 4 and 5 above.
  3. Cf. sections 5.5.5.2 - 4.
  4. Cf. sections 5.5.5.2. and 4.

allophone [G], which is parallel in its form and distribution to the [q] allophone of /k/,<sup>1</sup> although the latter seems to occur with greater frequency.

#### 5.5.6.2. Initial /g/:

- [g̥]: before a front vowel or /j/.<sup>2</sup>  
 [g]: before a vowel in the mid region.  
 [g],[G]: before a back vowel. Examples: [go:]  
 'go'; [Gom] 'gum'.

Examples of initial /g/:

- /'gɪnl/ 'entry, alley'; /gɔb/ 'mouth';  
 /'gɔbɪn/ 'fool'; /gɔ:p/ 'stare';  
 /'gɔ:kɪn/ 'idiot'; etc.

#### 5.5.6.3. In Initial Clusters:

/gl, gr/. /gw/ is not an initial combination in the dialect, unless resort is had to names of Welsh origin.<sup>3</sup> /gj/ is marginal.<sup>4</sup> Examples:  
 /'glɪme(r)/ 'glimmer'; /glad/ 'glad';  
 /grɛɪt/ 'great'; /gre:/ 'grey'; etc.

Initial /gl/ and /dl/ are in free variation.<sup>5</sup>  
 /g/ is realised as [g̥] in the cluster /gl/.  
 The situation is exactly parallel to that of  
 initial /kl/ and /tl/, which occur in free  
 variation.<sup>6</sup>

- 
1. Cf. sections 5.5.5.2, 4 and 6.
  2. Cf. section 5.5.22.3(e).
  3. Cf. section 5.5.20.3.
  4. Cf. section 5.5.22.3(e)
  5. Cf. section 5.5.4.3.
  6. Cf. section 5.5.5.3.

5.5.6.4. Medial /g/:

The general pattern of variants follows that given in subsections 1, 2 and 3 above. /g/ is not audibly released, i.e. [g̚] when the next syllable begins with a consonant, e.g. ['blag̚bɛ'n] 'Blackburn'. Medial /g/ may be geminated.

Examples:

/'fɪŋg(r)/ 'finger'; /'bæŋg(r)/ 'banger';  
 /,ɛg'zækli/ 'exactly'; /'ɛgzam/ 'exam';  
 /'wɔgdɪn/ 'Walkden'; /'blagbɛ(r)n/ 'Blackburn';  
 /'blagbrɪ/ 'blackberry'; /'dʒɔggɪn/ 'jogging';  
 /'sɔggɛ(r)/ 'a large, heavy person/thing (e.g. a blow)'; /'pɔggɪn/ 'raiding, stealing'; etc.

Medial /g(ɔ)l/ occurs in free variation with /dl/, as also in final clusters.<sup>1</sup> This is parallel to occurrences of /kl/ and /tl/ in free variation.<sup>2</sup> Examples:

/'pɛŋgɔl,bɛrɪ/ 'Pendlebury'; and - word-medial as far as the /g/ is concerned - /'spɪŋgɔl/ 'spindle'; /'wɪdlɪn/ 'wiggling'; etc.

5.5.6.5. Final /g/:

/dɔg/ 'dog'; /e:g/ 'hake'; /pɪg/ 'pig'; etc.

The most common final variant is [g̚] if a word is pronounced in isolation. [g̚] occurs before a word beginning with a consonant, and sometimes before a pause. Final /g/ may geminate before a hesitation, or a word beginning with a vowel or /k, g/. [g̚] may occur before a word beginning with

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1. Cf. subsection 6 below.

2. Cf. sections 5.5.5.4. and 6. above.



a front vowel. [g], or even [G], occurs after a back vowel. [g̟]: an affricated variant occurs sometimes, more so with some speakers than others. There is sometimes a perceptible slight delay in the release of final /g/: this seems to be due to a slight suggestion of glottal constriction preceding the release of the plosive. Final /g/ is also sometimes released with a rather lax kind of aspiration. Sometimes a trace of a parasitic schwa accompanies the release.

#### 5.5.6.6. In Final Clusters:

/ng, gd, gz, ngz/. Examples: /rɪŋg/ 'ring'; /gɑŋgd/ 'ganged'; /sɪŋgz/ 'sings'; /dɔgz/ 'dogs'; etc.

Final /dl/ and /gl/ are in free variation,<sup>1</sup> although /dl/ is the more common. Examples: /'bɒŋglz/ 'bundles'; /'rɪŋglz/ 'riddles'; /'ɔŋgl/ 'handle'; /'gɪdl/ 'giggle'; etc.

#### 5.5.6.7. Comparative Distribution:

(a) Dialect /ng/ corresponds to RP /ŋ/ and /ŋg/ in word-medial position in the word stock common to the two varieties.

(b) Dialect /n/<sup>2</sup> or /ng/ corresponds to RP /ŋ/ in word-final position: /sɪŋg/ 'sing'; /'sɪŋgɪŋ/ 'singing'; etc. Final dialect /n/ - chiefly in present participles - corresponds to NS /ng/ or /n/.

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1. Cf. sections 5.5.4.6. and 5.5.5.6.  
2. Cf. section 5.5.18.

(c) Initial dialect /gl/ or /dl/ corresponds to RP /gl/.<sup>1</sup>

(d) Medial and final dialect /dl/ or /gl/ corresponds to RP /dl/ and RP /gl/.<sup>2</sup>

(e) Re the distribution of allophones, note the existence of [G] and the range of final variants.<sup>3</sup>

(f) Dialect /g/ corresponds to RP /k/ in: /'wɔgdɪn/ 'Walkden'; /'blagbɛ(r)n/ 'Blackburn'; /'blagbrɪ/ 'blackberry'; /e:g/ 'hake'.

#### 5.5.6.8. Modification:

Uses of [G], and of medial geminates, are less common.

With reference to subsection 7 above,

Section (a) /ng/ is retained.

Section (b) /ng/ is retained; /n/ is retained, or  
→ /ng/.<sup>4</sup>

Sections (c), (d) The free variation between /gl/ and /dl/ is largely retained.

Section (f) /g/ → /k/.

#### 5.5.7. /tʃ/

##### 5.5.7.1.

/tʃ/ is a fortis, palato-alveolar affricate which occurs initially, medially and finally within the word. [tʃ] is occasionally encountered where /s/ would be expected, e.g.

- 
1. Cf. subsection 3 above.
  2. Cf. subsections 4 and 6 above.
  3. Cf. subsections 1, 2, 4 and 5 above.
  4. See further section 5.5.18.8.

['tʃwɛlɪn] 'swelling'. However, speakers reject such forms when confronted with them, and they would appear to be deviant - whether due to age, false teeth, or whatever, is difficult to say.<sup>1</sup>

#### 5.5.7.2. Initial /tʃ/:

/tʃok/ 'chuck, throw'; /tʃɔft/ 'chuffed, proud, pleased'; /tʃɛlp/ 'talk' (perjorative); /'tʃampjən/ 'champion, fine, marvellous'; /tʃap/ 'chap'; /'tʃare,bangz/ 'char-a-bancs'; etc.

#### 5.5.7.3. In Initial Clusters:

None.

#### 5.5.7.4. Medial /tʃ/:

Medial /tʃ/ is usually strongly preglottalised. The glottal stricture takes the form of [tʃ̠]. The release of the /tʃ/ is thus delayed, just as the release of fortis stop consonants is delayed when they are geminated in word-medial position: ['fɔːtʃ̠tʃən] 'fortune'; ['bɒtʃ̠tʃə] 'butcher'; ['æɪ̠tʃ̠tʃə] 'mý:we] 'Halshaw Moor'; ['ɪtʃ̠tʃɪz] 'itches'; ['wɪ̠tʃ̠tʃet] 'wet-shod'; ['brʌn̠tʃ̠ɪz] 'branches'; etc.

#### 5.5.7.5. Final /tʃ/:

/si:tʃ/ 'seek, look for'; /slɒtʃ/ '(slush, sludge), mud'; /wɛ:(r)tʃ/ (if /r/ is not pronounced) 'ache'; etc. Final /tʃ/ is also usually preglottalised: ['rʌd̠tʃ̠] 'radish';

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1. See further section 5.5.15.

[ˈkʰabɪ<sup>2</sup>tʃ] 'cabbage'; [ˈɹɒbɪʃtʃ] 'rubbish';  
[ˈpɔɹɪ<sup>2</sup>tʃ] 'porridge'; etc.

#### 5.5.7.6. In Final Clusters:

/r, l/ and /n/ may precede /tʃ/ in final clusters. Examples: /wæ:(r)tʃ/ (if /r/ is pronounced) 'ache'; /kɑtʃt/ 'caught'; /bɛltʃt/ 'belched'; /wɪntʃt/ 'winched'; etc. /tʃ/ in final clusters may also be preglottalised: [bɛɪ<sup>2</sup>tʃ̠] 'belch'; [wɛn:<sup>2</sup>tʃ̠] 'wench' (note the lengthening of /n/).

#### 5.5.7.7. Comparative Distribution:

- (a) /t + j/ does not normally occur in the dialect, and words such as fortune are usually pronounced with /tʃ/.
- (b) Gimson notes that "some speakers" omit the stop element in the cluster /ntʃ/.<sup>1</sup> The dialect of Farnworth and district always retains it.<sup>2</sup>
- (c) In words of French origin, which are recent loans, the dialect uses /tʃ/ rather than /ʃ/. There is a parallel phenomenon in the case of /dʒ/.<sup>3</sup> Examples: /dɜrtʃ/ 'douche'; /ˈtʃərəˌbɑŋz/ 'char-à-bancs'; /ˈtɑtʃeˌke:s/ 'attaché case'.
- (d) Corresponding to RP /ʃ/. See also the words in subsection (c). /ˈrɑdɪtʃ/ 'radish'; /ˈrɒbɪtʃ/ 'rubbish'; /ˈɑltʃɪ mɪə(r)/ 'Halshaw Moor'; and perhaps /slɒtʃ/ 'mud', cf. RP slush.

1. Cf. Gimson (1974: 176).

2. Cf., however, Hargreaves (1904: 71, section 80).

3. Cf. section 5.5.8.7(b).

- (e) Corresponding to RP /dʒ/: /'pɔːrɪtʃ/ 'porridge'; /'kæbɪtʃ/ 'cabbage'; and perhaps /slɒtʃ/ 'mud', cf. RP sludge.
- (f) Corresponding to RP /k/: /si:tʃ/ 'seek, look for'; /wɛ:(r)tʃ/ 'ache', cf. RP work.<sup>1</sup>

#### 5.5.7.8. Modification:

The phonetic quality of /tʃ/ remains the same, including its tendency to be preglottalised in medial and final positions. In section 7, the status of /tʃ/ in subsections (a), (b) and (c) remains the same; in subsections (d), (e) and (f), /tʃ/ is replaced by /ʃ/, /dʒ/, /k/, as appropriate, except in the word slutch, which remains extremely common, and in the word warche, which is not used in modified speech.

#### 5.5.8. /dʒ/

##### 5.5.8.1.

/dʒ/ is a lenis, palato-alveolar affricate, which occurs initially, medially and finally within the word. Initial and final /dʒ/ are subject to devoicing.

##### 5.5.8.2. Initial /dʒ/:

/dʒɛd/ 'dead'; /dʒeθ/ 'death'; /dʒɛf/ 'deaf';<sup>2</sup>  
/dʒɪərɪŋ/ 'during'; /'dʒɪ:tɪ/ 'duty'; /'dʒɪge(r)/

1. Cf. Hargreaves (1904: 73).

2. The forms /dɪəd/, /dɪəθ/ and /dɪəf/ are perhaps the most common. /dʒɛd/, /dʒeθ/ and /dʒɛf/ also occur.

'jigger = extra bus running between two scheduled buses'; /'dʒʌnək/ 'jannock = fair'; /'dʒɔsə(r)/ 'josses'.

### 5.5.8.3. In Initial Clusters:

None.

### 5.5.8.4. Medial /dʒ/:

Usually preceded by very slight glottal stricture, [ʔ], which would generally appear to be of a [dʒ̥]-quality: ['mɪ<sup>dʒ̥</sup>dʒɪz] 'midges'; ['bæ<sup>dʒ̥</sup>dʒɜːz] 'badgers'; etc.

Further: /'preɪs,wɪdʒɪz/ 'Prestwich's'; /'ɪndʒən/ 'engine'; /'spædʒə(r)/ 'sparrow'; /e'dʒænt/ 'against the'; etc.

### 5.5.8.5. Final /dʒ/:

/'nɔːrɪdʒ/ 'Norwich'; /be:dʒ/ 'beige'; /'kæmɔːflæ:dʒ/ 'camouflage'; /'gærɪdʒ/ 'garage'; /'mɪrɪdʒ/ 'mirage'; /'ɔːrɪdʒ/ 'Horwich'; /'ske:(r)mɪdʒ/ 'skirmish'; etc.

Final /dʒ/ may be very slightly preglottalised. The greater the degree of glottal stricture, the greater the degree of devoicing.

### 5.5.8.6. In Final Clusters:

/r, n, l/ may precede /dʒ/: /tʃæ:(r)dʒ/ 'charge', with the /r/ pronounced; /tʃe:ndʒ/ 'change'; /ɪn'dɔːldʒ/ 'indulge'; /dɪndʒd/ 'dinted, dented'; etc.

### 5.5.8.7. Comparative Distribution:

(a) Except when unstressed with a following /e/ or /o/,

e.g. /'ɪndɪ'vɪdʒəl/ 'individual', and except in /dʒɛd/, /dʒɛθ/ and /dʒɛf/,<sup>1</sup> /d + j/ is unusual in the dialect which normally has /dʒ/, e.g. /'dʒɪ:tɪ/ 'duty', more often /'dʒɪ:tɪ/.

- (b) In words of French origin, which are comparatively recent loans, /dʒ/ occurs finally. Final /ʒ/, used by some RP speakers and educated speakers, is impossible.<sup>2</sup> /'gærɪdʒ/ 'garage'; /'mɛrɪdʒ/ 'mirage'; /be:dʒ/ 'beige'; /'kæmɔːflæ:dʒ/ 'camouflage'.
- (c) Corresponding to RP /tʃ/ in some names ending in -wich: /'ɔːrɪdʒ/ 'Horwich'; /'nɔːrɪdʒ/ 'Norwich'; /'preɪs,wɪdʒɪz/ 'Prestwich's'.
- (d) Corresponding to RP /d/: /dʒɛd/ 'dead'; /dʒɛf/ 'deaf'; /dʒɛθ/ 'death'.
- (e) Note also: /'ske:(r)mɪdʒ/ 'skirmish', corresponding to RP /ʃ/; /ə'dʒɛn/ 'against', corresponding to RP /g/.

#### 5.5.8.8. Modification:

Phonetically, /dʒ/ remains the same. In subsection 7, words in subsections (c), (d) and (e) take the same phonemes as in RP. Words in subsection (b) retain /dʒ/. In respect of subsection (a), /dʒ/ remains prevalent in words such as duty, but /d + j/ can occur in modified speech.

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1. Cf. section 2 above, including the footnote.

2. Cf. section 5.5.7.7(c). Strang (1974: 29) feels that /'gærɪdʒ/ is gaining ground, and that /'gærɪdʒ/ is increasingly non-standard.

5.5.9. /f/

## 5.5.9.1.

/f/ is a fortis, labio-dental fricative which occurs initially, medially and finally within the word.

5.5.9.2. Initial /f/:

/fɛ:/ 'ugly, foul'; /fɹə(r)t/ 'afraid'; /'fɛtl, fɛkl/ 'fettle, condition (n); repair (v)';  
/fo:k/ 'folk, people'; etc.

5.5.9.3. In Initial Clusters:

/fl/, /fr/, /fj/, and perhaps /sf/. Examples:  
/flɪ:/ 'influenza'; /flagz/ 'paving stones';  
/flɒmɒkst/ 'flummoxed, bothered, worried'; /'fri:tn/  
'frighten'; /fjvəl/ 'fuel'; etc. On the possibilities  
of /sf/, see section 5.5.13.3.

5.5.9.4. Medial /f/:

/'nɛfjv:/ 'nephew'; /rɪ'fjv:z/ 'refuse'; /'kɜvfn/  
'coughing'; /'tɜvfn/ 'toffee'; /'tʃi:flɪ/ 'chiefly';  
/'dɔ:fɛ(r)/ 'doffer'; /'wɛstθɒtən/ 'Westhoughton'; etc.

5.5.9.5. Final /f/:

/dɜvf/ 'dough'; /tɜvf/ 'tough'; /kɜvf/ 'cough';  
/lɜvf/ 'laugh'; /ɔ:f/ 'off'; /dɔ:f/ 'doff'; etc.  
/f/ can result from the assimilation of final /v/  
to a following fortis consonant.<sup>1</sup> Final /f/ may  
be geminated before a hesitation.

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1. See section 5.5.10.5.



5.5.9.6. In Final Clusters:

/lf, ft, fθ, fs, lfs, f(t)s, fθs/. Examples:  
 /rɪ:fs/ 'roofs'; /fɪfθ/ 'fifth'; /aft/ 'haft,  
 handle'; /'ɜvfn/ 'Westhoughton'; /gɒlf/ 'golf';  
 /twɛl(t)(f)θ/ 'twelfth'; /afts/ 'hafts, handles',  
 but /fts/ is usually /fs/, especially in running  
 speech; /gɒlfs/ 'gulfs'; /twɛlfθs/ 'twelfths';  
 etc. /f/ is not always present in final clusters  
 before /θ/: [fɪ<sup>2</sup>θs, fɪθ:s] 'fifths'; [t'wɛl<sup>2</sup>θs]  
 'twelfths'.

5.5.9.7. Comparative Distribution:

- (a) Possible omission of /f/ before /θ/, as explained in subsection 6.
- (b) The dialect has /f/ in /dɜvfn/ 'dough' and /'ɜvfn/ 'Westhoughton'.
- (c) The dialect does not have /f/ in: /'ankɪtʃə/ 'handkerchief'; /mɪ'sɛl/ 'myself', and likewise in thisel', 'issel', 'ersel', itsel'; /'be:lɪ/ 'bailiff'; /'bɒm'be:lɪz/ 'bum-bailiffs'.
- (d) Dialect /fs/ in /rɪ:fs/ 'hoofs, hooves' sometimes contrasts with /vz/ in RP.

5.5.9.8. Modification:

Phonetically speaking, there is no perceptible modification of /f/. Distributionally, /f/ disappears from the words in subsection (b) of the preceding section, and is introduced into those words in subsection (c).

5.5.10.                    /v/

## 5.5.10.1.

/v/ is a lenis labio-dental fricative which occurs initially, medially and finally within the word. /v/ is subject to devoicing in initial and final positions.

5.5.10.2.    Initial /v/:

/'vɜ:(r)nɪə(r)/ 'very near, nearly'; /vɛkst/ 'vexed'; /'vɜ:r/ 'very'; etc.

5.5.10.3.    In Initial Clusters:

/vj/ only, e.g. /vjv:/ 'view'.

5.5.10.4.    Medial /v/:

/'rɪvə(r)/ 'river'; /'nɪvə(r)/ 'never'; /sə'vɪə(r)/ 'severe'; /'wɛɪvə(r)/ 'weaver'; etc.

5.5.10.5.    Final /v/:

/ɔ:v, e:v, ə:v/ 'half'; /kɔ:v/ 'calf'; /ɪv/ 'if'; /lɛv/ 'leave'; etc.

/v/ before fortis consonants can assimilate to /f/,<sup>1</sup> but is more often realised as [v]. These two general observations apart, the word if is sometimes pronounced /ɪf/ in any environment. Similarly, the words for half can all appear with /f/, i.e. /ɔ:f, e:f, ə:f/, although these forms are less usual than those with /v/. Final /v/ may be geminated before a hesitation.

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1. Cf. Gimson (1974: 182).

5.5.10.6. In Final Clusters:

/lv, vd, vz, lvd, lvz/. Examples: /dɔvz/ 'doves'; /'i:vnz/ 'evens'; /lɪvd/ 'lived'; /'ʃɔvl/ 'shovel'; /'lɛvld/ 'levelled'; /sɔlvd/ 'solved'; /dɪ'zɔlvz/ 'dissolves'; etc. /ɔ/ or /e/ may occur between /v/ and /l/.

5.5.10.7. Comparative Distribution:

- (a) /v/ is present in dialect /ɔ:v, e:v, æ:v/ 'half', /kɔ:v/ 'calf'; /ɪv/ 'if'. It corresponds to RP /f/.
- (b) /v/ is not present in the following dialect forms: /e/ 'of';<sup>1</sup> /a, æ:/ 'have';<sup>2</sup> /æ:(r), ε:(r)/ 'ever'; /gɪ/ 'give';<sup>3</sup> /gɪ, gɪn, gɪd, gan/ 'gave, given'; /r:n/ 'oven'; /ɔə(r)/ 'over'; /mæ:(r), nɛ:(r)/ 'never'; /æ:(r)'sɛl/ 'ourselves'; /jɛ<sup>(r)</sup>'sɛl/ 'yourselves'; /ðɛ<sup>(r)</sup>'sɛl/ 'themselves'. Note also the following forms of the reflexive which appear to be intermediate between the dialectal forms just given, and more modified forms ending in -/sɛlvz/: /ɜvɛ<sup>(r)</sup>'sɛlvz/ 'ourselves'; /jɛ<sup>(r)</sup>'sɛlvz/ 'yourselves'; /ðɛ<sup>(r)</sup>'sɛlvz/ 'themselves'.

5.5.10.8. Modification:

Phonetically there is no discernible modification of /v/. In the words in subsection 7, /v/ → /f/ in subsection (a), except in the case of if; /v/ is introduced into the words in subsection (b), but not in the case of of on many occasions, and not always in the case of over, or even never and ever, which are very common words.

1. /v/ often occurs before a vowel, but is by no means compulsory, e.g. [wan<sup>ə</sup> ə:ɪz] 'one of ours'.
2. We are not dealing here with the elision of /v/, when the word is unaccented, as described for RP by Gimson (1974: 182). In the dialect, the infinitive and present participle may occur without /v/ when stressed, e.g. [ə'mɒn'a:ɪt<sup>(r)</sup>] 'I must have it'.
3. Hargreaves (1904: 66, section 73) writes that /gɪv/ occurs especially before a vowel in Adlington dialect. This is not the case in Farnworth. Examples: [gɪ'ɪt<sup>(r)</sup>], [gɛ'ɪt<sup>(r)</sup>] 'give it'; [gɛ'ɛz] 'give us (= me)'.

## 5.5.11.

/θ/

## 5.5.11.1.

/θ/ is a fortis dental fricative which occurs initially, medially and finally within the word. It is usually realised as [θ], but sometimes variants such as [t̪θ], [t̪<sup>θ</sup>], [t̪<sup>θ</sup>], [t̪] and [t] are found. None of these is environmentally conditioned, and they occur interchangeably, although /θ/, /ð/ may present difficulties of articulation, more so in some contexts than others,<sup>1</sup> or perhaps - one might add - to older speakers. The pronunciation of these sounds could well be affected by false teeth. Although Farnworth /θ/ is used extensively in correspondence to /t/ in many other varieties of English (/θram/ 'tram'; /sθrɒk/ 'struck'; /'mæθe(r)/ 'matter'; /'bɛtθe(r)/ 'better'; etc.), I can see no case for treating variants such as [t̪] as realisations of a /t/ phoneme (on those occasions when they are used where [θ] is normal): the regular variant is without doubt [θ], and informants state that the sound is "not 't'" but "'th'".<sup>2</sup> Thus, a word such as tree is phonemicised /θri:/ - there are no systematic distinctions whatsoever between pronunciations of tree and three.

The distinction /θ/ ≠ /ð/ carries a very low functional load in RP and many other varieties of English. In the dialect of Farnworth and district, however, the functional load of this distinction is much heavier. Examples:

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1. Cf. Gimson (1974: 184).

2. Cf. Hargreaves (1904, 5f, 67-9), who distinguishes [t̪], [t̪], [t̪] and [d], [d̪], [ð]; cf. also Sieß (1929: 129).

'trip' /θrɪp/ ≠ /ðrɪp/ 'drip'  
 'try' /θreɪ/ ≠ /ðreɪ/ 'dry'  
 'train' /θreɪn/ ≠ /ðreɪn/ 'drain'  
 'thigh' /θaɪ/ ≠ /ðaɪ/ 'thy' (stressed)  
 'thrill' /θrɪl/ ≠ /ðrɪl/ 'drill'  
 'matter' /'mæθe(r)/ ≠ /'mæðe(r)/ 'Mather'  
 etc.

The lip position is influenced by a following or preceding vowel.

#### 5.5.11.2. Initial /θ/:

[θ] Examples: /θaɪ/ 'thigh'; /θɒŋk/ 'think' (joc.);  
 /θɪn/ 'thin'; /θɪŋk ɒn/ 'think on, remember';  
 etc.

#### 5.5.11.3. In Initial Clusters:

/θ/ occurs in the initial clusters /θr/, /θw/ and /sθr/.  
 /θr/ is used much more than in RP, whilst of course /sθr/ is  
 not used at all in the Standard language. /θj/ does not  
 appear to be used in the dialect. Examples:

/θwɔ:(r)t/ 'thwart'; /θrɪm/ 'trim'; /'θrævl/  
 'travel'; /θri:/ 'tree; three'; /θrɒtʃ/ 'push';  
 /θræk/ 'track'; /θreɪd/ 'trade'; /θræm/ 'tram';  
 /θro:/ 'throw; delay'; /θrɛp/ 'argue, contradict';  
 /sθraɪd/ 'stride'; /sθrɒŋg/ 'strong'; /sθrɛŋg/  
 'string'; /sθrɛɪt/ 'straight'; /'sθrɛtʃe(r)/  
 'stretcher'; etc.

#### 5.5.11.4. Medial /θ/:<sup>1</sup>

/θ/ occurs medially between vowels, and in the environ-  
 ment of consonants. In addition to occurring as in RP,

1. The description of medial /ð/ closely parallels that of  
 medial /θ/. See section 5.5.12.4. for details.

medial /θ/ occurs in the clusters /θr/ and /sθr/, whilst dialect medial /(t)θe(r)/ corresponds to RP /tə(r)/. The only exceptions are grammatically defined,<sup>1</sup> being the comparative forms of a number of adjectives: /'li:te(r)/ 'lighter'; /'bri:te(r)/ 'brighter'; etc. Contrast, however, /'swi:tθe(r)/ 'sweeter'; /'fæ:sθe(r)/ 'faster'; etc. Note also /'betθe(r)/ 'better', although this is, of course, an irregular comparative. It is probably not widely known that /θ/ may correspond to the /t/ of RP and other varieties of English before unaccented /ɪk/: /'plæ:sθɪk/ 'plastic'; /'mæ:sθɪk/ 'mastic'. Some speakers use /t/, however. Examples of medial /θ/:

/'fæsθe(r)/ 'fester'; /'sɪsθe(r)/ 'sister';  
 /'mɒsθe(r)t/ 'mustard'; /'klɒθe(r)/ 'fall';  
 /'klaθe(r)/ 'hit'; /'mæθe(r)/ 'matter';  
 /'sæθe(r)dɪ/ 'Saturday'; /'gʊθerɪn/ 'gutters';  
 /'skæθe(r)/ 'scatter'; /'vɪθrəl/ 'vitriol';  
 /'dʒeθe(r)/ 'dragonfly'; /'we:θe(r)/ 'water';  
 /'kre:θe(r)/ 'creature'; /'kwatθe(r)/ 'quarter';  
 /'betθe(r)/ 'better'; /'dɔ:vtθe(r)/ 'daughter';  
 /'bʌtθe(r)/ 'butter'; /'ɔ:tθe(r)/ 'alter';  
 /'dɒkθe(r)/ 'doctor'; /'kʌnθrɪ/ 'country';  
 /'hɪstɒrɪ/ 'history'; /'nɒsθrɪlz/ 'nostrils';  
 /ə'træktɪd/ 'attracted'; /'jʌŋgsθe(r)/ 'youngster';  
 /ɛk'sθri:m/ 'extreme'; /'plæ:sθɪk/ 'plastic';  
 /'mæ:sθɪk/ 'mastic'; etc.

Occasionally, /t/ is optional before /θ/, e.g. /'kre:(t)θe(r)/ 'creature'.<sup>2</sup>

1. This illustrates the point that the preparation of linguistic descriptions is not a purely linear process - cf. Pike (1973: 115).

2. Cf. section 5.5.3.4.

5.5.11.5. Final /θ/:

Examples: /beθ/ 'birth'; /peθ/ 'Perth'; /wɔθ/  
'worth'; /pæ:θ/ 'path'; /bæ:θ/ 'bath'; etc.

Note especially /leɪθ/ 'Leigh'.

5.5.11.6. In Final Clusters:

/θ/ occurs in the final clusters /pθ, tθ, mθ, nθ,  
lθ, fθ, θt, θs, pθs, tθs, ksθ(s), nkθ(s), ntθ(s), lfθ(s),  
lθs, fθs/. Examples:

/dɛpθ/ 'depth'; /lɛn(k)θ/ 'length'; /twɛl(f)θ(s)/  
'twelfth(s)'; /fɪ(f)θ(s)/ 'fifth(s)'; /wɜ:(r)m(p)θ/  
'warmth'; /tɛn(t)θ(s)/ 'tenth(s)'; /alθ/ 'health';  
/bæ:θt/ 'bathed'; /bæ:θs/ 'bathes'; /eɪtθ(s)/  
'eighth(s)'; /sɪksθ/ 'sixth'; etc. In a word such  
as Ethel, /ɔ/ or /e/ is usually heard between /θ/  
and /l/.

5.5.11.7. Comparative Distribution:

- (a) Dialect /θr/, in addition to corresponding to RP /θr/, corresponds to RP /tr/ initially and medially. /θr/ is therefore used much more extensively than in RP.
- (b) Dialect /sθr/ corresponds initially and medially to RP /str/.
- (c) Dialect /(t)θe(r)/ corresponds to RP unaccented /tə(r)/ in a large common word stock, except in the comparative forms of some adjectives, as defined in subsection 4 above.
- (d) Dialect /θɪk/ corresponds to RP unaccented /tɪk/.
- (e) In the light of (a) and (c), and the occurrence of /ð/ in contexts where RP and many other varieties of English have /d/,<sup>1</sup> the functional load carried by the distinction /θ/ ≠ /ð/ is relatively heavy in the dialect.

1. See section 5.5.12.

- (f) Dialect /θ/ corresponds to RP zero in /lɛɪθ/ 'Leigh'.  
 (g) Dialect /θs/ corresponds to RP /ðz/ in /ri:θs/ 'wreaths'.

#### 5.5.11.8. Modification:

/θ/ does not modify phonetically, but distributional modification is considerable. With reference to subsection 7,

Section (a) /θr/ → /tr/

Section (b) /sθr/ → /str/

Section (c) /(t)θe(r)/ → /te(r)/

Section (d) /θɪk/ → /tɪk/

Section (e) The functional load is sharply reduced

Section (f) /θ/ → zero

Section (g) /θs/ tends to be retained.

#### 5.5.12.

/ð/

##### 5.5.12.1.

/ð/ is a lenis dental fricative which occurs initially, medially and finally within the word. It occurs in both initial and final clusters. Initial and final /ð/ are subject to devoicing. The usual realisation of the phoneme is [ð] in all positions (disregarding possible devoicing), but - as in the case of /θ/<sup>1</sup> - variants such as [d̥ð], [d̥], [d̥ð̥], [d̥̥] and [d] are sometimes encountered. Again, possible difficulties of pronunciation must be borne in mind, and

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1. Cf. section 5.5.11.1.



again I can see no case for attributing variants such as [ɔ̃] to a /d/ phoneme.

The lip position for /ð/ is influenced by a preceding or following vowel. The relatively heavy functional load of the opposition /θ/ ≠ /ð/ was observed and illustrated in section 5.5.11.1.

#### 5.5.12.2. Initial /ð/:

/ðɛn/ 'then'; /ðɛ:/ 'thou'; /ðat/ 'that'; /ðɛm/ 'them; those'; /ðɪz/ 'those'; /ðɪə(r)/ 'there'; etc.

#### 5.5.12.3. In Initial Clusters:

/ðr/. Examples: /ðrɛ:ft/ 'draught'; /ðrɔə(r)z/ 'drawers'; /ðrɪnk/ 'drink'; /ðrɛɪ/ 'dry, thirsty'; /ðrɛgz/ 'dregs'; etc.

#### 5.5.12.4. Medial /ð/:

/ð/ occurs medially between vowels and in the environment of consonants. In addition to occurring as in RP, medial /ð/ occurs in the cluster /ðr/, whilst medial /ðə(r)/ corresponds to RP /də(r)/ in a very large common word stock, again with the grammatically defined exceptions, however, of comparative forms of adjectives.<sup>1</sup> The lenis dental fricative is much rarer than the fortis in comparative forms, and nearly all have /d/, e.g. /'rɛdɔə(r)/ 'redder', but cf. /'sɒdðə(r)/ 'sadder' from some informants.

Occasionally /d/ before /ð/ is optional - see the words murder and shoulder, for instance, in the examples which follow.<sup>2</sup> Otherwise /d/ occurs in some words

1. Cf. section 5.5.11.4.

2. Cf. sections 5.5.4.4, 5.5.11.4 and 5.5.3.4.

before /ð/, and not in others. Note the minimal pairs: 'bladder' /'bladðe(r)/ ≠ /'blaðe(r)/ 'blather'; and 'ladder' /'ladðe(r)/ ≠ /'laðe(r)/ 'lather'. Examples of medial /ð/: /'blɛdðe(r), 'bladðe(r)/ 'bladder'; /'ladðe(r)z/ 'ladders'; /'adðe(r)/ 'adder'; /'plɔdðe(r) lo:n/ 'Plodder Lane'; /'wæ:(r)ðro:bz/ 'wardrobes'; /'wɔnðe(r)z/ 'wonders'; /'ɔnðe(r)/ 'under'; /'lɔ:n'ðrɛts/ 'laundreries'; /'ɔnðe(r)t/ 'hundred'; /'brɔ:ðjɛd/ 'broth-head = fool'; /'sɪnðe(r)/ 'cinder'; /'dɑnðrɒf/ 'dandruff'; /'ɔ:ðrɪ/ 'Audrey'; /'ɔə(r)ðe(r)/ 'order'; /'me:(r)(d)ðe(r)/ 'murder'; /'ʃɜðe(r), 'ʃɜvdðe(r), 'ʃɜvlðe(r)/ 'shoulder'; /'sɪðe(r)z/ 'scissors'; /'laðe(r), 'lɔðe(r)/ 'lather'; /'spɑðe(r)/ 'spider'; /'meɪðe(r)/ 'moider, pester'; etc.

#### 5.5.12.5. Final /ð/:

/sɪ:ð/ 'soothe'; /smɪ:ð/ 'smooth'; /be:ð/ 'bathe'; etc.

#### 5.5.12.6. In Final Clusters:

/ðd, ðz/. Examples: /sɪ:ðd/ 'soothed'; /smɪ:ðz/ 'smooths'; etc.

/dð/ might be added on the strength of /wɪdð/ 'width', but the word is often pronounced /wɪtθ/. /ðm(z), ðn(z), ðl(z)/ are possible clusters in running speech, but /ɔ/ or /e/ tends to occur between /ð/ and a following nasal or liquid.

#### 5.5.12.7. Comparative Distribution:

- (a) Dialect /ðr/ corresponds to RP /dr/ initially and medially.
- (b) Dialect /ðe(r)/ corresponds to RP /de(r)/ in a

large common word stock, except under the grammatical conditions given in subsection 4 above.

- (c) Dialect /ð/ corresponds to RP /z/ in /'sɪðe(r)z/ 'scissors'.
- (d) The dialect does not have /ð/ in /tɪvəz/ 'clothes'.

#### 5.5.12.8. Modification:

There is no modification to the phonetic quality of /ð/. Distributionally, however, modification is considerable.

With reference to subsection 7 above:

Section (a) /ðr/ → /dr/

Section (b) /ðe(r)/ → /de(r)/

Section (c) /ð/ → /z/

Section (d) /tɪvəz/ → /klo:ðz/, although /ð/ is still prone to elision.

#### 5.5.13. /s/

##### 5.5.13.1.

/s/ is a fortis alveolar fricative which occurs initially, medially and finally. It sometimes has a slightly palatal quality, [s<sup>ɰ</sup>] - more so with some speakers than others.<sup>1</sup>

##### 5.5.13.2. Initial /s/:

/'sɛθe(r)dɪ/ 'Saturday'; /'sɪðɪ/ 'see thee';  
/ 'sɒmɒt/ 'something'; etc.

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1. See further section 5.5.15.1.

Initial /s/ in context may be realised as a [tʃs] affricate after a word ending with an alveolar consonant: [wɒn 'tʃsɒnde] 'one Sunday'; and similarly in /ɪnt 'smɪðl/ 'in the smithy'; /'adnt si:n/ 'hadn't seen'; /aɪd 'sɪ:nə(r)/ 'I'd sooner'; /bo:t so:/ 'boat so'; etc.

Note also: [ | tʃsɪ:] '[Does thou] see?'  
[ || tʃsɪm ] 'the same'

and - without apparently indicating thou or the - after a pause

[ || tʃsɪ:ə | ] 'so'

### 5.5.13.3. In Initial Clusters:

/sp, st, sk, sm, sn, sl, sw, spl, spr, spj, stj, skr, skj, skw, sθr/. Examples: /spɛɪk/ 'speak'; /'stɛɪ(j)əl/ 'steal'; /skɪn/ 'skin'; /'smɪðl/ 'smithy'; /snɪg/ 'eel'; /slɑŋg/ 'slang'; /swɪm/ 'swim'; /splɛɪʃ/ 'splash'; /sprɛd/ 'spread'; /spjɪ:/ 'spew'; /stjɪ:/ 'stew'; /skɹɔ:p/ 'scrape'; /'skjɪ:wə(r)/ 'skewer'; /skwɛɪʃ/ 'squash'; /sθrɒŋg/ 'strong'; etc.

/sf/ is a possible combination - I have no words such as sphere in my corpus, but I see no reason why a dialect speaker should not use such a word, given an appropriate context. /sj/ is not used, and words which have this cluster in RP have /s/ or /ʃ/ in the dialect. /str/ is not used either, for the dialect has /sθr/. On the possibility of /skl/, see section 5.5.19.3. /sr/ is a possible alternative to /ʃr/, e.g. /'srɒpʃə(r)/ 'Shropshire'.<sup>1</sup>

### 5.5.13.4. Medial /s/:

/s/ occurs medially between vowels where it may be geminated, and in the environment of consonants.

1. Cf. section 5.5.15.3.

Examples: /'ðrɛsə(r)/ 'dresser'; /'kɔːsɪŋ/ 'cursing';  
 /'ɑːksɪŋz/ 'askings'; /'pestə(r)/ 'pester';  
 /'plæːsθɪk/ 'plastic'; etc.

Again /sj/ does not occur. The dialect has /sθr/  
 again for RP /str/, and /sθ/ for RP /st/ before  
 /e(r)/ and unstressed /ɪk/: /ɪdɪs'θrækʃən/ 'distrac-  
 tion'; /'mɛsθə(r)/ 'mister'; /'plæːsθɪk/ 'plastic';  
 etc.

/s/ may be preceded by glottal stricture in medial  
 clusters, e.g. ['fan:<sup>t̪</sup>sɪ] 'fancy'. The same  
 phenomenon can result in /s/'s being realised as a  
 [f̪s] affricate, e.g. ['dɑːn:<sup>t̪</sup>sɪŋ] 'dancing'.

#### 5.5.13.5. Final /s/:

/ɛs/ 'ash'; /nes, nɔːs/ 'nurse'; /pɛs/ 'purse'; etc.  
 Final /s/ may be geminated occasionally. It may  
 also assimilate to /ʃ/ before /j/, and especially  
 /ʃ/.<sup>1</sup>

#### 5.5.13.6. In Final Clusters:

/ts, ps, ks, n(t)s, ls, fs, θs, sp, st, sk, pst,  
 pθs, tθs, kst, ksθ, mps, nts, nθs, nst, nks, lps,  
 lts, lks, lfs, lθs, lst, fθs, spt, sps, skt, sks/.  
 /dst/ is possible: /mɪdst/ 'midst', although the  
 word is not common. /pts, kts, fts/ should possibly  
 be added to this list. /pts, kts, fts/ are unlikely  
 to occur in running speech, but when a word is  
 pronounced in isolation, or with especial clarity,  
 they are perhaps just possible:

/pts/ is usually /ps/  
 /kts/ is usually /ks/  
 /fts/ is usually /fs/.

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1. Cf. section 5.5.15.1 and 5.

/sps/ may occur as such, or as [s:]  
 /sts/ normally occurs as [s:]: [nī:s:] 'nests';  
 [p'ɔ:s:] 'posts'; etc. /sts/ may also be realised,  
 however, as -/sɪz/, e.g. /'krɒsɪz/ 'crusts' (or as  
 -/zɪz/: /'ni:zɪz/ 'nests').<sup>1</sup>

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

/sm/ is not likely to occur without at least a trace  
 of an intervening vowel, e.g. [ˈʌn<sup>[dʒ]</sup>s<sup>o</sup>m] 'handsome'.

/sns/ and /ns/ occur, but are often /snts/ and /nts/  
 respectively, with the result that pairs such as  
sense ≠ scents are not always distinguished. The  
 same may be said of RP.<sup>2</sup>

RP /mpts/ is more likely<sup>3</sup> to be /mps/ in the dialect.

RP /ʃns/ has as the usual dialect equivalent  
 /ʃen(t)s, ʃɒn(t)s/.

Some examples of /s/ in final clusters: /ri:θs/  
 'wreaths'; /aks/ 'ask'; /'fɑsn/ ([ˈfɑsn̩]) 'fasten';  
 /rɪskz/ 'risks'; /wɒnst/ 'once'; /θre:psɪt/ 'trapsed';  
 etc. Other examples will be found under the consonants  
 with which /s/ combines.

Further final clusters are /sn(t)s, sn, snz, snt/.

These may occur as clusters of consonants, but there  
 is often a suggestion of /e/ or /ɔ/ - usually the  
 latter - between the /s/ and /n/.

RP has the clusters /sl, slz/. Again, in the dialect,  
 there may be a suggestion of /ɔ/ before /l/, although  
 [ɫ] itself has the vowel resonance of /ɔ/: it is  
 therefore not easy to decide between [ɫ] and [ɫ̥].

- 
1. Children having difficulty with the combination /sts/ and pronouncing it as -/sɪz/ are sometimes made aware of the problem with the rhyme: /'go:sɪz | 'rɒnɪn ɒp 'po:sɪz | wɪ 'krɒsɪz ɪ ðe(r) 'fɪsɪz/ 'Ghosts, running up posts, with crusts in their fists'.
  2. Cf. Gimson (1974: 187).
  3. It is difficult to be thoroughly explicit: the differences between clarity norms and words in continuous speech are sometimes considerable.

/t/ and /d/ are nasally released and form the clusters /tn(t)s/, /dn(t)s/. The /t/ in brackets represents an element of glottalisation which can be quite strong in a word such as riddance.

Final /s/, usually at the end of a final cluster, is sometimes "missing", and the same may be said of final /z/.<sup>1</sup> By "missing" I mean not present when one would expect it to be present - from the point of view of the dialect system, and not of any other. In other words, I am not alluding to instances such as /tv: wk/ 'two weeks', which are perfectly regular dialect forms. Consider, however:

- a) /wɔn ev ɪz 'kɔ:ɪn ʃɒp we(r)t/ 'One of his calling shop[s] was the...'
- b) /e lo:d e brɪk ɔn/ 'a load of brick[s] on'
- c) /wɪ ði:z brɪk/ 'with these brick[s]'
- d) /mənt/ 'menace'
- e) /et 'wɔəlwek/ 'at Wallwork['s]'

There are problems here for the analyst. If the similar examples under /z/ are consulted too,<sup>2</sup> it will be seen that /s, z/ are sometimes "missing" under the following conditions: 1) on plurals; 2) on genitives; 3) on verbs; 4) as the final letter of the stem of a word. The chief problem lies in deciding whether we are dealing with errors, ellipses or with low-frequency grammatical phenomena. Condition 4), as exemplified by form d), smacks of an error pure and simple. However, 1), 2) and 3) cannot be so lightly dismissed, as it is conceivable that they - or that some of

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1. See section 5.5.14.6.

2. See section 5.5.14.6.

them - are remnants of some older stage of the dialect.  
I am unable to resolve these matters satisfactorily here.

#### 5.5.13.7. Comparative Distribution:

- (a) Initial and medial clusters.<sup>1</sup>
- (b) Final clusters.<sup>2</sup>
- (c) Final /s/ is found in the dialect in /ɛs/ 'ash';  
/aks/ 'ask'.
- (d) Final /s/ occurs as the ending for the second person  
singular in the present tense, e.g. /ðɛ: wants/  
'thou wants'.
- (e) In certain plurals: /v:fs/ 'hoofs'; /ri:θs/  
'wreaths'.
- (f) /s/ is not present in the dialect in: /sɪn/ 'since';  
/fo:k/ 'folks' (in the sense of people in general;  
with this meaning, final /s/ is used in some varieties  
of English, but in the dialect it is optional).
- (g) /s/ is not present in the dialect in a number of  
plural forms of the type: /tv: mənθ/ 'two months';  
/faɪv wk/ 'five weeks'; etc.
- (h) Further investigation of "missing" final /s/ might  
or might not yield further points of comparative  
interest.

#### 5.5.13.8. Modification:

Phonetically, /s/ remains the same. The initial and  
medial cluster /sθr/ → /str/. Medial /sθ/ before /e(r)/  
or /ɪk/ → /st/. Medial /s/ is less likely to be geminated.

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1. Cf. subsections 3 and 4 above.  
2. Cf. subsection 6 above.



With reference to subsection 7, /ɛs/ is not used in modified speech, and /aks/ → /ask/.

Section (d) → you + want, etc.

Section (e) /s/ is probably retained

Section (f) /s/ tends to be added to /sɪn/

Section (g) /s/ may be added, but forms without it are common in modified speech.

#### 5.5.14.                    /z/

##### 5.5.14.1.

/z/ is a lenis alveolar fricative which occurs initially, medially and finally within the word. In initial and final positions it is subject to devoicing. /z/ is in free variation with /s/ in /'krɛznt/ 'crescent'; /'væzəlɪ:n/ 'vaseline'; /'wɛzlɪ/ 'Wesley'; /'prɛzwɪdʒɪz/ 'Prestwich's'; /'mɛ:(r)zɛrɪzɪd/ 'mercerised'; /'rɛfjʊ:z/ 'refuse' (n).

##### 5.5.14.2.    Initial /z/:

/zɪp/ 'zip'; /'zɛbrɛ 'krɔ:sɪn/ 'zebra-crossing';  
/ 'zɪgzag/ 'zigzag'; etc.

##### 5.5.14.3.    In Initial Clusters:

None.

##### 5.5.14.4.    Medial /z/:

/z/ occurs medially between vowels, where it may be geminated, and in the environment of consonants. In some words it is in free variation with /s/.

Examples: /'bɪzɪ/ 'busy'; /'flɒzə(r)/ 'bobbin or spindle on which the thread is overflowing or spilling over etc.'; /'ganzɪ/ 'cardigan'; and, in free variation with /s/: /'wɛzlɪ/ 'Wesley'; /'vazə,li:n/ 'vaseline'; etc.

#### 5.5.14.5. Final /z/:

/'kɒstɪz/ 'costs'; /'ɑːstɪz/ 'asks'; /pɛɪz/ 'peas'; /nɔɪz/ 'noise'; etc.; and, in free variation with /s/: /'rɛfjʊːz/ 'refuse' (n).

Curiously, final /z/ is in free variation with /d/ in /ðɛ no:d/ 'thou knows'; /z/, /d/ and zero are in free variation in /e'kɔ(:)z, bɪ'kɔ(:)z/ 'because'.

Final /z/ may assimilate to /ʒ/ before /ʃ/ and /j/, and it may geminate before a hesitation, a word beginning with a vowel, or /z/.

#### 5.5.14.6. In Final Clusters:

/z/ occurs extensively in final clusters: /bz, dz, gz, mz, nz, lz, vz, ʒz, zd, ndz, nzd, lbz, ldz, lmz, lnz, lvz, ngz/. In clusters where /z/ precedes a nasal (/zm(z), zn(d, z)/), /e/ or /o/ may or may not intervene. When /lz/ follows one or more consonants (/plz, blz, tlz, dlz, klz, glz, tʃlz, dʒlz, mlz, nlz, θlz, ðlz, slz, vlz, flz, ʃlz, mplz, mblz, ndlz, ntlz, nklz, nglz, stlz/), the /l/ has the resonance of /o/, and /oɫ/ would seem to be an equally appropriate phonemicisation, except with /tlz, dlz, ndlz, ntlz/ where /t, d/ are clearly laterally released. In /zɫ(z, d), zml/, I tend to hear /o/ before /l/. In /tnz, dnz/, the plosives are nasally released. /fnz, vnz, snz, ʃnz, ʒnz, ɔnz, znt, zndz/ may occur as clusters, or may contain /e, o/. Examples of /z/ in final clusters: /rɒbz/ 'rubs'; /lɪdz/ 'lids';

/bagz/ 'bags'; /bɔlbz/ 'bulbz'; /fɪlmz/ 'films';  
/sɪŋgz/ 'sings'; etc. etc. Further examples will be  
found under the consonants with which /z/ combines.

As in the case of /s/,<sup>1</sup> /z/ is sometimes "missing".

/e'kɔ(:)z/ and /bɪ'kɔ(:)z/, in addition to having forms  
with /d/, have forms without a final consonant, e.g.

[bɪ'k'ɔ<sup>2</sup>ɪfʔ] 'because it'. Such forms occur quite often.

Beyond the word because, however, there are rather more  
marginal cases. Again, I exclude the regular formation of  
certain plurals, e.g. /'θetti jə(r)/ 'thirty years'.

Examples:

/e'be:t ði:z taɪm/ 'about these time[s]'  
/'tʃæmpɪən/ 'Champion['s]'  
/'wɒdɪŋtən/ 'Waddington['s]' (somewhat modified form)  
/ði wer æ:(r)d taɪm/ 'they were hard time[s]'  
/wɛn ðe ðræŋ ɪm ɛ:t/ 'when thou drag[s] him out'

#### 5.5.14.7. Comparative Distribution:

- (a) The dialect uses /sɪz/ quite often in correspondence  
to RP /sts/, both for plurals and for the second and  
third person singular ending on verbs: /'krɔsɪz/  
'crusts'; /'kɔsɪz/ 'costs'; etc. Note also  
/'asɪz/ 'asks' corresponding to RP /sks/.
- (b) The dialect uses /z/ as a verb ending on the second  
person singular present, e.g. /ðe kɔmz/ 'thou comes'.
- (c) /z/ occurs in free variation with /s/ in the words  
listed in subsection 1 above.
- (d) /z/ does not always occur in the dialect in because.

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1. See section 5.5.13.6.

- (e) /z/ does not occur in certain plural forms:  
 /θri: maɪl/ 'three miles'; /'θetti jə(r)/ 'thirty  
 years'; /'fifti 'bɒndl/ 'fifty bundles'; /θri: lo:d/  
 'three loads'; etc.
- (f) Further investigation of "missing" /z/ might or  
 might not yield further points of comparative  
 interest.

#### 5.5.14.8. Modification:

Phonetically /z/ remains the same. Medial /z/  
 is less likely to be geminated.

With reference to subsection 7 above:

Section (a) → /sts/ or [s:], although children sometimes  
 use -/sɪz/

Section (b) thou → you + come, etc.

Section (c) /z/ might be retained

Section (d) /z/ is used in because

Section (e) /z/ may be added, but forms without it are  
 common in modified speech.

#### 5.5.15.

ʃ

##### 5.5.15.1.

/ʃ/ is a fortis, palato-alveolar fricative which occurs  
 initially, medially and finally within the word. /s/ is  
 sometimes pronounced with a slightly diffuse escape of air  
 [sʃ], and occasionally even as [ʃ]; /ʃ/ is occasionally  
 pronounced [tʃ] or [tʃ]. In the judgement of informants,  
 and that of myself, [ʃ] as a variant of /s/, except when  
 final /s/ assimilates to /ʃ/ before /ʃ/,<sup>1</sup> and [tʃ] and

1. Cf. subsection 5 below.

[tʃ] as variants of /ʃ/ are to be classed as deviant. The possible effects of such factors as age and false teeth cannot be discounted here. /ʃ/ is used in words such as tissue (not /s + j/) and appreciate (not /s + t/).<sup>1</sup>

#### 5.5.15.2. Initial /ʃ/:

[ʃiːd] 'shed'; [ʃov] 'shove'; /ʃɪt/ 'shit';  
/ʃɛpi/ 'sheppy, starling'; /ʃɛfɛniə(r)/  
'chiffonier'; etc.

#### 5.5.15.3. In Initial Clusters:

In the combination /ʃr/ only, e.g. /ʃrɪmp/ 'shrimp'. However, it is not unusual to hear /sr/ from some speakers: [sɹɪmp] 'shrimp'.

#### 5.5.15.4. Medial /ʃ/:

[ˈwɔːʃɪz] 'washers'; [ˈθrɔːʃɪ] 'trasher (modified form) = draught-excluder (perhaps derived from threshold)'; [ˈkʊːʃən] 'cushion'; etc.

Medial /ʃ/ may be geminated, almost certainly in /ˈtɪʃʃə/ 'tissue'; note also the gemination after the modified vowel in /ˈwɔːʃʃɪn/ 'washing'.

#### 5.5.15.5. Final /ʃ/:

/ˈkɔə(r)nɪʃ/ 'mantle-piece'; /krɛɪʃ/ 'crash';  
/prɪʃ/ 'push'; etc.

Final /ʃ/ also results from the assimilation of /s/ to a following /ʃ/. Examples: /ðɪʃ ʃɒp/ 'this

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1. Cf. Gimson (1974: 189f).

shop'; /tθə(r)ʃʃr:/ 'the Horseshoe'; /jv:ʃ ʃr:/ 'used to shoe'; etc.

Final /ʃ/ may be geminated before a hesitation, or a word beginning with /ʃ/ or a vowel, e.g. /'bloʃʃən/ 'blush and'.

#### 5.5.15.6. In Final Clusters:

/lʃ, ʃt/. Examples: /kræɪʃt/ 'crashed'; /welʃ/ 'Welsh'; etc. In words such as Marshall, there is usually an element of /e/ or /ə/ between /ʃ/ and /l/. In words such as mention, there is usually at least a suggestion of a vocalic element (/e/ or /ə/) between /ʃ/ and /n/. In words such as French, a pronunciation with final /nʃ/ is impossible.<sup>1</sup>

#### 5.5.15.7. Comparative Distribution:

- (a) /ʃ/ does not occur in dialect /ɛs/ 'ash' and /'ɛsə/ 'ash-hole', and it occurs in fewer final combinations than in RP.<sup>2</sup>
- (b) /ʃ/ occurs in medial positions in words in which some accents have /s + j/ and /s + ɪ/.<sup>3</sup>
- (c) Dialect /ʃ/ corresponds to RP /s/ in /'kəə(r)nɪʃ/ 'mantlepiece, cornice'.

#### 5.5.15.8. Modification:

I have not noted any particular tendencies for this phoneme to modify. The words in subsection (a) of the preceding subsection are unlikely to be used in modified speech.

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1. Cf. Gimson (1974: 188).

2. Cf. subsection 6 above, and Gimson (1974: 188).

3. Cf. subsection 1 above.

## 5.5.16.

/ʒ/

## 5.5.16.1.

/ʒ/ is a lenis, palato-alveolar fricative which occurs medially within the word. To distinguish /ʃ/ and /ʒ/ in RP, Gimson gives the pairs Aleutian (when pronounced /ə'ljʊ:ʃn/) ≠ allusion, and Confucian (when pronounced /kən'fju:ʃn/) ≠ confusion.<sup>1</sup> Whilst these oppositions may be theoretically possible within the dialect, they cannot be set up on the basis of the corpus for this study. There is, however, one pair of forms which distinguishes /ʃ/ from /ʒ/ in the dialect, although not in RP: 'thresher, threshing machine' /'θrɛʃə(r)/ ≠ /'θrɛʒə(r)/ 'treasure'.

5.5.16.2. Initial /ʒ/:

Does not occur.

5.5.16.3. In Initial Clusters:

Does not occur.

5.5.16.4. Medial /ʒ/:

/ʒ/ occurs medially between vowels, and is often geminated. Examples: /'mɛʒə(r)/ 'measure'; /'vɪʒʒə,ləʒ/ 'visualise'; /'kəʒʒəl/ 'casual'; /'jʊ:ʒʒəl/ 'usual'; etc. In the words casual, seizure, usual, etc. /ʒ/ is obligatory in the dialect. Forms with /z + j/ are not possible.<sup>2</sup>

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1. Cf. Gimson (1974: 189).

2. Cf. Gimson (1974: 189), and section 5.5.15.7. above.

5.5.16.5. Final /ʒ/:

Does not occur. In words of French origin, where some accents have /ʒ/, the dialect uses /dʒ/, e.g. /'merɪdʒ/ 'mirage'.

5.5.16.6. In Final Clusters:

/ʒ/ is unlikely in final clusters. In a word such as vision, /ə/ (or /ɔ/) tends to be heard between /ʒ/ and /n/.

5.5.16.7. Comparative Distribution:

- (a) /ʒ/ does not occur initially in the dialect.<sup>1</sup>
- (b) /ʒ/ does not occur finally in the dialect.
- (c) There is no medial variation between /ʒ/ and /z + j/ in the dialect.

5.5.16.8. Modification:

There is little modification of this phoneme. However, in modified speech there is less medial gemination of the phoneme, and the following vowel may be modified, e.g. [ 'k' aʒɪ əʒ ] 'casual'.

5.5.17. /m/

## 5.5.17.1.

/m/ is a voiced, bilabial nasal which occurs initially, medially and finally within the word. The allophone [m̥] occurs before /f, v/: [sɒm̥ fo:k'] 'some folk'; ['bɪm̥, fa:ɪʒ]

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1. Cf. Gimson (1974: 188).



'bonfire', etc. /n/ assimilates to /m/ before the same two fricatives, e.g. [dɛ:ᵐ] 'fɜ:nəθ] 'down Farnworth'.<sup>1</sup>

#### 5.5.17.2. Initial /m/:

[mɛɪtˠ] 'meat, food'; ['mɛɪðə] 'moider'; [mɪ:n] 'moon'; etc.

#### 5.5.17.3. In Initial Clusters:

/mj, sm/. Examples: /mjvəl/ 'mule'; /smɪ:k/ 'smoke'; etc. In the combination /sm/, /m/ is slightly devoiced: [sm̥ɪ:k] 'smoke'.

#### 5.5.17.4. Medial /m/:

/'wɪmbɪrɪ/ 'bilberry'; /'æ:(r)mta/ 'am I not?'; /'bɒmɪ/ 'bonfire' (children's word); /'sɒmət/ 'something'; etc. Medial /m/ is sometimes geminated, e.g. ['wɪmmɪn] 'women'.

#### 5.5.17.5. Final /m/:

- (i) Geminated. A geminate is sometimes heard if the next word begins with /m/ or a vowel: [sɒm m̥ɪ'e] 'some more'; [k'ɒmmɔ:f] 'come off'; etc. Geminates are also possible before a hesitation.
- (ii) [m]: [k'v:m] 'came'; [ɹv:m] 'room'; etc.
- (iii) [m̥]: before /f, v/, e.g. [gɒmf̥ɪe] 'gone from'.
- (iv) [mᵐ]: occasional variant, e.g. [maɪ samᵐ] 'my Sam'.

Final /n/ may assimilate to /m/ before /m, p, b/: [wɒm mɒn]

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1. This fact appears to be reflected in Charles Allen Clarke's (Teddy Ashton's) writings about his birthplace, Tong Fold, which appears in the dialect script as Tum Fowt. Hence his famous Tum Fowt Sketches - cf. Clarke (no date).

'one man = somebody'; [ɪm bʊt] 'in but'; [θɪm p'ɪ:s] 'thin piece'; etc. More rarely, /m/ may be realised as /n/ in context: [wɒn ðɪ] 'home they'.

#### 5.5.17.6. In Final Clusters:

/m/ occurs in the final clusters /mp, md, mt, mθ, mz, lm, mpt, mps, lmd, lmz/. Examples: /'apmt/ 'happened'; /ʃo:mt/ '(a)shamed'; /wɜ:(r)m(p)θ/ 'warmth'; /dɒmpt/ 'dumped'; /tʃɒmp/ 'chump'; /ɒpm/ 'open'; /rɪ:mz/ 'rooms'; /fɪlm/ 'film'; /lɒmps/ 'lumps'; /fɪlmd/ 'filmed'; /fɪlmz/ 'films'; /ti:md/<sup>1</sup> 'teemed, poured'; etc.

In final clusters, /m/ is syllabic after /p/:

['ap̩m] 'happen, perhaps'; ['ɒp̩m] 'open'; etc.

Note that ['ap̩n] and ['ɒp̩n] also occur. Further:

['tɒp̩m̩<sup>p</sup>s] 'twopence'; ['äp̩mt] 'happened'.

After /b/, however, note /'rɪbɪn/ 'ribbon'; /'rɒbɪn/ 'robin'; etc.

The suffix - ton assimilates to /m/ after bilabials in ['kɹɒmp̩m̩ 'lɒdʒɪz] 'Crompton Lodges'. I have also heard ['sɒmp̩m̩] for 'something', although /sɒmɒt/ is usual.

#### 5.5.17.7. Comparative Distribution:

- (a) Dialect /mt/ corresponds to the RP final cluster /md/.
- (b) Dialect /m/ corresponds to RP /n/ in /'ɜ:rmtə/ 'aren't I?'.  
'aren't I?'

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1. /md/ is somewhat restricted, however, as the dialect sometimes has /mt/ - cf. section 5.5.3.6.

5.5.17.8. Modification:

There is less use of medial geminates. With reference to subsection 7:

Section (a) Final cluster /mt/ → /md/.  
/m(p)t/ is used in dreamt, however, in modified speech as well as in dialect.

Section (b) /m/ is retained.

5.5.18. /n/

## 5.5.18.1.

/n/ is a voiced, alveolar nasal, which occurs initially, medially and finally within the word. /n/ is realised as /m/ in context before /p, b, m/.<sup>1</sup> [ŋ] occurs before /f, v/.<sup>2</sup> [ŋ] is an allophone of /n/ before /k, g/, and not a phoneme in its own right:<sup>3</sup> [sɪŋg] 'sing'; [θɪŋk] 'think'; ['wɪŋkɪn] 'winking'; [ðɪŋ k'ɒm] 'they han (have) come'; etc. [ɲ] occurs before /θ, ð/: ['ɪɲ'θɛstɪn] 'interesting'; [wɒɲ ði'ə] 'one there'; etc. The tongue is more retracted, [ɲ], before /r/, e.g. ['sɒɲɹɔ:z] 'sunrise'.

5.5.18.2. Initial /n/:

[nɜyt] 'nothing'; [næ:ə] 'never'; [ne'əɪ] 'nail';  
etc.

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1. See section 5.5.17.5.

2. See section 5.5.17.1.

3. /ŋ/ has not always been a phoneme of "English" - see e.g. Gimson (1974: 49). Lodge (1966: 28) gives [ŋ] as an allophone of /n/ before /k, g/ for the Stockport dialect. See also Wells (1970: 238).

5.5.18.3. In Initial Clusters:

/nj, sn/. Examples: /njv:/ 'new'; /njv:t/ 'newt'; /snɪg/ 'eel'; /snak/ 'snack'; /sno:/ 'snow'; etc.

In the combination /sn/, /n/ is slightly devoiced, e.g. [sn̥ɪg] 'eel'.

5.5.18.4. Medial /n/:

/'pɛnɪntɛn/ 'Penington';<sup>1</sup> /'sɔsɪndʒe(r)/ 'sausage'; and geminated in words such as /'rɒnnɪn/ 'running'; /'rɛnnɪt/ 'rennet'; /'skɛnnɪn/ 'looking in a cross-eyed manner'; /'jɔ:nɪn/ 'yawning'; etc.

5.5.18.5. Final /n/:

/'kwɛ:(r)tɛ:(r)n/ 'quarter'; /v:n/ 'oven'; /ʃv:n/ 'shoes'; /fɒn/ 'found'; /mɒn/ 'must'; /an/ 'have (plural)'; /tɪn/ 'until'; /i:n/ 'eyes'; /gɪn/ 'given'; etc.

Final /n/ may be geminated before /n/, a hesitation, or a word beginning with a vowel, e.g. /e'gɛnnɛm/ 'against them'. The allophones given in subsection 1 above may all be encountered in word-final position. All present participles end in /n/, e.g. /'swɪmmɪn/ 'swimming', as do nouns such as /'mɔə(r)nɪn/ 'morning'. A parasitic schwa is occasionally found with final /n/, e.g. ['ɛ·ɪdɪn<sup>ə</sup>] 'hiding'.

5.5.18.6. In Final Clusters:

/n/ occurs in the final clusters /nt, nd,<sup>2</sup> ntʃ, ndʒ, nθ, ln, ns, nz, nk, ng, nks, nkt, ngz, ngd, ntθ, nts, ndz, ntʃt, ndʒd, nθs, nst, nzd, nkθ, lnz/. Examples:

1. Usually /'pɛnɪtn/.

2. /nd/ is of a somewhat restricted distribution due to the dialect's use of /nt/ - see further section 5.5.3.6.

/i:nd/ 'end'; /frɛntʃ/ 'French'; /dɪndʒ/ 'dent';  
 /ʌŋgd/ 'hanged'; /kɪŋks/ 'kinks'; /swɪŋgz/ 'swings';  
 /bɒŋkt/ 'hit'; /tɛnts/ 'tents, guards'; /dɪndʒd/  
 'dented'; /tɛn(t)θs/ 'tenths'; /tlɛnzd/ 'cleansed';  
 /lɛŋkθ/ 'length'; /kɪlŋz/ 'kilns'; /rɪŋg/ 'ring';  
 /sɪŋk/ 'sink'; /tɛn(t)θ/ 'tenth'; /fɛns/ 'fence';  
 /ɛnz/ 'hens'; /wɒnst/ 'once'; /maɪndz/ 'minds,  
 looks after'; /kɔln/ 'Colne'; /rɛnt/ 'rent'; /rɛntʃt/  
 'wrenched'; etc.

/n/ in final clusters is often syllabic, and a homorganic preceding consonant is nasally released:  
 ['sɪ:z̩n] 'season'; ['swɪt̩n] 'Swinton'; ['bjɛt̩n]  
 'beaten'; ['brɔk̩n] 'broken'; ['spɔk̩n] 'spoken';  
 ['wɔk̩n] 'waken'; ['tʰɔk̩n] 'taken'; [ɪm'pɔ:ət̩nt̩]  
 'important'; ['pɔ:d̩n] 'pardon'; ['θɜ:p̩ns]<sup>1</sup>  
 'threepence'; etc. Exceptions: /'mɪdɪn/ 'midden';  
 /'gɑ:(r)dɪn/ 'garden'; /'be:(r)ndɪn, 'be:(r)ndɛn/  
 'Burnden'.

Syllabic [ŋ] occurs in ['tʃɪlɪŋ] 'Clifton'; etc.

#### 5.5.18.7. Comparative Distribution:

- (a) In personal names ending in -nson, the dialect does not have an /n/ before the final /sn/: /'rɔbɪsn/ 'Robinson'; /'rɔlɪsn/ 'Rawlinson'; /'pɑ:(r)kɪsn/ 'Parkinson'; /'tɔmlɪsn/ 'Tomlinson'; /'wɪlkɪsn/ 'Wilkinson'; /'sti:vɪsn/ 'Stevenson'.
- (b) In place-names and personal names ending in -ington, the dialect uses the suffix /ɪtn/: /'ɔdlɪtn/ 'Adlington'; /'rɪvɪtn/ 'Rivington'; /'pɑ:(r)tɪtn/ 'Partington'; /'we:(r)ðɪtn/ 'Worthington'; /'wɛlɪtnz/ 'wellingtons'; /'pɪlkɪtn/ 'Pilkington'.
- (c) In personal and place-names ending in -ton, the occurrence of [ŋ] and the nasal release of the /t/

1. Cf. also section 5.5.17.6.

are virtually compulsory. This rule applies to the words in subsection (b) above, and reflects the general rule that /t/ in the final cluster /tn/ is nasally released in the dialect. Examples:  
 ['aðət̪n̩] 'Atherton'; ['wɜːbət̪n̩] 'Warburton';  
 ['bɜːt̪n̩z] 'Burton's'; ['bɔːt̪n̩] 'Bolton'; ['tʰɔːt̪n̩]  
 'Turton'; ['lɪk̪t̪n̩] 'Little Hulton'.

- (d) The place-name Swinton is pronounced /'swɪtn̩/ 'Swinton'.
- (e) There is no /n/ corresponding to RP /n/ in:  
 /'tʃɪldr̩(r)/ 'children'; /ɪ'stɛd/ 'instead';  
 /'tʃɪmblɪ, 'tʃɪmlɪ/ 'chimney'; /'sɪmblɪn̩/ 'Simmel';  
 nor in /ɪ/ 'in' and /ɔ/ 'on' when followed by a word beginning with a consonant.
- (f) Present participles end in /n/: /'jɔːɪnɪŋ/ 'yawning';  
 /'ðrɪŋkɪŋ/ 'drinking'; etc, etc. Cf. RP /ŋ/.
- (g) Nouns ending in -ing:  
 /'ɛrɪŋz/ 'herrings'; /'ɛnɪ,θɪŋ/ 'anything';  
 /'sɒmθɪŋ/ 'something'; /'nɒθɪŋ/ 'nothing';  
 /'mɒni,θɪŋ/ 'many a thing'; (cf. however, /θɪŋg/  
 'thing'); /'mɔː(r)nɪŋ/ 'morning'; /'fæː(r)ðɪŋ/  
 'farthing'; etc.
- In words where the -ing is in the syllable carrying the main word stress, /ŋg/ is used vis-à-vis RP /ŋ/. The dialect also has /ŋg/ medially where RP has /ŋ/.<sup>1</sup>
- (h) /n/ occurs before /θ/ in /lɛnθ/ 'length' and /sθrɛnθ/ 'strength'.
- (i) /n/ occurs in: /iːn/ 'eyes' and /ʃrɪn/ 'shoes'.
- (j) /n/ occurs in: /tɪn/ 'until'; /'sɔːsɪndʒɛ(r)/ 'sausage'.

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1. Cf. section 5.5.6.7.