A GRAMMAR OF THE DIALECT
OF
FARNWORTH AND DISTRICT

(Greater Manchester County, formerly Lancashire)

by

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TEXT CUT OFF IN THE ORIGINAL

(k) [ŋ] is an allophone of /n/ before /k, g/, and not a phoneme of the dialect - cf. RP /ŋ/.[1] The dialect therefore has the medial and final clusters /nk, ng/ etc.

(l) Dialect /nt/ corresponds to RP /nd/: /ɔnt/ 'hand'; /'ɛɪ(j)ə(r)nt/ 'ironed'; /'θɛ:z(ə)nt/ 'thousand'; /blaɪnt/ 'blind'; /'fri:tnt/ 'frightened'; /bɪ'(j)aɪnt/ 'behind'; /'apnt/ 'happened'; etc.

5.5.18.8. Modification:

Word-medial gemination of /n/ tends not to occur.

With reference to subsection 7:

Section (a) —> /n/ before /s(ə)n/

Section (b) —> /n + g/ before /t(ə)n/

Section (c) retains /tn/, or —> /tən/

Section (d) —> /n/ before /t(ə)n/

Section (e) —> with /n/

Section (f) retains /ɪn/, or —> /ɪng/

Section (g) retains /ɪn/, or —> /ɪng/

Section (h) retains /n/, or —> /ng/

Section (i) —> /z/

Section (j) these words are not used in modified speech

Section (l) —> /nd/

The conversion of /n/ to /ng/ on nouns and present participles is not usually carried out in a completely consistent manner. However, as a general rule, the more modified one's speech, the greater the number of occurrences of /ng/ in words

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1. Cf. Gimson (1974: 197ff).

having /ŋ/ in RP vis-à-vis dialect /n/. [ŋ] remains basically non-phonemic in modified speech, for it still only occurs before /k, g/, e.g. ['sɪŋgɪng] 'singing'. However, that some speakers on some occasions might say ['sɪngɪŋ] is not open to dispute, and careful consideration would have to be given in a detailed treatment of modified speech to the question: At what point does [ŋ] become a phoneme?

Final [ŋg] is sometimes devoiced in the speech of some women. This seems to be a mark of considerable modification: ['θɪŋk'ɪŋg̊, 'θɪŋk'ɪŋ̊k'] 'thinking'.

5.5.19. /l/

5.5.19.1.

/l/ is a lateral which occurs initially, medially and finally within the word. In all positions it has a darker or more velar quality than RP /l/ and has a somewhat velar quality even initially before front vowels. The vowel quality or resonance of /l/ varies in accordance with the phonetic context, but is most typically in the area of [ɔ], [o], [ɣ]. This phoneme has a very marked influence on neighbouring vowels and diphthongs, especially when they precede it. The effects of /l/ may be discerned from a reading of the account of the vowel and diphthong phonemes of the dialect. In a general sense, it may be said that the markedly velar post-vocalic [ɬ] is often preceded by a diphthong,[1] and that the quality of [ɬ] can

1. Historically speaking, it might be said that [ɬ] has caused the diphthongisation of original long vowels such as /i:/.

result in a dipthong's having a second element of the same type as that of the vocalic resonance of [ɫ].

Lodge, describing the speech of Stockport - and also that of parts of Manchester,[1] which is quite close to Farnworth and district - even transcribes initial /l/ as [ɫ], e.g. [ɫe̞tɫ] 'little'.[2] Although I have not seen fit to transcribe initial /l/ as [ɫ] - I have reserved [ɫ] for final, pre-consonantal, and syllabic occurrences - it must be remembered that realisations of this phoneme tend to have a distinctly velar quality. I stress this point because it is a typical feature of the dialect, and because many people associate a dark /l/ more especially with certain southern dialects.[3]

[ö], [ɣ]: /l/ is occasionally articulated without contact being made by the tip and the front of the blade of the tongue, e.g. [mɪɣ'k] 'milk'. However, this is not a regular, typical feature of the dialect.[4]

[w]: /l/ is occasionally realised as [w]: ['qüpöw andz] 'couple of hands'; ['kʻɜʉnsʷ'ɜʉzɪz] 'council houses'. Again, this is not a regular feature of the dialect.

/l/ is rare after /ɔ:/ (sometimes /ɔə/), and frequently does not occur (i.e. comparatively speaking) after /ɜɤ/; it does not occur to a lesser extent after /ɤ:/, /ɛ:/ and in certain final, unstressed positions. These questions

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1. Cf. Lodge (1966: 26).
2. Lodge (1973: 86, footnote 6).
3. Note that Hargreaves (1904: 5) gave an /l/ for Adlington which he felt to be more reminiscent of German /l/ than English. German /l/ is, of course, light, clear or front in all positions.
4. Cf. Gimson (1974: 203, section 3).

of distribution are copiously documented in subsection 7 below.

5.5.19.2. Initial /l/:

[l], somewhat velar, but less so than [ɫ]: [lü$^{2}_{\smile}$k] 'luck'; [lɑ$_{+}$:k̂ʔ] 'like'; [l̴ɐv] 'live'; [l̴ap'] 'wrap'; etc.

Before a back vowel, [l] is very close in quality to [ɫ].

5.5.19.3. In Initial Clusters:

/l/ occurs in the initial clusters /pl, tl, kl, bl, dl, gl, fl, sl, spl/, and /skl/ if /skle'ro:sɪs/ 'sclerosis' is counted. /lj/ only occurs when unaccented, e.g. /'mɪljən/ 'million', and is in free variation with /lɪə/. The combinations /tl, dl/ are rather distinctive in comparison with many other varieties of English. Examples: /ple:/ 'play'; /tlʏəz/ 'clothes'; /kle:m/ 'claim'; /blʏ:/ 'blue'; /dlad/ 'glad'; /glɒm/ 'glum'; /flʏ:/ 'influenza'; /sli:p/ 'sleep'; /splɛɪʃ/ 'splash'; etc.

/tl/ and /kl/ are in free variation, as also are /dl/ and /gl/.[1]

Variants:

[l], lenis, less velar: in the clusters /bl, dl, gl, spl, skl/.

[l̥], devoiced, less velar: in the clusters /pl, tl, kl/. The fricative quality of [l̥] is particularly strong in the combination /tl/.

[l̥̬], slightly devoiced, less velar: in the clusters /sl, fl/, and unaccented /pl/ in /plə'tʏ:n/ 'platoon'.

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1. Cf. sections 5.5.3.3, 5.5.5.3, 5.5.4.3. and 5.5.6.3. respectively.

5.5.19.4. Medial /l/:

Medial /l/ occurs intervocallically, e.g. /'mɔlɪ/ 'Molly', and may be geminated, e.g. /'lɔllɪn/ 'lolling'.

/l/ occurs in medial clusters. Examples: /'tʃɪmblɪ, 'tʃɪmlɪ/ 'chimney'; /'sɪmblɪn/ 'Simnel'; /'fɛtlɪn, 'fɛklɪn/ 'repairing'; etc.

/e/ or /o/ may sometimes occur between /l/ and a preceding consonant: /'gambelɪn/ 'gambling'; /'fɛkelɪn/ 'feckling, fettling = repairing'; /'angelɪn/ 'angling'; etc.

This does not happen in the case of /tl, dl/ where the consonants are laterally released.

The allophones follow the general distribution pattern given in subsection 3 above. [l̥] follows accented /p, t, k/; [l̥̊] follows fortis fricatives and weakly accented /p, t, k/; [l] occurs intervocalically, and after lenis consonants; and [ɬ] must be added to the list, occurring preconsonantally in medial clusters, e.g. in /'ɜʏldɔm/ 'Oldham'. Again, it must be remembered that [l] is not a clear, front variant, but that it is merely less velar than [ɬ].

Medially, in final clusters, and word-finally in context, /l/ before /θ/ or /ð/ has a dental tongue-contact. Medially, and word-finally in context, /l/ has a post-alveolar contact when followed by /r/.

5.5.19.5. Final /l/:

[ɬ]. [fɐɬ] 'fill'; [wʊɬ] 'wool'; etc.

Final /el, ol/ occur to some extent in free variation with final consonant clusters containing syllabic /l/, but

not in the case of the final clusters /tl, dl/ where the plosives are laterally released. The quality of an unstressed vowel before [ɬ] is usually around [ɷ], e.g. ['pʻɪiˑpʻɷɬ] 'people'.

Final [ɬ] in context may be less velarised before a word beginning with /j/ or a vowel, i.e. [l].

Final /l/ may be realised as a vowel, or as [w].[1]

Final /l/ may be geminated before a vowel, hesitation or /l/ in context.

5.5.19.6. <u>In Final Clusters</u>:

/l/ is present in a large number of final clusters: /lp, lt, lk, lb, ld,[2] ltʃ, ldʒ, lm, ln, lf, lv, lθ, ls, lz, lʃ, lpt, lps, lts, lkt, lks, lbz, ldz, ltʃt, ldʒd, lmd, lmz, lnz, lfs, lfθ, lvd, lvz, lθs, lst/. Examples: /alp/ 'help'; /fɪəlt/ 'field'; /sɔlk/ 'sulk'; /bɔlb/ 'bulb'; /fɪld/ 'filled';[2] /mɔltʃ/ 'mulch'; /bɔldʒ/ 'bulge'; /fɪlm/ 'film'; /kɔln/ 'Colne'; /wɪlf/ 'Wilf'; /sɔlv/ 'solve'; /alθ/ 'health'; /pɔls/ 'pulse'; /mɪlz/ 'mills'; /wɛlʃ/ 'Welsh'; /tʃɛlpt/ 'spoke' (perj.); /tʃɛlps/ 'speaks' (perj.); /bɛlts/ 'belts'; /mɪlkt/ 'milked'; /sɔlks/ 'sulks'; /bɔlbz/ 'bulbs'; /fɪəldz/ 'fields'; /bɛltʃt/ 'belched'; /bɔldʒd/ 'bulged'; /fɪlmd/ 'filmed'; /fɪlmz/ 'films'; /mɪlnz/ 'Milne's'; /wɪlfs/ 'Wilf's'; /twɛlfθ/ 'twelfth'; /ʃɛlvd/ 'shelved'; /wɔlvz/ 'wolves'; /twɛlθs/ 'twelfths'; 'wɔlst/ 'waltzed'; etc.

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1. Cf. subsection 1 above.
2. /ld/ is of a somewhat restricted distribution due to the use of /lt/: /fɪlt/ 'filled'; /kɪlt/ 'killed', etc. Cf. further section 5.5.3.6.

[ɬ] is the allophone which occurs in final clusters. When /l/ follows a consonant, syllabic [l̩] often occurs. If [l̩] is preceded by /t, d/ they are laterally released. Examples:

['bɔt͡ʔl̩] 'bottle'; ['ad͡ʔl̩] 'addle = earn';
['gɪnl̩] 'ginnel = passage, entry'; etc.

Note also: ['dɔbl̩] 'Daubhill'.

However, since [ɬ] is [o]-qualitied, syllabic /l/ is difficult to distinguish from /o + l/.

5.5.19.7. Comparative Distribution:

(a) The dialect has the initial clusters /tl, dl/.

(b) [l] is more velar than in RP and the distinction between the allophones [l] and [ɬ] is therefore less clear.

(c) The dialect has /l/ in the following words: /'lerɪ/ 'hurry'; /lap/ 'wrap'; /'tʃɪmblɪ, 'tʃɪmlɪ/ 'chimney'; /'sɪmblɪn/ 'Simnel'.

(d) Compared with RP, ME and NS, the dialect does not have /l/ in a large number of words. This is especially the case after /ɔ:/ (to a lesser extent /ɔə/) and /ɜʏ/.

(i) Medially. /'wɔəweks/ 'Wallwork's'; /'wɔ:ge:t/ 'Wallgate'; /'ɔ:tθə(r)/ 'alter'; /'bɜʏtn/ 'Bolton'; /'fɔ:tɪ/ 'faulty'; /fɔ:n/ 'fallen'; /stɜʏn/ 'stolen'; /'kɔ:ɪn/ 'calling'; /'o:nɪ/ 'only'; /'ʃɜʏdðə(r)z/ 'shoulders'; /'ʃɜʏðə(r)t/ 'shouldered'; /'sɜʏdʒə(r)/ 'soldier'; /'ɔ:mo:st/ 'almost'; /ˌɔ:'rɛdɪ/ 'already'; /ɔə'ri:t/ 'all right'; /ˌɔ:t'gɛðə(r)/ 'altogether'; /ɜʏdəm/ 'Oldham'; /'bɜʏsθə(r)/ 'bolster'; etc.

In the traditional dialect, word-medial /l/ is used optionally after /ɜʏ/ without constituting a modification of speech: /'ɜʏldɔm/ 'Oldham'; /'ʃɜʏlðə(r)/ 'shoulder'; /'pɜʏlθrɪ/ 'poultry'; /'bɜʏlðə(r)/ 'boulder'; etc.

(ii) In final clusters, including inflected forms. /'θrɛlfɔ:z/ 'Threlfall's'; /pɜʏd/ 'cut'; /'nɒtɐz/ 'Nuttall's'; /bɔ:z/ 'balls'; /'appɒz/ 'apples'; /sɔ:t/ 'salt'; /fɔ:t/ 'fault'; /fɔ:s/ 'false'; /bɔ:d/ 'bald'; /ɜʏd/ 'old; hold'; /bɜʏd/ 'bold'; /mɜʏd/ 'mulled; mould'; /sɜʏd/ 'sold'; /tɜʏd/ 'told'; /kɜʏd/ 'cold'; /gɜʏd/ 'gold'; /fɜʏd/ 'fold' (v); /fɜʏt/ 'Fold'; /bɜʏt/ 'bolt'; /mɛ:t/ 'moult'; etc.

Again, /l/ may be used optionally after /ɜʏ/: /mɜʏld/ 'mould'; /mɜʏlt/ 'moult'; and /mɛ:lt/ 'moult'.

(iii) Word-finally. /fɛ:/ 'ugly'; /pʏ:/ 'pull'; /stʏ:/ 'stool'; /skʏ:/ 'school'; /fʏ:/ 'fool'; /'blakpʏ:/ 'Blackpool'; /fɜʏ/ 'ugly'; /pɜʏ/ 'cut'; /'tɛlɪˌpɜʏ/ 'telegraph-pole'; /ɔ:/ 'all; hall'; /bɔ:/ 'ball'; /fɔ:/ 'fall'; /kɔ:/ 'call'; /stɔ:/ 'stall'; /wɔ:/ 'wall'; /'appɒ/ 'apple'; /'ɛsɒ/ 'ash-hole'; /'jarɐ/ 'ear-hole'; /'nɒtɐ/ 'Nuttall'; etc.

5.5.19.8. Modification:

The use of a less velar /l/ is a mark of considerable modification, and is perhaps more common amongst women.

With reference to the preceding section, /l/ is introduced into the words in subsection 7(d), along with appropriate vowel and diphthong changes where necessary, although exceptions may be made for /'o:nɪ/ 'only', /ɔ:/ 'all', /ɔ:'raɪt/ 'all right' and /fɜʏ/ 'ugly' (but not /fɛ:/); /l/ is lost in the words in subsection 7(c), although /lap/ 'wrap' and /'lerɪ/ 'hurry' might be retained by some speakers; and a trace at least of the combinations /tl, dl/ is likely to be retained in modified speech in word-initial position.

5.5.20. /w/

5.5.20.1.

/w/ is a labio-velar semi-vowel which occurs initially and medially within the word. /ʍ/ is not a phoneme of the dialect, and the combination /hw/ does not occur, so that contrasts between /w/ and /ʍ, hw/ are not possible. /w/ is pronounced with lip-rounding, but the exact degree of rounding depends upon the following vowel. In consonant clusters, consonants which precede /w/ are somewhat rounded.

5.5.20.2. Initial /w/:

[w]. Examples: /wæ:(r)tʃ/ 'ache'; /wɔm/ 'home'; /wɪk/ 'wick, lively, alive; week'; /'wɪkɪz/ 'insects'; /wɛd/ 'wed, marry'; etc.

5.5.20.3. In Initial Clusters:

(a) [ʷ]: Devoiced after accented /t, k/, as in /twang/ 'accent'; /kwe:(r)/ 'queer'; /kwɔ:p/ 'Co-op'; etc.

(b) [ʷ̥]: Slightly devoiced after /sk, θ, s/ in /skwɪnt/ 'squint'; /'skwɔzn/ 'squozzen = squeezed' (p.p.); /θwæ:(r)t/ 'thwart'; /swɔp/ 'swap'; etc.

(c) [w]: In the cluster /dw/: /dwɪndl/ 'dwindle'.

Unless names of Welsh origin are included, the initial clusters containing /w/ are /tw, kw, dw, θw, sw, skw/; /gw/ is only secured by names such as Gwen, which are not really a part of the dialect. There is no initial cluster /hw/, as /h/ is not a phoneme of the dialect.

5.5.20.4. Medial /w/:

(a) [w]: Occurs intervocalically: [ɐ'wɔm] 'at home'; [ɐ'we:] 'away'. Note the geminated form in ['pʻɜÿwwɪn] 'powing = cutting hair (polling)'. [w] occurs generally as a glide in vowel and diphthong groups, and within diphthongs. Such occurrences of [w] do not affect meaning, and the strength or prominence of the glide is variable. Examples: ['ɜʉʷwɐʲ] 'our'; ['fɵ̈:ʷɪn] 'falling'; ['gÿ·wɪn] 'going'; ['dÿ:ʷɪn, 'dʉ·wɪn] 'doing'; ['mÿ·ʷɐ] 'moor'; etc.

Cf. forms of falling, going and doing without [w] [fɵ̈·ɪn], [gÿ·ɪn], [dʉ·ɪn], etc.

Such uses of [w] are common in modified speech, e.g. ['sky:wʉʻ] 'school'.

/w/ is realised medially as [w] after a lenis consonant: /'sɑmwɪə(r)/ 'somewhere'; /'samwɪdʒ/ 'sandwich'; etc.

(b) /p, t, k/ medially are not released before /w/ unless the cluster is all a part of the same syllable. In /'alkwɔl/ 'alcohol' and /'i:kwɔl/ 'equal', the syllable boundary precedes the /k/, and a somewhat devoiced allophone [ʞ̬] may be readily discerned.

5.5.20.5. Final /w/:

/w/ does not occur finally, but [w] occurs intervocallically as a glide between words, e.g. [gʏ:ʷɐʔ] 'go at'.

Final [w] may also result from a very velar /l/: ['qʉpöw andz] 'couple of hands'; ['kʻɜʉnsɘʷ'ɜʉzɪz] 'council houses'.

5.5.20.6. In Final Clusters:

None.

5.5.20.7. Comparative Distribution:

(a) Vis-à-vis RP, ME, and often NS, a considerable number of words in the dialect do not contain /w/ in unstressed syllables. Typical are words which end in -ward(s) and -worth: /'pɛne(r)θ/ 'pennyworth'; /'e:pe(r)θ/ 'halfpennyworth'; /ɔəz, 'ɔəlɑz, 'ɔəlɑs/ 'always'; /'fæ:(r)neθ/ 'Farnworth'; /blak ɑnz/ 'black ones', and very many similar examples; /'rɔðelz/ 'Rothwells'; /ˌlɔng'kɔ:zɪ/ 'Longcauseway'; /'daren/ 'Darwen'; /'darene(r)z/ 'Darweners'; /'fɔre(r)d/ 'forward(s)'; /'bake(r)t/ 'backward'; /'bake(r)ts/ 'backwards'; /'ɔ:ke(r)t/ 'awkward'; /'saɪde(r)ts/ 'sideways'; /tɔə(r)t/ 'towards'; /'ɑpe(r)ts/ 'upwards'; /'sɑmɑt/ 'something', cf. somewhat;[1] /'bɛzɪk/ 'Beswick' (both as a place-name and a personal name).

(b) /w/ is present in dialect: /kwɔ:p/ 'Co-op'; /'alkwɔl/ 'alcohol'; /wɑm/ 'home'; /e'wɑm/ 'at home'; /wæ:(r)tʃ/ 'ache' - cf., however, RP work.

(c) There is no /ʍ/ phoneme or /hw/ combination in the dialect. Dialect /w/ therefore corresponds to /ʍ/ in all words containing /ʍ/ in some varieties of RP.

5.5.20.8. Modification:

Phonetically, none. With reference to the preceding section:

(a) /w/ may be introduced into these words.

(b) /kɔ:p/ is a modified form of /kwɔ:p/; /'alkwɔl/ remains as such, unless /h/ is used; /w/ is

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1. Cf. Sieß (1929: 122).

lost in /wɒm/ and /ɐ'wɒm/, which become /o:m/ and /et o:m/. /wæ:(r)tʃ/ is not used.

(c) /w/ is retained.

5.5.21. /r/

5.5.21.1.

Note that the symbol [ɹ] was approved in 1973 as an IPA symbol which has the value of a "retroflex frictionless continuant".[1]

/r/ is a post-alveolar frictionless continuant, which is subject to variation in its distribution. Two specifications may be given; one for a speaker of traditional dialect who uses a final and pre-consonantal /r/, and one for a speaker of traditional dialect who does not use such an /r/. The first type of speaker is doubtless more typical of the dialect viewed historically, and the second reflects the current direction of modification. However, speakers of traditional vernacular with little trace of final and pre-consonantal /r/ are nowadays not uncommon. Furthermore, the two specifications represent idealised positions. What happens in reality is that many speakers use final and pre-consonantal /r/ here and there, on one occasion but not on another, i.e. after a rather unsystematic and unpredictable fashion.

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1. Journal of the International Phonetic Association, vol. 3, no. 2 (Dec. 1973), p. 61. Note further Wakelin (1972a: 99): "In Lancashire and the counties bordering it to the south and east non-initial r is of an [ɹ] type, but is perhaps slightly more retroflex than this transcription would suggest."

It is probably fair to say that in the outlying, more countrified districts around the area, final and pre-consonantal /r/ is more extensively used than in the urban areas with which I am concerned in this study.[1] The decline in such uses of /r/ in the urban environment brings with it problems of transcription. For instance, a mere trace of post-vocalic /r/ in a word-final, unstressed syllable - perhaps in "sentence"-final position too, or obscured by noise - can be extremely difficult to detect. Equally, a faint trace of /r/-colouring can be very difficult to distinguish from the roundness and tension associated with /e:/ or /e/, or from schwa-type diphthongisation of a long vowel. There are also problems of phonemicisation. The now very uncertain status of final and pre-consonantal /r/ and its total absence in the speech of some speakers render phonemicisations of such words as sure, pork, cord and here as /ʏ:r, o:r, ɔ:r, i:r/ over-idealised and unrepresentative. The solution adopted here is to phonemicise as /ʏə(r), oə(r), ɔə(r), ɪə(r)/, which is exact when /r/ is not pronounced, and phonetically quite realistic when it is.[2] By the same token, one may phonemicise /e(r)/ after a diphthong, e.g. /'laɪe(r)/ 'liar'.

With speakers who use final and pre-consonantal /r/, /r/ occurs initially, medially and finally within the word. With those who do not, /r/ occurs initially, medially when

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1. The SED and ALE transcriptions for Harwood, on the outskirts of the Greater Bolton area, offer evidence in support of this view. See Orton and Halliday (1962-3) and the Atlas Linguarum Europae Harwood responses.
2. For further details cf sections 5.4.5.1, 5.4.6.1, 5.4.7.1. and 5.4.8.1.

intervocalic or post-consonantal, and finally only as a linking r or in free variation with /t/, when the next word begins with a vowel.

In stressed syllables /r/ does not occur in the environment /e/ - voicelss consonant.[1] Examples:

/tʃetʃ/ 'church'; /teps/ 'turpentine'; /sket/ 'skirt'; /wek/ 'work'; /weθ, wɔθ/ 'worth'; /nes, nɔs/ 'nurse'; etc.

5.5.21.2. Initial /r/:

/rɛɪtʃ/ 'reach'; /rʏəd/ 'road'; /rɔks/ 'rucks'; etc.

The allophone used initially is [ɹ].

5.5.21.3. In Initial Clusters:

/r/ occurs in the initial clusters /pr, kr, br, gr, fr, ʃr, θr, ðr, spr, skr, sθr/. Words containing /tr, dr, str/ in RP have /θr, ðr, sθr/ respectively in the dialect. Examples: /'pre:te/ 'potato'; /krɔd/ 'curdle'; /brɪng/ 'bring'; /grɛɪt/ 'great'; /'fri:tn/ 'frighten'; /ʃrɪmp/ 'shrimp'; /θri:/ 'three; tree'; /ðrɔnk/ 'drank, drunk'; /sprɪng/ 'Spring'; /skrʏ:/ 'screw'; /sθrɔng/ 'strong'; etc.

Note also: /brɔn/ 'burn'; /bræ:st/ 'burst'; /brɪd/ 'bird'.

The initial cluster /ʃr/ is sometimes /sr/, e.g. /ʃrɪmp, srɪmp/ 'shrimp'.

Allophones:
[ɹ̥]: Devoiced after /p, k/ when accented.

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1. Cf. sections 5.3.6.1. and 5.2.8.1.

[ɹ̥]: Slightly devoiced after unaccented /p, k/ (prepare, creation); after /f, ʃ/, and /s/ when used; and after /sp, sk/.

[ɹ]: After /b, g/.

[ɾ̥] or [r̥]: Devoiced alveolar tap or roll after /θ/.

[ɾ̥] or [r̥]: Somewhat devoiced tap or roll after /sθ/.

[ɾ] or [r]: Alveolar tap or roll after /ð/.

5.5.21.4. Medial /r/:

Speakers who use pre-consonantal /r/ evince a greater range of medial clusters than those who only use medial /r/ intervocalically and post-consonantally. /r/ occurs intervocalically, e.g. /'fɔred/ 'forward', etc. and thus also in free variation with /t/:[1] /'gɛrɪn/ 'getting'; /'lɛrɪn/ 'letting'; etc. This latter use of /r/ is restricted to a number of present participles after /ɛ/ or /ɑ/. I have noted: getting, setting, letting, cutting and putting.[2] In addition to being used intervocalically by all speakers, /r/ occurs post-consonantally with all speakers, e.g. /'sɛkeθrɪ/ 'secretary'. Again, the dialect has /sθr, θr, ðr/ corresponding to RP /str, tr, dr/ respectively.

The medial /r/ of speakers who use a pre-consonantal or post-vocalic /r/ is of a more retroflex character. It is often heard after /æ:/: /'pæ:rkɪn/ 'parkin'; /'kæ:rpɪt/ 'carpet'; etc. Since it is not used by some speakers, and is used inconsistently by others, I have placed brackets

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1. Usually the voiced flap allophone [ɾ].
2. Cf. the parallel use of /r/ word-finally in subsection 5 below. Additionally /r/ may occur in /'bɛre(r)/ 'better', although /'bɛtθe(r)/ is more usual. /'bɛre(r)/ probably occurs more frequently in slightly modified speech.

around it in the general phonemicisation in order to indicate that it is optional. It should be noted that the tongue is often in the retroflex position for the duration of the preceding vowel, resulting in an /r/-coloured vowel, e.g. ['kʻäˠːɹtʻɪn] 'carting'. /r/, of course, occurs after other vowels and diphthongs too.

[ɻ̩]: More retroflex allophone. Occurs post-vocalically,[1] and may be used intervocalically too by speakers who use final and pre-consonantal /r/. Other speakers use [ɹ] intervocalically.

[ɾ] or [r]: Sometimes occur between vowels, e.g. [ˌɪnθə'rɛstɪn] 'interesting'.

5.5.21.5. Final /r/:

[ɻ̩]. Examples: /far/ 'far'; /foər/ 'four'; /ɪər/ 'here'; /'mɑðer/ 'mother'; etc.

As in the case of medial pre-consonantal /r/, final /r/ is only used by some speakers, and even then not with complete regularity. In the general phonemicisation it is therefore placed in brackets. However, with all speakers, /r/ may alternate with /t/ - principally the voiced flap allophone [ɾ] thereof - word-finally before words beginning with vowels.

Examples: /gɛr ɛːt/ 'get out'; /pɑr ɔn/ 'put on'; /ʃɑr ɑp/ 'shut up'; /nɔr 'ɔːfn/ 'not often'; etc.

/r/ may be used after /ɛ, ɔ, ɑ/ in free variation with /t/, but not in all words. The words involved, as in the parallel

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1. [ɻ̩] is merely given as [ɹ] in the presentation of the thesis generally. Its retroflex character may be taken for granted if it occurs post-vocalically.

medial usage described in subsection 4 above, all appear to be very common ones. The allophones used are [ɹ], and sometimes [ɻ] in the case of those speakers who use a more retroflex allophone.

[ɾ] or [r] may occur word-finally before a word beginning with a vowel, as in /'we:θer ɒp/ 'water up' and ['slɔ:θer ɛ:s] 'slaughter house'. This observation also applies to speakers who do not use final /r/ other than before a vowel.

[ɹ] and [ɻ] also function as linking forms when a word ends historically in /r/ and the next word begins with a vowel, e.g. /ster ɪt/ 'stir it'. /r/ also functions as a historically "intrusive" linking form after /æ:, e/ when the next word begins with a vowel: /næ:r a sɛz/ '"No", I says'; /'granmer en/ 'grandma and'; etc. However, /r/ may <u>not</u> intrude as a linking /r/ after /ɔ:/, as it sometimes does in RP.[1] The dialect uses vowel groups or diphthongs, or a [w]-glide: [k'ɔ̈'ɐm, k'ɔ:ɪm, k'ɔ'^{w}ɐm] 'call him'.

Final /r/ may be geminated before a hesitation.

5.5.21.6. <u>In Final Clusters</u>:

[ɻ]. /r/ occurs pre-consonantally in final clusters, and in the general phonemicisation is placed between brackets, as some speakers do not use /r/ in this position, and others only do so inconsistently. The number of such final clusters is very great. In the pattern: final vowel + consonant + consonant, /r/ may be followed by /p, t, k, b, d,[2] g, tʃ, dʒ,

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1. Cf. Gimson (1974: 209).
2. Final /e(r)d/ is limited in distribution due to the use of /e(r)t/ - cf. section 5.5.3.6, and the next footnote.

ʃ, m, n, l, f, v, θ, s, z/.

Examples: /wæ:(r)p/ 'warp'; /fɪə(r)t/ 'afraid'; /'wanðre:(r)z/ 'Wanderers'; /wæ:(r)tʃ/ 'ache'; /jæ:(r)b/ 'herb'; etc.

with the /r/ pronounced in each case. Note especially /'ɑnðe(r)t/ 'hundred'. There are many further combinations still, however:

/r + p, t, k, θ, f + s/
/r + l, s, p, k, tʃ, m, n, f + t/
/r + b, d, g, m, n, l, v + z/
/r + b, dʒ, (m, n, l), v + d/[1]
/r + m + θ/

This list of combinations does not lay any claim to exhaustiveness. The attempt to sketch out at least some of the possibilities reminds one of the extent to which detailed phonological work is dependent upon an extensive corpus of dialect lexis in phonemic form. Further, in the case of /r/ there is the particular additional difficulty that it is not always pronounced.

5.5.21.7. Comparative Distribution:

(a) Final and pre-consonantal /r/ may be used in the dialect. This is more retroflex in form. /r/ is present pre-consonantally in medial clusters, word-finally, and in final clusters, in addition to the positions which it occupies in RP.

(b) The dialect has the combinations /θr, ðr, sθr/ in initial and medial clusters. Dialect /θr/ corresponds to RP /θr/, and also to all occurrences of RP

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1. /m, n, l/ are often followed by /t/ traditionally: /wæ:(r)mt/ 'warmed'; /læ:(r)nt/ 'learned'; /kə:(r)lt/ 'curled'; etc. However, /d/ is sometimes used in the same words. Cf. further section 5.5.3.6.

/tr/, and therefore has a much wider distribution than RP /θr/. /ðr/ and /sθr/ correspond to all occurrences of RP /dr/ and /str/ respectively. The question of treating /tr, dr/ as unit phonemes consequently does not arise in the dialect. /sr/ sometimes occurs in the dialect for /ʃr/.

(c) The presence of a more retroflex allophone, the absence of /tr, dr/, and the presence of /sθr, θr, ðr/, give a different range of allophones in the dialect, and a somewhat different allophonic distribution.

(d) /r/ is used medially and finally in some words in free variation with /t/ in the dialect.

(e) The dialect does not use linking /r/ after /ɔ:/.

(f) There is extensive diphthongisation in the dialect where historical /r/ has receded.

(g) The plural of dialect /tʃaɪlt/ 'child' is formed in /r/: /'tʃɪlðə(r)/ 'children'.

(h) /r/ occurs in /'pre:tə/ 'potato'.

(i) Compare the position of dialect /r/ in: /brɪd/ 'bird'; /brɒn/ 'burn'; /krɒd/ 'curdle'; /bræ:st/ 'burst'; /'ɒnðə(r)t/ 'hundred'.

5.5.21.8. Modification:

The direction of modification is away from the use of pre-consonantal and final /r/. This affects both the distribution of /r/ and its phonetic realisations. Where /r/ remains after a vowel, the degree of retroflexion tends to be less. /r/ is most resilient after /æ:/.

The clusters /sθr, θr, ðr/ give way in modified speech to /str, tr, dr/ respectively. The latter set contains a more fricative allophone of /r/ , and the possibility of setting up /tr/ and /dr/ as unit phonemes might be considered.

/r/ is retained in modified speech in words where it is in free variation with /t/.

With reference to subsection 7 above,

(g) —> /'tʃɪldrən/

(h) —> /pə'te:tə/, etc.

(i) /brɪd/ —> /be:(r)d/
/brɒn/ —> /be:(r)n/
/krɒd/ is retained
/brɑ:st/ —> /best, bɒst, be:(r)st/
/'ɒnðə(r)t/ —> /'ɒndrɪd/.

People who modify their speech to a considerable extent are very conscious of the use of medial and final /r/, where it corresponds to RP /t/. Children are urged to modify with the exhoration:

/nɔt sə mɔtʃ əv jə(r)'gɛrɪnz ən 'gɔrɪnz/
'Not so much of your "gerrins" and "gorrins"!'

Note that there is actually no form "gorrin", unless one includes 'got in', which is spoken with a different stress and intonation pattern.

5.5.22. /j/

5.5.22.1.

/j/ is an unrounded, palatal semi-vowel which occurs initially and medially within the word, although many occurrences of [j] in word-medial position, or as a glide between words, do not occasion distinctions in meaning. [j] is a voiced, lenis allophone, but [ç] is a fortis allophone. /j/ occurs in a considerable number of initial

and medial clusters, although the number is less than in RP.

5.5.22.2. Initial /j/:

[j]. Examples: /jɛlz/ 'healds'; /jʏə(r)/ 'hair'; /jæ:(r)bz/ 'herbs'; /'jarə/ 'ear-hole'; /jɛd/ 'head'; /'jɛdðə(r), 'jɛθə(r)/ 'dragon-fly'; /jaɪ/ 'yes' (when contradicting); /'jɛzɪ/ 'easy'; /'jɛzɪə(r)/ 'easier'; /jæ:(r)/ 'hear'; etc.

5.5.22.3. In Initial Clusters:

(a) [ç] and [j̥]: Gimson gives [ç] after accented /p, t, k, h/ before /u:, ʊə/ for RP.[1] In the dialect there is no /h/ phoneme, and the combination /tj/ is unusual, for /tʃ/ is generally used. A fortis fricative may be heard, however, in the combination /kj/, e.g. [k‡'çÿ't'] 'cute', and also in the cluster /pj/ in a word such as pure, although in the case of /pj/ I have often transcribed [p^hj̥].

(b) [j̥] occurs after /sp, st, sk, f/:[2] /'stjʏ:wə(r)t/ 'Stewart'; /spjʏ:/ 'spew'; /'skjʏ:wə(r)/ 'skewer'; /fjʏ:/ 'few'; etc.

(c) [j] follows the lenis consonants /b, m, n, v/ and, in the case of certain exceptions, /d/. Examples: /'bjɛtn/ 'beaten'; /mjʏəl/ 'mule'; /njʏ:t/ 'newt'; /vjʏ:/ 'view'; etc.

/dj/ occurs in /djɛd/ 'dead'; /djɛθ/ 'death' and /djɛf/ 'deaf', although it is less usual than /dɪə/ or /dʒɛ/.

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1. Cf. Gimson (1974: 213f).
2. The same allophone occurs after unaccented /p, k/, e.g. in /'dɪspjʏ:t/ 'dispute' in section 4(c) of this discussion. Unaccented /pj, kj/ are rare initially, but there is one case of each: curiosity and purification.

(d) Isolated occurrences of /tj/, more usually /tʃ/: /'tjʏ:də(r)/ 'Tudor'; /tjʏ:n/ 'tune'.

Isolated occurrences of /dj/, more usually /dʒ/: /djʏ:n/ 'June'; /'djʏ:tɪ/ 'duty'.

(e) There is an occasional - but seemingly very residual - instance here and there of palatalisation of initial /k, g/, or of /kj, gj/ clusters in words now generally pronounced with /k, g/: [kˢäːnʔ̍] 'can't'; [gʲɛt] 'get'; ['gjɛt͡ʔn̩] 'got' (p.p.); etc.[1]

(f) The very occasional omission of /j/ in clusters where it would be normal, e.g. /'mʏ:zɪk/ 'music', could possibly be due to American influence, and I have not recorded any such forms from female informants.

5.5.22.4. Medial /j/:

(a) In compounds: /ˌli:t'jɛdɪd/ 'light-headed, fair'; /'skɪnjɛd/ 'skinhead'; etc.

(b) As a glide in groups of vowels and diphthongs, or within a diphthong. [j] is optional in such contexts, and has no effect on meaning. Examples: ['fɛɪ̯jəˌmɔn] 'fireman'; ['ɟ̆ʲə, 'ɟ̆jə, 'ɟ̆jəˑ] 'here'; etc.

Note also the geminated forms in ['θɾaˑɪjjɪn] 'trying' and ['ɟ̆jjə] 'here'.

(c) In consonant clusters: /'fɛbjʏ:ɛrɪ/ 'February'; /'æ:(r)gjʏ:/ 'argue'; /'dɪspjʏ:t/ 'dispute'; etc.

When unstressed, forms such as /'tʃampjən/ 'champion' and /'mɪljən/ 'million' alternate with forms containing /ɪə/.

/j/ is not present in the unstressed syllables in /'ambələns/ 'ambulance'; /ˌrɛgə'le:ʃənz/ 'regulations';

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1. Cf. Strang (1974: 82): "Removal of /j/ occurs between a velar stop and a front vowel - can, girl, were regularly /kjæn/, /gjɜ:l/ till well on in the 19c, and analogous forms occur in New England."

/'dɛpeˌtɪz/ 'deputies'; /'kɔleɾɪ/ 'colliery'; /'sɛleˌlɔɪd/ 'celluloid'; /'vakɷm/ 'vacuum'; etc.

/tj/ does not occur in either stressed or unstressed syllables generally speaking, but /dj/, which does not generally occur in stressed syllables, alternates with /dʒ/ in unstressed syllables in words such as gradual, individual, etc.

5.5.22.5. Final /j/:

/j/ does not occur as such, but [j] occurs as a glide between words. This glide may be geminated in the manner of a final consonant. Examples: [wɪ̟ʲäd] 'we had'; [bɪ̟ʲɪn] 'be in'; [ɟθr̝̊ɪ̟ːjjɪn] 'three in'; [pʻɟ̟ːjjönʔ] 'pea on the'; ['ɪ̟ˑjjə] 'he er'; etc.

5.5.22.6. In Final Clusters:

None.

5.5.22.7. Comparative Distribution:

(a) In the words in section 2 of this discussion, dialect initial /j/ corresponds to RP /h/, or no consonant at all.

(b) The allophone [ç] is more restricted in its distribution in the dialect.[1]

(c) /j/ is not present in the dialect in a number of unstressed syllables.[2]

(d) The dialect does not have the clusters /tj/, /dj/, except as stated above;[3] /lj/, except in some unstressed syllables;[4] /θj/; /sj/; /hj/ (/h/ not

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1. Cf. subsection 3(a) above.
2. Cf. subsection 4(c) above, for examples.
3. See subsections 3(c), (d) and 4(c) above.
4. Cf. section 4(c) above, and /'valjɤː/ 'value'.

being a phoneme of the dialect); nor the unstressed combination /zj/. Initial /gj/ is restricted to forms as in (f).

In words listed by Gimson as having two pronunciations, namely /u:/ and /ju:/,[1] (after /l, θ, s, z/), the dialect has only pronunciations with /ʏ:/.[2]

In words listed by Gimson as having pronunciations with /tj, dj, sj, zj/ alternating with /tʃ, dʒ, ʃ, ʒ/[3] the dialect uses the latter set.[4]

(e) Occasional apparent "omissions" of /j/, as given in subsection 3(f) above.

(f) The use of [j] or /j/ in words such as [g^{j}ɛt] 'get' contrasts with standard usage.

(g) Corresponding to RP /d/: /djɛd/ 'dead'; /djɛθ/ 'death'; /djɛf/ 'deaf'.

(h) Corresponding to RP /b/: /bjɛt/ 'beat'; /'bjɛtn/ 'beaten'.

5.5.22.8. Modification:

The pattern of allophones remains basically the same. The phonetic quality of /j/ is not changed, and its use as a glide in vowel groups, diphthongs, and between words is retained in modified speech.

With reference to section 7 of this discussion:

(a) Initial /j/ is lost. /h/ may appear, where appropriate, for those speakers who use it, although it is likely to appear inconsistently, and possibly hypercorrectly.[5]

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1. See Gimson (1974: 214f).
2. In as far, that is, as the words in question can be elicited from dialect speakers, and - when not - in as far as we can predict their pronunciation in the event of their being used.
3. See Gimson (1974: 215).
4. Again, in as far as the words can be elicited from informants, or their pronunciations predicted.
5. Cf. section 5.5.23.

(b) Use of [ç] may be slightly increased in the event of /tj/'s being used.[1] /hj/ is also possible.

(c) /j/ may be introduced on an optional basis.

(d) Resistance to these clusters remains in modified speech. Some use of /tj/ and /dj/ is possible.

(e) Neither more nor less likely than in the residual dialect.

(f) [j] disappears.

(g) /dj/ —> /d/.

(h) /bj/ —> /b/ (+ /i:/).

5.5.23. [h]

[h] is not a phoneme of the dialect.[2] Amongst traditional speakers it occurs very occasionally in word-initial position when extreme emphasis is required.

Examples: [ə 'fɑ̟:ᵊvəɹ ɪn ðɛm dë:z | wə la'ːk ə 'hɔnðəʔ p'ɛ:ndʔ tə'd'e: | ə tÿ: ʷ 'ɔnðət#] 'A fiver in them (those) days were (was) like a hundred pound(s) today - or two hundred'. [ɪ̟: jʉ:s dʉ: ə hɛ̟ɬ əv ə 'blɐ̟dɪ guɡʔ θɾe:d] 'He used to do a hell of a bloody good trade'. In these examples, the words pronounced with [h] are massively stressed.

The normal equivalent of RP /h/ is therefore zero, but in some cases the dialect has /j/:

/jɛd/ 'head', and compounds thereof: /jæ:(r)bz/ 'herbs'; /jʏə(r)/ 'hair'; /jɛlz/ 'healds';

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1. Cf. item (d).
2. So also Lodge (1966: 28) for Stockport. On the implications for dialect orthographies, see Shorrocks (1978d).

/jæ:(r)/ 'hear'; etc.[1]

[h] is sometimes used in modified speech, depending upon the degree of modification. Some speakers use it sporadically, others more extensively, but, even in the latter case, not with absolute consistency. Thus, in addition to the large-scale "omission" of /h/ where it occurs in RP on the part of modified speakers, we also encounter instances of hypercorrect usage, such as a hact of parliment [sic] and a hengine. Hypercorrect usage apart, the use of /h/ or [h] in modified speech is generally associated with the social situations in which a change of style is called for, i.e. in formal situations, at work, and so on. One modified speaker observed: "I always pronounce my aitches at work, but never at home."

Although I have referred to the use of [h] for purposes of emphasis and modification, and as a hypercorrect phenomenon, these do not constitute firm, discrete categorisations. An informant once told me how his "Dad got promoted [||| tə ðɪ 'hָɔslə[ɹ] |||]" 'to the ostler'. Here, the word ostler is emphasised; the informant is modifying his speech as well (note the full form of the definite article, and the lowered variant of /ɔ/); and the [h] is hypercorrect to boot. All three factors can, of course, be readily understood, due to this being a moment of great personal pride and importance for the informant.

Note: It is worth observing that [h] was largely absent from the speech of those junior schoolchildren whom I recorded.

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1. Cf. section 5.5.22.2.

6. MORPHOLOGY AND SYNTAX

We now move on to a discussion of the morphology and syntax of the dialect of Farnworth and district.

6.1 Methodology and Presentation:

An account of morphology and syntax is proposed:

(a) as a necessary component of a grammar of a dialect;[1]

(b) as desirable within the range of dialect studies, as observed by McIntosh;[2]

(c) as a part of the purpose of the study - a personal hypothesis is advanced, to the effect that differences between dialects at the grammatical (especially syntactic) level are underestimated;[3]

(d) as relevant within linguistics as a whole, where analysis of spoken colloquial language is still in its infancy.[4] It is suggested that a formal approach is at the moment premature, and that an approach which is corpus-based is more appropriate to the distillation of fundamental syntactic categories, and is a prerequisite to a formal analysis.[5]

Some matters relating to grammar have been raised earlier in terms of the problems of interpreting in transcription,[6] the

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1. Cf. subsection 1(a) of section 1.1.1.7, and especially section 1.1.1.8.
2. Cf. section 1.1.1.8; McIntosh (1961: 104ff).
3. Cf. section 1.1.1.8.
4. Cf. subsection 2 of section 1.1.1.7.
5. Cf. section 1.1.1.5; subsections 5, 6 and 9 of section 1.1.1.7.
6. Cf. section 3.9.

grammatical exceptions to dialect /θ/ and /ð/ in correspondence to RP /t/ and /d/,[1] and glottalisation and the realisations of the definite article, the preposition to, and the second person singular interrogative forms of modal and auxiliary verbs.[2]

A corpus of tape recorded speech is not so adequate for a grammar as it is for a phonology. Many grammatical features will probably not be present in a given corpus and others are likely to be insufficiently clear. Occurrence in a corpus is not enough to justify accounting an item a form or construction of the dialect. The item might perhaps be an error, a reformulation, or an idiosyncrasy. Recurrence is a safer criterion. But even then, the fact that a speaker uses a construction several times does not prove that it is part of the grammar of the dialect - or even that it is that speaker's regular choice of construction.[3] It seems preferable, then, that a form should be used at least twice, and by speakers who are:

(a) not related to each other;

(b) not being interviewed together;

(c) not in the position of just having heard the form from the dialectologist, whether deliberately or by chance.

These criteria are an attempt to avoid errors and idiosyncrasies, or forms restricted to a single family, or used in imitation of others in the interview situation, and on this reckoning it

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1. Cf. sections 5.5.11.4 and 5.5.12.4.
2. Cf. sections 3.9, 5.5.3.5-6, 5.5.4.5-6, 5.5 and 6.2.1.1.
3. Cf. McIntosh (1961: 104).

is necessary to visit two or more unrelated informants when using questionnaire techniques.

In order that a corpus should be of sufficient size to afford a basis for the outline of a grammar, tape recordings may be supplemented by other material.[1] The observations of the dialectologist and the notes which he makes when living in the area are very valuable. However, these are no substitute for analysing a corpus completely, because the dialectologist may simply be collecting forms which he is predisposed to collect, no matter how great the number of chance examples which he assembles.[2] This criticism would apply also to hypotheses which he formulates when reading dialect literature, and to the a prioristic nature of existing questionnaires. The use of collecting slips sent in by others is in some ways a desirable corrective, in that it at least harnesses the powers of observation and analysis of many others. The same might be said of the use of studies on neighbouring areas. Both sources can yield many hypotheses which prove fruitful when checked out in the area.[3] Ultimately, however, it would be desirable to carry out a thorough grammatical analysis of a very large corpus of recorded speech, attempting to account for all the features in that corpus. But this is probably a task more suited to a team than an individual. It presupposes both the human and material resources required to assemble an adequate corpus. Further, it presupposes the resources to

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1. Cf. section 1.2.1.6.
2. Cf. Ruoff (1973: 158). Contrast the procedure of Camproux (1960).
3. Cf. section 1.2.1.4 on the use of written sources.

analyse the corpus when assembled. Since there is no widely accepted grammar of English - especially of the colloquial spoken form - it might well be necessary to formulate an original grammar from scratch. Notions such as text, utterance and sentence would be crucial, whilst the analysis of sentence patterns might well presuppose a suprasegmental phonology. There would also be considerable problems of interpretation for the transcriber(s)[1] and analyst(s), given the constant hesitations and readjustments to syntax which are encountered in the spoken situation.[2] Clearly, such an analysis is beyond this present study, in terms both of size and the grammatical tools required. The requirement that a corpus be analysed completely[3] is therefore less fully met in the grammatical analysis than in the phonology. In the preparation of the grammar which follows, I used:

(a) the corpus of tape recordings[4]

(b) notes made whilst living in the area[5]

(c) the SED Questionnaire[6]

(d) collecting slips[7]

(e) other dialect studies[8]

(f) dialect literature[9]

(g) my own questions[10]

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1. Cf. section 3.9.
2. Cf. Wackernagel-Jolles (1971: 90).
3. Cf. section 1.2.
4. Cf. section 1.2.1.6.
5. Cf. sections 1.2.1.5-6.
6. Orton and Dieth (1962). Cf. sections 1.2.1.1 and 1.2.1.6.
7. See Appendix and sections 1.2.1.4 and 1.2.1.6.
8. Cf. sections 1.2.1.4 and 1.2.1.6.
9. Cf. sections 1.2.1.4 and 1.2.1.6.
10. Cf. section 1.2.1.6.

Forms and constructions of potential interest in (d), (e) and (f) were treated as hypotheses. Special questions were formulated to elicit potential structures,[1] and when living in the area I listened carefully for confirmation of such hypotheses.[2] Questions were also formulated to check out suggestive or problematic items in the corpus more fully.[3]

It follows from what has been said that the description of morphology and syntax presented here is partial. This must inevitably be the case, unless one accounts for all the features in an exceedingly large corpus,[4] which might well involve the formulation of a grammar from scratch. The partial nature of the grammar leads to the question: which features are described? The answer to this question lies in part in a comparative procedure. Features which are clearly distinctive vis-à-vis SE are described. That it is both valid and interesting to proceed on a comparative basis is stated by Camproux.[5] He recorded the "original", or distinctive syntactic "facts" of a dialect, in comparison with standard French, simply as he found them, and without any preconceived plan - a method which he justified by reference to Descartes and Tesnières.[6] Chaurand, commenting on the work of Remacle (on dialect syntax) with approval, drew attention to the latter's

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1. Cf. section 1.2.1.4.
2. Camproux (1960: 29) suggests the same procedure.
3. Samarin (1967: 61) confirms the need to supplement careful sampling "by other techniques to get more data on linguistic elements which normally are of low frequency".
4. Even this would be inadequate in the view of those linguists who wish to describe all and only the sentences of a language, or the competence of the native speaker.
5. Camproux (1960: 26). See also section 1.1.1.8.
6. Cf. ibid., 27.

use of a comparative technique in relation to standard French.[1] Similarly, there is a strongly comparative element in Wackernagel-Jolles' treatment of the syntax of spoken German.[2] There are, then, more than adequate precedents for a comparative analysis, and from a practical point of view such a procedure is very expedient. However, it should not be forgotten that such an approach is selective: there are features in a corpus of dialect speech which are not brought out by these means, and there are, of course, features of the standard which are not to be found in the dialect; further, there are forms and constructions which may be common to the dialect and to the standard, or which have a different frequency of occurrence in the two varieties.

Nonetheless, a partial morphology and syntax will serve a useful purpose

(a) as a part of a description of the dialect of Farnworth and district;

(b) as a test of a hypothesis that English dialects vary significantly at the morphological and syntactic levels. The general disregard of dialectal syntax is summarised by Wakelin, who writes that "syntax is an unwieldy subject which dialectologists have fought shy of".[3] This means that such generalisations as are encountered concerning dialect syntax cannot be said to be supported by very much evidence. Although little descriptive work has been carried out, two major positions

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1. See Chaurand (1972: 246).
2. Cf. Wackernagel-Jolles (1971: 250).
3. Wakelin (1972a: 125).

on syntax appear to have been common to English, French and German dialectologists alike. From the first position, calls are made for the analysis of dialects at the grammatical level, and suggestions concerning the likely difficulties of such analysis are sometimes made.[1] From the second position, it is asserted that grammatical and especially syntactic differences between dialects are not all that great, or even that there are none of any significance.[2]

The first of these views at least suggests that dialect grammar should be investigated, and some recent work shows that investigations of dialect syntax can and should be carried out:

> Depuis la magistrale étude de Louis Remacle sur la "Syntaxe du parler wallon de la Gleize" (3 volumes, Liège-Paris, 1952-60), et, dans un autre domaine géographique, l'"Etude syntaxique des parlers gévaudanais" de Charles Camproux (Paris, 1958) il n'est plus possible d'avoir, à l'égard de cette partie de la grammaire, la même indifférence, ou la même réaction d'effroi.[3]

The eminent Germanist and linguist, Hugo Moser, has encouraged his students to supplement their dialect work with a study of syntax.[4] Furthermore, considering the different emphasis of their work, and the scale of their studies, and allowing for the general disregard of larger syntactic patterns, there seems to be enough evidence in monographs of the school of Wright to suggest that further study of English dialects at the

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1. Cf. for instance McIntosh (1961: 104); the references cited in Ruoff (1973: 33f); and many others. On the need for grammatical analysis of English, see e.g. Strang (1974: 65f). On difficulties of grammatical work, see e.g. McDavid (1971: 128). On the need for a larger corpus than is often available, see e.g. Melchers (1972: 7, 14).
2. See for instance Ruoff (1973: 35, 62), and the references there; Chaurand (1972: 241). The view is common amongst linguistic geographers: Gregg (1972: 111); Melchers (1972: 14, footnote 1); etc. Cf. also Strang (1974: 235): "The popular assumption that dialect-differences are primarily a matter of accent is erroneous".
3. Chaurand (1972: 241).
4. Cf. Ruoff (1973: 34).

grammatical level might well be worthwhile.[1] There is certainly no reason to suppose - as was perhaps done in some instances - that the grammatical accounts in these studies were exhaustive.

The second of the two positions is important, as it may well be one of the reasons why dialect syntax has been neglected. Once such a notion gains acceptance, there is a danger of a vicious circle operating. Chaurand refers to it, with justification, as "cette illusion paralysante" ('this paralysing illusion').[2] How might such an illusion come about? Apart from a dearth of descriptive work at the relevant linguistic levels, the answer may well lie in the level of generality of grammatical rules. We probably have a wide inbuilt tolerance of many types of grammatical variation, and it is by no means easy for us to formulate the rules which govern our spoken usage. Strang's comments on our perception of linguistic change are based upon this latter point. Noting that we are less perceptive of grammatical change than of phonological or lexical change, she writes:

> Grammar deals with observed rules of a middle degree of generality. The rules of grammar are more numerous than those of phonology and less specific than those of lexis; consequently they are difficult to spot and formulate... The level of generality, then, tends to shield grammatical rules from observation; they constitute an area in which our frame of reference is particularly vague and ill-informed, so that departures from precedent are difficult to identify. Perhaps from the same feature derives the particular problem of noting gaps in usage - for example, that older people, or young ones, or

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1. See, for instance, Wright, J. (1892), Reaney (1927), Hargreaves (1904), and Oxley (1940).
2. Chaurand (1972: 241).

> non-standard or superior speakers, never employ a construction which we ourselves accept as commonplace.[1]

She notes further that what we are taught at school - debatable, prescriptive points usually, and not essential grammatical structures - conditions our view of language, and that there is an academic weakness at the descriptive grammatical level. She adds:

> There is also a theoretical weakness. Linguistic theory gives us a frame of reference in terms of which we can compare and notice differences. Even amongst linguistic laymen such a frame of reference, however subliminal, prevails in phonology and lexis. Everyone has had the experience of reacting to speech with such reflections as 'That's not the vowel I use in <u>but</u> or <u>castle</u>' or 'That's not how I use the word <u>disinterested</u>' (or 'That's not the right pronunciation to use...'). But except for the Shibboleths on which attention was focussed at school our grammatical frame of reference is very weak, and we are much less well equipped to compare, identify and distinguish, because we really do not know what constitutes 'the same' grammatical use or construction.[2]

One further possible explanation of the view that dialects do not vary significantly at the syntactic level could lie in the influence of dialect literature. Much dialect literature fits dialectal pronunciations, morphological forms and lexical items into written, or more standardised syntax. This tendency could well have been misleading.

The present grammatical account has been described as comparative and partial. Camproux reported that where there were two constructions in the Gévaudanais dialect, one distinctive and one as in standard French, he generally did

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1. Strang (1974: 60).
2. <u>Ibid</u>., 62.

not concern himself unduly with the latter, i.e. he kept rather strictly to a comparative method rather than a descriptive one.[1] Apart from the fact that some variation is a question of style, and that what informants say in answer to the learned investigator and his questions is not always what they would say amongst themselves, the purpose of a study must be kept in mind. Where it is the purpose of a study to decide whether there is much difference between dialects at the grammatical level, then it is the different, original or distinctive features which are of interest. There is a necessary link between purpose and method. Since it is a hypothesis of the present study that English dialects vary significantly at the grammatical level, a comparative approach is in order. At the same time, the extensive use of modified speech in the urban environment cannot be overlooked entirely, and notes on the modification of grammatical features are included where possible.

Like Camproux, I have tried to record dialect grammar as I found it, and to analyse the "facts". However, the data which I collected were no doubt determined by my field-work, purpose and method, and further affected by the trans-cription and the analytical framework brought to bear upon them.

It seemed inadvisable to adopt a single grammar of English as a comparative base. There are different varieties of SE, and linguists are not agreed as to which type of grammar

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1. Cf. Camproux (1960: 29f).

offers the best analysis. No analysis is recognised as being anywhere near exhaustive, especially not in respect of spoken, colloquial SE. My definition of SE is therefore inevitably loose, and resort was sometimes had to the opinions of educated native speakers. Despite difficulties of discrimination and description, it is nonetheless necessary, as Strang writes, "to record some of the now widely current practices which depart from the norms described in such grammars as we have".[1] A considerable amount of such description is in terms of "school grammar", or extensions of it. This grammar is not perfect but, as Ruoff observes, is better than its reputation.[2] It has the advantage of being widely understood, and its categories usually mean the same thing to different people. Where it is not appropriate to the spoken language, it can be modified or extended.[3] I have used traditional and readily comprehensible terminology wherever possible, but here and there have resorted to whichever terms would best enable me to account for the data.

In spoken language, ellipsis is common. The speaker suits his speech to the situation, and the understanding of the hearer. He corrects his speech, or makes it more precise, as he perceives the effect of it on the listener.[4] Speech tends to be clear enough, given the linguistic context and the pragmatic (extralinguistic) situation. Syntax and grammaticality depend upon the linguistic context and the

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1. Strang (1974: 65).
2. Cf. Ruoff (1973: 146).
3. Cf. ibid., 146f.
4. Cf. Wackernagel-Jolles (1971: 90).

pragmatic situation - hence the unsuitability of questionnaires in many instances. "Incomplete sentences", comparative "omissions", optional ellipses, corrections, supplements, hesitations, tag phrases and reformulations are all to be expected. Despite the difficulties of analysis thus caused, I share Ruoff's view that whilst the totality of linguistic usage in its contextual and pragmatic surroundings cannot be grasped, linguistic form may nonetheless be meaningfully examined in abstraction, and that linguistic terminology suffices to this end.[1]

I have taken seriously Strang's recommendation that "there is room for far more investigation of total patterns rather than bits of sentences",[2] and have tried to describe such matters as the way that clauses are linked, or the distribution of dependent pronouns. However, the scope of this study will not allow any attempt at a definition of sentence. It is repeated that both the analysis and the corpus are restricted.

In order to substantiate the claim that English dialects vary significantly at the grammatical level, a considerable weight of evidence must be adduced. Therefore in the discussion of the definite article, and other grammatical features which occur frequently in the corpus, considerable importance is attached to the inclusion of sufficient illustrative material.

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1. See Ruoff (1973: 45).
2. Strang (1974: 66).

The arrangement of the grammatical features is as follows. Firstly, some basic constituents of the noun phrase are presented: the definite article, the indefinite article, adjectives, nouns, numerals and pronouns; these are followed by an account of the verbs of the dialect; thirdly, the adverbs, conjunctions and prepositions are discussed.

6.2. The Definite Article:

There are many occurrences of the definite article in the corpus, and all have been considered in the preparation of the account which follows.

6.2.1. Form:

A major distinction in the realisations of the definite article may be made in terms of whether the noun which the article accompanies begins with a consonant or a vowel.

6.2.1.1. Before consonants:

The definite article is realised primarily as glottal stricture, the exact nature of which depends upon the phonetic context. When the word preceding the noun ends in a plosive consonant, the consonant is glottalised, but not audibly released, whilst the initial consonant of the following noun may be released with considerable expiratory energy, e.g.

[tʃɔp͡ʔ tʃëps] 'chop the chips (= firewood)'

[p͡ʔ] in this example is accompanied by a greater degree of glottal stricture than is the case when a word-final consonant is not audibly released before a word-initial consonant when no article is present. There are occasions in continuous speech when the greater degree of glottal stricture which represents the definite article is not present. This does not usually result in any ambiguity. Generally speaking, however, the degree of glottal stricture is greater when the definite article is present. Word-final /p/, /b/, /k/ and /g/ are simply glottalised, regardless of the quality of the word-initial consonant of the noun, but final /t/ and /d/ may be realised as [t͡ʔ] and [d͡ʔ], or may assimilate to a following bilabial or velar consonant, more particularly to the former. It is therefore often the case that the final glottalised plosive and the initial plosive of the noun are homorganic, and this results in a geminate with strong glottal stricture, e.g.

[ɻ ʲ ɪp͡ʔ b̪ː] 'he hit the ball'

When the glottal stricture associated with the definite article operates on a final voiced plosive in the preceding word, then there is total or partial devoicing of that plosive; if a voiced consonant follows, then the devoicing is usually only partial. Examples:

[ɹɛːnt͡ʔ kʻa̤mpʻ] 'round the camp'
[əˈlɒŋg̊ʔ saˑ̃ɪd] 'along the side'
[maˑ̃ɪnd̥ʔ ˈbaɓʰɪ] 'mind the baby'

In contexts where the definite article is transcribed as [t͡ʔ] or [d̪͡ʔ], it is important to note that if the following consonant is not homorganic, then alveolar tongue contact is

not always made, and the symbol represents a movement towards the position indicated rather than a definitely alveolar articulation. Only rarely have I been tempted to transcribe a pure glottal stop [ʔ].[1] Admittedly, the quality of the glottalisation is at times rather indeterminate, and in some cases where the articulation seemed neither bilabial nor velar, nor sufficiently open to warrant [ʔ], I have used [t͡ʔ]. Hesitation forms described in subsection 3 of this discussion possibly suggest that /t/ is the phoneme which the speaker "has in mind".

After words ending in /m/, /n/, /r/, /l/ or a vowel, the definite article takes the form of a glottalised plosive, which is bilabial after /m/, and alveolar after /n/, /r/, /l/, although the alveolar form may assimilate to a following bilabial or velar consonant, especially the former. After a vowel, the articulation of the glottalised consonant may be of a type [t͡ʔ], although [p͡ʔ] is usual before /p/, /b/, /m/, and [k͡ʔ] is likely before /k/, /g/. Examples:

['ɪ:vn̥t͡ʔ ˌjʏ:'na'ɾtɪd]	'even the United' (Manchester United football team)
[fɹ̥ʉmp͡ʔ mɾɬz]	'from the mills'
[ɪt͡ʔ 't'ak͡ʔɬ]	'in the tackle'
[ðɪ gʊt͡ʔ tʃɜ'tʃ]	'they go to the church'
[gɪz ɪmp͡ʔ 't'ʉðə p'ɪ̈:s]	'gives him the tother (other) piece'

In the sequence in the mill, with a nasal actually pronounced in the word in,[2] the assimilation of the definite article to /p/ results in the assimilation of the preceding /n/ to /m/,

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1. Contrast Carney (1969: 9).
2. In is often /ɪ/ before a word beginning with a consonant.

thus:

[ɤmp͡ʔ mɤɬ] 'in the mill'

After /f/, /v/, /θ/, /ð/, /s/, /z/, /ʃ/, /tʃ/ and /dʒ/, glottal stricture is often less noticeable, and is sometimes absent altogether, so that if the fricative or affricate is fortis, there may be no perceptible realisation of the definite article, e.g.

[ə'kɻɔ:s ɹ̝ʊ̈'ʉd] 'across [the] road'

If the fricative or affricate is lenis, however, devoicing is readily perceptible under the influence of the glottal stricture associated with the definite article.

Before /s/, the definite article can result in a [t͡s] affricate, e.g.

[ʔ͡tsɻm ɐz ɪ̈: sɛd͡ʔ] 'the same as he said'

/ʒ/, /w/ and /j/ do not occur word-finally.

It has been observed that the glottal stricture associated with the definite article is typically stronger than that associated with the customary glottal suspension of final stops before words with an initial consonant, but it is not always so, as there would rarely be any resultant ambiguity. There is a joke which was certainly very popular when I was younger and which was used by one child to another. It plays upon the possibility of ambiguity due to the presence or absence of the definite article, given an appropriate context:

FIRST CHILD (aggrieved): [ɪf͡ʔs nʊ̈t͡ʔ fɐ:] 'It's not fair!'
SECOND CHILD: [no: ‖ en ɪf͡ʔs nʊ̈t͡ʔ we:ks 'ä·ɤðe][1]
'No - and it's not the wakes[2] either'

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1. This joke is produced from memory. It is confirmed by others, but the pronunciation is my own, as the joke does not occur in the corpus.
2. In some Lancashire towns, the wakes refers to the annual local holiday. In Farnworth and district, however, the chief meaning of the word is the annual fair.

In some phrases, the analyst may have little more than intuition to go on in deciding whether or not a definite article is present. This is because glottal stricture operates:

(a) on a word-final plosive, when the next word begins with a consonant;

(b) to indicate the definite article;

(c) to indicate the preposition to;

(d) to indicate to + the.

Thus, in:

[ä wɛnt͡ʔ bäk͡ʔ fət͡ʔ gɛt͡ʔ bäk͡ʔ 'nɒmbə fo·əɹ]
'I went back for to get back (to (the)) number four.'

[bäk͡ʔ 'nɒmbə] could theoretically be read as:

(a) 'back number'

(b) 'back the number'

(c) 'back to number'

(d) 'back to the number'.

Context, of course, is helpful, and the informant is in fact saying that he went back in order to get back to the number four shaft at the pit. Yet it would still be impossible to prove the presence of the, unless the informant were questioned, and then gave /tət/ ([t‘ɐt͡ʔ]) as an alternative, which may also be used for 'to the'. Even then, it must remain questionable whether this can really indicate the presence of the definite article in the original construction, and one is thrown back upon analogous constructions which are semantically more clear, e.g.

[ä wɛ̈nt͡ʔ ʃɔp͡ʔ]

which definitely means 'I went to the shop', and not 'I went

to shop' or 'I went shop', and upon the native's intuition that speakers of the dialect use definite articles in such contexts. The fact that they use 'full' forms (and therefore perceptible forms) of the definite article in such constructions when they modify their speech offers a further clue, as SE uses the definite article in a narrower range of contexts than the dialect.[1]

6.2.1.2. Before vowels:

When the noun begins with a vowel, the definite article is realised as glottal stricture followed by [θ], the latter being attached to the noun. The glottal stricture follows the patterns described in the previous subsection, but an alveolar plosive cannot of course assimilate to a bilabial or velar plosive, as [θ] always follows. Examples:

[ɔ:ɬʔ̚ θɛɪt]	'all the eight'
[bɪʔ̚ θe:v]	'by the half'
[kɷmpʔ̚ 'θaŋᵊlɪn 'sɻ:zn̩]	'come the angling season'
[sɪi'dʔ̚ θɜʏd]	'seed (= saw) the old' (contrast [ʔ̚θ] in see the old)

There are no exceptions to the use of /θ/ before a vowel, although see the next subsection on hesitation forms. At the beginning of an utterance, or after a long pause, the element of glottal stricture is sometimes less marked, and sometimes absent altogether. At other times, however, it is clearly present, e.g.

[# ʔ̚ θe·ˈv ɔn ɪʔt·] 'the half on (of) it'

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1. Cf. the account of the distribution of the definite article which follows, especially subsection 10.

6.2.1.3. Hesitations:

It is interesting to note that the definite article is released as a /t/ before a hesitation:

[fɹʊ'mp̚ʔ t'ɜ:] 'from the er...'

This fact perhaps suggests that the phoneme which the speaker "has in mind" is /t/.[1] If the hesitation takes the form simply of a pause, then the glottal stricture is held across the pause, unless the pause is of very considerable duration.

6.2.1.4. Full forms:

/ðe/ before a consonant, /ðɪ/ before a vowel. A relatively "full" form of the definite article occurs in exclamations, e.g.:

/wɔt ðɪ ɛk/ 'what the heck!'
(= a mild form of what the hell!)[2]

Full forms of the definite article may also be found in modified speech, but such usage is generally erratic and inconsistent. Glottalised forms often persist in modified speech. A full or modified form is sometimes encountered in broader speech when an informant is giving a careful and exact explanation. For instance, one informant who was carefully spelling out his reasons for working at a particular pit, said:

/ɪt we(r) dʒɔst e 'lɪkl bɪt mʏə(r) 'mɔnɪ | en
ðɛn mɪ 'brɔðe(r) wekt et ðe se:m pɪt/

'It were (was) just a little bit more money, and then (= moreover) my brother worked at the same pit.'

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1. Suggested in Shorrocks (1978d: 14).
2. Similarly Hargreaves (1904: 79).

6.2.2. Distribution:

Semantically based schemes of classification can be problematic in most fields of study. It is hoped that the following arrangement will, however, at least provide a guide to the distribution of the definite article, despite its probable subjectivity. The classification is comparative vis-à-vis SE, and is therefore only partial.

6.2.2.1. Presence of the definite article:

In the following subsections, the use of the definite article is well substantiated, and in many cases is compulsory.

1. With articles of clothing:

/ðɛn wɪ jʏ:s gʏ: e'bɛ:t wɪt pɪt klɑgz ɔn/
'Then we used to go about with the pit clogs on.'

/wɪt klɑgz ɔn/
'with the clogs on'

/ki:p ðɪ'sɛl ɪnt tlʏəz/
'keep thyself in the clothes'

/ðɛ dʒɑs wɛnt dɛ:n ɪt 'takl/
'thou just went down in the tackle' (= clothes)

/ɑnt klɔgz wer e gɑd θɪng bɪ'kɔ:z ðɪ wer æ:(r)d/
'and the clogs were a good thing because they were hard'
(i.e. clogs in general)

2. With relatives (and friends):

/fer e:r ent tʃaɪlt/
'for her and the child' (= my wife and our child)

/so: mi: en æ:(r) bɪlt 'brɑðe(r)/
'so me and our Bill, the brother'

/ðe waɪfs 'mɔðe(r)/

'the wife's mother' (= my wife's. Full form of article due to mocking a more precise speaker.)

/e 'kɔpl et me:ts dɪd/

'a couple of the mates did' (= my mates)

/t ladz/

'the lads' (= my/our brothers)

/i: sɪz tet waɪf/

'he says to the wife' (= his wife)

/'spɛʃlɪ ðɛm ez we(r) 'brɪngɪnt kɪdz ɔp/

'especially them as (= those who) were bringing the kids (children) up' (no particular children are meant)

Similarly:

/t 'nɛfjʏ:/ 'the nephew'; /t ni:s/ 'the niece'; /t waɪf/ 'the wife'; /t sɔn/ 'the son'; /t 'granˌdɜʏtθe(r)/ 'the granddaughter'; /t θɜʏd tʃap/ 'the old chap' (father); /t θɜʏd 'fɛle/ 'the old fellow' (father); etc.

3. With parts of the body:

/i:d e 'lɪftɪd ðɪ e'krɔ:s [t] rʏəd wɪt fʏ:t/

'he'd have lifted thee across (the) road with the foot' (his foot)

/ɪt we(r) 'mæ:(r)veles ɛ: ðɛ gi:t jʏ:st tʏ: ɪt || wɪt lɛgz 'o:pm/

'it were marvellous how thou geet (got) used to it - with the legs open' (working with your legs open in a low coal seam)

/jʏ:s bɪ e'mɔ:lɪn ɔt ni:z/

'used to be a-mauling on the knees' (working on your knees to your discomfort)

/je jʏ:s gɛr e palt et saɪd et 'blemɪn 'ɪərɔ:l/

'you used to get a pelt at the side of the blooming earhole'

/smɔ:l wɪəl wɔt ðɪ jʏ:z wɪt θɔnd/

'small wheel what (which) they use with the hand'

/bɪt te:l/
'by the tail' (= by its tail)

/a gɷts ði:z ɪə(r) 'makrel | pɷts e sto:n ɪnt 'bɛlɪ so: ði flo:t 'ɷpraɪts/

'I guts these here mackerel, puts a stone in the belly so they float uprights'

/'pʏ:ɪn em ɛ:t wɪt nɛk/
'pulling them out with (by) the neck'

4. With the seasons:

/ɪnt sprɪng/	'in the spring'
/ɪt 'sɷme(r)/	'in the summer'
/ɪnt 'θɔ:tem/	'in the autumn'
/ɪt 'wɪnθe(r)/	'in the winter'

5. With illnesses:[1]

/ðɪn 'gɛtnt 'dɪðe(r)z/
'they <u>han getten</u> (have got) the <u>dithers</u> (tremours)'

/av 'gɛtnt 'jɛdwæ:(r)tʃ/
'I've <u>getten</u> (got) the headache'

/as 'gɛtnt 'tʏ:θwæ:(r)tʃ/
'Has thou got the toothache?'

/wɪt mɷmps/
'with the mumps'

/i:z kɔpt 'me:zlz/
'he's <u>copped</u> (caught) the measles'

etc.

6. With the concept "night":

/æ:r ˌɪn'spɛkter ez wer ɪn ɔt naɪts/
'our inspector as were (who was) in on the nights'

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1. Cf. Strang (1974: 137).

/aɪ wɛkt ɪt naɪts/
'I worked in the nights'

/wɪ gɔr ɛm ɔ:l ɪn bɪt naɪt/
'we got them all in by the night' (by nightfall)

7. With the concept "next door":

/ɔnt 'nɛksde tʏ: ɪt we(r)t || ˌgri:n'gro:se(r)z/
'and the next door to it were (was) the greengrocer's'

/walt 'smɪðɪ wɛr 'o:nɪt 'nɛks'de/
'well the smithy were only the next door'

/ɪ we(r) 'gʏ:ɪn ɪt nɛks'dʏər 'æ:fθe(r)/
'he were going in the next door after'

8. With tools or implements:

/'gɛrɪnt ko:l wɪt pɪks/
'getting the coal with the picks'

/ɪt we(r) laɪk 'ɪndɪəˌrɔbe(r) wɛn ðɛ 'stæ:(r)tɪd ɔn ɪt wɪt naɪf/
'it were like india-rubber when thou started on it with the knife'

/'nɪərlɪ ɔ: gɔt bɪt pɪk/
'nearly all got by the pick'

9. With occupations:

/i:z ɪt 'spɪnɪn/
'he's in the spinning'

/a wɛnt ɪt sɪlk/
'I went in the silk'

/ɪt 'wɛɪvɪn/
'in the weaving'

/wɛnt dɛ:nt pɪt/
'went down the pit'

/i:z ɪt mɪl/
'he's in the mill'

etc.

The meaning of these expressions may not be known to the stranger. Whilst, say, a spinning or weaving room at a particular mill is sometimes meant, such phrases often simply refer to the general occupation of a person. Thus, in the last two examples, no particular occasion, pit or mill, is involved; they mean "[he] became a miner" and "he works in a mill" respectively.

10. With names, customs and institutions:

/'i:vnt ˌjʏ:'naɪtɪd/
'even the United' (Manchester United)

/ɑnt skan/
'and the Scan' (a supermarket)

/'ɑnðe(r)t 'dæ:(r)lɪ ɔ:l/
'under the Darley Hall'

/ə'dʒɛnt 'krɔmpm 'lɔdʒɪz/
'again (next to, by) the Crompton Lodges'

/wɔt wɪ kɔəlt | 'ke:(r)zlɪ mɔ:s || mɪ 'fæ:ðə(r) kɑm frɑmt ||
'ke:(r)zlɪ mɔs/
'what we called the Kearsley Moss - my father came from the Kearsley Moss'

/ə'gɛnt 'bɛrɪ rʏəd/
'again (by) the Bury Road'

/a wɛnt dɛ:nt 'kɔmɪn 'nɑmbe(r) foə(r)/
'I went down the Common number four' (a pit)

/ɑn wɛnt tət || 'njʏ:tɜʏn/
'and went to the Newtown' (a pit)

/jə no: we:(r)t 'wɛslɪ skʏ: we(r)/
'you know where the Wesley School were?' (a Sunday School)

/ət 'bɔtɑm ət 'wɔ:ge:t/
'at the bottom of the Wallgate' (in Wigan)

/baɪt 'bɔskə(r) ro:d/
'by the Bosco[bel] Road'

/wɪ jʏ:s tə lɪv ɪnt || θɜʏd aɪ staɪl fɜʏt/
'we used to live in the old High Stile Fold' - similarly, without the "old":

/we: lɪvd ɪnt θaɪ staɪl fɜʏt/
'we lived in the High Stile Fold'

/jə wɛnt ɔnt 'fæ:(r)nəθ 'mæ:(r)kɪt/
'you went on the Farnworth market'

/ðats ət 'θɜʏtwɑd/
'that's at the Outwood'

/jə no:t 'bɛrɪz 'kɛmɪs/
'you know the Berry's chemist's?'

/'wɛllət | me:n θɪngz wə(r)t | 'wɔ:kɪn de:/
'Well er... the main things were the Walking Day'

/tət 'lɪtl 'ɔltn 'mɔə(r)tʃerɪ/
'to the Little Hulton mortuary'

/ɔt 'se:(r)menz 'sɔndɪ/
'on the Sermons Sunday'

/ɪnt tə | 'sɪvɪ sθri:t/
'in the er... Civvy Street'

11. With games and entertainments:

/ɔ:ft 'tɛlɪˌvɪʒən ɔt 'ne:ʃənˌwaɪd/
'off the television on the Nationwide' (television programme)

/ɔt 'ti:'vi:/
'on the TV'

/wə(r) 'watʃɪnt 'tɛlɪ tə'ni:t/
'We're watching the telly tonight'

/at 'gʏ:ɪn təp 'bɪngo: 'lɪzɪ/
'Art thou going to the bingo, Lizzie?'

/tət 'fʏ:tbɔ:/ 'to the football'

/tət 'krɪkɪt/ 'to the cricket'

12. With institutions not preceded by a name:[1]

/ðɪ gɑt tʃetʃ/ and /ðɪ gɑ tet tʃetʃ/
'they go to the church' (but no particular church is meant)

/ðɪ men gɑt skʏ:/
'they mun (must) go to the school' (attend school)

/tet 'mæ:(r)kɪt/
'to the market'

/am 'we:tɪn fe(r)t ˌθɪ'lɛkθrɪk/
'I'm waiting for the electric' (i.e. for the man who reads the meter, or for any other representative of the institution, whether delivery man, inspector, or whatever)

Similarly:
/'we:tɪn fe(r)t gæ:s/
'waiting for the gas'

13. With measurements and numbers:

/'dɑbl ɪt wɛɪt/
'double in the weight'

/ɪt wɪəld ɔ:lt θɛɪt ɔn jə/
'it wheeled all the eight on (of) you'

/'gɛtn ɔ:t θɛɪt/
'getten (got) all the eight'

/wɛn ɔ:t θri: ed/
'when all the three had'[2]

/t θe:v ɔn ɪt/
'the half on (of) it'

/ɪt kɑt maɪ wɛk bɪt θe:v/
'it cut my work by the half'

/et fɑs θɪng ɛv ə 'mɔə(r)nɪn/
'at the first thing of a morning'

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1. Cf. subsection 10.
2. Note also all the under subsection 15.

/wɛlt fɑst ɑv ɔ:/
'Well the first of all'

/bɪt fɑst ɪn/
'be the first in'

/ðɪ kɑmt fɑs θɪng ɪn e 'mɔə(r)nɪn/
'they come the first thing in a morning'

/kɑmz ɑp tet 'sɛkem ple:s/
'comes up to the second place' (of a horse)

14. In general statements, where the referent is not specific or 'definite'

The definite article is often used in general statements, especially, it would appear, with well-known referents. In the following examples, it should be stressed that the use of the definite article is not to be accounted for by occurrence of the concept in the preceding text:

/wɛl je jʏ:st tɛk ðɪ 'tɔmɪ || je jʏ:st kɔ: ɪt 'tɔmɪ || ɪnt rɛd 'ankeˌtʃi:f/
'Well you used to take thy <u>tommy</u> (meal) - you used to call it <u>tommy</u> - in the red handkerchief'

/#tʃɛɪndʒd e lɔt||| a θɪnk kɪdz e 'gɛrɪn ɔnt tɔp nɛ:| ðats θrʏ:t 'pe:rents||| t 'wɪmɪn gi:t ɔnt tɔp|| 'aftet wæ:(r) wɛn ðɪ 'stæ:(r)tɪd 'wekkɪn||| aɪt | kɪdz e 'gɛrɪn ɔnt tɔp nɛ:/
*[It has] changed a lot. I think [the] kids (children) are getting on the top now - that's through the parents. The women <u>geet</u> (got) on the top after the war, when they started working. Aye (yes), the kids are getting on the top now.'

/'fɪlɪnt tɔbz wɪt ko:l/
'filling the tubs with the coal' (The generality of the statement is crucial: particular tubs and particular coal have not been mentioned.)

/bɑt ðer e'gɛnt || 'mɑnɪ wɛnt 'fe:(r)ðe(r)/
'but there again, the money went further' (i.e. money went further in the past)

A modified speaker explains: "it went in as the raw cotton, and came out as the finished article - the cloth, you know."

/a 'ɔ:lɑs ˌrɪ'mɛmber ɪm 'sɛlɪnt pɛɪz/
'I always remember him selling the peas' (of a pea-vendor)

/ðats ro:d ɛ:t θro:t 'mɑnɪ e'we:/
'that's [the] road (way) how to throw the money away'

/'gi:ɪn emp 'mɛdɪsen/
'giving them the medicine' (Again, there is no previous mention of medicine)

/'natʃelɪt || 'mɑnɪz kɑm mʏə(r) te 'pi:pɑl/
'Naturally, the money's come more to people'

/ðɛ mɛt te bɪn ɔt pi:'ti:z sɛ | fɑs θɪng/
'thou might have been on the PTs say, first thing' (in the army)

/'sʏ:ner at kat fʏ:d ðent dɑgz mɛɪt/
'[He would] sooner have the cat food than the dog's meat' (could mean 'meat' or 'food'. The informant's dog prefers cat food to dog food.)

15. In miscellaneous phrases and constructions:

/ɪt ple:s e/
'in the place of'

/gʏ: ɔt spri:/
'go on the spree'

/ɔ:t 'brɑðe(r)z ɔn ɑm/
'all the brothers on (of) them'

/t waɪz ent 'we:(r)foə(r)z/
'the whys and the wherefores'

/t sɑnz et θɛɪt/ 'the sun's at the height'

/dɜʏnt sɜʏθ/ 'down the South' (down South, in the South)

6.2.2.2. Formal distribution:

The definite article tends to be repeated in a run of nouns or noun phrases. Examples:

/t waɪz ent 'we:(r)fœ(r)z/
'the whys and the wherefores'

/wɪ bɜʏt 'te:bl ent tʃɪə(r)z ðɪə(r)/
'we bought the table and the chairs there'

/wɪ tlɪə(r)t sno: ent θaɪs/
'we cleared the snow and the ice'

6.2.2.3. Absence of the definite article:

1. As suggested above when discussing the form of the definite article, on occasion no realisation of the definite article can be heard. However, we are probably dealing with a zero realisation of the definite article in certain phonetic contexts in such cases, rather than with an absence of the definite article as a grammatical form. Examples:

/e'krɔ:s rʏəd/
'across [the] road'

/sɑ 'ɛnɪˌjɜʏ || 'mɔə(r)nɪn 'fɔlewɪn laɪk/
'so anyhow, [the] morning following like'

2. In some exclamations:

/i: | 'lafɪn ez we: jʏ:s dʏ:/
'Eh, laughing as (that) we used to do!'

/||| 'lafɪn ðɛ jʏ:s dʏ:/
'Laughing thou used to do!'

/i: θɪngz | ez ðer ɪz/
'Eh, things, as there is (that there are)!'

/i: lɛts ðɪ no: i:z wɪəl ɔ:f || ɛ:s i: az ɑnt rɛst ɔn ɪt/

'He lets thee know he's well off - house he has and all the rest on (of) it!'

The last example shows that we are not just dealing with a lack of glottal stricture after a pause (cf. the first two examples), for there is no /θ/ preceding house.

3. With hesitations and reformulations:

/eret | θɜʏd 'gafe(r) sɛz te mi: | ɜʏd ɪn'spɛkte(r) sɛz te mi:/
'Er the old gaffer says to me - old inspector says to me...'

In cases such as this, there is no compulsion to omit the article. Indeed, it would be more usual to include it.

4. Some dialect uses of the demonstrative and possessive adjectives have the definite article as SE equivalents.[1]

6.2.2.4. Summary:

The comparative absences of the definite article vis-à-vis SE are few in number, and rather peripheral in character. They are optional, and in some cases unusual. Clearly, they are vastly outweighed by instances - which vary from typical to compulsory - of the definite article in contexts where the standard does not use it. The overall impression, therefore, is that the definite article varies considerably in both form and distribution from its SE equivalent, and that the definite article enjoys a wider distribution in the dialect than in SE.

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1. Cf. section 6.4.3. and some of the examples in section 6.4.2.

6.3. The Indefinite Article:

6.3.1. Form:

When the indefinite article is used (see Distribution below), its form is as follows:

6.3.1.1. Before vowels:

/ə/ or /ən/. There is no rule that would enable one to predict either form in any context. Note that when /ə/ is used before a vowel, a glottal stop may well be interposed between the two. Examples:

[ə ʔ ˈɛ̥ndʒə̥ˈn]	'a engine'
[ə̥ ʔ ˈø̞ˑːɹɹö̞ˑəd]	'a air-road'
[laɪk ə ʔ ˈɪt͡ʔtʃɪn ɹeˑəɬ]	'like a hitching rail'
[ə at]	'a hat'
[ən æ̈ːs]	'an house'
[ən ˈæ̈ːɹgjement]	'an argument'
etc.	

6.3.1.2. Before consonants:

/ə/. Examples:

/ə θɪng/	'a thing'
/ə wɔn/	'a one'
/ə sɪks/	'a six'
etc.	

6.3.2. Distribution:

6.3.2.1. Presence:

The indefinite article has been recorded in the following environments, but it is not compulsory in any of them.

1. Before numbers:

/aɪ 'avnt gɔr ə wɔn/
'I haven't got a one'

/ə θri: ə foə(r) wɪk sɪn/
'a three or four week (weeks) since'

/ðat we(r) | ə sɪks æ:(r)z a dɪd/
'that were (was) a six hours I did'

/ðɪ gɪd 'ezzə foə(r) bɔb/
'they gave us a four bob (shillings)'

/ə 'twɛlvmɔnθ/
'a twelve month'[1]

etc.

In several cases there is considerable difficulty - which ultimately cannot really be resolved - in deciding whether or not an indefinite article has been used. Consider the following cases before numbers:

(a) ['ɑ̪p̚ʔn̩ ə'bɛ:ʈə || t'ʉ:^{w}ä:z]
'happen (= perhaps) about X.. two hours'

where X could be:

---

1. This form could, of course, also be seen as a noun.

(i) a hesitation

(ii) an indefinite article

(iii) a parasitic schwa

(iv) due to a reformulation of some sort.

(b) [ðaʔ wez ^{2} ɐ wɔn ˌpʻɐ^{t}ʻɪtleɹ 'ɪnstɐn^{t}s]
'That was X one particular instance.'

where X could be:

(i) a hesitation

(ii) an indefinite article

(iii) due to a reformulation, with <u>one</u> being substituted for <u>a</u>.

Whilst there are enough examples of the indefinite article before a numeral in the corpus to confirm an optional rule, the problem of certain identification of the indefinite article raises such further issues as intonation patterns, hesitation forms, and the intuition of the native speaker if he is asked to comment or explain.

2. Before times:

/ɪn ɐ 'mɔə(r)nɪn/
'in a morning' (during the mornings)

/'sɑndɪ ɐ 'mɔə(r)nɪn en 'æ:fθɐˌnɪ:n/
'Sunday a morning and afternoon' (on Sunday mornings and afternoons)

/ɐ(r)z bɪn bad ɐ'bɑv ɐ 'twɛlvmɑnθ/
'her (she)'s been bad (= ill) above a twelve month'

See also the adverbial phrases of time which involve numbers in the preceding section.

3. In a phrase:

/no: sɑtʃ ɐ θɪng ɐz/ 'no such a thing as'

6.3.2.2. Absence:

In the dialect of Farnworth and district, the indefinite article is very often not used at all in comparison with SE - or at any rate it is not realised. There is no rule to predict any individual case, but relative absence of the indefinite article is a frequent phenomenon. Examples:

/ad 'aksɪdent/
'had [an] accident'

/ɪt we(r) 'lɑvlɪ 'sɑme(r)/
'it were (was) [a] lovely summer'

/ɪt we(r) 'vɛrɪ ˌse(r)'praɪzɪn θɪng/
'it were [a] very surprising thing'

/ðe(r)z e:(r)b fer 'ɛvrɪˌθɪn/
'there's [a] herb for everything'

/aɪ ber i: wer 'ɛɪ(j)e(r)nˌmɑnge(r)/
'Aye (yes) but he were [an] ironmonger'

and very many others.

6.3.3. Modification:

In modified speech, /en/ occurs more frequently before a vowel, there is less use of the indefinite article before numbers, and fewer comparative absences. Otherwise, the form and distribution are essentially the same.

6.4. Adjectives:

Adjectives in -en occur in:

/'ɜʏden taɪmz/
'olden times'

/e 'ðrɑnkn 'bɑge(r)/
'a drunken bugger = a drunkard'

Plenty may be used without a following of, in which case it functions in the manner of an adjective, e.g.

/'plɛntɪ kɔm'prɛst e:r ɔt fe:s/
'plenty compressed air on the face'

Important from a syntactic point of view is the pattern

NOUN + ADJECTIVE

in:

/ɪt wer e tɪp en gʏ: dʒɔb 'prɔpe(r) je no:/
'it were (was) a tip-and-go job proper, you know'

/‖ 'mɔə(r)nɪn 'fɔlewɪn/
'[the] morning following'

In both cases the adjective might precede the noun without changing the meaning.

Constructions in which ADJECTIVE + NOUN is perhaps the more usual pattern may also, in some cases, be formed with NOUN[1] + NOUN:

/e wɑd 'bɑtn/ 'a wood button'

/e wɑl 'stɔkɪn/ 'a wool stocking'

/e 'tɑpms rɪ'te:(r)n/ 'a twopence return'

- cf. alternatives with wooden, woollen and twopenny.

---

1. Whether the first element is a noun is not perfectly clear, and it might be necessary to draw a distinction between modifiers which have nominal form (wood) rather than clearly adjectival form (wooden).

However, a recent coinage with an adjectival rather than nominal first element is:

/ə 'kɑle(r)d ˌtɛlɪ'vɪʒən/
'a coloured television = a colour television'

6.4.1. Comparison of Adjectives:

The comparative and superlative forms of adjectives are formed in -/e(r), ɪst/ respectively, or periphrastically with /mʏə(r), moə(r)/ 'more' and /mʏəst, mo:st/ 'most'. Note, however,

	Positive	Comparative	Superlative
'bad'	/bad/	/wɑs(wes)/	/wɑst(west)/
'good'	/gɑd/	/'bɛtθe(r)/	/bɛst/
'much,many'	/mɑtʃ, 'mɔnɪ/	/mʏə(r)(moə(r))/	/mʏəst(mo:st)/
'far'	/fæ:(r)/	/'fe:(r)ðe(r)/	/'fe:(r)ðɪst/

Little may pattern with less - least, but may equally take the regular endings.

The dialect uses the superlative form of the adjective where SE has the comparative in such constructions as he is the bigger (of the two).

The conjunctions or prepositions used in the comparison of adjectives are:

/ne(r)/	nor	(most common of the traditional forms)
/tɪl/	till	(traditional)
/tɪn/	tin	(perhaps least common of the traditional forms)
/ðen/	than	(common)

The conjunction or preposition may be followed by what.

Examples:

/a θɪnk ɪts 'jɛzɪə(r) nɛ: | ðen wɔt | wɔt ɪt we(r)/
'I think it's easier now .. than what .. what it were.'

/'bɪge(r) tɪn ðat/
'bigger tin (than) that'

/ɪts 'faɪne(r) tɪl slak/
'it's finer till (than) slack'

/i: we(r) 'jɔnge(r) ner e(r)/
'he were (was) younger nor (than) her'

In modified speech, only than is used. The possibility of hypercorrect periphrastic constructions is suggested by one lady's and I was getting more mad and more mad...

The use of double comparatives is a regular feature, e.g.

/kɔz je we(r) mʏə(r) 'fɪte(r)/
'because you were more fitter'

Such constructions carry over into modified speech, and were at one time acceptable in the standard language.[1]

6.4.2. Possessive Adjectives:

Stressed forms	Unstressed forms (where applicable)
/maɪ	mɪ
ðaɪ	ðɪ
ɪz	
e:(r)	e(r)
ɪt, ɪts	
ɛ:(r), æ:(r)	
joə(r)	je(r)
ðe:(r)	ðe(r)/

In the third person singular /ɪt/ is the more traditional

1. See Strang (1974: 138). Cf. also Peters (1968: 239).

form. It is often used of people or animals, e.g.

/ɔn ɪt fi:t/ 'on it feet' (of a horse)

However, it is not restricted to animate possessors, for instance

/ɪts ad ɪt de:/
'it's had it day'

may be said of anything which is 'worn out, finished, old fashioned'.

The possessive adjective is for the most part distributed as in SE, although it features predominantly before certain concepts which are very familiar to the speaker, especially entertainments, work, and meals. Examples:

/o: aɪ aɪ a mɑn gɑt mɪ 'bɪngo:/
'oh aye aye I mun (must) go to my bingo.'

/mɪ 'gæ:(r)dne(r)z 'kwɛstʃen taɪm/
'my 'Gardners' Question Time'' (radio programme)

/ðɛ ad ðɪ 'dɪne(r)/
'thou had thy dinner' (a statement of daily routine)

/ðɪ kʏ:mp ðe(r) te:/
'they came to their tea' (= they came to tea at the speaker's house)

/wɪ jʏ:st at wɔ:k tɛ:(r) wɐk/
'we used to have to walk to our work'

/tʏ: ɪz wɐk/
'to his work'

etc.

Sometimes a possessive adjective may be used before some specific item with which the speaker is familiar, e.g. a miner said:

/baɪ 'kraɪmɪ av 'brɔkn mɪ jɛd ɔ:f mɪ 'ɔme(r)/
'By Crimey I've broken my head off my hammer!'

The form our is used before the christian name of a relative:

/æ:(r) dʒɔn/ 'our John'

/ɛ:(r) frank/ 'our Frank'

/æ:r 'arɪ/ 'our Harry'

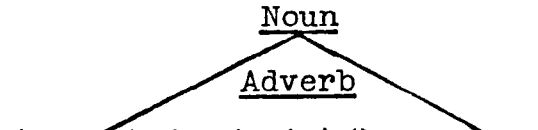
etc.

and is equivalent not only to 'our brother, John' etc. in some kinds of English, but also to 'my brother, John' etc., just as our lads can mean 'my brothers'. Cf. also, perhaps, /gɪv ɪt ɑs/ 'give it us = me'. These possessive forms may be used in the presence of the person referred to. Thus, when two brothers were talking to me, one would tell me what /æ:(r) dʒɔn ɪə(r)/ 'our John here' had done in days gone by.

In modified speech, the distribution of the possessive adjective is as in the dialect. Modified forms of the possessive adjective are /ɪts, 'ɜʏ(w)ə(r), jʏə(r)/ and /mə/ as an alternative unstressed form, although /mɪ/ is usual. /mə/ represents a higher degree of modification.

6.4.3. Demonstrative Adjectives:

Singular demonstrative adjective	Plural demonstrative adjective
/ðɪs/	/ði:z/
/ðat/	/ðɛm/
	(/ðʏ:z/
/jɔn/	/jɔn/
(/'jɔnðə(r)/	/'jɔnðə(r)/



(+Noun)	(+ /ɪə(r)/)	+ Noun
(+Noun)	(+ /ðɪə(r)/)	+ Noun
+Noun)		
+Noun		
+Noun)		

Yon is not used extensively as a demonstrative adjective except when stressed, as explained below. This and these are optionally followed by the adverb here, and that and them 'those' by there. The adverb usually follows the demonstrative directly and therefore precedes the noun (example 1), but in some cases the adverb follows the noun (example 2). /ðɤ:z/ 'those' is infrequent (example 5), and yonder relatively so (example 8). Examples:

1. /ðɛm ðɪə(r) de:z/
'them there days = in those days'

2. /ðɛm de:z ðɪə(r)/
'them days there = in those days'

3. /et ðɪs ɪə(r) 'bæ:(r)nzɪz mɪl/
'at this here Barnes' mill'

4. /ði:z ɪə(r) | rɔdz 'wɛntʃɪz/
'these here.. Rudd's wenches (daughters)'

5. /ɪ ðɤ:z de:z/
'in those days'

6. /ði:z ɪə(r) | 'ɔə[l]mɛn wɐ(r) 'we:tɪn ɐ ði:z
'these here.. haulmen (hauliers) were waiting of (for) these
ɪə(r) fɐ(r)t tɛk ðɪs ɪə(r) ko:l/
here for to take this here coal...'

7. /ɪ jɔn 'ste:bəl/
'in yon (that) stable'

8. [modified speech] /et 'jɔndə(r) 'bɔtəm ɛnd/
'at yonder bottom end'

The demonstrative adjective is often followed by an adverb in narratives (examples 4 and 6). The person or thing qualified by the demonstrative will often have been mentioned already.

Examples:

/ðɪs ɜʏd wɔlt wɛb/
'this old Walt Webb'

/so: ði:z tʏ: sɛt ɔ:f te ðɪs fæ:(r)m/
'so these two set off to this farm'

However, there are other cases in which the noun is being mentioned for the first time, so that the demonstrative is roughly equivalent in meaning to the indefinite article in some varieties of English:

/i:d bɪn 'raɪtɪn te ðɪs 'womɔn/
'he'd been writing to this (a) woman'

/ðɪs 'ɷðe(r) blo:k/
'this (an)other bloke'

Whilst admittedly often emphatic in questions and commands, the use of <u>that</u> and <u>them</u> sometimes approximates to the use of the definite article in SE, e.g.

/rɛɪtʃ ɷz ðat sɔ:t/
'reach us that salt = pass me the salt'

Here, <u>that</u> certainly does not mean 'that as opposed to others'. The main stress is on <u>salt</u>, cf. the possible alternative '<u>that</u> ,<u>salt</u>. Similarly, <u>put that cup on that shelf</u> was used in the context of one cup and one shelf, with no reason for emphasis on either. Also, some uses of <u>that</u> + a person's name are not particularly emphatic or perjorative (although other cases are): /ðat 'braɪ(j)en/ 'that Brian' can probably[1] be equivalent to SE 'Brian' pure and simple.

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1. It is difficult to be absolutely certain, as ultimately one cannot tell whether the speaker had any particular emphasis or connotation in mind.

As in SE, a demonstrative adjective cannot be followed by a possessive adjective. When possession is shown, the construction is of the type:

/ðɛm ðɪə(r) sɔks ɐ ðaɪn/
'them (those) there socks of thine'

Two constructions which occur regularly, followed by a plural verb, are:

/ði:z lɔt/ 'these lot' (meaning varies with context)

/ði:z soə(r)t ɐ θɪngz/ 'these sort of things'

In modified speech, /ðʏ:z/ is not used, /ðɪə(r)/ —> /ðe:(r)/, and those may be introduced in free variation with them. The general patterns described thus far, however, may be carried over into modified speech, e.g.

/ðat 'mɪsɪz 'ɜʏwe(r)d ðe:(r)/
'that Mrs. Howard there' = SE "Mrs. Howard"

Yon is occasionally used as a straightforward demonstrative adjective with the force of that (+ there):

/jɔn blo:k/ 'yon bloke'

However, with a different stress pattern /'ðɪs mɔn/ 'this mon 'this man' and especially /'jɔn mɔn/ 'yon mon are used with the same force and specialised meaning as certain stressed forms of the pronouns yon, him and her.[1] 'Yon mon may refer to a stranger, a visitor, a relative - to any male who is "obviously" intended from context. It refers to what I shall term the known referent. The speaker knows whom he has in mind, and assumes that his listeners understand

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1. Cf. sections 6.7.4 and 6.7.1.4. Cf. also the adverbs in section 6.9.4.

the reference. However, only those who are intimate with the speaker can know what he means on some occasions, for what is obvious from context varies from one person to another. Thus, one informant will use 'yon mon to refer to a brother (who is probably not present, cf. 'this mon), another to a son, another to a mutual acquaintance of himself and the listener, yet another to the landlord of the public house, and so on. Similarly, 'that place, like stressed /'ðɪə(r)/ 'there', will refer to a place known to the speaker, and assumed by him to be known to the listener. Occasionally, even the listener who is closely related to the speaker fails to understand, or shows a degree of uncertainty, but generally speaking the device works well. A distinction must therefore be made between this 'mon = 'this man' ('a man', someone whose identity is not crucial or not even known) and 'this mon = the known referent, although one which is usually rather obvious, as 'this mon is always nearer to hand than 'yon mon. In distinguishing between two males, or two known referents, /t'tɑðə(r) mɔn/ 'the tother (other) man' may be used.

6.5 Nouns:

6.5.1 Plurals:

Nouns generally add /s/, /z/, /ɪz/, depending upon the preceding phoneme, as in SE:

/tʃɪps/ 'chips'
/ladz/ 'lads'
/'pi:sɪz/ 'pieces'
etc.

and /'ɛ:zɪz/ 'houses' shows the same irregularity as SE houses. Dialect /ri:θs/ 'wreaths', however, contrasts with SE /riðz/.

The combination /sts/ is seldom pronounced as such, being rather [s:], or /sɪz/:

[p'o:s:] or /'po:sɪz/ 'posts'

Note also /ni:sts/ or /'ni:zɪz/ 'nests'.

After a numeral, weights and measures are singular:

/sɪks ɪntʃ e det/
'six inch of dirt'

This pattern is common, and has been recorded with the following weights and measures: bob (shilling), foot, gallon, hundredweight, inch, mile, month, pound, quid (pound), shilling, stone, ton, week, yard and year. Further, the same rule applies to pair:

/tʏ: pe:r e ʃʏ:n/
'two pair of shoes'

and also to load and bundle.

The following plurals involve vowel mutation:

Singular		Plural
/fʏ:t/	'foot'	/fi:t/
/gʏ:s/	'goose'	/gi:s/
/lɛ:s/	'louse'	/lɛɪs/
/mɛ:s/	'mouse'	/mɛɪs/
/mɔn/	'man'	/mɛn/
/'wɑmɔn/	'woman'	/'wɪmɪn/

An irregular plural involving vowel mutation, a consonantal change, and an -er ending is:

/tʃaɪlt/ 'child' - /'tʃɪldə(r)/ 'children'

Plurals in /n/:

Singular		Plural
/i:/	'eye'	/i:n/
/ʃʏ:/	'shoe'	/ʃʏ:n/

Oxen is something of a literary or biblical word to informants, as there are none in the area.

A double plural is found in /'galɔsɪz/ 'pair of braces', and the singular form /tʃaɪ'ni:/ 'Chinaman' is worthy of note. /fo:k/, /fo:ks/ 'folk, people' are used in free variation. /ɛs/ 'ash' is both singular and plural. Some words such as /'bɔtɑmz/ 'sediment' and /'sɪðə(r)z/ 'scissors' are plural only.

A number of compounds (more than in SE) are formed with a NOUN ending in -er + ADVERB, e.g. /'nɔkər ɑp/ 'knocker-up (the man who used to come round with a pole to awaken people)'. The position of the plural morpheme varies in this type of formation: carryings-on is plural only, with the plural morpheme preceding the adverb; slip-ups must have the plural on up; but washer-up 'person who does the washing-

up' and cleaner-up may take the plural morpheme on either element.

In the phonology, reference was made to cases of "missing" final /s/, /z/, which were indeterminate in status, being possibly low-frequency grammatical phenomena, ellipses or errors.[1] The following examples illustrate what could be a low-frequency grammatical phenomenon, namely, plurals without the usual /s/ morpheme:

/ə lo:d ə brɪk/	'a load of brick'
/wɪ ði:z brɪk/	'with these brick'
/ði:s dət/	'these dirt'

However, interpretation is difficult. In the last instance a singular demonstrative adjective might perhaps have been expected rather than a plural noun. Additionally, one informant insists that the plural of mouse is /ə sɛt ə mɛ:s/ or /ə nɛst ə mɛ:s/ 'a set, nest of mouse', which are clear cases of a singular form where SE would use the plural. On the whole, however, there is insufficient evidence to indicate any clear patterns.

The use of the singular after weights and measures, and the variable position of the plural morpheme in compounds of the type NOUN + ADVERB are both features which occur in modified speech too.

6.5.2. Genitive:

The genitive follows the SE pattern, except that:

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1. See sections 5.5.13.6. and 5.5.14.6.

1. Names ending in /s/, /z/ add /ɪz/:

/am 'gɤ:ɪnt 'wɑdzɪz/
'I'm going to Woods''

/'bæ:(r)nzɪz mɪl/
'Barnes' mill'

/ɪn 'mo:zɪzɪz de:z/
'in Moses' days'

/'o:ksɪz/
'Oaks''

etc.

Similarly: /ɪts 'ɑðe(r) 'fo:ksɪz/
'it's other folks''

This ending is also used in modified speech.

2. There are cases of a "missing" possessive s morpheme,[1] which might be errors, ellipses or low-frequency zero-genitives. There are precedents for zero-genitives in the history of the English language, and in English dialects.[2] However, interpretation is by no means straightforward, e.g. /e kɛ: te:l/ 'a cow [or cow's] tail' might just as well be a NOUN + NOUN compound as a zero-genitive. On the whole there is insufficient evidence in the corpus to set up zero-genitives as definite forms of the dialect.

3. One or two constructions in the dialect might be

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1. See sections 5.5.13.6. and 5.5.14.6.
2. Cf. for instance Strang (1974: 197), Oxley (1940: 61).

rendered with a genitive or double genitive construction in other varieties of English:

/æ:(r) bɪlz sɑn | ɪz waɪf/
'our Bill's son.. his wife...'

[i.e. not <u>our Bill's son's wife</u> or <u>the wife of our Bill's son</u>]

/ɛ:(r) lad ɪər ʏ:z 'koə(r)tɪn wɪt wɛntʃ ðɪə(r)|||
'our lad here who's courting with the wench there..

ðe: lɪv dɛ:n ðat we: 'sɑmwɪə(r)/
they live down that way somewhere'

(= the wench's family live down that way),

[i.e. not <u>our lad's girlfriend's family</u>, or <u>the family of our lad's girlfriend</u>]

These constructions should perhaps be seen as part of the wider tendency of the informants to state a focus of interest at the beginning of a clause, and then to proceed from there using pronouns and possessive adjectives.[1]

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1. See the discussion of pronominal syntax, section 6.7.1.6.

6.6 Numerals:

	CARDINAL	ORDINAL
1	/wɔn, (wɔn)/	/fœst/
2	/tʏ:/	/'sɛk(e)n, 'sɛk(e)nt, 'sɛk(e)nd/
3	/θri:/	/θe:(r)d/
4	/fʏə(r)/(older), /foə(r)/	/fʏə(r)θ/(older), /foə(r)θ/
5	/faɪv/	/fɪfθ/[1]
6	/sɪks/	/sɪksθ/
7	/'sɛvn/	/'sɛvn(t)θ/[2]
8	/ɛɪt/	/ɛɪtθ/
9	/naɪn/	/naɪn(t)θ/
10	/tɛn/	/tɛn(t)θ/
11	/e'lɛvn, 'lɛvn, ɪ'lɛvn/	/e'lɛvn(t)θ,'lɛvn(t)θ,ɪ'lɛvn(t)θ/
12	/twɛlv, (twalv)/	/twɛlfθ,twɛlθ,twɛltθ;(twalfθ,etc)/
13	/'θetti:n/	/'θetti:n(t)θ/
14	/'foə(r)ti:n/	/'foə(r)ti:n(t)θ/
15	/'fɪfti:n/	/'fɪfti:n(t)θ/
16	/'sɪksti:n/	/'sɪksti:n(t)θ/
17	/'sɛvn,ti:n/	/'sɛvnti:n(t)θ/
18	/'ɛɪtti:n/	/'ɛɪtti:n(t)θ/
19	/'naɪnti:n/	/'naɪnti:n(t)θ/
20	/'twɛntɪ, 'twɛnɪ/	/'twɛntjeθ, 'twɛnɪəθ/[3]
21	/,twɛntɪ'wɔn,,twɛnɪ'wɔn/	/,twɛntɪ'fœst,,twɛnɪ'fœst/
	etc.	
30	/'θettɪ,('θe:(r)tɪ)/	/'θettjeθ, ('θe:(r)tjeθ)/
40	/'fœttɪ,'fœəttɪ,'fœ:tɪ, 'foə(r)tɪ/	/'fœttjeθ,'fœ:tjeθ,'fœəttjeθ, 'foə(r)tjeθ/
50	/'fɪftɪ/	/'fɪftjeθ/
60	/'sɪkstɪ/	/'sɪkstjeθ/
70	/'sɛvntɪ/	/'sɛvntjeθ/

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1. When /f/ is not pronounced, forms such as [fɪ$^{?}$θs, fɪθ:s] occur.
2. Bracketed /t/ = optional glottal stricture, i.e. [t̰].
3. /je/ may be /ɪə/ in this and the following forms.

80	/'ɛɪttɪ/	/'ɛɪttjəθ/
90	/'naɪntɪ/	/'naɪntjəθ/
100	/'ɑnðə(r)t, 'ɑnðə(r)d/	/'ɑnðə(r)tθ, 'ɑnðə(r)dθ/
1,000	/'θɛ:z(ə)nt, 'θɛ:z(ə)nd/	/'θɛ:z(ə)n(d/t)θ/
1,000,000	/'mɪlɪən/	/'mɪlɪənθ/

Stress: the stress given is that for counting in sequence. Cf. /ðə(r) wə(r) θət'ti:n ɔn ɔm/ 'there were thirteen on (of) them'.

Older people, when telling the time, sometimes use forms involving <u>five-and-twenty</u>:

/faɪv ən 'twɛntɪ tə θri:/
'five-and-twenty to three'

When pronouncing dates, <u>o</u> and <u>aught</u> are used, as follows:

/'naɪnti:n ɔ:t 'sɛvn/	'1907'
/ɔ:t foə(r)/	'[19]04'
/'naɪnti:n o: tʏ:/	'1902'
/o: 'sɛvn/	'[19]07'

On the use of "a" before a number, see the <u>Indefinite Article</u>.[1]

The unit of weight, "pounds", may be omitted after a number in the following:

/aɪ ad e:f ə 'dɑzn ə 'flæ:(r) lɛft/
'I had half a dozen [pounds] of flour left'

/ə skɑər ə pə'te:təz/
'A score of [pounds of] potatoes'

The use of score is now quite rare, but /'dɑzn/ 'dozen' and /e:f 'dɑzn/ 'half dozen' are still very common indeed.

Numbers in children's games: When children wish to 'bag' a turn in a game, they say:

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1. See section 6.3.2.1.

/'fesɪ/ 'first', /'sɛkɪ/ 'second' and /'θe:(r)dɪ/ 'third'.
Note also /'lagɪ/ and /'lasɪ/ 'last'.

Fractions:

1/2	/ɔ:v, ɔ:f/	(Traditional)
	/e:v, e:f/	(Traditional, very common)
	/æ:v, æ:f/	(More modified)
1/2d.	/'ɔ:pnɪ/	(Modified /'e:pnɪ/)
1.1/2d.	/ˌθri:'(j)ɔ:pms, ˌθri:'(j)ɔ:pns/	(Modified /ˌθri:'(j)e:pms, ˌθri:'(j)e:pns/)
	/'ɔ:peθ/ or /'e:peθ/	'halfpennyworth'
1/4	/'kwæ:(r)tθe:(r)n/	(Traditional)
	/'kwɔ:te:(r)n/	(Unusual)
	/'kwæ:(r)tθe(r)/	(Traditional, common)
	/'kwatθe(r)/	
	/'kwɛtθe(r)/	(Unusual)
	/'kwe:tθe(r)/	(Unusual)
3/4	/ˌθri:'kwæ:(r)tθe(r)z/	

6.7. Pronouns:

6.7.1. Personal Pronouns:

6.7.1.1. Subject case:

Singular	1.	/aɪ, æ:, a
	2.	ðɛ:, (ðæ:), ðɛ
	3.	i:, (ɪ) ɐ:(r), ɐ(r) - (short form may be stressed) ɪt
Plural	1.	we:, wi:, wɪ
	2.	jo:, (joɐ), jɐ
	3.	ðe:, ðɪ/

The first person singular is often pronounced as a long backed vowel, e.g. [a:]. Although two informants are quite certain that hoo was formerly used for the third person singular feminine, at least by some people,[1] I have never once heard this form used in natural conversation. All my informants, and all other persons observed in the area, used her, or the more modified she in subject case. Duncan classified Lancashire as a hoo-area, and referred to the SED Harwood response her as an "inexplicable exception".[2] One can only observe that the "exception" is an extremely thorough-going one, and that it occurs in an area of some considerable size. The Harwood response was certainly representative.

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1. In an instance quoted by one informant from memory, the person cited by the informant as using hoo (/ʏ:/) was one who had been born in Ringley village, which is close to Kearsley.
2. See Duncan (1972: especially p. 189).

Sometimes more modified /ʃi:, (ʃɪ)/ 'she' and /jʏ:, (je)/ 'you' are heard mixed in with her, yo and thou forms in speech which is still fairly broad, but it would be fair to say that the former are relatively rare in the broadest speech.

In the second person, all informants distinguished singular from plural in as far as /ðɛ:/ could only be singular. Generally speaking, however, /jo:/ could be either singular or plural. Yet one relatively young informant maintained a stricter singular plural-distinction, /ðɛ:/ being singular and /jo:/ plural only. However, the singular plural distinction is complicated by other factors. Firstly, modified you-forms have singular and plural reference, and unstressed you and yo are both /je/. Secondly, there is some evidence of a polite use of yo,[1] where the reference may be either singular or plural. Wright distinguished the use of the second singular from that of the second plural and noted that thou was impertinent if used to a superior,[2] but more recently Wakelin reported that "according to SED, the use of this pronoun now implies no discrimination",[3] and Melchers wrote of Wright's distinction "it is difficult to distinguish such a pattern here".[4] It must be doubtful, however, whether linguistic geographers have sufficient descriptive evidence on which to base such generalisations. Whilst the earlier distinction is no doubt fading, there are still sons in Farnworth and district who appear to use only the yo form when addressing

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1. Cf. NHG Sie, NF vous; on earlier English cf. Strang (1974:139f)
2. See Wright, J. (1905: section 404)
3. Wakelin (1972a: 164, footnote 6 in respect of p. 113).
4. Melchers (1972: 137).

their fathers.

Thou is traditionally the pronoun which can carry the meaning "one, anyone, you, people" - cf. the SE impersonal pronoun one and colloquial indefinite pronoun you.

With modal and auxiliary verbs, the second singular pronoun often coalesces with, or is incorporated into, the verb form in the interrogative. Examples:

/'katnt/	'can thou not?'
/'atnt/	'art thou not?'
/'wɑtnt/	'would thou not?'
/wɪlt/	'will thou?'
/'dɑs(ə)nt/	'does thou not?'
/dɑst/	'does thou?'
etc.	

The terms subject case and object case are not altogether satisfactory when describing pronoun forms in the dialect of Farnworth and district. As will be described below, object case forms occur in a number of instances where the pronoun has subject function.

6.7.1.2. Object case:

Singular	1.	/mi:, mɪ
	2.	ði:, ðɪ
	3.	ɪm ə:(r), ə(r) ɪt
Plural	1.	ɑz, əz
	2.	jo:, (jɔə), jə
	3.	ðɛm, ɑm, əm/

/ɷz/ is often used with the meaning 'me', e.g.

/lɔnd ɪt ɷz/ 'lend it us (me)'

The object case is used whenever the pronoun is in object function, and under certain circumstances in subject function too. Emphatic uses of the pronoun are in the object case. For instance, an informant who had had a number of jobs remarked:

/aɪ | av gɔn rɛ:nd mi:/
'Aye (yes) .. I've gone round, me.'

When there is a multiple subject, pronouns take the object case:

/mi: en me: 'æ:(r)gre:vz sɛz/
'me and May Hargreaves says (said)...'

/mi: en æ:(r) bɪl gi:t/
'me and our Bill geet (got)...'

/ɪm en mi: we(r) ðɪə(r)/
'him and me were there'

etc.

The object case is used if a numeral follows the pronoun:

/ɷz θri: wɛnt/
'us three went'

It is also used after the verb <u>be</u>:

/ɪv aɪ we(r) ði:/
'if I were thee'

in commands:

/ði: kɷm ɪə(r)/
'Thee come here!'

in exclamations:

/ɔɪ | ði:/
'Hey, you!'

in the comparison of adjectives and adverbs:

/en e(r)z || θri: jer 'ɜʏdə(r) ðen ði: ɪnnə(r)/
'And her's (she's).. three year (years) older than thee, isn't her (she)?'

in relative constructions:

/ɪm ez kɒm ə'fʏə(r) wə(r) ðɪə(r)/
'him as (he who) come (came) afore (before) were (was) there.'

and corresponding to SE POSSESSIVE ADJECTIVE + VERBAL NOUN:

/ɪts no: jʏ:s ði: 'gʏ:ɪn dɛ:n ɪz ɪt/
'it's no use thee going down, is it?'

All of these rules for the use of the object case are invariable. They also tend to be carried over into modified speech, although hypercorrect uses of the subject form such as 'scuse I, between you and I, etc. can sometimes be heard in speech which is considerably modified.

6.7.1.3. Order of pronoun objects:

When the direct and indirect objects are both pronouns, either one may precede the other:

/i: 'kɒdnt gɪ ɪm ɪt/
'he couldn't give him it'

/a tan ɪt ə(r) bak/
'I tan (took) it her back.'

6.7.1.4. The "known referent":

Certain stressed uses of the third person singular pronouns (masculine and feminine) may refer to a known referent.[1] A given informant will regularly use 'her to refer to his sister-in-law, his mother, or some other female relative. The reference will often not be comprehensible from the linguistic context, nor from the pragmatic situation - unless one is intimately acquainted with the informant. When one informant's sister asked him: 'Where's Graham?' [his grandson], he replied:

/i:z gɔn fe(r)t pɪk 'e:r ɔp/
'He's gone for to pick 'her up.'

The reference here is to the grandson's wife, who had not previously been mentioned. Apart from being baffling to the outsider, such uses of stressed 'her can also seem rude. A speaker of a variety of NS observed that she felt it was "awful" that a certain dialect speaker should refer to his mother as 'her. Needless to say, no disrespect is intended by those who use stressed pronouns in this way.

6.7.1.5. Impersonal constructions and idioms containing "it":

The pronoun it features in a common impersonal construction /ɪt kɔm/ 'it come (came)', which means 'it came about that, it happened that':

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1. See also the discussion of the demonstrative adjective and the demonstrative pronoun - sections 6.4.3 and 6.7.4. See further the adverbs yon and yonder, section 6.8.4.

/ɪt kɒm ... ez ðɪ me:d ə rʏəl/
'it came ... as (that) they made a rule...'

/so: ɪt kɒm laɪk ɒzzə ||| frɛʃ 'maːnɪdʒə(r) kɒm/
'so it came like as (that) er... [a] fresh manager came'

/wɛl ɪt kɒm ə 'rʏəlɪn laɪk wɪt 'jʏ:nɪən ɒzzə | ðɛm
'well it came a ruling like with the union as (that) er..

ez we:nt/
them as weren't (those who weren't)...'

/ɪt kɒm 'lɪlɪz te:(r)n/
'it came Lilly's turn'

/nɛ: || wɛn ɪt kɒmp 'θang(ə)lɪn 'si:zn/
'now.. when it came the angling season,...'

etc.

Also, in the sense 'to occur to, to realise':

/ɪt kɛp 'kɒmɪn 'o:vər ez ə(r) 'pɜʏwɪnt dɒg/
'it kept coming over us (occurring to us) her <u>polling</u> the dog (cutting its hair off)'

/ɪt kɒm tʏ: mɪ ə(r) sɛz wɪ an ə 'waɪər ə:(r)d
'"It came to me," her says (she said), "we have a wire-haired

ˌfɔks'tɛrɪə(r)/
fox-terrier"'

<u>It</u> occurs extensively in idioms, and especially in certain constructions concerned with travel and the weather:

/wag ɪt/	'wag it = play truant'
/tʃɑk ɪt/	'chuck it = resign, give up work'
/rɒf ɪt/	'rough it = live roughly, make do with what little is available'
/mɛs ə'mɒng ɪt/	'mess among it'
/mɒk ə'mɒng ɪt/	'muck among it'

both = 'be in a mess, make do or get by in the circumstances (which are messy or mucky)'

/(gɛt) katʃ ɪt/	'(get) catch it = be in trouble, be punished'

/(gɛt) kɔp ɪt/ '(get) cop (catch) it = be in trouble, be punished'

/ɛɪv ɪt/ 'heave it = spare no expense'

/stɔp ɪt (ɔ:f)/ 'stop it (off) = stop, desist'

/baɪk ɪt/ 'bike it = cycle'

/bɑz ɪt/ 'bus it = go by bus'

/flaɪ ɪt/ 'fly, go by aeroplane'

/rɑn ɪt/ 'run'

/wɔ:k ɪt/ 'walk'

/ɛɪv ɪt dɛ:n/ 'heave it down = pour with rain'

/ɪts 'pɛltɪn ɪt dɛ:n/ 'it's pelting it down = pouring with rain'

/ɪts 'θro:ɪn ɪt dɛ:n/ 'it's throwing it down = pouring with rain'

/ɪts 'ti:mɪn ɪt dɛ:n/ 'it's teeming it down = pouring with rain'

/snɑf ɪt/ 'die; go out (of a flame)'

/av bɪn 'battɪn at ɪt ɔ: 'mɔə(r)nɪn/ 'I've been batting at it (working hard) all morning'

/dang ɪt/ mild form of 'damn (it)!'

/pak ɪt ɪn/ 'stop, resign'

/ɪt pʏ:z (wɪ mi:) 'gʏ:ɪn ɛ:t ət ðat taɪm/ 'it pulls (with me) going out at that time' (i.e. I do not like it, it is a great effort)

/kɔ: ɪt kwɪts/ 'call it quits = we are even'

/θrɛɪd ɔn ɪt/ 'tread on it = make a mistake'

etc.

Such usages can be heard in modified speech too, although adjustments to pronunciation are obviously made.

6.7.1.6. Dependent pronouns and pronominal syntax:

A number of important sentence patterns are based upon the use of a dependent pronoun. Observers of non-Standard English will be familiar with the pattern in And the manager he said...,

where a subject noun is immediately followed by a dependent pronoun. Melchers quoted Wright's observation that in Scottish and northern dialects "a pronoun is often used to introduce a statement, the specific subject being added later, as it runs very well does that horse", but commented that she "had expected the construction to be more frequent".[1] Although what is "frequent" can be a matter of opinion, I would say that the construction is certainly frequent in the dialect of Farnworth and district.

The pattern:

SUBJECT NOUN + PRONOUN

is common, e.g.

/nɛ:t 'bɔtəm 'lɛvel ɪkl ɜɤd 'twɛntɪ'fɤə(r) mɛn/
'now the bottom level it'll hold twenty-four men'

Also common is the pattern:

SUBJECT PRONOUN ... NOUN

e.g. /ðɪ wə(r) laɪk 'li:tnɪn ez ðɪ sɛ || ɪz lɛgz/
'they were like lightning, as they say .. his legs'

This pattern often occurs with an auxiliary verb or repeated auxiliary following or preceding the noun:

1. /i: 'karɪd ɔz ə'bɛ:t ðat 'fɛlə dɪd/
'he carried us about that fellow did'

2. /bɛt i:d dɔn sɔm 'lɜɤfɪn ed ɜɤd pæ:(r)/
'[I'll] bet he'd done some laughing had Old Parr'

Some of these constructions are emphatic, perhaps especially those with the inverted AUXILIARY + SUBJECT at the end. Others

---

1. Wright, J. (1905: section 402); Melchers (1972: 139). Melchers, however, was not undertaking a syntactic analysis, and her generalisation must be treated with caution.

do not seem to be particularly emphatic at all, the constructions being common and occurring on some occasions when no emphasis would seem to be required. Indeed, the informant who produced the first of the two preceding examples immediately reinforced it by adding he did and all "he did that, he did too/indeed!"

In emphatic constructions, the pattern

PRONOUN ... PRONOUN

is found too, e.g.

/wɛl ɪt 'sɛ:ndɪd ɔə'ri:t ðat dɪd/
'well it sounded all right that did'

The patterns described so far deal with the subject of a sentence. However, there are similar patterns to be observed in the syntax of the object as well:

OBJECT PRONOUN + NOUN

e.g. /a nɛ:(r) si:d nɜʏt laɪk ɪt | ðat ʃɔp 'wɪndə/
'I never seed (saw) nowt (nothing = anything) like it ..that shop window'

The object might take the form of a gerund:

PRONOUN + GERUND

e.g. /aɪ ɛn'dʒɔɪd ɪt 'gʏ:ɪn ɛ:t/
'I enjoyed it going out'

The pattern:

OBJECT NOUN ... PRONOUN

is found when the noun object is placed before the subject and verb:

/'kɔfɪ bi:nz ðɪ jʏ:s ðraɪ ɷm ɜʏt'saɪd/
'coffee beans they used to dry them outside'

This last example may be part of a wider tendency on the part of dialect speakers to state what is of prime concern initially,

i.e. coffee beans, and then to proceed with a clause in which a pronoun substitutes for the noun already mentioned. The same tendency is found in a construction such as the following, where the pronoun occurs after a preposition:

/e pe:r e ðrɔə(r)z a 'dɪdn jɤ:s gɛt | e wi:k ɛ:t
'a pair of drawers (underpants) I didn't used to get ..
ɔn ɷm dɪd a/
a week out on (of) them, did I?'

It predicts an entire clause in:

/ɔn al tɛl je e'bɛ:t ɪt wɔr i: dɪd wɔn taɪm/
'And I'll tell you about it what he did one time...'

Further material which illustrates the patterns just described is appended here in translation, to save space:

'And the manager he said...'

'Farnworth and Kearsley, they have some funny boundaries'

'And young Donald he could eat...'

'And the captain, Bert Barron, he lives at the top of the road'

'And their.. centre forward he reckoned to score a goal or two'

'Well this Old Walt Webb.. he'd a great big moustache'

'the fruit stalls and the fish stalls they used to start selling everything off cheap' [from a much more modified speaker]

'but McKerracker's their weaving it was.. it was coloured weaving there'

'they'd no interest in you the teachers hadn't'

'it ran some years did that gas engine'

'he was all right...old Reagan was'

'he was on the police force some years, that fellow was'

'it was [a] beautiful summer, that was'

'they're both dead now these two lads'

'he died Roland.. then Elsie died the daughter'

'...that went up one time, the Pretoria' (i.e. there was an explosion at a pit called the Pretoria)

'so when we got there.. me and my mate...' [the mate had never been mentioned before. The earlier pronoun therefore cannot be predicted from the preceding context]

'and these dirt they put them in the gob' (mining terminology. Gob refers to where the coal has been dug out, cf. gob 'mouth')

'well eventually they closed it.. the beaming side' [cotton mill]

'I quite like it - me - tartar sauce'

'anyhow this stream there were trout in it'

'Him and his wife, when they used to get falling out, her used to...'

etc.

The use of dependent pronouns is also typical of modified speech.

6.7.2. Possessive Pronouns:

Singular	1.	/maɪn
	2.	ðaɪn
	3.	ɪz
		e:(r)z
Plural	1.	æ:(r)z, ɛ:(r)z
	2.	joə(r)z
	3.	ðe:(r)z/

In modified speech, the second singular is lost, first person plural is /'ɜʏ(w)e(r)z/, and second person plural is /jʏə(r)z/ or /'jʏ:we(r)z/.

6.7.3. Reflexive Pronouns:

Set 1[1]	Set 2[2]
/mɪ'sɛl	mɪ
ðɪ'sɛl	ðɪ
ɪs'sɛl, ɪz'sɛl	ɪm
e(r)'sɛl	e(r)
ɪt'sɛl	ɪt
æ:(r)'sɛl, ɛ:(r)'sɛl	ez, ɑz
je$^{(r)}_{\wedge}$'sɛl	je
ðe(r)'sɛl	em, ɑm/

Set 2 forms are unstressed forms of the personal pronoun. In set 1, -/sal/ may replace -/sɛl/. Only set 1 forms may be used emphatically. That apart, it is difficult to be certain when set 2 forms will and will not occur. Some verbs have a tendency to be followed by set 2 forms, but not to the exclusion of set 1 forms; others have been recorded with set 1 or set 2 pronouns only. Examples:

Set 1:	/ðɪ dɪd ɪt ðe(r)'sɛl/	'they did it themselves'
	/ɛlp ðɪ'sɛl/	'help thyself'
	/t θɛgz ðe(r)'sal/	'the eggs themselves'
	/'pɔlɪʃt ɪz'sɛl ɔ:f/	'polished himself off' = 'killed himself'
	/bɪ mɪ'sɛl/	'by myself'
	/kɪld ɪs'sɛl/	'killed himself'
	/i: 'kɔdɪd ɪs'sɛl/	'he <u>codded</u> (deceived) himself'
	etc.	

---

1. The first element of the pronouns is genitive throughout the declension - contrast SE <u>himself</u>, <u>themselves</u>. Also there is no singular-plural distinction in the second element. See further Strang (1974: 141, 198).
2. The use of the personal pronoun with reflexive meaning is a feature of some antiquity, cf. Strang (1974: 198).

Set 1 or set 2:

/wɛɪʃ mɪ/ cf. /wɛɪʃ mɪ'sɛl/	'wash myself'
/ʃɪf(t) ðɪ'sɛl/	'shift thyself!'
cf. /i: 'wɑdnt ʃɪft ɪm/	'he wouldn't shift him (move)'
etc.	

Often set 2:

/swɪl mɪ (oə(r))/	'swill me (over)'
/a si:t mɪ dɛ:n/	'I <u>seet</u> (sat) me down'
/wɛn a se: tʃe:ndʒ je a mi:n tʃe:ndʒ je/	
'when I say change you I mean change you'	
/ðrɛs mɪ/	'dress me'
/laɪ ðɪ dɛ:n/	'lie thee down'
etc.	

Set 2 only recorded:

/ple:z ɪm/	'plays him'(plays, of a child)
/ple:d em/	'<u>played them</u>' (of men = 'were off work')
/a mɔn θɪnk mɪ ɔn/	'I <u>mun</u> (must) think me on (remember)'
/ki:p ðɪ stɪl/	'keep thee still!'
etc.	

It will be clear from these examples that there are verbs which function reflexively in the dialect which do not do so in SE,[1] in addition to verbs which do not occur in SE at all, e.g. <u>cod</u>, above, or /ʃe:p ðɪ'sɛl/ '<u>shape thyself</u>!' = 'increase your efforts, improve, try, try harder, do it properly'.

Plural forms of the reflexive pronoun intermediate between dialect set 1 forms and NS forms occur occasionally in the corpus:

/ɜʏ(w)e(r)'sɛlz/
/jɐ(r)'sɛlz/
/ðe(r)'sɛlz, ðe(r)'sɛlf/

---

1. Cf. Strang (1974: 153).

In modified speech, the following forms occur:

/mɪ'sɛlf
jə'sɛlf
(h)ɪm'sɛlf
(h)ə(r)'sɛlf
ɪt'sɛlf

ɜɤ(w)ə(r)'sɛlf, -sɛlvz
jə(r)'sɛlf, -sɛlvz
ðə(r)'sɛlf, -sɛlvz, (ðəm'sɛlvz)/

6.7.4. Demonstrative Pronouns:

Singular	Plural	
/ðɪs	ði:z	(+ /ɪə(r)/)
ðat	ðɛm	(+ /ðɪə(r)/)
jɔn	jɔn /	

This and these are frequently reinforced with the adverb here. There may follow that and them, but does so less frequently than here follows this and these.

Yon refers to 'that person' (male or female) as well as to objects. In addition to functioning as a straightforward demonstrative pronoun, yon may represent a known referent, with the result that the reference will not always be clear to the outsider. In this latter respect, its function resembles that of the demonstrative adjective,[1] and certain stressed uses of the personal pronoun.[2]

Examples:
/wɪ kɛpt 'wæ:(r)nɪn ɪm ə'bɛ:t ðɪs 'i:jə(r)/
'we kept warning him about this here' (= the already mentioned defective halter)

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1. Cf. section 6.4.3.
2. Cf. section 6.7.1.4. See also the adverbs in section 6.8.4.

/ðɪ ɔəl jʏ:st av ði:z ɪə(r) | wɔt ðɪ kɔ:d flo:ts/
'they all used to have these here.. what they called floats'

/wɪ ad ðɪs ɪə(r) tə ʃɪft/
'we had this here to shift'

/i: wants ðat ðɪər əz i:z nɔr ad/
'he wants that there as (which) he's not had'

/jɔn əz || 'ʏ:ɪzɪts 'raɪtɪn tʏ:/
'yon as (that woman who).. who-is-it's writing to'

/aks jɔn ə'bɛ:t ɪt/
'ask yon (him) about it'

/wɔts 'rɛkn ə'bɛ:t jɔn/
'what does thou reckon (think) about yon (that)?'

etc.

In modified speech, the use of the adverb with the pronoun is retained, but there is less of it. Yon disappears, but them is widely retained.

6.7.5. Interrogative Pronouns:

/wɔt/	'what'
/wɪtʃ/	'which'
/ʏ:/	'who', also equivalent to SE 'whom', as there is no distinction in the dialect between subject and object cases of this pronoun.
/ʏ:z/	'whose'

6.7.6. Relative Pronouns and Relative Clauses:

The chief syntactic patterns are those described in subsection 1, and those illustrated in subsection 2 by examples containing the main relative pronoun as. However, some uses of what and which are distinctive, and cannot be replaced by as.

6.7.6.1. No relative pronoun:

Constructions of a type in which relative pronouns are often found also occur without relative pronouns. One might perhaps speak of optional deletion or omission of the relative pronoun - although as Strang writes, "It is important to realise that contact-clauses are ancient structures of independent origin, not just relatives with pronouns left out"[1] - or of zero-relatives[2] or contact-clauses. Examples:

/a θɪnk ɪt we(r) 'wɔ:kdɪn ɪt ke:m frɔm/
'I think it were Walkden it came from' [modified speech]

/ðats e'bɛ:t 'θo:nɪ 'fɛɪtɪn tɛks ple:s/
'That's about the only fighting takes place'

/wɛlt | bɛs bi:f ðɛ kɷd bɛɪ | wer/
'Well,.. the best beef thou could buy.. were...'

/ðe(r)z e bɷn ɔt 'te:blz maɪn/
'There's a bun on the table's mine.'

/aɪ ad e 'hɷnkl e 'manɪdʒer et 'mɷzgro:vz 'fɛ:nðrɪ/
'I had a huncle (an uncle) a manager at Musgrove's foundry.' [The whole relative construction is omitted here.][3]

/i: mɛt no: e frɛnd weks ɪn e 'blaksmɪθ/
'He might know a friend works in a blacksmith['s].'

/gɪ mɪ ɪz 'dɪne(r) ðɛz brɜʏt/
'Give me his dinner thou has brought'

/i: ad e 'nɛfjʏ: ad e | bɪg ken'fɛkʃene(r)ɜ ʃɔp
'He had a nephew had a big confectioner's shop

et 'e:(r)msen/
at Urmston.'

---

1. Strang (1974: 142f). Jacobs (1973: 106) comments on the historical omission of the relative pronoun, especially from ME until C18. There is a powerful historical precedent for such constructions.
2. Cf. Strang (1974: 68).
3. Cf. ibid., 68.

/ðɛ no:z ðɛm 'sɪkstɪ ɔd 'sɛvntɪ/
'thou knows them (those who are) sixty-odd seventy'

etc.

It will be seen from these examples that zero-relatives occur in subject function as well as in object function.[1] Constructions without a pronoun are regular after there is, there are, there were:

/ðe(r) wɐr 'o:nɪt 'lo:kɷlz wɛnt ɪn/
'there were only the locals went in'

/ðe(r)z fi:t ki:ps | 'trɔttɪn ɷp en dɛ:nt | 'lɔbɪ/
'There's feet keeps trotting up and down the lobby'

/ðɐr e || tɤ: || blɔks bɪn ɷp'gre:dɪd/
'There are two blocks been upgraded.'

etc.

As an alternative to a relative clause, two main clauses may be juxtaposed. In the following example, there are no pauses, and the second clause has the same intonation pattern that a relative clause would have:

/en av 'stæ:(r)tɪd wɪ e tʃap pi: kɷm ɛ:t e
'And I've started [to work] with a chap he come (came) out of
'kampbɷl sθri:t/
Campbell Street.'

6.7.6.2. "As":

As is the chief relative pronoun in the dialect, whether referring to people or things. It is equivalent to SE who, whom, that, which. Examples:

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1. Cf. Strang (1974: 68).

(i) /ðɛ no:z 'dʒɪmɪ | ɪm ez we(r) dɪəf/
'Thou knows Jimmy, him as were deaf?'

(ii) /ɪm ez wekt et 'klɔraɪd/
'Him as worked at the Chloride?'

(iii) /ðɛm ez wɪ θɜʏt ðɪ we(r)t bɛst/
'them (those) as we thought they were the best'

(iv) /t θɜʏd 'le:dɪ e:r ez ad ɪt we(r) 'bɪzɪ 'di:ʃɪn em ɛ:t/
'the old lady her as had it were busy dishing them out' (i.e. the old lady who owned the pea-stall was busy serving peas)

(v) /bɑt ðɛm | ez ðɪ we(r) 'praɪvet o:nd | ðɪ ɔəlɑz gi:t e 'bɛtθe(r) krak et wɪp ðen wɔt lɔə(r)d 'ɛlzmɪə(r)z dɪd/

'but them as they were private owned (those which were privately owned) they always geet (got) a better crack of the whip than what Lord Ellesmere's did.'

etc.

The use of a personal pronoun, which duplicates or reinforces the subject or the relative pronoun itself (v), would seem to represent an extension of the use of dependent pronouns, which was discussed under Personal Pronouns.[1] The use of her in (iv), they in (iii) and (v), and they within the relative clause following the relative pronoun in (v), is optional in each case. A further typical construction is the following:

/ɜʏd 'bɪlɪ 'sɑmne(r) ðat wer ɪm ez o:nd ɪt i: 'kɑdnt ˌɑnðe(r)'stɔnd/

'old Billy Sumner that were him as owned it he couldn't understand...'

The subject is stated, information or explanation in a relative clause or parenthetical sentence (perhaps containing a relative

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1. See section 6.7.1.6.

clause, as in the example here) is interposed, and the original clause is then taken up again with a subject pronoun.

As + POSSESSIVE ADJECTIVE = 'whose'. Two answers to SED question IX, 9, 6, which seeks the relative whose or an equivalent,[1] from my Farnworth informants were:

/ʏ:z 'ɑnkl snɑft ɪt læ:s wɪk/
'whose uncle snuffed it (died) last week'

/ez ɪz 'ɑnkl we(r) ðrɛ:nt læ:s wɪk/
'as his uncle were drowned last week'

Both constructional types are used. The latter is the more traditional.

I have not noted any cases at all in which a preposition precedes the relative pronoun as in SE. To take just two examples from many:

/ɔnt fæ:(r)m ez wɪ jʏ:s go: ə'pɪkɪn ɑp at/
'on the farm as we used to go a-picking up at'

/ɪt 'θɛndʒɪn ɜʏs ez i: we(r) 'waɪndɪn ɪn/
'in the engine house as he were winding in'

These constructions might be contrasted with such SE alternatives as to which we used to go to pick up, at which we used to pick up, and in which he was winding. If a speaker of SE were to produce a construction approximately equivalent to the following:

/o:l 'bɪlɪˌkan | fə(r) 'brʏ:ɪn ɑp pɪn/
'...old billy-can, for brewing up in'

and were to retain the form in, then a relative clause would presumably be used.

A subject pronoun takes the object case when followed by a relative pronoun, e.g.

/ɪm ez tɜʏd ɑz θɜʏt ðar ən ɔ:/
'him as (he who) told us thought that and all (too)'

---

1. Cf. Orton and Dieth (1962: 100).

The relative clause may be linked to the following clause without an intervening verb in constructions of the type

all as or what + SUBJECT + DO + SUBJECT + VERB

Thus:

/ɔəz i: dɪd i: pi:st ɪz 'rɪmbandz en pɒr ɪz 'tʃɛkbandz ɔn en ɔə laɪ ðat 'spɪne(r)/

'all as he did he pieced his rimbands and put his checkbands on and all like that, the spinner.'

/wɛl wɔt ði:z tʏ: dɒz ðɪ pɪks e 'kɒpel e kɔd jɛdz ɒp/
'well what these two does they picks a couple of cod heads up'

In constructions of the type

/ɪts mi: ez ɪz 'dʏ:ɪn ɪt/
'it's me as is (I who am) doing it.'

the verb agrees with the relative pronoun, which is third person - contrast the first person agreement in S.E.

The relative pronoun as is also used in modified speech, but not as often as in the dialect.

6.7.6.3. "What":

What is used somewhat less frequently than as in the dialect, but is very common in modified speech, with the meaning 'who, which, that'. Examples:

/ðɛm wɔt sɛ ðat/
'them what (those who) say that'

/mɛn wɔt wekt/
'men what worked'

/tal ðɪ wɔn mɔn te'de: wɔt | gɑz ɛ:t et 'sɔndɪ wɪt klɑgz ɔn/

'[I'll] tell thee one man today what goes out at Sunday with the clogs on'

etc.

Again, a pronoun may be used after the relative:

/en aɪ 'ɔ:fn 'wɔnðer ɪv ðe(r)z 'anɪ ge:(r)lz 'lɪvɪn te'de: wɔt ðɪ no: wɔt 'bande(r)z we(r)/

'and I often wonder if there's any girls living today what they (i.e. who) know what banders were'

From the foregoing examples it will be clear that <u>what</u> is used just as readily to refer to people as to things.

<u>What</u> has an optional pronoun antecedent in such constructions as:

/ɑn al tɛl je e'bɛ:t ɪt wɔr i: dɪd wɔn taɪm/
'And I'll tell you about it what he did one time...'

<u>What</u> can be used in the sense of "whatever" or "that which":

/de wɔt ðɛ laɪks/ 'do what thou likes'

/wɔt we: want nɛ:z/ 'what we want now is'

etc.

Cf. also the example containing <u>what</u> in subsection 2 above.

In the comparison of adjectives and adverbs, <u>what</u> may follow <u>tin</u>, <u>till</u>, <u>nor</u> and <u>than</u>, e.g.

/i:z 'sθrɑnge(r) tɪn wɔt aɪ am/
'he's stronger <u>tin</u> (than) what I am'

Similarly:[1]

/dɤ: ɪt laɪk wɔt i: tɜɤd ðɪ/ 'do it like what (as) he told thee'

---

1. These uses of the relative seem to have a tendency to nominalise - as in <u>I do not know what he did</u> - rather than to form a link between a clause and an antecedent noun or pronoun.

6.7.6.4. "That":

That is very occasionally encountered in the dialect, but is quite common in modified speech. As in the cases of as and what, that may apply to both persons and things. Examples from modified speech:

/mɛn ðat wɔz ˌdɪ'ze:bld/
'men that was (who were) disabled'

/mɪ 'mɔðe(r)z 'sɪste(r) ðat wekt ɪn ðe mɪl/
'my mother's sister that worked in the mill'

6.7.6.5. "Who":

Who is occasionally used, generally in more modified speech, but whom is not employed. An example of whose as an alternative to as + POSSESSIVE ADJECTIVE has been given in subsection 2 above.

/ðɪ brɔʏt ði:z mɛn ʏ: we(r) dɛd ɛ:t/
'they brought these men who were dead out'

6.7.6.6. "Which":

Which is not often used in the base dialect as a straightforward relative pronoun with a clear object as its antecedent, although on occasions when it does occur, it may mean 'who' as well as 'which', e.g.

/mɪ dad | wɪtʃ we(r) | e 'fɛɪjeˌmɔn ðɛn/
'my dad, which were (who was) a fireman then...'

It occurs more often in modified speech, e.g.

/aɪ | wɪtʃ wɔz ðe 'klɛve(r) wɔn ev ðe tʏ: ev ɑz/
'I, which was the clever one of the two of us'

However, there is a most remarkable and extensive use of which in the base dialect, whereby it may refer to an antecedent, often of clausal proportions (i.e. 'which, which thing'), or predict a following notion, which logically might be construed as an "antecedent" nonetheless; yet in some cases, the referent can be so difficult to define that which often appears simply to link clauses - sometimes in a rather loose manner - having a value similar to conjunctions such as and, but, for, since, because, that or as. Examples:

Clausal antecedent:

/maɪnz ɪz 'dɪfrɒnt tə'de: bɪ'kɔz ðə(r) || 'naʃənˌlaɪzd wɪtʃ 'ɛvrɪˌbɔdɪ no:z/

'Mines is different today because they're nationalised, which everybody knows.'

Preceding a notion:

/praps faɪv pə(r)'sɛnt wɪtʃ ðɪ dɪd wɘkt ə:r ət | 'fakθrɪz rɛ:nd ə'bɛ:t/

'Perhaps five per cent which they did worked er at the factories round about.'

More obscure referents and conjunctional uses:[1]

'And when we had to go to tell him one of the looms had gone wrong, he had a stock phrase: "Let it so-and-so-well stop", he always said that, you see. Which it had to stop because it was broken down.'

'...he tried to make you look small by having to repeat it, you see. Which, it worked, the weavers would blush and go all confused.'

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1. Phonetic or phonemic script may perhaps, in the discussion of some syntactic features, be sacrificed to weight and variety of material without appreciable loss.

[Having mentioned that falls in the pit could result in minimum money]: "Which naturally, thou couldn't expect it every week bowt (without) a bit of a fall.'

'And the first pint used to come off the winning landlord of the pub. See what I mean? Which a pint was only 3.1/2d then or 4d - came off the winner.'

'...because the Protestants, which we'd say about 14 schools, they used to walk at the Saturday.'

'And then [they] used to call at that afternoon, which he weren't open at the first thing of a morning when they used to call.'

[In a large pit]: 'And thou would each separate then, which thou could walk the full length, well lit up!'

'...and the womenfolk awhoam (at home), which every woman then used to wear thick, woollen stockings.'

etc.

It is very difficult to describe the full range of this phenomenon, although some indication of the extent of its use is perhaps given, when I report that one informant used which 48 times on a single side of tape of less than 30 minutes' duration.

A relative clause may follow a main clause rather than interrupt it:

/en ðe(r) kɷm te 'dʒi:zɷs 'kɔle(r)z wer ɔ:f wɪtʃ wɪ kɔ:d ɷm/
'and their come-to-Jesus collars were off, which we called them.'

Contrast, however, the example in subsection 5 above.

6.7.6.7. Derived forms:

/ˌwɔ'tɛve(r)/
whatever

/se wɔt/
so what

/se ʏ:/
so who

/se wɪtʃ/
so which

/se ˌwɔ'tɛve(r)/
so whatever

So in the above forms is always unstressed.[1] Although other formations of the types -ever and so -ever are conceivable, the ones given above are the customary forms. The type so + RELATIVE PRONOUN is preferred - cf. also /sə wɪə(r)/ so where 'no matter where, wherever', /sə wɛn/ so when, /sə ɛ:/ so how. They are used as general relatives to introduce a concessionary clause. /sə wɔt/ so what therefore has the meaning 'no matter what, whatever'. Contrast the S.E. formations whatsoever, etc.[2]

6.7.7. Indefinite Pronouns and Adjective-Pronouns:

/sɑm/ 'some'; /'sɑm(b)dɪ, 'sɑmˌbɔdɪ/ 'somebody'; /'sɑmɔt/ 'something'.

/'anɪ, 'ɔnɪ, ('ɛnɪ)/ 'any'; /'æ:(r)mdɪ, 'anɪˌbɔdɪ, ('ɛnɪˌbɔdɪ)/ 'anybody'; /ɜʏt/ 'anything'.

/no:n, nɔn/ 'none'; /'no:bdɪ, 'no:ˌbɔdɪ/ 'nobody'; /nɜʏt, 'nɑθɪn/ 'nothing'.

/ɔ:/ 'all'; /('avrɪˌθɪn), 'ɛvrɪˌθɪn/ 'everything'; /'ɛvrɪˌbɔdɪ/ 'everybody'; /'ɛvrɪ/ 'every'; /i:tʃ/ 'each'.

/'plɛntɪ, ('plɛnɪ)/ 'plenty': used adjectivally[3] and pronominally, e.g. /'plɛntɪ jʏ:s gɑ ɪn fə:(r)| 'ʃɔtˌlaɪtɪn/ 'plenty used to go in for.. shot-lighting'

/'mɔnɪ, ('mɛnɪ)/ 'many'; /mɔtʃ, mɪtʃ/ 'much'; /ə lɔt/ 'a lot'; /'sɛvrɑl/ 'several'.

/ə'nʏ:f/ 'enough'.

/fjʏ:/ 'few'; /ə fjʏ:/ 'a few'.

/bʏəθ, bo:θ/ 'both'.

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1. Contrast stressed so = 'so, therefore', which could be followed by the same words in completely different constructions.
2. Cf. Strang (1977: 144).
3. See section 6.4.

/'e:ðe(r), ('aɪðe(r), 'i:ðe(r))/ 'either'; /'no:ðe(r), 'ne:ðe(r), ('naɪðe(r), 'ni:ðe(r))/ 'neither'.

/wɔn/ 'one': when used as a prop, the form tends to be /ɷn, en/, e.g. /e bɪg ɷn/ 'a big one'. One often occurs after verbs such as hit, smack, kick, belt, etc. e.g. /dɷs 'tɛɪttʃe(r) 'klɔbe(r) ðɪ wɔn/ 'Does the teacher clobber thee one?'
/'wɔn mɔn/ is used to mean 'a man, somebody (male)'.

/'tɷðe(r)/ 'other'.

/sɪtʃ, sɷtʃ/ 'such'.

See the expanded forms of the relative pronoun for whatever.[1]

None requires further comment, in that its distribution restricts the distribution of any compared with S.E. The dialect equivalent of

S.E. I haven't any
is /av 'gɛtn no:n/
'I've getten (got) noan (none)'

Similarly, none may be used after a negative in the dialect. The same applies to nothing and nobody, e.g.

/ðat mɔn 'wɷdnt pæ:(r)t wɪ nɜʏt/
'that man [known referent] wouldn't part with nothing'

Anything and anybody are therefore similarly restricted in distribution.

In modified speech, the same basic distribution of none, nobody and nothing applies. /ɜʏt, nɜʏt, 'sɷmɷt/ may be retained, and the same forms and uses of one and plenty may be found.

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1. See section 6.7.6.7.

6.8. Verbs:

6.8.1. Present Tense:

Endings in -s, except on second and third person singular and third person plural forms described in subsection 1, are governed by conditions set out in subsections 2 and 3. They are not general to all persons in all uses of the present tense. Contrast Melchers' findings in respect of Yorkshire dialects:

> "As stated in EDG section 435 about the North Midland dialects all persons tend to take [s], [z] or [əz] in the present tense, but as far as I can see the use is not restricted to certain conditions. In general there is great confusion in this respect."[1]

6.8.1.1. Regular present tense endings:

Anomalous finites are treated separately below. The following paradigm is representative other than under conditions stated in subsections 2 and 3.

/θɪnk/ 'think'

/aɪ θɪnk	we: θɪnk, ('θɪnkn)
ðɛ: θɪnks	jo: θɪnk, ('θɪnkn)
i: θɪnks	ðe: θɪnk,[2] ('θɪnkn)/

With the verb go, an ending may follow /ɑ/ but not /ʏ:/:

/gʏ:, gɑ/ 'go'

/aɪ gʏ:, gɑ	we: gʏ:, gɑ, (gɑn)
ðɛ: gɑz	jo: gʏ:, gɑ, (gɑn)
i: gɑz	ðe: gʏ:, gɑ,[2] (gɑn)/

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1. Melchers (1972: 138). Cf. also Hargreaves (1904: 93). The restrictions on -s endings described in the present study differ to some extent from those described by Wright in EDG section 435.
2. Forms without -s endings apply after the pronoun they. As will be explained below, -s endings are likely to be used after noun subjects.

Since /ɒ/-forms of go may be stressed, the verb is not always anomalous in the dialect. However, /ʏː/-forms are certainly very common. The verb do is conjugated in the same way as the verb go, although -en plural endings are more common in the former case, and /dɒ/ forms, if stressed, are restricted in distribution. The verb do must be treated as an anomalous finite in respect of both its positive and negative forms.[1] Other verbs with infinitives ending in /ʏː/ (e.g. /pʏː/ 'pull') retain the same vowel throughout the conjugation.

Verbs with a stem ending in a vowel or a lenis consonant other than /z, dʒ/ take the ending /z/ in the second and third person singular; after /s, z, ʃ, tʃ and dʒ/ the ending is /ɪz/, e.g. /ɐr 'aksɪz/ 'her (she) asks'; after fortis consonants other than those just given, the ending is /s/. The sequence /sts/ is rarely pronounced in the dialect, and forms such as costs are pronounced /'kɔsɪz/ or [k'ɔsː], e.g.

/ɪt 'kɔsɪz miː ɐ 'blɒdɪ mɪnt/
'it costs me a bloody mint'

Cf. the sequence /sks/ in the somewhat modified

/ʃɪ 'asɪz fɔ ðɪs mɔn/
'she asks for this man'

The third person plural often takes the same ending as the third singular. Indeed, in many of the following examples an -s ending is altogether typical. However, it does not occur in ordinary present tenses (cf. subsections 2 and 3) after the pronoun they itself - hence the forms in the above paradigms.

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1. See section 6.8.4.11.

/i: no:z wɔt θɪngz bɪ'lɔngz/
'he knows what things belongs (he is well informed)'

/ðe(r)z 'bɔkɪts ez rɔnz ɔn tʃe:nz laɪk/
'there's buckets as (which) runs on chains, like'

/ðe(r)z faɪv 'ɔnðe(r)t kɔmz/
'there's five hundred comes'

/ðɛm mɛn gɔz/
'them (those) men goes'

/kɔz ðats ro:d ez θɪngz ɪz/
'because that's the road (way) as (that) things is'

/maɪnz ɪz/
'mines is'

/wɛn ðɛmz dɔn/
'when them's done'

/so: wɪst at si: wɔt 'tʃe:ndʒɪz kɔmz ɪnte 'bi:ɪn ðɛn/
'so we shall have to see what changes comes into being then'

/ðɛm ʏ:z kɔpt/
'them who's copped (those who are caught)'

/ðɛmz wɔt ðɪ 'karɪd/
'them's what they carried'

Plural endings in -en may be used after we, you (plural) and they. The form of the ending is [n] after a vowel, and /en, ɔn/ or a syllabic /n/ after a consonant, e.g. [we: 'wan̩t̩ʔn̩] 'we want'. The use of these endings must now be accounted residual, at least in the urban area. Only one very elderly informant, raised by grandparents, used these endings widely in normal conversation:

/we: 'wantn/ 'we want'
/ðɪ 'laɪkn/ 'they like'
etc.

Some other informants used -en plural endings only on one or two very common verbs, although their use with have is still widespread. Examples:

/ɛ: 'mɔnɪ dɔn jə want/
'how many do you want?'

/ðɪn nɜʏt də wi: ɪt/
'they have nowt (nothing) to do with it'[1]

Wakelin refers to the use of -en plural endings on verbs. Lancashire appears not to feature in Wakelin's concept of the kernel area for what he terms an obviously "recessive feature",[2] but the feature is certainly still present in the dialect of Farnworth and district, and was probably much more widespread at one time. Admittedly, one informant of local parentage, who spoke residual dialect himself, said he had never heard such forms; however, another informant recalled quite clearly that they were once more common, citing examples and giving particular persons as sources. Local dialect literature and works concerned with local history and traditions suggest that -en plural endings were once common, e.g.

Neaw yo' known God loves annybody...[3]
'Now you [plural] know God loves anybody...'

Similarly, Bamford, writing in the middle of the last century, gave paradigms of modal and auxiliary verbs which show -en endings throughout the plural of the present and preterite for each verb.[4] Wright also observed that the present plural of

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1. Writing of a Cheshire dialect, Boyd (1954: 17) observed that some elderly people used -en plural endings invariably, but that they had been lost by most of the then present generation, except with a few very common verbs.
2. Wakelin (1972a: 120).
3. Gaskell (1964: 57).
4. Bamford (1850: 265f).

verbs ends in -en in South-East and South Lancashire, that the plural of have has n in nearly all Midland counties, and that the preterite plural sometimes ends in -en in Lancashire.[1]

In addition to the usual /ðɛ no:z/, /jə no:/, and the older /jo: no:n/, the following second person forms of the verb know are also found: /ðɛ no:d/ (definitely present tense), /ðɛ no:/, /jə no:z/.

6.8.1.2. The "habitual present":

When describing habitual behaviour, or their more permanent tastes and opinions, informants use an -s ending (i.e. /s, z, ɪz/) on the first person singular.

Examples:

/a laɪks ɪt ɪn'de(r)z/
'I likes it indoors'

/a de:nt ni:d tɛɪt a sɑps maɪn/
'I don't need to eat - I sups (drink) mine'

/ðats waɪ a li:vz ɪt swɪtʃt ɔn/
'that's why I leaves it switched on' [household routine]

/a θɪnks ə'bɛ:t ɪt 'mɔnɪ ə taɪm/
'I thinks about it many a time'

etc.

The second and third person singular already have -s as their usual present tense ending. However, on the basis of my corpus (which might not be sufficiently large for this generalisation), -s endings are not used in the plural to express habit or custom, although I recorded:

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1. Cf. Wright, J. (1905: 8).

/wɪ gɔz dɛ:n ðɪə(r) 'rɛgle de:nt wɪ/
'we goes down there regular(ly), don't we?'

/ðats wɔt ðe: θɪnks 'pi:pel/
'that's what they thinks, people'

I am inclined to view such occasional -s endings as formations by analogy.

6.8.1.3. The historical present:

Past events are sometimes related in the historical present - a state of affairs which is very common in the languages of the world. The endings used are either the normal present tense endings given in subsection 1 above, or -s (i.e. /s, z, ɪz/) throughout the conjugation (even after the pronoun they), although second person forms are rare in narratives (except of course in direct speech within narratives, which is not the same thing). The tense is especially typical of jokes, narratives, and indeed any occasion when immediacy and dramatic effect are required in the relation of past events. A speaker may relate a story in the historical present, perhaps having begun with one or more past tense forms, or, as is more likely, he may switch to and fro between historical present and past tense forms - sometimes rather abruptly, which on occasion is reminiscent of Old Norse texts.[1] It is interesting to note that Wackernagel-Jolles, in an examination of spoken, regional North German, drew attention to the extensive use of the present: it is the tense of discussion, statement and explanation, and may be used as a historical present.[2] Examples of the historical

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1. Cf. Gordon (1966: 313).
2. Cf. Wackernagel-Jolles (1971: 236).

present:

1. Note the two forms of <u>we get</u>, and the eventual switch to a past form:

/so: wɪ gɛts | egɛnt kɔk | en ɜʏd 'bɪlɪz et
'so we gets.. again (against) the Cock [Hotel].. and Old Billy's
frɑnt | wɪ 'dʒɔgɪn e'we: ɔət wɔns wɛn wɪ gɛt
at the front.. we're jogging away all at once when we get
tet kɔk lad ɪt wɪpt ɪn/
to the Cock lad [exclamation] it whipped in'

2. Note changes similar to those in (1):

/wɪ gɛt | 'gʏ:ɪn e'gɛn 'ɛnɪˌjɜʏ | en wɪ gɛt te 'e:(r)mstɑn
'we get.. going again anyhow.. and we get to Urmston
...ðe: gɛts ɪt || θɜʏs laɪk en lɛvz mi: | o: wɪ
...they gets into.. the house like and leaves me.. oh we
pɑlts | ðɪs 'po:nɪ ɛ:t et ʃafs | ɑn | wɪ tʏ:k
pulls.. this pony out of the shafts.. and.. we took
ɪt ɪt jæ:(r)d/
it into the yard'

etc.

6.8.1.4. <u>Expanded or periphrastic forms</u>:

I have not noted any tendency on the part of the dialect towards non-expanded forms.[1] Expanded forms are used as in S.E., and their formation is the same:

BE + PRESENT PARTICIPLE

DO + INFINITIVE

The present participle is formed by adding -/ɪn/, e.g.

/ʃɛ:t, 'ʃɛ:tɪn/ 'shout, shouting'.

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1. Cf. Wakelin (1972a: 121f).

6.8.2. Future Tense:

The future tense is formed by using:

1. Either SHALL or WILL + INFINITIVE;[1] or
2. BE + /bɛ:nt/ 'boun(d) [2] to' or /bɛ:n(t) fɔt/ 'boun(d) for to' + INFINITIVE; or
3. BE + /'gʏ:ɪnt/ 'going to' + INFINITIVE

WILL may be used with all persons as the future auxiliary. SHALL is used in the first person singular and plural. (2) and (3) are used in the same way, and tend to indicate a fairly immediate future. Examples:

/wɪst gʏ: ə'gɛn nɛks jə(r)/
'we shall go again next year'

/wɔt wɪlt dʏ:/
'what will thou do?'

/am bɛ:nt tak 'dʒɛrɪ æ:t tet | θaɪs'kri:m mɔn/
'I'm boun(d) to take the jerry (chamber-pot) out to the ice-cream man'

/am bɛ:nt 'fɪnɪʃ ɒp wɪ 'se:ɪn ðɪs nɛ:/
'I'm boun(d) to finish up with (by) saying this now'

/we(r) 'gʏ:ɪnt æ: ə θɪnk ə'bɛ:t ɪt/
'we're going to have a think about it'

etc.

There is a progressive form in such constructions as:

/al bɪ 'si:ɪn ðɪ ə'foə(r)t wɪks oə(r)/
'I'll be seeing thee afore (before) the week's over'

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1. For forms of these auxiliaries see sections 6.8.4.6. and 6.8.4.7.
2. Partington (1920: 6) gives boun and compares it with Icelandic búinn, past participle of búa 'to prepare'. See also C.O.D. bound[3]. However, the meaning 'ready to start', which is given in both works, does not fully reflect the form's rôle in periphrastic future constructions in the Farnworth dialect, where its meaning is 'going (to)'.

In modified speech, the same alternatives apply, except that the more residual forms of SHALL[1] occur less frequently. Modified pronunciations of /bɛ:nt/ and /bɛ:n(t) fɔt/ are /bɜʏnt, bɜʏn(t) fɔt/.

6.8.3. Past Tenses:

6.8.3.1. Preterite:

Plural endings in -en were only used by one informant, and must now be accounted a very residual feature indeed. I have only heard them on strong verbs, e.g. /we: 'kʏ:mən/ 'we came'. For further discussion see the description of the Present Tense.[2] Generally speaking, strong verbs change their root vowel, and the subject is not reflected by the verb ending at all. For details of the verbs involved, and the vowel alternations, see the Table of Irregular Verbs below. Modal verbs are treated elsewhere.[3] The verb slink, preterite and past participle /slɔnkt/, appears to be subject to a double (strong and weak) past tense formation.[4] A number of irregular verbs change neither the vowel nor the ending, e.g. /fɔt/ = infinitive, preterite and past participle of a verb meaning 'fetch'. These verbs are included in the table. So also are verbs in which final /d/ becomes /t/ in the preterite and past participle, e.g. /bɪld - bɪlt; graɪnd - graɪnt/ 'build-built; grind-ground'.

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1. Cf. section 6.8.4.6.
2. Section 6.8.1.1.
3. See section 6.8.4.
4. Verbs belonging to different historical classes may have a vowel change + alveolar, e.g. /ki:p - kɛpt/ 'keep-kept', but it is curious that slink should do this.

In the case of regular verbs, the preterite and past participle are formed in /t/ after /p, k, f, θ, s, ʃ, tʃ/ and quite often after /m, n, l, r and ɪ/. In the case of /r/, a special note is needed. Since historical /r/ is often not pronounced nowadays in relatively unstressed syllables at the end of a word, or after /ɪə/, then /t/ may occur after /e, ɪə/. Examples of preterites and past participles in /t/ after /m, n, l, e(r), ɪə(r), ɪ/:

/re:nt/ 'rained'; /'apnt/ 'happened'; /'fæ:snt/ 'fastened'; /ðrɛ:nt/ 'drowned'; /'fri:tnt/ 'frightened'; /te:(r)nt/ 'turned'; etc.

/'apmt/ 'happened'; /ʃo:mt/ or /ʃe:mt/ 'shamed, ashamed'; /tlaɪmt/ 'climbed'; /fre:mt/ 'framed'; /tle:mt/ 'claimed'; etc.

/kilt/ 'killed'; /nɪəlt/ 'kneeled'; /ke:lt/ kaled '(to be) overtaken, lost one's turn'; /'bɛɪ(j)elt/ 'boiled'; /'ratlt/ 'rattled'; /'tɪklt/ 'tickled'; etc.

/fɪə(r)t/ 'frightened'; /tlɪə(r)t/ 'cleared'; etc.

/'tɛɪ(j)e(r)t/ 'tired'; /'wɑnðe(r)t/ 'wondered'; /'bɑge(r)t/ 'buggered'; /'bɔðe(r)t/ 'bothered'; etc.

/'karɪt/ 'carried'; /'werɪt/ (also /'werɪtɪd/) 'worried'; and probably also /'bɛrɪt/ 'buried'.

In modified speech, there is a tendency to use /t/ after the same set of consonant phonemes as in S.E. However, this is a tendency, not an absolute rule (e.g. /kɪlt/ 'killed' from a speaker of a variety of N.S.), just as the use of /t/ after /m, n, l, e(r), ɪə(r), ɪ/ in the base dialect does not apply in some cases, is optional in others, and customary in others still. After final /d, t/, the preterite and past participle

ending is -/ɪd/, but a final /d/ must or may convert to /t/ in bend, bind, build, grind, lond (land, lend), rebuild, send, spend, unbend and unbind. In all other verbs, the preterite and past participle ending is /d/. Examples of regular formations:

'step-stepped'	/stɛp - stɛpt/
'fold-folded'	/fɜʏd - 'fɜʏdɪd/
'beg-begged'	/bɛg - bɛgd/

Past events may be related in the historical present. Details are given in the description of the Present Tense.[1] On occasion it will not be clear which tense is being used, e.g.

/so: wɪ kɔm bak ə'gɛn || gɛts 'sɛtld ɪn ə'gɛn |
'so we come/came back again, gets settled in again,

wɛn ðɪ stæ:(r)t ə'gɛn/
when they start again'

6.8.3.2. Perfect:

Irregular formations of the past participle are given in the Table of Irregular Verbs below. Strong verbs show vowel changes when their participles are compared with the infinitive and/or preterite forms, e.g. drink. Some additionally end in /n/, e.g. let, while others end in /d, t/, e.g. keep. Other irregular verbs may show no change at all, e.g. fot 'fetch'; or they may have a participle in /n/, e.g. shut; or /d/ of the stem may become /t/, e.g. grind.

Endings on regular participles follow the pattern given for regular preterites in the preceding subsection, i.e. they

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1. See section 6.8.1.3.

are /t, ɪd or d/, and are formally predictable, except for some variation between /t/ and /d/ after /m, n, l, ɐ(r), ɪə(r), ɪ/.

A construction involving the past participle is:

HAVE + been and + PAST PARTICIPLE

Thus:

/av dʒɑs bɪn en 'kɛ:ntɪd ɑm/
'I've just been and counted them'

/i:z bɪn en gɔn en dɑn ɪt/
'he's been and gone and done it'

The construction may be used to lend emphasis, express surprise, and so on. A past participle is used after BE, where speakers of other varieties of English might prefer a progressive or continuous form, in the following:

/ðɛ we:nt sted ɑp/
'thou wasn't stood up'

/i: we(r) sɪt ɪnt sɪnk/
'he was sit (sat) in the sink'

/a 'ɔəlez 'wantɪd bɪ stɑd ɑp/
'I always wanted to be stood up' [when digging coal]

A past participle also occurs in:

/ðɐ(r) we(r) 'ɔəlɑz mɛn 'we:tɪn fɐ(r) wɐk | stɑd ɪt
'there were always men waiting for work, stood in the
pɪt jæ:(r)d/
pit yard'

It is impossible to say whether stood is part of a construction with BE in this last case.

A distinctive construction is:

HAVE + been + given over + PRESENT PARTICIPLE
stopped
(PAST PARTICIPLE)

e.g.
/av bɪn gɪv oə(r) 'wekɪn 'ɛɪttiːn jə(r)/
i.e.
'It is 18 years since I stopped working.'

A further distinctive construction involves the progressive form of the perfect. Very many verbs may be substituted for hoover in this example:

/av bɪn 'ʏːverɪn ɔː 'mɔə(r)nɪn/
'I've been hoovering all morning.'

This sentence, and others of the same type, may mean what they literally appear to mean. Alternatively, they may mean virtually the opposite: the above construction means 'I have been intending to hoover all morning, but unfortunately I have not yet done so'. The construction might be followed by a further remark, which in the event might well serve to clarify it, but equally it can stand alone. Furthermore, the construction,which is common, is not disambiguated by stress or intonation as far as I can tell. Context would appear to be crucial. I believe that the construction could derive from the fuller alternative:

/av bɪn fər 'ʏːverɪn ɔː 'mɔə(r)nɪn/
'I've been for hoovering all morning.'

There is occasional evidence of double past forms:

/'werɪtɪd/ 'worried' preterite and past participle
/'slɔnkt/ 'slunk' preterite and past participle
/iː jʏːs sɛd/ 'he used to said'
/'ɛvrɪ taɪmp 'foːmɔn 'blɛɪtʃe(r) jʏːs wɔn oə(r)t 'mɔnɪdʒe(r)/
'every time the foreman bleacher used to won over (win against) the manager'

/a 'jʏːstə 'noːtɪst/
'I used to noticed' (theoretically 'I used to have noticed' is also a possible interpretation).

The use and formation of the perfect tense is generally as in S.E. However, there seems to be a trace of BE as an auxiliary. There are occasions when it is difficult to be certain: firstly, a past participle may be used adjectivally, in which case it will be preceded by BE; secondly, /ɪz/, when unstressed, could represent either <u>is</u> or <u>has</u>; thirdly, with rare constructions, the possibilities of error and reformulation cannot be overlooked. Examples, including pluperfect forms:

1. [Modified speech]:

   /wɪtʃ ɪz moəre lɛs bɪ'kɒm mɪ 'sɛken ho:m/
   'which is [has?] more or less become my second home'

2. /aɪ ɔ: ði:z θɪngz ɪz 'ɔ:tθe(r)t | 'tɛrɪblɪ/
   'aye all these things is altered.. terribly'

3. /ɔ:l ðɛmz dɒn e'we: wi:/
   'all them's done away with'

4. /ɔ: ði:z θɪngz ɪz 'vanɪʃ nɛ:/
   'all these things is vanished now'

5. /ɔəl ðɛm taɪmz ɪz | flɜʏn e'we:/
   'all them times is.. flown away'

6. /wɔn ev ɪz me:ts ɪz kɒm/
   'one of his mates is come'

7. /ɪt wer 'ɔ:fn kɒm ɔf/
   'it were often come off'

8. /ðɪ we(r) kɒm ɒp ðɪə(r)/
   'they were come (had come) up there'

9. /ðat we(r)t bɛs wɔt wer 'ɛve(r) kɒm ɪə(r)/
   'that were the best what were ever come here'
   (i.e. 'that was the best horse which had ever come here')

1. could involve <u>is</u> or <u>has</u> (unstressed), although <u>become</u> is a classical contender for BE as auxiliary - cf. N.H.G.

werden, O.E. weorþan. 3. is presumably a case of a past participle used adjectivally. However, the other examples are more convincing, and the pattern involved would appear to be that BE may function as the perfect tense auxiliary with intransitive verbs of motion or change of state, rather as in N.H.G. and N.F. This is a pattern which is also thought to have applied in O.E. with the emergence of the perfect and pluperfect. There is not as much evidence as scholars would wish, but Zimmermann writes that "...be was used with certain intransitive verbs denoting motion or change, so-called 'mutative' verbs, e.g. cuman, weorþan".[1] The use of BE as the perfect tense auxiliary in the dialect would bear further investigation, although such use is not extensive.

Miscellaneous occurrences of the past participle:

/ɪt wer e:f pæ:s sɪks te:(r)nd/
'it were half-past six turned' = 'turned half-past six'

/ə naɪs 'te:stɪd 'lɛtɪs/
'a nice tasted lettuce'

6.8.3.3. Pluperfect:

On the possibilities of BE as auxiliary, see the preceding subsection. The pluperfect may be formed as in S.E., but in certain contexts

HAD (+ NOT) + HAVE + PAST PARTICIPLE

is customary. This formation is typical of conditional clauses.

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1. Zimmermann (1973: 107).

Examples:

/ɪv 'i:dɪ 'dɤ:tsen 'adnt e kɷm/
'if Edith Dootson hadn't have come'

/ɪv ad e θɜɤt/
'if I'd have thought'

/ɪv we:d e no:n/
'if we'd have known'

/ɪv i:d e bɪn kɪlt e(r) sɛd wɪd e stɪl at te lɜɤft/
'"If he'd have been killed," her (she) said, "we'd have still had to have laughed."'

etc.

The same construction is very prominent in modified speech, where /e/ may become /ɐv/, e.g.

/a wɪʃ ad ɐv pɷr e 'kæ:(r)dɪgen ɔn/
'I wish I'd have put a cardigan on.'

It is used after if, I wish, I wished, if only in both residual dialect and modified speech.

6.8.3.4. Regular verbs:

The following Table of Regular Verbs contains a selection of regular forms, including:

a) verbs which are irregular in S.E., e.g. blow

b) verbs which are also irregular in the dialect, e.g. choose

c) verbs more often or alternatively irregular in S.E., such as thrive, bide, blend, etc.

d) verbs with a different basic form from the S.E. equivalent, such as scrat, yar.

TABLE OF REGULAR VERBS

Meaning	Infinitive	Preterite	Past Participle	Notes
'bide'	/baɪd	'baɪdɪd	'baɪdɪd	
'blend'	blɛnd	'blɛndɪd	'blɛndɪd	
'blow'	blo:	blo:d	blo:d	
'call'	kɔ:	kɔ:d	kɔ:d	
'cast'	kæ:st	'kæ:stɪd	'kæ:stɪd	
'catch'	katʃ	katʃt	katʃt	
'choose'	tʃʏ:z	tʃʏ:zd	tʃʏ:zd	Also irreg.
'clothe'	klo:ð	klo:ðd	klo:ðd	
'crow'	kro:	kro:d	kro:d	
'deal'	dɪəl	dɪəld	dɪəld	Also irreg.
'dig'	dɪg	dɪgd	dɪgd	
'draw'	ðrɔ:	ðrɔ:d	ðrɔ:d	Less often irreg.[1]
'fall'	fɔ:	fɔ:d	fɔ:d	Also irreg.
'flee'	fli:	fli:d	fli:d	Verb rare, also irreg.
'forecast'	'foə(r)kæ:st	'foə(r),kæ:stɪd	'foə(r),kæ:stɪd	
fotch = 'fetch'	fɔtʃ	fɔtʃt	fɔtʃt	Cf. fot (irreg.)
'gild'	gɪld	'gɪldɪd	'gɪldɪd	Rare
'grow'	gro:	gro:d	gro:d	
'hang'	ang	angd	angd	Also irreg.
'hear'	ɪə(r)	ɪə(r)d	ɪə(r)d	Also irreg. cf. also var below.
'heave'	ɛɪv	ɛɪvd	ɛɪvd	
'hold'	ɜʏd	'ɜʏdɪd	'ɜʏdɪd	Also irreg.
'kneel'	nɪəl	nɪəlt	nɪəlt	Also irreg.
'know'	no:	no:d	no:d	
'learn;teach'	læ:(r)n	læ:(r)nt	læ:(r)nt	
'melt'	mɛlt	'mɛltɪd	'mɛltɪd	
'mislay'	mɪs'le:	mɪs'le:d	mɪs'le:d	Also irreg.
'mow'	mo:	mo:d	mo:d /	Also irreg.

1. The irregular form is used adjectivally: /ɔə(r)s ðrɔ:n/ 'horse-drawn'.

Table of Regular Verbs (Contd.)

Meaning	Infinitive	Preterite	Past Participle	Notes
overlie = / 'oversleep'	ɔə(r)'laɪ	ɔə(r)'laɪd	ɔə(r)'laɪd	Less often irreg.
'saw'	sɔ:	sɔ:d	sɔ:d	Also irreg.
'say'	sɛ	sɛd	sɛd	Also irreg.
scrat = 'scratch'	skrat	'skratɪd	'skratɪd	Also irreg.
'see'	si:	si:d	si:d	Also irreg.
'sew'	so:	so:d	so:d	Also irreg.
'shake'	ʃe:k	ʃe:kt	ʃe:kt	Also irreg.
'shave'	ʃɛɪv	ʃɛɪvd	ʃɛɪvd	
'shed'	ʃi:d	'ʃi:dɪd	'ʃi:dɪd	Also irreg.
'shine'	ʃɛɪn ʃaɪn	ʃɛɪnd ʃaɪnt	ʃɛɪnd ʃaɪnt	Also irreg.
'shit'	ʃɪt	'ʃɪtɪd	'ʃɪtɪd	More often irreg.
'shoe'	ʃʏ:	ʃʏ:d	ʃʏ:d	
'show'	ʃo:	ʃo:d	ʃo:d	Also irreg.
'shred'	ʃrɛd	'ʃrɛdɪd	'ʃrɛdɪd	
'smell'	smɛl	smɛlt	smɛlt	
'sow'	so:	so:d	so:d	Occasionally irreg.
'speed'	'spi:d	'spi:dɪd	'spi:dɪd	
'spell'	spɛl	spɛlt	spɛlt	
'spill'	spɪl	spɪlt	spɪlt	
'spin'	spɪn	spɪnt	spɪnt	More often irreg.
'spoil' [1]	'spɛɪəl	'spɛɪəlt	'spɛɪəlt	
'steal' [1]	'stɛɪəl	'stɛɪəlt	'stɛɪəlt	More often irreg.
'swear'	swe:(r)	swe:(r)d	swe:(r)d	Also irreg.
'sweat'	swɛt	'swɛtɪd	'swɛtɪd	Also irreg.
'teach'	tɛɪtʃ	tɛɪtʃt	tɛɪtʃt	Also irreg.
'tear'	te:(r)	te:(r)d	te:(r)d	Also irreg.
'thrive'	θraɪv	θraɪvd	θraɪvd	
'throw'	θro:	θro:d	θro:d	Less often irreg.
'wear'	we:(r)	we:(r)d	we:(r)d	Also irreg.
'weave'	wɛɪv	wɛɪvd	wɛɪvd	Also irreg.
'wet'	wɛt	'wɛtɪd	'wɛtɪd	More often irreg.
'work'	wək	wəkt	wəkt	
yar = 'hear'	jæ:(r)	jæ:(r)d	jæ:(r)d /	Also irreg.

1. Forms may also be phonemicised with /(j)/ after /ɛɪ/.

6.8.3.5. Irregular verbs:

In the following table it will be noted that a number of verbs which are irregular in S.E. are not present, e.g. to arise. This is because such verbs are not in the corpus, and because special questions designed to elicit them failed to do so. (When asked directly about verbs such as to arise, informants said that they knew what the words meant, but that they did not use them.) These observations do not of course preclude the possibility of such a verb being used on some particular occasion. In the event, it is reasonable to predict that the preterite would follow the S.E. pattern, but be pronounced with a pronunciation appropriate to the area. However, one would also have to predict that the past participle might possibly take the same form as the preterite - it will be seen from the Table of Irregular Verbs that many verbs pattern in this way in the dialect. Some verbs are known to informants in a mainly passive way, perhaps from religion, e.g. to beget. Informants feel, as I do, that these verbs cannot really be accounted a part of the dialect. On the other hand, the table contains one or two verbs which are not irregular in S.E.: see e.g. the strong verb to squeeze.

A number of verbs have both regular and irregular forms. Where appropriate, this fact is indicated in the notes. In view of the existence of several forms for some parts of some verbs, the notes offer brief guidance as to the rarity or commonness of forms where possible. These judgements reflect: a) the number of occurrences of a form in the corpus (including forms deliberately elicited by questionnaire techniques); b) informants' opinions concerning which form(s) they use more often.

TABLE OF IRREGULAR VERBS

Meaning	Infinitive	Preterite	Past Participle	Notes
'be'	/bi:/, /bɪ/	/we(r)/	/bɪn/	
'bear'	/be:(r)/	/boə(r)/	/bɔə(r)n/	
'beat'	/bjɛt/ /bi:t/	/bjɛt/ /bi:t/	/'bjɛtn/ /'bi:tn/	Older forms More common
'become'	/bɪ'kɷm/	/bɪ'kɷm/	/bɪ'kɷm/	
'begin'	/bɪ'gɪn/	/bɪ'gɷn/	/bɪ'gɷn/	
'bend'	/bɛnd/	/bɛnt/	/bɛnt/	Also regular
'bet'	/bɛt/	/bɛt/	/bɛt/	
'bethink'	/bɪ'θɪnk/	/bɪ'θɜʏt/	/bɪ'θɜʏt/	
'bid'	/bɪd/	/bɪd/	/bɪd/	
'bind'	/baɪnd/	/bɷn/ /bɛ:nd,bɛ:nt/	/bɷn/ /bɛ:nd,bɛ:nt/	Older forms Also regular
'bite'	/baɪt/	/bɪt/	/'bɪtn/ /bɪt/	
'bleed'	/bli:d/	/blɛd/	/blɛd/	
'break'	/brɛɪk/	/bro:k/	/'brɔkn/ /bro:k/	
'breed'	/bri:d/	/brɛd/	/brɛd/	
'bring'	/brɪng/	/brɜʏt/	/brɜʏt/	
'build'	/bɪld/	/bɪlt/	/bɪlt/	
'burst'	/bɷst/	/bɷst/	/bɷst/	Also regular
'buy'	/bɛɪ/	/bɜʏt/	/bɜʏt/	
'choose'	/tʃʏ:z/	/tʃo:z/	/'tʃo:zn/	Also regular
'cling'	/tlɪng,klɪng/	/tlɷng,klɷng/	/tlɷng,klɷng/	
'clink'	/tlɪnk,klɪnk/	/tlɷnk,klɷnk/	/tlɷnk,klɷnk/	
clod='throw'	/tlɔd,klɔd/	/tlɔd,klɔd/	/tlɔd,klɔd/	
'come'	/kɷm/	/kʏ:m/	/kʏ:m/	Older./kʏ:m/ rare as past participle. Now more common
		/kɷm/	/kɷm/	
'cost'	/kɔ:st/	/kɔ:st/	/kɔ:st/	
'creep	/kri:p/	/krɛpt/	/krɛpt/	
'cut'	/kɷt/	/kɷt/	/kɷt/	
'dare'[1]	/dæ:(r), da / /de:(r),de(r)/	/dest,dɷst/	/dæ:(r)d/ /de:(r)d/ /dest,dɷst/	Also regular
'deal'	/dɪəl/	/dɛlt/	/dɛlt/	Also regular
'dig'	/dɪg/	/dɷg/	/dɷg/	Also regular

1. For further forms and discussion see section 6.8.4.10.

Table of Irregular Verbs (Contd.)

Meaning	Infinitive	Preterite	Past Participle	Notes
'dive'	/daɪv/	/do:v/	/do:v/	Also regular
'do'	/dɤ:,dɷ/(/de/)	/dɪd/ /dɷn/[1]	/dɷn/	Less common preterite
'draw'	/ðrɔ:/	/ðrɔ:d/ /ðrɤ:/	/ðrɔ:n/[2]	Also regular Less common preterite
'dream'	/ðri:m/	/θrɛmt/	/ðrɛmt/	
'drink'	/ðrɪnk/	/ðrɷnk/	/ðrɷnk/[3]	
'drive'	/ðrɛɪv/	/ðro:v/	/'ðro:vn/ /'ðrɔvn/ /'ðrɪvn /	Now the most common form
			/ðro:v/	
'eat'	/ɛɪt/	/ɛt/	/'ɛtn/	The most common set
		/ɛɪt/		
	/i:t/	/i:t/	/i:t/	
		/ɛt/	/ɛt/	
'fall'	/fɔ:/	/fɔ:d/	/fɔ:n/	Also regular
		/fɛl/	/fɛl/	Less usual.Modified
'feed'	/fi:d/	/fɛd/	/fɛd/	
'feel'	/fɪəl/	/fɛlt/	/fɛlt/	
'fight'	/fɛɪt/	/fɜɤt/	/fɜɤt/	
'find'	/faɪnd/	/fɷn/	/fɷn/	Older.Still common
		/fɛ:nd/	/fɛ:nd/	
'flee'	/fli:/	/flɛd/	/flɛd/	Verb rare. Also regular[4]
'fling'	/flɪng/	/flɷng/	/flɷng/	
'fly'	/flaɪ/	/flɜɤn/	/flɜɤn/	Older forms
		/flɤ:/	/flo:n/	
			/flɤ:/	Uncommon
'forbid'	/fə(r)'bɪd/	/fə(r)'bɪd/	/fə(r)'bɪdn/	Preterite rare
'forget'	/fə(r)'gɛt/	/fə(r)'gi:t/	/fə(r)'gɛtn/	The most common set
			/fə(r)'gi:t/	
		/fə(r)'gɔt/	/fə(r)'gɔtn/	Modified
			/fə(r)'gɔt/	Modified

1. The use of the past participle as a preterite is quite uncommon in the dialect - the reverse is more often the case.
2. Especially when used adjectivally, e.g. /'ɔə(r)s'ðrɔ:n kæ:(r)t/ 'a horse-drawn cart'.
3. /'ðrɷnkn/ may be used adjectivally, e.g. /ə 'ðrɷnkn tʃap/ 'a drunken chap'.
4. /flɜɤn/ was also given, cf. 'to fly'.

Table of Irregular Verbs (Contd.)

Meaning	Infinitive	Preterite	Past Participle	Notes
'forgive'	/fe(r)'gɪ, fe(r)'gɪv/	/fe(r)'gɪd/ /fe(r)'gɪn/ /fe(r)'gɪv/	/fe(r)'gɪn/	
'forsake'	/fe(r)'se:k/	/fe(r)'sɤ:k/	/fe(r)'sɤ:k/ /fe(r)'se:kn/	
fot='fetch'	/fɔt/	/fɔt/	/fɔt/	
'freeze'	/fri:z/	/fro:z/	/'frɔzn/	The more common
			/fro:z/	Cannot be used adjectivally of a person
'get'	/gɛt/	/gi:t/ /'gɛtn/ /gɛɪt/	/'gɛtn/ /gi:t/	The most common set Uncommon
'give'	/gɪ,gɪv/	/gan/	/gan/	Traditional
		/gɪn/	/gɪn/	Traditional.Common
		/gɪd/	/gɪd/	Traditional.Common
		/gɪv/	/gɪv/	Quite common
		/gɪ/	/gɪ/	Less common
		/ge:v/[1]	/'gɪvn/	Modified
'go'	/gɤ:,gɷ/	/wɛnt/	/gɔn/	
'grind'	/graɪnd/	/graɪnt/ /grɛ:nd,grɛ:nt/	/graɪnt/ /grɛ:nd,grɛ:nt/	Preferred forms
'hang'	/ang/	/ɔng/	/ɔng/	Also regular. The irreg.forms[2] are more common
'have'	/a,æ:,av/	/ad/	/ad/	
'hear'	/ɪə(r)/	/e:(r)d/	/e:(r)d/	Somewhat modified. Also regular. See also yar below.
'hide'	/aɪd/	/ɪd/	/'ɪdn/ /ɪd/	
			/'ɪdɪd/	Rare
'hit'	/ɪt/	/ɪt/	/ɪt/	
'hold'	/ɜɤd/	/ɛld/	/ɛld/	Also regular
'hurt'	/et/	/et/	/et/	
'keep'	/ki:p/	/kɛpt/	/kɛpt/	
'kneel'	/nɪəl/	/nɛlt/	/nɛlt/	Also regular

1. /'gɪdn/ was also recorded for the preterite from one informant.
2. The strong forms may be used with the meaning 'to execute a person'.

Table of Irregular Verbs (Contd.)

Meaning	Infinitive	Preterite	Past Participle	Notes
'knit'	/nɪt/	/nɪt/	/nɪt/	Also regular
'lay'	/le:/	/le:d/	/le:d/ /le:n/	Forms of the verb to lie are often used: cf. lie below.
'lead'	/li:d/	/lɛd/	/lɛd/	
'lean'	/lɛɪn,li:n/	/lɛnt/	/lɛnt/	Also regular
'leap'	/li:p/	/lɛpt/	/lɛpt/	
'leave'	/lɛv/	/lɛft/	/lɛft/	
'lend'	/lɔnd/ /land/ /lɛnd/	/lɔnt/ /lant/ /lɛnt/	/lɔnt/ /lant/ /lɛnt/	Older Older
'let'	/li:t/	/li:t/	/'lɛtn/	Older forms: still common.
	/lɛt/	/lɛt/	/li:t/ /lɛt/	One informant gives /'li:tn/ for p.p.
'lie'	/laɪ/	/laɪd/ /le:d/	/laɪd/ /le:n/ /le:d/	The regular forms can be used with the same meaning as the strong forms. Cf. lay
'light'	/li:t/	/li:t/	/li:t/,/'li:tn ('lɪtn)/	Older[1]
	/laɪt/	/lɪt/	/lɪt/	More modified infinitive
'lose'	/lɔ:z/	/lɔ:st/	/lɔ:st/	
'make'	/me:k,mɛk/	/me:d/	/me:d/	
'mean'	/mɪən,mi:n/	/mɛnt/	/mɛnt/	
'meet'	/mi:t/	/mɛt/	/mɛt/	
'mislay'	/mɪs'le:/	/mɪs'le:d/	/mɪs'le:n/	Also regular
'mistake'	/mɪs'te:k/	/mɪs'tɤ:k/	/mɪs'tan/ /mɪs'tɤ:k/ /mɪs'te:kn/	Older Modified
'misunderstand'	/ˌmɪsˌɑnðe(r)'stɑnd(d), ˌmɪsˌɑnðe(r)'stan(d)/		/ˌmɪsˌɒnðe(r)'stɑd/	
'mow'	/mo:/	/mo:d/	/mo:n/	Also regular
'outbid'	/ɛ:t'bɪd/	/ɛ:t'bɪd/	/ɛ:t'bɪd/	
'outdo'	/ɛ:t'dɤ:/	/ɛ:t'dɪd/	/ɛ:t'dɔn/	
'outgrow'			/ɛ:t'gro:n/	Only past participle elicited
'overcast'			/oə(r)'kæ:st/	Only used adjectivally

1. The first set of forms is identical to forms of the verb to let. Light means 'to set fire to; to alight, to land', and /li:t ɔn/ means 'to meet by chance'.

Table of Irregular Verbs (Contd.)

Meaning	Infinitive	Preterite	Past Participle	Notes
'overcome'	/oə(r)'kɷm/	/oə(r)'kʏ:m/ /oə(r)'kɷm/	/oə(r)'kɷm/	
'overdo'	/oə(r)'dʏ:/	/oə(r)'dɪd/	/oə(r)'dɒn/	
'overhang'	/oə'rang/	/oə'rɒng/	/oə'rɒng/	
'overhear'	/oə'rɪə(r)/	/oə'rɐ:(r)d/	/oə'rɐ:(r)d/	Modified. Cf. o'eryar below
overlie = 'oversleep'	/oə(r)'laɪ/	/oə(r)'le:d/	/oə(r)'le:d/ /oə(r)'le:n/	More often regular
'overrun'	/oə'rɒn/	/oə'rɒn/	/oə'rɒn/	
'overshoot'	/oə(r)'ʃʏ:t/	/oə(r)'ʃɔt/	/oə(r)'ʃɔt/	
'oversleep'	/oə(r)'sli:p/	/oə(r)'slɛpt/	/oə(r)'slɛpt/	
'overtake'	/oə(r)'te:k/	/oə(r)'tʏ:k/	/oə(r)'tan/ /oə(r)'takn/ /oə(r)'tɛkn/ /oə(r)'tʏ:k/	
o'eryar = 'overhear'	/oə(r)'jæ:(r)/	/oə(r)'jæ:(r)d/	/oə(r)'jæ:(r)n/	
'peel'	/'pɛɪəl/	/pɪlt/	/pɪlt/	
'put'	/pɷt/	/pɷt/	/pɷt/	
'read'	/ri:d/	/rɛd/	/rɛd/	
'rebuild'	/ri:'bɪld/	/ri:'bɪlt/	/ri:'bɪlt/	
'reset'	/ri:'sɛt/	/ri:'sɛt/	/ri:'sɛt/	
'rid'	/rɪd/	/rɪd/	/rɪd/	
'ride'	/raɪd/	/ro:d/	/'rɪdn/ /ro:d/	
'ring'	/rɪng/	/rɒng/	/rɒng/	
'rise'	/raɪz/	/ro:z/	/'rɪzn/ /ro:z/	
'run'	/rɒn/	/rɒn/	/rɒn/	
'saw'	/sɔ:/	/sɔ:d/	/sɔ:n/	Also regular
'say'	/se:/	/sɛd/	/sɛd/	Also regular
scrat = 'scratch'	/skrat/	/skrat/	/skrat/	Also regular
'see'	/si:/	/sɪn/	/sɪn/ /si:n/	Also regular More modified
'sell'	/sɛl/	/sɜʏd/	/sɜʏd/	
'send'	/sɛnd/	/sɛnt/	/sɛnt/	

Table of Irregular Verbs (Contd.)

Meaning	Infinitive	Preterite	Past Participle	Notes
'set'	/sɛt/	/si:t/ /sɛt/	/si:t/ /sɛt/	Older. Cf. sit
'sew'	/so:/	/so:d/	/so:n/	Regular form more usual
'shake'	/ʃe:k/	/ʃʏ:k/	/'ʃʏ:kn/ /ʃʏ:k/ /'ʃe:kn/	Older. Also regular Modified
'shame'	/ʃe:m/	/ʃo:mt/	/ʃo:mt/	Old forms. Also regular
'shed'	/ʃi:d/ /ʃɛd/	/ʃɛd/	/ʃɛd/	Older Also regular
'shine'	/ʃɛɪn, ʃaɪn/	/ʃɔn/	/ʃɔn/	Regular forms more common
		/ʃɔn/	/ʃɔn/	Less common
'shit'	/ʃɪt/	/ʃɪt/	/'ʃɪtn/ /ʃɪt/	Older
'shoot'	/ʃʏ:t/	/ʃɔt/	/ʃɔt/	
'show'	/ʃo:/	/ʃo:d/	/ʃo:n/	Also regular
'shrink'	/ʃrɪnk/	/ʃrɔnk/	/ʃrɔnk/	
'shut'	/ʃɔt/	/ʃɔt/	/'ʃɔtn/ /ʃɔt/	Older
'sing'	/sɪng/	/sɔng/	/sɔng/	
'sink'	/sɪnk/	/sɔnk/	/sɔnk/	
'sit'	/si:t/ /sɪt/	/si:t/ /sɪt/	/si:t/ /sɪt/	Older set of forms
'sleep'	/sli:p/	/slɛpt/	/slɛpt/	
'slide'	/slaɪd/	/slɪd/	/slɪd/	
'sling'	/slɪng/	/slɔng/	/slɔng/	
'slink'	/slɪnk/	/slɔnkt/ /slɔnk/	/slɔnkt/ /slɔnk/	Preferred forms
'slit' 'smite'	/slɪt/	/slɪt/	/slɪt/ /'smɪtn/	Past participle only[1]
'sow'	/so:/	/so:d/	/so:n/	Regular form preferred
'speak'	/spɛɪk/	/spo:k/	/'spɔkn/ /spo:k/	Less usual
'spend'	/spɛnd/	/spɛnt/	/spɛnt/	
'spin'	/spɪn/	/spɔn/	/spɔn/	Also regular

1. Only in the phrase "(not) to be smitten with".

Table of Irregular Verbs (Contd.)

Meaning	Infinitive	Preterite	Past Participle	Notes
'spit'	/spɪt/	/spɪt/ /spat/	/spɪt/	Less usual
'split'	/splɪt/	/splɪt/	/splɪt/	
'spread'	/spred/	/spred/	/spred/	
'spring'	/sprɪng/	/sprɔng/	/sprɔng/	
'squeeze'	/skwɛɪz/ /skwi:z/	/skwo:z/ /skwo:z/	/'skwɔzn/ /'skwo:zn/	Dialectal set Modified set
'stand'	/stɔn,stɔnd/ /stan,stand/	/stɔd/	/stɔd/	
'steal'	/'stɛɪ(j)el/	/'stɜʏel/	/'stɜʏlen/ /stɜʏn/	Also regular
		/sto:l/	/sto:l/	More modified
			/'sto:len/	More modified
'stick'	/stɪk/	/stɔk/	/stɔk/	
'sting'	/stɪng/	/stɔng/	/stɔng/	
'stink'	/stɪnk/	/stɔnk/	/stɔnk/	
'stride'	/sθraɪd/	/sθro:d/	/sθro:d/	
'strike'	/sθraɪk/	/sθrɔk/	/sθrɔk/	
'string'	/sθrɪng/	/sθrɔng/	/sθrɔng/	
'strive'	/sθraɪv/	/sθro:v/	/'sθrɪvn/	
'swear'	/swe:(r)/	/swoə(r)/	/swɔə(r)n/	Also regular
'sweat'	/swɛt/	/swɛt/	/swɛt/	Also regular
'sweep'	/swi:p/	/swɛpt/	/swɛpt/	
'swell'	/swɛl/	/swɛld,swɛlt/	/'swo:len/	Also regular
'swim'	/swɪm/	/swɔm/	/swɔm/	
'swing'	/swɪng/	/swɔng/	/swɔng/	
'take'	/tak/	/tʏ:k/	/tan/	Older
			/'takn/	Common
	/tɛk/		/'tɛkn/	Common
			/tʏ:k/	
'teach'	/tɛɪtʃ/	/tɜʏt/	/tɜʏt/	Also weak. The verb /læ:(r)n/ is often used.
'tear'	/te:(r)/	/toə(r)/	/tɔə(r)n/	Not much used. Rip is preferred. Also regular
'tell'	/tɛl/	/tɜʏd/	/tɜʏd/	
'think'	/θɪnk/	/θɜʏt/	/θɜʏt/	

Table of Irregular Verbs (Contd.)

Meaning	Infinitive	Preterite	Past Participle	Notes
'throw'	/θro:/	/θrʏ:/	/θro:n/	Regular forms more usual.
'thrust'	/θrɔst/	/θrɔst/	/θrɔst/	
'tread'	/θrɛd,θrɛɪd/	/θrɔd/ /θrɔd/	/θrɔd/ /'θrɔdn/	
'unbend'	/ɔm'bɛnd/	/ɔm'bɛnt/	/ɔm'bɛnt/	Also regular
'unbind'	/ɔm'baɪnd/	/ɔm'bɛ:nd, ɔm'bɛ:nt/	/ɔm'bɛ:nd, ɔm'bɛ:nt/	Also regular
'understand'	/ˌɔnðe(r)'stɔn ˌɔnðe(r)'stɔnd ˌɔnðe(r)'stan ˌɔnðe(r)'stand/	/ˌɔnðe(r)'stɔd/	/ˌɔnðe(r)'stɔd/	
'undertake'	/ˌɔnðe(r)'te:k/	/ˌɔnðe(r)'tʏ:k/	/ˌɔnðe(r)'tan/ /ˌɔnðe(r)'takn/ /ˌɔnðe(r)'tɛkn/ /ˌɔnðe(r)'tʏ:k/	
'undo'	/ɔn'dʏ:/	/ɔn'dɪd/	/ɔn'dɔn/	
'upset'	/ɔp'sɛt/	/ɔp'si:t/ /ɔp'sɛt/	/ɔp'si:t/ /ɔp'sɛt/	Older forms
'wear'	/we:(r)/	/woə(r)/	/wɔə(r)n/	Also regular
'weave'	/wɛɪv/	/wɛɪvd/ /wo:v/	/'wɔvn/ /wo:v/ /'wo:vn/	Also regular Modified Modified
'wed'	/wɛd/	/wɛd/	/wɛd/	
'weep'	/wi:p/	/wɛpt/	/wɛpt/	
'wet'	/wɛt/ /wi:t/	/wɛt/ /wi:t/	/wɛt/ /wi:t/	Also regular Older
'win'	/wɪn/	/wɔn/	/wɔn/	
'wind'	/waɪnd/	/wɔn/	/wɔn/	Older forms. Still common.
		/wɛ:nd/ /wɔnd/	/wɛ:nd/ /wɔnd/	Less common
'withdraw'	/wɪððrɔ:/	/wɪð'ðrʏ:/	/wɪð'ðrɔ:n/	Also regular
'wring'	/rɪng/	/rɔng/	/rɔng/	
'write'	/raɪt/	/ro:t/	/ro:t/ /'rɪtn/	Less common
yar='hear'	/jæ:(r),ja/	/jæ:(r)d/	/jæ:(r)n/	Less often regular

Users of modified speech employ a number of forms marked "modified" in the above table, together with other forms not included here which are as in S.E., but with a pronunciation appropriate to the area. Quite a number of the irregular dialectal forms given in the table are retained by many modified speakers. Especially common are forms of the type:

/drɪnk	drɒnk	drɒnk/
/rɪng	rɒng	rɒng/

and so on. There are speakers with considerably modified accents (Educated Northern), and a high degree of formal education, who use these forms with utter consistency. There is another group of modified speakers, however, which, despite the modification that it makes, nonetheless preserves the more general principle that the preterite and the past participle are the same. Thus:

/drɪnk	drank	drank/
/rɪng	rang	rang/

and so on with all verbs of the same pattern.

It is probable that a number of older verb forms survive on the outskirts of the Greater Bolton area, that is the more rural outskirts. A gentleman from Westhoughton (not an informant), for instance, gave infinitives and preterites which were in no way different from those in the table above, but in addition to various familiar past participles, he produced several not recorded previously, all of which are characterised by an /n/ ending:

Verb	Past Participle
'flee'	/'flɛdn/ (or /flɜʏn/)
clod 'throw'	/'klɔdn/
'light'	/'lɪtn/ (given in brackets as occasional in the Table)
'tell'	/tɜʏn/ (or /tɜʏd/)
'pull'	/pʏ:n/ (or /pʏ:d/)
'set (off)'	/'sɛtn/

It should be noted that these Westhoughton forms are not the result of a systematic study, but they are perhaps sufficient to suggest that a thorough investigation of the outlying areas might yield a good deal more material.

6.8.4. Modal Verbs, Auxiliary Verbs, Anomalous Finites:

The description is of those verbs which are known as modal and auxiliary verbs, and as anomalous finites. The forms of the negative interrogative are of two types in question tags:

1. I can do it, can't I?
2. I can't do it, can I?
3. I can't do it, can I not?

After a positive statement, the type can't I? is compulsory; after a negative statement, the tag may be positive can I?, or negative, in which case it will be of the type:

AUXILIARY + PRONOUN + not.

The same rules apply in modified speech.

In questions other than tags, residual dialect and modified speech both often tend to use the pattern

Can I noan/not have one?

i.e. AUXILIARY + SUBJECT + NEGATIVE PARTICLE ...

rather than the type

Can't I have one?

which is regular in spoken standard usage. The former pattern is - like the rules governing question tags - a general feature of the dialect, and many examples of it can be found. The actual dialect forms are given under the relevant verbs in the following description.

There are some second person singular interrogative forms in the dialect, which are very distinctive from a comparative point of view. In these forms, thou would appear to have coalesced with or become incorporated into the verb.

Thus:

/kɔnt/ 'can thou?' - cf. /kɔn ðɛ, ken ðɛ:/ and especially /'kɔntte/, which also occur

/'katnt/ 'can thou not?'

[k'ɑʔt'] 'could thou?'

[dɪʔt'] 'did thou?'

/'kɑtnt/ 'could thou not?'

etc.

In all such forms, the final /t/ may be very heavily preglottalised (although in continuous conversation glottalisation is sometimes less marked), or the final cluster contains strong glottal stricture, e.g. ['k'a̰t͡ʔnt'] 'can thou not?'. Although interrogative forms in which the pronoun coalesces with the auxiliary verb predominate in question tags, they are sometimes used in ordinary second person singular questions too, especially if positive - cf. however the proviso in respect of negative forms in the preceding paragraph.

Examples:

1. /kɔnt rɪ'mɛmbə(r)/ 'can thou remember?'
/ðɛ ken rɪ'mɛmbə(r) dʒo: brɛ:n 'katnt/
'thou can remember Joe Brown, can thou not?'

In the first example, /kɔn ðɛ/ is in free variation with /kɔnt/, the latter occurring more frequently, however. With all modal and auxiliary verbs, forms in which the second person singular pronoun coalesces with the verb are in free variation with AUXILIARY + PRONOUN constructions in positive questions. However, the latter may be preferred where emphasis on the pronoun is required, e.g. /ken ðɛ:/ 'can thou?'. In the positive interrogative, forms of the

type /kɔnt/ 'can thou?' are more frequent than forms of the type /'kɔntte/ 'can thou?'. The latter type is very residual, and seems to have been largely replaced by the former.

6.8.4.1. Can

Present: /kɔn, (kan)/, throughout.

Relatively unstressed: /kən/, throughout.

Present negative: /kɔənt, kɔ:nt, (kæ:nt)/, throughout.

Present interrogative: /kɔn, (kan)/, throughout.

Additional second person singular forms incorporating the subject pronoun: /'kɔntte, 'kantte, kɔnt, (kant)/ 'can thou?'

Relatively unstressed: /kən/, throughout.

Present interrogative negative:

(a) /kɔn, (kan)/ + SUBJECT + NEGATIVE PARTICLE, throughout.

Relatively unstressed: /kən/.

(b) /kɔənt, (kæ:nt, kɔ:nt)/, throughout.

Additional second person singular forms incorporating the subject pronoun: /'kɔtnt, 'katnt/ 'can thou not?'.[1]

Preterite: /kɑd/, throughout.

Preterite negative: /kɑnt, 'kɑdnt/, throughout.
/'kɑdn/ is also possible.

---

1. Further investigation would probably also establish /kɔənt, kæ:nt, kɔ:nt/ as additional second person singular forms incorporating the subject pronoun.

Preterite interrogative: /kɑd/, throughout.

Additional second person singular forms incorporating the subject pronoun: /'kɑdtə, kɑ(t)t, (kɑdt)/[1] 'could thou?'

Preterite interrogative negative:

(a) /kɑd/ + SUBJECT + NEGATIVE PARTICLE, throughout.

(b) /kɑnt, 'kɑdnt/, throughout.

Additional second person singular form, incorporating the subject pronoun: /'kɑtnt/ 'could thou not?'

The distribution of this verb is as in S.E., except that can is the only modal verb for asking permission in the dialect.

In modified speech, forms with /ɔ, ɔə, ɔ:/ give way to ones with /a, æ:/, and thou forms are not used.

6.8.4.2. Might

This verb does not have the same range of use as S.E. may. The function of asking permission is carried out by can in the dialect. The range of meaning of might is roughly that given under senses one and four of may in Hornby (1975), i.e. to indicate possibility or probability, and to suggest "there is good reason".[2]

I have only recorded one present tense form, a presumably reduced, relatively unstressed form in:

/jə mɪ tɛl/ 'you may tell (you can be sure, you can deduce it from the fact that...)'

---

1. The phonemicisation here is meant to suggest the heavy preglottalisation of the final consonant, i.e. /kɑ(t)t/ = [k'ɑʔt']. Put another way, there are two grammatical units, could + thou, cf. /kɑt/ 'cut'.
2. See the entry for may, Hornby (1975: 533f).

/me:/ and /me: nɔt/ are introduced in modified speech.

Preterite: /mɛt/, throughout.

This form is very prone to strong preglottalisation of the final consonant, or to strong gemination before vowels and hesitation forms, e.g. [ä mɛt͡ʔ t'e dön] 'I might have done'. The preposition to would appear to be used after might as well.[1]

Preterite negative: /mɛt nɔt/, throughout

Preterite interrogative: /mɛt/, throughout.

The form is again prone to gemination, e.g. /'mɛtti:/ 'might he?'

Additional second person singular form incorporating the pronoun: /'mɛtte/ 'might thou?'[2]

Preterite interrogative negative:

I have only elicited this form as a question tag, where it is /'mɛtnt/ throughout.

The second person singular form elicited incorporated the pronoun, /'mɛtnt/ 'might thou not?'

In modified speech, /me:/ forms are used too, although can retains the function of asking permission.

/mɛt/ —> /maɪt/.

6.8.4.3. Mun

Mun has the meaning 'must'.

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1. See section 6.10.
2. Further investigation might establish /mɛ(t)t/ as an additional second person singular form incorporating the subject pronoun.

Present: /mɔn/, throughout.

Unstressed /mən/.

Present negative: /me:nt/, throughout.

I have heard /mɔnt/ too, but /me:nt/ is unquestionably the regular form for the area, and for all persons of the verb.

Present interrogative: /mɔn/, throughout.

No additional second person singular form incorporating the pronoun was elicited.

Present interrogative negative:

(a) /me:nt/, throughout.

Additional second person singular form incorporating the pronoun: /'metnt/ 'must thou not?'[1]

(b) /mɔn/ + SUBJECT + NEGATIVE PARTICLE, throughout.

The distribution of mun is similar to that of S.E. must. Mun is replaced by must in modified speech; and in residual speech, although mun is still used quite a lot, /mɔst/-forms are also found. Note in the following account of must that there are dialectal forms of must too in the second person singular interrogative.

6.8.4.4. Must

Present: /mɔst/, throughout.

Present negative: /'mɔs(ə)nt/, throughout.

---

1. Further investigation might also establish /me:nt/ as an additional second person singular form incorporating the pronoun.

Present interrogative: /mɔst/, throughout.

Additional second person singular form incorporating the pronoun: /'mɔstə/ 'must thou?', and probably also /mɔst/.

Present interrogative negative:

(a) /'mɔs(ə)nt/, throughout.

Additional second person singular form incorporating the pronoun: /'mɔs(ə)nt/ 'must thou not?'.

Additional first and third person singular form (i.e. before a pronoun beginning with a vowel): /'mɔs(ə)n/.

(b) /mɔst/ + SUBJECT + NEGATIVE PARTICLE, throughout.

6.8.4.5. Ought

Ought is followed by to or for to.[1]

Present: /ɜʏt/, throughout.

Present negative: /'ɜʏtnt/, throughout.

Present interrogative: /ɜʏt/, throughout.

Additional second person singular form incorporating the pronoun: /'ɜʏttə/ 'ought thou?'

Present interrogative negative:

I elicited these forms only in question tags. In other types of question, informants seemed to wish to use only negative forms of should, have to and must.

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1. For forms of these prepositions see section 6.10.

/'ɜʏtnt/, throughout.

Additional second person singular form incorporating the pronoun: /'ɜʏtnt/ 'ought thou not?'

Past: There is a negative past formation:

DIDN'T + OUGHT, throughout.

e.g. /i: 'dɪdnt ɜʏt te dɒn ɪt/
'He didn't ought (ought not) to have done it.'

This construction can be used interrogatively.

It is also used in modified speech, where /ɜʏt/-forms are replaced by /ɔ:t/-forms.

6.8.4.6. Shall

Present: (a) Forms incorporating the pronoun. The first person singular and plural forms are commonplace. The second and third person forms are rare, and were elicited by using notions such as the following. A parent proposes to buy his child/children a present, if he can afford to. Thus, he says to one child:
/ðɛst a wɔn ɪv wɪ ken 'mɔnɪdʒ ɪt/
'Thou shalt have one if we can manage (afford) it.'
Similarly, a negative form can be elicited in such a context as:
/i: ʃæ:nt av wɔn ɪv aɪv ɜʏt de wɪ ɪt/
'He shan't have one if I've owt (anything) to do with it (I won't let him have one).'
However, the second and third person forms were not elicited without difficulty.

Singular 1. /as(t), æ:s(t), aɪs(t)
2. ðɛs(t), ðɛ:s(t)
3. i:s(t), es(t)

Plural 1. wɪs(t), we:s(t)
2. jes(t)
3. ðɪs(t) /

Final /t/ is compulsory before a vowel, but is generally not apparent before a consonant. In the form /aɪs(t)/, /aɪ/ is realised by monophthongal variants, or by variants in which the second element is of low prominence.[1]

(b) Stressed form, first person singular and plural: /ʃal/. (In section (a) forms, the modal itself is not stressed.)
If shall is used when not emphatic, /ʃɑl, ʃel/, it constitutes more modified usage. (Perhaps these forms might be elicited for other persons of the verb using devices such as those in subsection (a)).

Present negative:

(a) PRESENT (a)-FORMS + NEGATIVE PARTICLE.

(b) Alternative and more modified form: /ʃæ:nt/.

Present interrogative: /ʃal, (ʃɑl, ʃel)/ - only elicited for the first person singular and plural.

Present interrogative negative:

I only elicited these forms for the first person singular and plural.

(a) /ʃal/ + SUBJECT + NEGATIVE PARTICLE

(b) /ʃæ:nt/

Preterite: /ʃɑd, ʃed/, throughout.

The unstressed form is common.

Preterite negative: /'ʃɑdnt, ʃɑnt/, throughout.

---

1. Cf. section 5.4.2.

Preterite interrogative: /ʃɑd/ throughout.

Additional second person singular forms incorporating the pronoun: /'ʃɑdtə, ʃɑ(t)t, ʃɑdt/ 'should thou?'

Preterite interrogative negative:

(a) /'ʃɑdnt, ʃɑnt/, throughout.
/ʃɑn/ is possible before pronouns beginning with a vowel.

Additional second person singular forms incorporating the pronoun: /'ʃɑtnt, ('ʃɑtntə, 'ʃɑdnt, ʃɑnt)/

(b) /ʃɑd/ + SUBJECT + NEGATIVE PARTICLE throughout.

Shall is used rather less than in S.E. The dialect uses the present forms chiefly in the first person singular and plural. I am not aware of any use of second person interrogative forms as in S.E. Shall you be coming? The dialect uses will and would for some uses of S.E. shall and should, and shall and will overlap in function within the dialect itself. Both verbs are used to form future tenses and conditionals, and will and would can be used with the first person as well as shall and should. Examples of shall, should:

/wɪst gʏ: ə'gɛn nɛks jə(r)/
'We shall go again next year.'

/ast nɔt də ðat ɪn 'erɪ ə'gɛn/
'I shall not do that in [a] hurry again.'

/aɪ ʃəd sɛ/
'I should say.' (in the sense "would")

/ðɪ ʃɑd ə dɑn/
'They should have done.' (in the sense "ought to")

etc.

Should in the sense "ought to" is common. Also very common is the first person singular should in conditionals, when the speaker is stating/estimating/guessing what he would do, or what state he would be in:

/a ʃəd ʃɑt ɪt/
'I should shut it.'

/a ʃəd dɑk/
'I should duck.'

/ʃəd a no:n lɛft/
'[I] should have noan (none) left.'

/aɪ ʃəd sɪ/
'I should say.'

/bɛ:t 'twɛnɪˌɛɪt jə r a ʃəd gɪv ə gɛs dʒɔn/
'about twenty-eight year (years) I should give a guess, John.'

etc.

In these examples, should has the meaning 'would'.

In modified speech, /ast/ and /wɪst/ may still be heard, but they tend to be replaced by /ʃal/. Thou-forms are not used, nor is the negative interrogative form /ʃɑn/.

6.8.4.7. Will

Present:

(a) Forms incorporating the pronoun:

Singular:	1.	/aɪl, æ:l, al
	2.	ðɛ:l, ðɛl, ðal
	3.	ɪəl, ɪl e:(r)l, el ɪtl
Plural:	1.	we:l, wɪl, wel
	2.	jo:l, joəl, jel
	3.	ðe:l, ðɪl, ðel /

/aɪ/ in /aɪl/ is realised by monophthongal variants, or variants in which the second element is of very low prominence.[1]

(b) /wɪl/, throughout.

Present negative:

(a) /we:nt, we:nt/, throughout.

The former is the more representative.[2]

(b) PRESENT TENSE FORMS INCORPORATING THE PRONOUN + NEGATIVE PARTICLE, throughout.

Present interrogative: /wɪl/, throughout. /wɪlt ðɛ:/ occurs as well as /wɪl ðɛ:/.

Additional second person singular forms incorporating the pronoun: /'wɪltte, wɪl(t)t/ 'will thou?'

Present interrogative negative:

(a) /we:nt, we:nt/, throughout. /we:n/ is possible

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1. Cf. section 5.4.2.
2. There could be some variation in frequency of occurrence within the area. For Farnworth, Kearsley and Bolton /we:nt/ is preferable. Stronger support for /we:nt/ comes from Little Hulton (and possibly Wigan).

before a pronoun beginning with a vowel.

Additional second person singular forms incorporating the pronoun: /'wetnt, 'wɪtnt/ 'will thou not?'

(b) /wɪl/ + SUBJECT + NEGATIVE PARTICLE, throughout.

Preterite:

(a) Forms incorporating the pronoun:

Singular:	1.	/aɪd, æ:d, ad
	2.	ðɛ:d, ðɛd
	3.	i:d, ɪd e:(r)d, e(r)d ɪt ed
Plural:	1.	we:d, wɪd
	2.	jo:d, jed
	3.	ðe:d, ðɪd /

/aɪ/ in /aɪd/ is realised by monophthongal variants, or variants in which the second element is of low prominence.[1]

(b) /wɔd/, throughout.

Preterite negative:

(a) PRETERITE FORMS INCORPORATING THE PRONOUN + NEGATIVE PARTICLE, throughout.

(b) /'wɔdnt, wɔnt, ('wɔdn)/, throughout.

Preterite interrogative: /wɔd/, throughout.

Additional second person singular forms incorporating the pronoun: /'wɔtte, 'wɔdte, wɔ(t)t, (wɔdt)/ 'would thou?'.

---

1. Cf. section 5.4.2.

Preterite interrogative negative:

(a) /wɔnt, 'wɔdnt/, throughout. /wɔn/ may be used before a pronoun beginning with a vowel.

Additional second person singular forms incorporating the pronoun: /'wɔtnt, 'wɔdnt/ 'would thou not?'

(b) /wɔd/ + SUBJECT + NEGATIVE PARTICLE, throughout.

The distribution of <u>will</u> and <u>would</u> is similar to that in S.E. The overlap between <u>will</u> and <u>shall</u> in the dialect has already been mentioned in the description of <u>shall</u>. In modified speech, /we:nt, we:nt/ —> /wo:nt/, and /wɔn/ is not used.

6.8.4.8. <u>Be</u>

Infinitive: /bi:, bɪ/

Present participle: /'bi:ɪn/

Past participle: /bɪn/

Present:

(a) Singular: 1. / am
2. æ:(r)t, at
3. ɪz

Plural: 1. æ:(r), a
2. æ:(r), a
3. æ:(r), a /

/at/ is often pronounced [aʔtʻ]. In the third person plural, if the subject is not the pronoun

they, the third person singular form of the verb may be used, e.g. /klo:ðz ɪz/ 'clothes is (are)'.[1]

(b) Forms incorporating the pronoun:

Singular:	1.	/ aɪm, æ:m, am
	2.	ðɛ:t, (ðɛ:z), ðɛt
	3.	i:z, (ɪz); e:(r)z, e(r)z; ɪts
Plural:	1.	we:(r), we:(r), we(r)
	2.	joə(r), je(r)
	3.	ðe:(r), ðe:(r), ðe(r) /

It will be remembered that the phoneme /aɪ/ includes such variants as [ä:],[2] and the phonemicisation /aɪm/ here implies monophthongal variants of /aɪ/, or variants with a second element of very low prominence. The long vowel in /we:(r)/ and /ðe:(r)/ can break to a diphthong, leaving [we'ə] and [ðe'ə] when /r/ is not pronounced. These forms might seem to suggest the need for a phoneme /eə/, but in a sense they may also be felt to transcend the unit word, which is the limit of the present phonology.[3] In terms of the present phonology, [we'ə] might be viewed as a reduced form of /'we:e/, or as a form of /we:/, both of which are possible phonemicisations if /r/ is not pronounced. The occasional form /ðɛ:z/ may have resulted from a generalisation of the second person singular ending to the verb be. Strictly, /ðɛ:z/ means 'thou has'.

Present negative:

(a) PRESENT FORMS INCORPORATING THE PRONOUN + NEGATIVE PARTICLE, throughout.

---

1. Cf. the present tense forms in section 6.8.1.1.
2. See section 5.4.2. for details.
3. As stated in section 5.1.

(b) Singular: 1. -
2. -
3. /ɪnt, 'ɪznt/
Plural: 1. /æ:(r)nt
2. æ:(r)nt
3. æ:(r)nt /

Present interrogative:

Singular: 1. / am
2. a, at, e
3. ɪz
Plural: 1. æ:(r), a, e
2. æ:(r), a, e
3. æ:(r), a, e /

The plural forms /a/ may be followed by either a stessed or unstressed pronoun. In the second person singular, additional forms, in which the pronoun is incorporated into the verb, are: /'atte, a(t)t/ 'art thou?'. /a(t)t/ is by far the most common second person singular interrogative form. The third person plural form may be the same as the third singular if the pronoun <u>they</u> is not used, e.g.
/ɪz ðɛm tʏ: 'gʏ:ɪn/
'Is them (Are those) two going?'[1]
Note also the contractions:
/wɪə(r)t/ 'where art thou...?'
/wɔt 'lə:(r)nɪn/ 'what art thou learning?'
/wɪə(r)t ðɛ:/ 'where art thou?'
/ɛ:t 'fɪəlɪn/ 'how art thou feeling?'

---

1. Cf. the present tense forms in section 6.8.1.1.

Present interrogative negative:

(a) Singular: 1. / æ:(r)mt, æ:(r)nt
2. æ:(r)nt
3. ɪnt, ɪn
Plural: 1. æ:(r)nt
2. æ:(r)nt
3. æ:(r)nt /

Additional second person singular forms incorporating the pronoun: /'atnt, æ:(r)nt/ 'art thou not?'. The form /ɪn/ is used optionally before a vowel.

(b) PRESENT INTERROGATIVE FORM + SUBJECT + NEGATIVE PARTICLE, throughout.

Preterite: /we(r), we:(r)/, throughout.

Modified speech can have /wɔz, wɐz/ for all persons, although many people retain /we(r)/ for all persons.

Preterite negative: /we:(r)nt/, throughout.

Modified speech can have /'wɔznt/ for all persons, although many people retain /we:(r)nt/ for all persons.

Preterite interrogative: /we(r), we:(r)/, throughout.

Additional second person singular forms incorporating the pronoun: /'wette, we(t)t/ 'were thou?'

Preterite interrogative negative:

(a) /we:(r)nt/, throughout. /we:(r)n/ is possible before a subject beginning with a vowel.

Additional second person singular forms incorporating the pronoun: /'we:(r)ntte, 'wetnt, we:(r)nt/ 'were thou not?'

(b) /we(r)/ + SUBJECT + NEGATIVE PARTICLE, throughout.

6.8.4.9. Have

Infinitive: /a, av, ɐ/. There is no tendency for only the form /av/ to occur before a vowel.[1] /a/ may lengthen before a vowel.

Present participle: /aɪn, 'avɪn/. Only variants of /aɪ/ which have a second element of low prominence, or monophthongal variants, are used.[2]

Past participle: /ad/

Present:

(a) Singular: 1. / av
2. az
3. az

Plural: 1. an, av
2. an, av
3. an, av /

(b) Forms incorporating the pronoun:

Singular: 1. / aɪv, æ:v, av
2. ðɛ:z, ðɛz
3. i:z, (ɪz)
ɐ:(r)z, ɐ(r)z
ɪts

Plural: 1. we:n, we:v, wɪn, wɪv
2. jo:n, jo:v, jɐn, jɐv
3. ðe:n, ðe:v, ðɪn, ðɪv /

/aɪv/ is realised phonetically by monophthongal variants, or variants having a second element of low prominence.[3] The switch to a front first element and a second element of some prominence is a mark of modification.

---

1. Cf. Taylor (1901: no pagination) on the forms of have. Taylor writes that his work reflects the speech of that area of Lancashire between Bolton and Manchester.
2. Cf. section 5.4.2.
3. Cf. section 5.4.2.

Present negative:

(a) PRESENT FORMS INCORPORATING THE PRONOUN + NEGATIVE PARTICLE, throughout.

(b) Singular: 1. / 'avnt
2. 'aznt
3. 'aznt
Plural: 1. 'avnt
2. 'avnt
3. 'avnt /

These forms would constitute modified usage in many contexts, e.g. the dialect uses <u>have</u>, usually + <u>getten</u> (got) + <u>noan/none</u> rather than <u>haven't</u> + <u>any</u>. Thus <u>SED</u> questions IX, 6, 2-3 will tend to produce answers such as:
/av 'gɛtn no:n/
'I've <u>getten</u> (got) <u>noan</u> (none)'
/av 'nɛve(r) si:n ɪt/
'I've never seen it'
rather than forms of the type <u>haven't</u>, <u>hasn't</u>.[1]

Present interrogative: PRESENT TENSE (a)-FORMS, throughout.

Additional second person singular forms incorporating the pronoun: /'astə, ast/ 'has thou?' /ast/ is often /as/ before a consonant.

Note also the contractions:
/wɔts bakt/ 'what has thou backed?'
/wɔəs dɑn/ 'what has thou done?'
etc.

---

1. Cf. section 1.2.1.1.

Present interrogative negative:

(a) PRESENT TENSE (a)-FORMS + SUBJECT + NEGATIVE PARTICLE, throughout.

(b) Singular: 1. /ant, 'avnt/
2. /'as(ə)nt/-pronoun incorporated
3. /ant, an/-latter optional before a vowel

Plural: 1. /ant
2. ant
3. ant /

Modified forms are /'aznt/ for the third person singular and /'avnt/ for all plural forms.

Preterite:

(a) /ad, (ɛd)/, throughout. /ɛd/ is very residual now. Note /at/ 'had to'.

(b) Forms incorporating the pronoun: add /d/ to the stressed or unstressed forms of the personal pronoun,[1] e.g. /ðɛ:d, ðɛd/ 'thou had', as listed for the preterite of <u>will</u>.[2]

Preterite negative:

(a) PRETERITE (b)-FORMS + NEGATIVE PARTICLE, throughout.

(b) /'adnt, (ant)/, throughout. These forms are not always appropriate - cf. the comment on present negative forms above.

Preterite interrogative:

/ad/, throughout.

Additional second person singular forms

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1. Cf. section 6.7.1.1.
2. See section 6.8.4.7.

incorporating the pronoun:

/'atte, 'adte, a(t)t, (adt)/ 'had thou?'

Preterite interrogative negative:

(a) /ad/ + SUBJECT + NEGATIVE PARTICLE, throughout.

(b) /'adnt, ant/, throughout.

Additional second person singular forms incorporating the pronoun: /'adnt, 'atnt/ 'had thou not?'

There are many analytic constructions containing HAVE, e.g. /av ə wɛɪʃ/ 'have a wash = wash'. Further: 'have a look', 'have a see' (look), 'have a stop', 'have a bake', 'have a listen', 'have a smell', 'have a taste', 'have a feel', 'have a lie down', and even with more unusual concepts such as 'have a box' (box in a boxing ring), etc.

6.8.4.10. Dare

One of the two verbs dare is anomalous, the form of the verb being the same for all persons when the infinitive which follows (or is implied) is not preceded by to or for to. The informants for this study do not appear to distinguish between present and preterite forms, and attempts to arrive at a more systematic classification by eliciting a wide range of dare-forms were not successful. Complicating factors included:

1. rejection by informants of some questions and contexts as implausible;

2. confusion and unease on the part of the informants;

3. the existence of a range of vowel variants in free variation (but not known for certain to be in free

variation to begin with, of course);

4. the existence of a regular verb dare;

5. a lack of forms which were clearly preterite in reference due to: the factors already listed; a seeming disinclination to use the preterite as such and a preference for other constructions such as didn't dare and were gam (was game); the use of the historical present in narratives, so that one is not always sure whether a form is meant to be present or past.

The second factor is very understandable if we allow that the linguist may well have been looking for distinctions which did not exist. There is a confusion of forms with this verb, just as there is in the case of S.E.

/dæ:(r)/ occurs widely, and might seem to be essentially a present tense form (although see the discussion of the preterite which follows). /de:(r)/ is slightly modified, and /dɛ:(r)/ decidedly so. /dæ:(r)/ and /de:(r)/ both show a marked tendency for the vowel to shorten, resulting in half-length and short variants. One may therefore also phonemicise /da/, probably without /r/, and /de(r)/. The realisations of /a/ are, however, high.

The forms /dast, dɔst, dɛst, (dɛst)/ are also used as present tense forms. /dast/ and /dɛst/ can have half-length variants, in addition to short ones (again high in the case of /a/), and might occasionally be phonemicised as /dæ:(r)st/ and /de:(r)st/. The use of all these forms in the present tense is not open to debate, but clear instances

of the preterite are harder to come by. To take just one example, an informant gave:

/i:d ə kɷm ɪv i: dəst/
'He'd have come if he durst.'

but the informant was equally happy to substitute /da/ for /dəst/. Was /da/ being used as a preterite here or not? It is difficult to decide, but quite possibly it was. It is equally difficult to decide whether /dəst/ is a preterite or not when the same form can also be present. Elicitation of preterites is difficult, as suggested in points four and five above. My impression - and it can be no more than that - is that /dəst, dɷst, dast, (dɛst)/ can function as preterites, but that they are rare as such. The regular verb dare may be used in the preterite, of course. Finally, as in the example above, /dæ:(r)/-types may perhaps function as preterites too.

Negative forms without do are common in the present tense. /dæ:(r)nt/ is a negative form applicable to all persons, /də:(r)nt/ is slightly modified, and /dɛ:(r)nt/ decidedly so. The present negative may equally well be rendered by /'das(ə)nt, 'dəs(ə)nt, 'dɷs(ə)nt, ('dɛs(ə)nt)/. /'das(ə)nt/ and /'dəs(ə)nt/ may have half-length vowels as well as short ones, and again realisations of /a/ are high. My impression is that negative forms with and without /s/ can on occasion serve as preterites. An alternative past formation is didn't + dare.

Positive forms may be used in the interrogative, and the vowels are often short, especially in tags, e.g.

/'dari:, 'deri:/ 'dare he?'. /dɷst/ and /dest/ 'does thou dare?' were given as additional second person singular forms incorporating the subject pronoun, and further investigation might reveal others. The negative interrogative may be formed in:

(a) POSITIVE FORMS + SUBJECT + NEGATIVE PARTICLE

(b) NEGATIVE FORMS.

/'das(e)nt/ and /'des(e)nt/ were given as additional second person singular forms including the pronoun, and further investigation might reveal others.

Presumably these interrogative forms can have both present and past reference too.

6.8.4.11. Do

Infinitive: /dʏ:, (dɷ, de)/.

Present participle: /'dʏ:ɪn/.

Past participle: /dɷn/.

Present:

Singular:	1.	/ dʏ:, dɷ
	2.	dɷz
	3.	dɷz
Plural:	1.	dʏ:, dɷ, dɷn
	2.	dʏ:, dɷ, dɷn
	3.	dʏ:, dɷ, dɷn /

/ɷ/-forms which alternate with /ʏ:/-forms may, as in the case of go,[1] be stressed, but with the verb

1. Cf. section 6.8.1.1.

do the form /dɒ/ is somewhat restricted in distribution. In /al lɛt ðɪ no: ɪv a dɤ:/ 'I'll let thee know if I do' where do stands for another verb and is stressed, the form with the long vowel is required.

Present negative:

Singular:	1.	/ de:nt
	2.	dɒnt, 'dɒznt
	3.	dɒnt, 'dɒznt
Plural:	1.	de:nt
	2.	de:nt
	3.	de:nt /

Note also /aɪ dɒ'no:/ 'I don't know'. /'aɪ 'dɤ: 'nɒt 'no:/ 'I do not know' is the only use of DO + not. It is very emphatic.

Present interrogative: Present forms, throughout, except that the first person singular is /dɤ:/ only.

Additional second person singular forms incorporating the pronoun: /'dɒste, dɒs(t)/ 'does thou?'. The final /t/ of the latter form is quite often not pronounced before a consonant. Unstressed: /des/ 'does thou?'. Contractions: /wɒts mi:n/ 'what does thou mean?'; /wɪə(r)s gɛt ðat fre/ 'where does thou get that from?'; etc.

Present interrogative negative:

(a) Singular:	1.	/ de:nt, (de:n)
	2.	dɒnt
	3.	dɒnt, dɒn
Plural:	1.	de:nt
	2.	de:nt
	3.	de:nt /

Forms without /t/ are optional forms occurring before a vowel. Additional second person singular form incorporating the pronoun: /'dɔs(ə)nt/ 'does thou not?'

(b) PRESENT INTERROGATIVE FORMS + SUBJECT + NEGATIVE PARTICLE, throughout.

Preterite: /dɪd/, throughout.

Preterite negative: /dɪnt, 'dɪdnt/, throughout. Occasionally /'dɪdn/.

Preterite interrogative: /dɪd/, throughout.

Additional second person singular forms incorporating the pronoun: /'dɪtte, dɪ(t)t/ 'did thou?'. Sometimes in running speech the devoicing of the final /d/ in the second person singular form incorporating the pronoun is not complete, e.g. [dɪd̥ʔ kɔ:] 'did thou call?'. Also, before a vowel, [dɪd̥ʔ t‘ɪ·ə] 'did thou hear?'. /dɪdt/ is therefore perhaps also a possible phonemicisation of 'did thou?'.

Preterite interrogative negative:

(a) /dɪnt, 'dɪdnt/, throughout. The first and third persons singular may also be /dɪn/, or /'dɪdn/, i.e. /t/ can be elided before a vowel.

Additional second person singular forms incorporating the pronoun: /'dɪtnt, 'dɪdnt/ 'did thou not?'

(b) /dɪd/ + SUBJECT + NEGATIVE PARTICLE, throughout.

6.8.4.12. Go

This verb is only partly anomalous in the dialect - see the forms of go in the description of the present tense endings.[1]

Infinitive: /gɤ:, gɑ/.

Present participle: /'gɤ:ɪn/.

Past participle: /gɔn/.

6.8.4.13. Used

Used is followed by to + infinitive or for to + infinitive.[2]

Preterite: /jɤ:s(t)/, throughout.

Preterite negative: /'jɤ:znt/, throughout. The construction didn't + used is often used.

I have only noted interrogatives formed by using do as an auxiliary.

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1. See section 6.8.1.1.
2. For forms of these prepositions see section 6.10.

6.8.5. Imperatives

As in S.E., the imperative is formed without endings. The use of a pronoun - in the object case - is optional, e.g.

/ði: kɷm ɪə(r)/
'Thee come here!'

A number of periphrastic constructions are found:

/bɪ 'gɤ:ɪn wɷm/
'Be going whoam (home)!'

/bɪ 'kɷmɪn ɔn wɷm wɪ ðɪ/
'Be coming on whoam (home) with thee!'

/lɛts bɪ 'no:ɪnt wɷst/
'Let's be knowing the worst!'

Similarly in Let's be having thee!; Let's be seeing it!; Let's be getting done!; etc. Strang has observed that periphrastic imperatives of the type be going were permitted in Elizabethan English.[1]

Quite a number of imperatives are formed with GET + PAST PARTICIPLE:

/gɛr em rɷng/
'Get them rung! = Telephone them!'

/gɛr em tɪpt/
'Get them tipped!'

/gɛt ðɪ'sɛl wɛɪʃt/
'Get thyself washed!'

/gɛt 'stæ:(r)tɪd/
'Get started!'

/gɛt ɪt 'ɛtn/
'Get it eaten!'

/gɛt gɔn/
'Get gone! = Go!'

etc.

1. See Strang (1974: 150).

Despite the similarity to the passive, which may also be formed with GET + PAST PARTICIPLE, the above constructions are active in force. Thus Get them tipped! means on this occasion 'you tip them', and not 'have them tipped by someone'.

The form of commands in modified speech follows the above closely.

6.8.6. Constructions with GET:

The use of GET as a passive auxiliary is discussed elsewhere.[1] Other constructions also use GET + PAST PARTICIPLE but are active in meaning, e.g.

/gɛt ðɪ'sɛl wɛɪʃt/
'Get thyself washed!'

In addition to imperatives,[2] note also:

/al gɛt ɪm 'takn/
'I'll get him taken'

/wɛn i:d 'gɛtn ɪt 'ɛtn/
'When he'd got it eaten'

and many others. I'll get him taken is, like all these constructions, active in force, and means 'I'll take him', and not 'I'll have him taken by someone else'. Similarly to get washed up, get done, get thee/thyself washed/dressed/shaved, get a thing eaten/drunk/shifted, etc. etc.

GET is followed by an infinitive form in /gɛt katʃ ɪt/ 'get catch it'; /gɛt kɔp ɪt/ 'get cop (catch) it',

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1. See section 6.8.8.
2. For further examples see section 6.8.5.

both of which mean 'be in trouble, be punished'.

A very distinctive construction is

TO /gɛt ə'ge:t/ 'get <u>agate</u>' + PRESENT PARTICIPLE

which means 'to start doing something, which subsequently becomes habitual, to get into the habit of doing'.

Examples:

/ən i: gɔr ə'ge:t ˌdɪsə'pɪərɪn/
'and he got <u>agate</u> disappearing'

/gi:t ə'ge:t 'lʏ:kɪn 'æ:fθə(r)t ge:(r)lz/
'<u>geet</u> (got) <u>agate</u> looking after the girls'

etc.

The expression:

/ə(r)z 'ɔəlɔs 'gɛrɪn ə'ge:t ɔn mɪ/
'her's (she's) always getting <u>agate</u> on me'

means 'she's always nagging me'. When someone is going home, one may say:

/aɪl gʏ: ə'ge:t wɪ ðɪ/
'I'll go <u>agate</u> with thee'

which means that the speaker will accompany the guest part of the way home.

<u>Get</u> has the approximate meaning 'start' in

/wɛn ðɪ jʏ:s gɛt 'fɔ:ɪn ɛ:t/
'when they used to get falling out'

and the meaning 'start' or 'reach the point of' in <u>we'd get falling asleep sometimes</u>. <u>Get</u> may be used in the sense of 'reach, become' with ages, e.g.

/əz sʏ:n əz i: gi:t 'sɪkstɪ/
'as soon as he <u>geet</u> (got) sixty'

GET + PRESENT PARTICIPLE can mean 'get a job doing X', e.g.

/gɛt 'ko:lɪn/
'get coaling = get a job as a coalface worker'

Get is very extensively used in the dialect, and most of the meanings listed under this verb in dictionaries, including entries marked colloquial, are to be found. In questions, the dialect does not use have alone, if the question is of the type

Have you a + NOUN?

but always uses a construction of the type Have you got a + NOUN?

There are a number of constructions containing get, which are not followed by an object, adverb, or prepositional phrase:

/a kæ:nt gɛt/
'I can't get (by/past/through this, etc.)'

/aɪ mɔn gɛt dɔn/
'I mun (must) get done (i.e. finish whatever it is)'

/wɪ 'gɛtn ʃɔt/
'we getten (got, [have] got), shut (rid) (of whatever or whomever it is)'

similarly with:

/gɛt rɪd/
'get rid (of it/them/etc.)'

/ðɛ gi:t jʏ:st/
'thou geet used (to it)'

Apart from get agate, the above constructions are also to be found in modified speech.

6.8.7. Affirmation and Negation:

6.8.7.1. Affirmative and negative particles:

The system of affirmative and negative particles is more complex than the S.E. equivalent. The less restricted of the two affirmative particles is /aɪ/ 'aye, yes', which is the general word for yes. The second particle is /jaɪ/ 'yes, oh yes, etc.' and this is used to contradict a negative proposition, or in answer to a negative question. When one person says that she cannot find the scissors, she receives the reply:

/jaɪ ðe(r) ðɪə(r)/
'Yigh (yes, oh but) they're there.'

Similarly, an informant asked his wife if it had been four shillings that they had received when he had once been out of work. His wife said: "I don't know". The informant replied:

/jaɪ wɛn mi: en 'tɔmɪ 'blɜʏwe(r) wɛnt dɛ:n/
'Yigh (yes you do know), when me and Tommy Blower went down.'

There are other straightforward cases of yigh, but the tapes contain an interesting borderline case of yigh in answer to a "negative" question. An informant was relating a story about a woman in another part of the country, who - to his dismay - could not make a potato pie: "I said: 'Well you can make a pie-crust, can't you?'" There was evidently some doubt about this. He continued, in reported speech:

/o: jaɪ ɐ(r) ked me:k wɔn ɐ ðɛm/

'Oh yigh (yes) her (she) could make one of them.'

Classically, yigh follows a negative question and not a negative tag. However, the question was almost certainly couched in positive terms as a matter of politeness, and it is clear from the story that there was some doubt as to whether the woman could make a pie-crust. Yigh contradicts the implication that she could not make a pie-crust.

Yigh may also follow upon a negative in the speaker's own directly preceding utterance, as he changes his mind or corrects himself. When I suggested to an informant that he was asking me to remember something which happened too long ago, he replied:

/æ:m nɔt 'gʏ:ɪn bak ɔ: ðat lɔng [LAUGHS]
'I'm not going back all that long!

|||jaɪ 'ɪtl bɪ œ(r) 'twɛntɪ jɐ(r) we:n ɪt/
Yigh, it'll be over twenty years, won't it?'

The use of the particle yigh after negative propositions and questions in contrast to the more general aye is directly comparable with the N.H.G. doch - ja and N.F. si - oui distinctions.[1] Additionally, however, the dialect has two types of negative particle. The general, less restricted type is variously /nɜʏ, mæ:, nɛ:/ 'no'. /nɜʏ/ is sometimes pronounced with a low first element,[2] and a suggestion of an /r/ might occasionally be suspected after the long vowel variants. In contrast with this type is

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1. Cf. Shorrocks (1978c: 12).
2. See section 5.4.4.2(ii).

the particle /ne:/, which means 'no' when contradicting. When a judge once told a man that he knew more than he would tell, the man replied:

/a sɪ ne: baɪ gɒm || a sɛz am nɔt
'I say [=said]: "Nay (no) by gum!"..I says: "I'm not
'avɪn ðat/
having that!"'

Again, an informant may use the contradictory particle when changing his mind or correcting himself:

/o: aɪ ||| ne: ɪt 'dɪdnt/
'oh aye - nay (no) it didn't!'

Although there are difficulties involved in defining the term sentence, especially for the spoken language, it has to be observed that sentence grammars are quite unable to handle these particles. Both yigh and nay operate most typically across sentence or utterance boundaries between two speakers, e.g.

A. /a kɔənt dɤ: ɪt/ 'I can't do it.'

B. /jaɪ ðɛ kɔn/ 'Yigh (Oh yes) you can!'

Text grammars are more promising because, in a case such as the example just given, yigh is formally predictable from the negative in the preceding utterance. But there are yet other uses of yigh which are dependent upon the pragmatic situation rather than the preceding text. For instance, an informant wanted to show me a photograph of a horse which he had once owned. His son went to look for the photograph on a nearby piece of furniture, but when the son did not immediately locate the desired photograph, the informant

exclaimed:

/jaɪ ɪt ɪz ɪts ɔn ðɪə(r) 'sɑmwɪə(r) 'gɔə(r)dn/
'Yigh (yes) it is, it's on there somewhere, Gordon.'

In this case, yigh contradicts the failure to find the photograph. It is as if the son had said: "It's not here" or "I cannot find it". Similarly, an informant observed to a child in respect of myself:

/i:z e 'tɛɪttʃe(r) || jaɪ i: ɪz/
'He's a teacher - Yigh (oh yes) he is.'

The reason for the yigh here is that the child looked very doubtful about the initial proposition. It is as if the child had said "He's not" or "I don't believe you".

One informant sometimes used yigh as a narrative device. For instance, he told a story about tantalizing an old cat with a lump of pluck dangled from a piece of string. The cat jumped up, seized the pluck, would not let go, and lost its teeth in the pluck. Having told the part about the cat losing its teeth, the informant added: "Yigh, he jumped up and it wouldn't let go...". Yigh serves here to counter or pre-empt any incredulity on the part of the listener. Again, it is as if the listener had said, or - more likely - might be thinking "I don't believe you".

From the foregoing cases, it will be clear that yigh can be used to counter implied negation, or aspects of the pragmatic situation. Similarly, use of nay is sometimes dependent on the physical context. A dialect speaker who had noticed that one was executing or contemplating a course of action of which he disapproved, might contradict this

(intended) course of action by saying:

/ne: ne: || ðɛt mæ:(r) bɛ:nt gʏ:/
'Nay! Nay! (No! No! Surely) thou art never (not) boun (going) to go!'

Of the two particles yigh and nay, the latter may be heard in modified speech, the former not.

6.8.7.2. Negative adverbs:

The negative is formed by the use of the adverb /no:n/ or /nɔt/ 'not'. Contracted forms of anomalous finites are given elsewhere.[1] /no:n/ may be used as a pronoun as well as an adverb:

adverb: /am no:n 'gʏ:ɪn/
'I'm noan (not) going'

pronoun: /i:z 'gɛtn no:n/
'he's getten (got) noan (none)'

Note also the interesting adverbial usage:

/ðat 'dɪdnt ɔp'sɛt ɘm no:n/
'that didn't upset them noan (none)'

/'nɛ:(r), mæ:(r), 'nɛvɘ(r)/ 'never' can also be used with the meaning 'not' rather than 'never':

/a nɛ:r i:t no: 'dɪnɘ(r)/
'I never eat (ate) no dinner.'

The informant is saying here that he did not eat any dinner on a particular occasion after having seen a pit accident. The reference to a single occasion is totally unambiguous.

The adverb neither (/'no:ðɘ(r), 'ne:ðɘ(r), ('naɪðɘ(r), 'ni:ðɘ(r)/) is used with nor (/nɘ(r)/) in the

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1. See section 6.8.4. including the restriction on negative contracted forms of the anomalous finites.

construction neither...nor, e.g.

/ɪts 'ne:ðe(r) wɔn θɪng ne(r)t 'tɷðe(r)/
'it's neither one thing nor the tother (other)'

6.8.7.3. Multiple negation:

Treble and quadruple negatives may be heard in the dialect, e.g.

/am nɔt 'nɛve(r) 'gɤ:ɪnt dɷ nɜɤt ne'mɤə(r)
'I am not never going to do nowt (nothing) no more
fe(r) ði:/
for thee.'

Double negatives, however, are by far the most common, and may be collected literally by the score from children, speakers of residual dialect, and speakers of varieties of Regional Standard alike:

[residual] /wɪ nɛ:(r) pɔr ɔp ðɪə(r) ne'mɤə(r)/
'we never put up there no more (we didn't stay there again).'

[modified] /a jɤ: nɔr 'avɪn nɔn/
'Are you not having none?'

Further examples in translation:

'I'm not never going to do that no more.'
'Don't never bother him - he's eating.'
'We couldn't see nowt (nothing).'
'there's never been nobody there'
'we didn't know nowt (nothing)'
'we wouldn't have gone if we'd known that lot neither'
'she doesn't say nowt'
'he didn't know nothing about it'
'well I've not neither'
'but I don't want to neither'

'I said: "Never no more".'
'we couldn't do nowt else'
'he wouldn't put them on neither'
'he wouldn't tell nobody what it was'
'he couldn't get them out no road (any way)'
'not railed round nor nowt'
'there were no chairs ready nor nowt'
'I never saw nowt like it.'
'[?] weren't in the army no great length of time'
'I never said nowt (didn't say anything)'
'I'd never done no fa[rming]'
'thou couldn't have wished for nowt nicer'
'Lee, thou art not having noan (none)!'
'that man wouldn't part with nowt'
'I wasn't so good on it neither.'
'I daren't say nowt.'
'I never thought nowt about that.'
'I can't speak no different.'
'Well Old Parr never had noan only with bloody greasy legs'
'you've not said nowt yet'
'I didn't know nowt else only the pit'

and very many more.

Multiple negation, as linguists have pointed out, whether in respect of dialects or historical varieties of English, is cumulative or reinforcing in effect. It is not to be criticised on grounds of logic and the notion that two negatives make a positive. Yet despite the clearly emphatic function of multiple negation in some contexts, double negation is so common that it is perhaps best described simply in terms of pattern or agreement. The quadruple negative at the beginning of this section is without doubt emphatic, but we couldn't do nowt else is probably no more

emphatic than S.E. we couldn't do anything else.

A further aspect of double negation is the use of a negative question tag after a negative statement, as described in the next subsection.

6.8.7.4. Question tags:

Lester, looking at English from a transformational point of view, gave examples of the use of question tags:

1.	It is hot	isn't it?
2.	It isn't hot	is it?
3.	It rained	didn't it?
4.	It didn't rain	did it?

and commented: "In short, given the main sentence we can always predict exactly what the tag will be."[1] In the dialect this is not quite the case, as there are two types of negative tag, one of which follows a positive statement and the other - optionally - a negative statement. In cases 1 and 3, a negative tag is used, the tag taking the form:

/ɪnt, 'ɪznt, ɪn/ + /ɪt/	'isn't it?'
/dɪnt, 'dɪdnt, dɪn/ + /ɪt/	'didn't it?'

i.e. a negative contracted form of the anomalous finite.[2] In cases 2 and 4 (2 being quite likely It's not hot, although It isn't hot is possible too), the tag may be positive, as in S.E., or negative. If negative, however, the form must be:

AUXILIARY + SUBJECT PRONOUN + /nɔt/ 'not'

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1. Lester (1971: 164). The examples are from p. 161.
2. See further section 6.8.4.

i.e. did it not?, is it not?. Such negative tags recall the dialect's use of multiple negation. The two types of negative tag are never confused. In the dialect, then, we cannot "predict exactly what the tag will be" after a negative statement, but rather that it will take one of two forms.

6.8.7.5. Other negative patterns:

Nor occurs after neither, as described above. It also patterns after other negatives:

/'wɑdnt stə(r) wɔn ro:d nə(r)t 'tɑðə(r)/
'wouldn't stir one road (way) nor the tother (other)'

etc.

although or is also met after negatives other than neither.

The dialect often uses negative indefinites:[1]

/wɪ an no:n/
'we have none'

rather than NEGATIVE VERB + POSITIVE INDEFINITE. Negative indefinites occur after negative verbs too, as may be seen from the examples of multiple negation, above.

Negative forms of anomalous finites, including second person singular interrogative negative forms, are given elsewhere.[2]

A negative verb may be used with the adverb /'æ:(r)dlɪ/ 'hardly', in contrast to S.E. usage:

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1. Cf. section 6.7.7.
2. See section 6.8.4.

/av 'nɛver 'æ:(r)dlɪ dɔn ɪt/

'I've never hardly done it = I've hardly ever done it.'

/e(r) 'dɪdnt 'æ:(r)dlɪ want ɪt/

'her (she) didn't hardly want it = she hardly wanted it.'

/a 'kɔdnt 'æ:(r)dlɪ ɛɪt/

'I couldn't hardly eat = I could hardly eat.'

etc.

6.8.8. Passive:

The passive is formed in the dialect with:

GET + PAST PARTICIPLE

or

BE + PAST PARTICIPLE

The agent is preceded by the preposition with or by. GET functions as the auxiliary verb more often than in S.E., where it is "avoided in formal style" and "is usually restricted to constructions without an expressed animate agent".[1] There is usually no difference in meaning caused by selecting BE or GET: /we(r) kɪlt/ and /gi:t kɪlt/ both mean 'was killed'. However, in one instance a distinction must be made:

/aɪ we(r) ðrɔpt ɔn/

'I were dropped on = I was surprised, astonished'

/aɪ gi:t ðrɔpt ɔn/

'I geet (got) dropped on = I was caught (e.g. by the police)'

Further, GET may be used in the dialect with an animate

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1. Quirk, Greenbaum, Leech and Svartvik (1976: 802).

agent expressed:

/gi:t tɜʏt wɪt 'tɛɪttʃe(r)z/
'geet (got=was) taught with (by) the teachers'

although there are many cases in which there is no agent expressed:

/ðat 'dɪdnt gɛt pɑt dɛ:n dɪd ɪt/
'That didn't get put down, did it?' [of a horse]

/a gi:t sɛnt | 'fe:(r)ðer ɪnt pɪt/
'I geet (got) sent further into the pit.'

etc.

GET is followed by a past participle in other constructions, which therefore resemble the passive in form, but which do not have an agent.[1]

The preposition which introduces the agent is either with or by. With may be followed by an animate or inanimate agent, as may by:

/wɪ e dɑg/ 'with (by) a dog'

/wɪ e kæ:(r)/ 'with (by) a car'

etc.

A distinctive passive construction is:

BE + /kɔ:d/ + PRESENT PARTICIPLE
to be called doing something

which means 'to be supposed to be doing something'.

/i:z kɔ:d 'kɑmɪn/
'he's called coming'

/we: we(r) kɔ:d 'ɜʏdɪnt 'dɑnkɪ/
'we were called holding the donkey'
etc.

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1. See section 6.8.6. for details.

I recorded just one case of the question:

/at 'rɛdɪ fe(r) 'sɔmet 'gɛtɪn/

'Art thou ready for something getting?'

The informant confirmed that this meant 'Are you ready for something (food) to be got for you?' and that one might add /ðɪ/ 'thee' after getting, although this was not necessary. Contrast: Art thou ready for getting summat?, which would be an active sentence.

HAVE is in free variation with GET in get my hair cut and get my car mended.

The above principles of passive formation are all carried over into modified speech.

6.9. Adverbs:

Negative adverbs are treated in the discussion of Affirmation and Negation.[1]

6.9.1. Form:

A great many adverbs in the dialect have the same form as the adjective. Thus:

/a tɜʏd ðɪ ˌkɔnfɪ'dɛnʃɔl/
'I told thee confidential (confidentially)'

/aɪ 'tɛknɪkl dʒɔb/
'[a] high (highly) technical job'

and so on.

The use of adverbs with the same form as their equivalent adjectives is reminiscent of N.H.G., and contrasts with the greater reliance on -ly endings in S.E. However, there is a certain amount of variation between zero and -ly endings in the dialect, and some adverbs only exist with an -ly ending, e.g.:

/av nɔt sɪn ɪm 'le:tlɪ/
'I've not seen him lately.'

The use of adverbs which have the same form as the adjective is further illustrated by the fact that good functions as an adverb in addition to /wɪəl/ 'well':

/e gɔd pe:d dʒɔb/ 'a good (well) paid job'

/dʏ: ɪt gɔd/ 'do it good'

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1. See section 6.8.7.

/ə 'vɛrɪ gɔd ˌvɛntɪ'le:tɪd ʃæ:ft/
'a very good ventilated shaft'

/ə gɔd kɔt krət/
'a good cut coat'

etc.

6.9.2. Comparison of Adverbs:

The absence of -ly endings often permits the use of an inflection rather than a periphrastic construction:

/ðɪs ɪə(r)z 'naɪsə(r) bɪlt/
'this here's nicer (more nicely) built'

The prepositions or conjunctions used in the comparison of adverbs are those given for the comparison of adjectives.[1] For instance:

/'fə:(r)ðə(r) dɛ:n tɪl ðat/
'further down till (than) that'

Note also:

/'ɔ:fnərəˌnɔt/ 'oftener than not'

/'bɛtθərən/ 'better than'

Irregular comparatives and superlatives are given under the Comparison of Adjectives.[2] To these may be added:

/fæ:(r)/ - /'fə:(r)ðə(r)/ - /'fə:(r)ðɪst/
'far' - 'further' - 'furthest'

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1. See section 6.4.1.
2. See section 6.4.1.

6.9.3. "Here", "There", "Yon", "Yonder":

/ɪə(r)/ 'here'

/ðɪə(r)/ 'there' (more modified /ðe:(r)/)

/jɔn/ 'yonder, there'

/'jɔnðe(r), ('jɔnde(r), 'jɔnðe(r), 'jɔnde(r))/
'yonder'

In adverbial phrases of place, one of the above is frequently added after the place.[1]

/et | 'wɔgdɪn ðɪə(r)/
'at Walkden there'

/et 'tlɪfn ðɪə(r)/
'at Clifton there'

/et bak et 'le:be(r) klɑb ðɪə(r)/
'at the back of (behind) the Labour Club there'

/et te:(r) || 'sando:l ðɪə(r)/
'at the er .. Sandhole there' [a pit]

/lɔə(r)d sθri:t 'jɔnde(r)/
'Lord Street yonder'

/et 'wɔgdɪn 'jɔnde(r)/
'at Walkden yonder'

/'kæ:(r)zlɪ 'jɔnðe(r)/
'Kearsley yonder'

/ðɛ:l si: ɪm 'ɛvrɪ de: ɪn 'mæ:(r)kɪt sθri:t
'thou will see him every day in Market Street

jɔn wɪt klɑgz ɔn/
yon (yonder, there) with the clogs (clogs, his clogs) on.

/et 'swɪtn jɔn/
'at Swinton yon'

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1. Cf. the use of the adverbs here and there with the demonstrative adjective and demonstrative pronoun, section 6.4.3. and section 6.7.4. respectively.

/wɛn ðɪ we(r) 'me:kɪn ðɪs 'mo:te(r)ˌwe: ɪər|
'when they were making this motorway here
et | blak ɔə(r)s 'jɔnde(r) || 'ke:(r)zlɪ ðɪə(r)/
at the Black Horse yonder .. Kearsley there,...

Here is used to indicate the place where the speaker already is, or somewhere very near at hand indeed. Anywhere further away than here is there, yon or yonder.[1] I cannot detect the slightest distinction between the latter three.

6.9.4. The "Known Referent":

The reference associated with here is probably always obvious, but there, yon and yonder can refer to a known referent, which may be obvious to intimates, but is not to strangers.[2] One dialect speaker, when visiting anyone, would often refer to /dɛ:n 'jɔnðe(r)/ 'down yonder'. This was an allusion to his own home. But yonder can equally well refer to a launderette (as used by one lady with highly modified speech), or anywhere else for that matter. The linguistic context will sometimes be helpful, but not always.

6.9.5. Intensifiers or Degree Adverbs:

Quite a number of adverbs function as degree adverbs or intensifiers. Some are highly restricted in their distribution, perhaps modifying only a single word:

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1. Exact distances and pointing range would not appear to be relevant features.
2. Cf. the demonstrative adjective, demonstrative pronoun and personal pronoun - sections 6.4.3., 6.7.4. and 6.7.1.4. respectively.

/'blɪðerɪn kɜɤd/ 'blithering cold'

/'dɛdlɪ 'pɛɪznes/ 'deadly poisonous'

etc.

Others modify or intensify a range of words, but often from the same semantic field:

/'θɷmpɪn greɪt/ 'thumping great'

/'θɷmpɪn bɪg/ 'thumping big'

Similarly, thundering, tremendous and whopping.

/'tɛrɪbl, 'terɪbl/ 'terrible'

and /'ʃɔkɪn/ 'shocking'

are restricted to phrases such as terrible bad, terrible hard, shocking bad, shocking awful.

The following have the meaning 'very, really, extremely, etc.':

/ɔ:/	'all'
/dɛd/	'dead'
/'gre:dlɪ/	gradely = 'very, proper, excellent, real, good, genuine'
/greɪt/	'great'
/'dʒɔlɪ/	'jolly'
/'prɔp(p)e(r)/	'proper'
/'ratlɪn/	'rattling'
/rɪəl/	'real'
/ri:t, (rɛɪt)/	'right'
/'vɛrɪ/	'very'
/'maɪtɪ/	'mighty'
/'blɷdɪ/	'bloody'

etc.

Certain of these - proper, real, right, and, with some informants, bloody - are very widely used. /mɷtʃ/ 'much'

and /ə lɔt, o:l lɔt/ 'a lot, whole lot' may appear before comparatives. /'fe:(r)lɪ/ 'fairly' and /'prɪtɪ/ 'pretty, fairly' are also widely used and have the meaning 'fairly, rather', and 'very' if one allows for a certain predilection for understatement.[1] /fe:(r)/ 'fair' is also an intensifier. A few examples will suffice:

/ðats bɪn 'gre:dlɪ gɔd/
'that's been gradely (very) good'

/'prɪtɪ nɪə(r)/
'pretty, fairly, quite near'

/ə 'ratlɪn gɔd dɪ:/
'a rattling (very) good do (party, occasion, meal, event, etc.)'

/i:z 'bi:ɪn ə fe:(r) lɔng taɪm ə'bɛ:t ɪt/
'he's being a fair (considerably) long time about it'

/ðɪ fe:(r) wɛnt θrɪ: ɪt/
'they fair went through it = spent it very quickly'

etc.

Due to the formation of adverbs without -ly, the constructions:

ADJECTIVE + ADJECTIVE + NOUN

and

ADVERB + ADJECTIVE + NOUN

cannot always be distinguished, as in a tremendous big clock.

Three adverbial constructions which add emphasis are included in the next subsection.

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1. Fairly good or not bad can represent a high degree of praise, just as a good meal might be relished with /av 'te:stɪd wɔs ('mɔnɪ ə taɪm)/ 'I've tasted worse (many a time)'.

6.9.6. Some Other Adverbs and Adverbial Constructions:

/'ɔ:lɔs/ [various other forms] 'always'; /'apn, 'apm/ 'happen = perhaps'; /'re:ðə(r)/ 'rather'; /'o:nɪ/ 'only'; /'bakə(r)ts/ 'backward'; /'fɔrə(r)d/ 'forward(s)'; /bɑt/ 'but, only'; /fə(r) 'rɛglə/ 'for regular = regularly'; /fə(r) ʃʏə(r)/ 'for sure = certainly'; /fə(r) 'sɛttɪn/ 'for certain = certainly'; /(t)mɔə(r)n/ 'tomorrow'; /tə'mɔə(r)n/ 'tomorrow'; /(t)ni:t/ 'tonight'; /tə'ni:t/ 'tonight'; /'nɔbɑt/ 'only'; /'pæ:(r)tlɪ wɔt/ 'partly-what = in part, partly'; /'saɪdə(r)ts/ 'sideways'; /ðɪər ə'gɛn/ 'there again = then again'; /'dɛ:nbrʏ:/ 'downhill'; /'ɑpbrʏ:/ 'uphill'; /'ɑpraɪts/ 'upright'; /wɑm/ 'home'; /sɪn/ 'since'; /wɔnst/ 'once'.

Negative adverbs and the phenomenon of multiple negation are treated elsewhere.[1] Words for yes and no are treated as particles elsewhere, rather than as adverbs.[2]

Three common constructions which lend emphasis are the following:

1. SUBJECT + NEGATIVE AUXILIARY + half and + VERB
   or SUBJECT + BE NEGATIVE + half and + ADJECTIVE[3]
2. /'bɔnɪ wɪəl ɑn/ 'bonny well and' + PAST PARTICIPLE[3]
3. about, e.g. /i:z ə'bɛ:t kɪlt ɪt/ 'he's about killed it = "he will have killed it, that's what he'll have done" [informant's paraphrase]'

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1. See sections 6.8.7.2-3.
2. See section 6.8.7.1.
3. See section 6.11.

As may function as a relative adverb meaning 'when', e.g.:

/ðat taɪm ɐz a wɐ(r) bad/
'that time as (when) I were bad (was ill)'

That often has the meaning 'so', e.g.:

/ðat bɪg/ 'so big'.

The construction that...as corresponds to S.E. so...that, e.g.

/ðɪ gi:t ðar ɜɣd ɐz ðɪ 'adnt 'kɔnfɪdɔns ɪ ðɐ(r)'sal/
'they geet (got) that (so) old as (that) they hadn't confidence in theirself (themselves)'

The as element is not always present in such constructions.

That, and all, and that and all frequently serve as intensifying tags. Emphasis is often given to an account of an event by adding:

/i: dɪd ðat/
/i: dɪd ɐn ɔ:/
/i: dɪd ðat ɐn ɔ:/

all of which mean 'he did too!' or 'he did indeed!'

So has the meaning 'very' in constructions of the type:

/ɪts nɔt sɑ rɛd ɔt ɪn ɪə(r)/
'it's not so red-hot in here'

This is an understatement meaning that it is decidedly cold.

The interrogative adverb why is sometimes for why, e.g.

/al tɛl ðɪ fɐ(r) waɪ/
'I'll tell thee for why (I'll tell you why)'

In addition to /'dɛ:n'ri:t/ 'downright', /'ri:t'dɛ:n/ is also regular, e.g.

/am 'ri:t'dɛ:n vɛkst/
'I'm downright vexed.'

To get faster forward, an idiom meaning 'to make progress, advance more rapidly', is also syntactically distinctive, e.g.

/ðɛd gɛt 'fæ:sθe(r) 'fɔred ɪv ðɛ pɤ:d ðɪ
'thou would get faster forward if thou pulled thy

'dʒakɪt ɔ:f/
jacket off'

About may modify constructions of the type:

INDEFINITE ARTICLE + MEASUREMENT + NOUN

by immediately preceding them. Examples:

/ðɪ ad e'bɛ:t e θri: wɪk sθraɪk/
'they had about a three-week strike (a strike of about three weeks' duration)'

/ko:l | kɔmz tet 'bɔtɔm et pɪt | ɔn bɛlts‖
'coal comes to the bottom of the pit on belts -

'apn e'bɜɤt | e foə(r) fɔt bɛlt/
happen (perhaps) about a four-foot belt (a belt of about four feet)'

6.10. Prepositions:

A reasonably exhaustive specification of the prepositions of the dialect would be dependent upon a fuller investigation of the lexis than can be carried out here. This is because:

1. prepositions occur in idiomatic phrases;
2. prepositions occur after verbs, and many such uses are distinctive.

Examples of 1:

/i:z ɔ: ðat ðɪər e'bɛ:t ɪm/
'He's all that there about him = he is self-important.'

/i:z no:n lɑng fer ɪə(r)/
'he's noan (not) long for here = he will soon die.'

Examples of 2:

/we:t ɔn, ɔv/
'wait on, of = wait for'

/al θrɛɪʃ em ɛ:t fe(r) wek/
'I'll trash them out for work = I'll wear them out at work (- they are good enough for that, but not for anything else)'

See also off below.

Nor, till, tin and than are used prepositionally in the comparison of adjectives and adverbs. Than is sometimes called a quasi-preposition in accounts of S.E. In the dialect, the prepositions must be followed by the object case. Sentences of the type He is bigger than I are impossible. There is a straight choice in the dialect between the patterns He is bigger than I am/than what I am (conjunction) and He is bigger than me (preposition).

The dialect often does not use a preposition with adverbial phrases of time:

/ðɛm de:z/
'them days = in those days'

/ðɛ kəd gʏ: ɔnt mɔ:s || 'sɑme(r) taɪm||
'thou could go on the moss - summer-time -

ən ðɛ kəd av ə naɪs de:/
and thou could have a nice day'

/'wɪnθə(r) taɪm/
'winter-time = in winter-time'

/t taɪm/
'the time = at the time'

/ɪtl nɔt bɪ maɪ de:/
'it'll not be my day = in my day'

/'krɪsmɑs/
'Christmas = at Christmas'

/ðɛ 'stæ:(r)tɪd e:f pas faɪv/
'thou started half-past five'

and very many others. Cf., however, the use of at below.

The following list of prepositions is partial, and concentrates on distinctiveness vis-à-vis S.E. Within the list itself, the forms and meanings given are those which are comparatively distinctive.

a: /ə/ 'a'. Used with verbal nouns and participles,

e.g. /'takɪnt θɔə(r)s ə'bi:ɪn ʃʏ:d/
'taking the horse a-being shoed (shod)'

Such constructions occur most commonly of all after the verb GO, with the meaning 'to, in order to, -ing'. Further material in translation:

'they used to have these outlooks [look-outs], you know, a-waiting of...'

'went a-complaining'

'they came a-keeping a pub'

'and the lad ran home a-telling his mother'

'they came a-looking for me'

'go a-working'

'we only used to go a-gathering these nettles'

'they go a-playing at cricket'

'men going to these rucks (coal waste heaps), a-grading it'

'aye, we used to go a-fishing'

'oh, from there, I went to the Drake [mill], a-winding at the Drake'

etc. etc.

Note also: /lɛv ɪm ə'bi:/ 'leave him a-be (leave him alone, leave him be)'.

above: /ə'bɑv/ is used quite extensively with the meaning 'for longer than', e.g.

/ɪt re:nd ə'bɑv ə wɪk/
'it rained above a week'

according to: /ə'kɔə(r)dɪn tə/ 'compared with':

/ɪt əd bɪ 'prɪtɪ ɛɪ ste:ks | ə'kɔə(r)dɪn
'it would be pretty high stakes..according

tə tə'de:z | 'bɛtɪn/
to today's.. betting'

afore: /ə'fʏə(r), ə'foə(r)/ 'before'. This preposition is used extensively, e.g.

/ðɛ jʏ:s gʏ: ən ɛ:r ə'foə(r)t 'tɑðə:(r)z/
'thou used to go an hour afore the tothers (others)'

after: /'æ:fθe(r)/ 'after, in pursuit of, in quest of'.

My impression is that BE + after 'be in pursuit of' is used more extensively than in S.E. Examples:

/t dɒgz 'æ:fθe(r)t 'bɛɪəlt am/

'the dog's after the boiled ham' (i.e. is trying to get at it)

/am 'æ:fθer ɪm/

'I'm after him.' (either chasing him here and now, or intending to catch him at the first opportunity)

/we: wer 'æ:fθe(r) sɒm e ðɛm/

'we were after some of them (those)' (i.e. wanted to acquire some)

etc.

again: /e'gɛn, e'dʒɛn/

1. 'near, just by, next to, by the side of', e.g.

/i: lɪvz e'gɛnt ðre:k/

'He lives again the Drake.' (i.e. in a street next to the Drake Mill)

2. 'compared to', e.g.

/a kɒm bak te:r e bɪt e ˌri:'alɪtɪ e'gɛn te'de:/

'I come back to a bit of reality again today.'

3. S.E. against

In case 2, again might appear to mean 'once more' as written here. However, the intonation pattern of the utterance rules out such an interpretation, and the meaning 'compared to' is assured. Cf. over again.

among: /e'mɒng/ 'among'. Note, however, the idioms:

/mɒk e'mɒng ɪt/ 'muck among it'

/mɛs e'mɒng ɪt/ 'mess among it'

both of which mean 'make do, get by in the circumstances (which are mucky or messy)' or 'be in a mess'.

as from: /az frɒm, etc./ 'from', e.g.

/az frɒmp mɪl a wɛnt dɛ:nt pɪt/
'as from the mill I went down the pit'
(i.e. after being a textile worker I
became a miner)

at: /ɐt/.

When a preposition is used with adverbial phrases of time, it is often at. In this respect, at is equivalent to S.E. 'at, on, in (the), during (the)' or no preposition at all. Examples:

/fɐ(r)t gɒt bɛd ɐt 'i:vnɪn/
'for to go to bed at evening'

/ɒt ðar ˌæ:fθɐ'nʏ:n/
'at that afternoon'

/ɐt fɒs θɪng ɐv ɐ 'mɔə(r)nɪn/
'at the first thing of a morning'

/wɪtʃ wɐ(r) dɒn ɐt 'sɒndɪ/
'which were done at (the) Sunday' (every Sunday)

/i:z wɒs ɐt dæ:(r)k/
'he's worse at dark' ('in the, after')

/wɪtʃ tʏ:k ɐ'bɛ:t θri: ɛ:(r)z ɐt ˌθæ:fθɐ'nʏ:n/
'which took about three hours at the afternoon'

/ɐt le:t ɔn/
'at late on'

/tʏ: ɐ'klɔk ɐt 'mɔə(r)nɪn/
'two o'clock at morning'

/ɐt dʒʏ:n/
'at June'

/ɐt 'fraɪddɪ/
'at Friday'

and very many others.

A use of at other than in a time phrase is:

/a we(r) sɪks et frɒnt ɔn ɪm/
'I were six at the front on him (I was six points in front of him)'

away: /e'we:/ 'away from'. Examples:

/tʏ: maɪl e'we: 'wæ:(r)dlɪ/
'two mile (miles) away Wardley'

/e'foə(r) ðɛ gi:t e'we:t pɪt le:n/
'afore (before) thou geet (got) away the pit lane'

at t' back on, of: /et bak ɔn, ev, e/ 'behind'. Examples:

/et bak ɔn je/
'at the back on you'

/'mæ:(r)tʃɪn rɛ:nd et bak e wɔn e'nɒðe(r)/
'marching round at the back o' one another'

/bak e ðer ɪəlz ɔ:t taɪm/
'[at the] back o' their heels all the time'

at t' back side on, of: /et bak saɪd ɔn, ev, e/ 'behind'.

Example :

/ðɪ jʏ:s stak ɪt ɒp et wɔn saɪd | en tʃɒkt
'they used to stack it up at one side..and chuck the

smɔ:l | et bak saɪd ev ɪt/
small..at the back side of it'

bar: /bæ:(r)/ 'bar, except'.[1]

barrin': /'bæ:rɪn/ 'barring, excepting, unless there are, except, not including'.[1]

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1. Marked as colloquial S.E. in Hornby (1975: 62).

bar for: /bæ:(r) fe(r)/ 'except, excepting, apart from'.
Example:

/bæ:(r) fe(r)t det/
'bar for the dirt'

beawt: /bɛ:t/ 'without'. Example:

/bɛ:t 'anɪ 'ʃogə(r)/
'without any sugar'

belonging: /bɪ'lɔngɪn/ 'belonging to'. Example:

/ðats bɪ'lɔngɪn ɔz/
'that's belonging us'

beside: /bɪ'saɪd/ 'in addition to'.

The use is the same as that of S.E. besides.

between and: /bɪ'twi:n en/ 'before, by'.

This is a common preposition. Examples:

/bɪ'twi:n en naɪn ə'klɔk/
'between and nine o'clock'

/wal bɪ'twi:n ɔn ðat taɪm || i:d 'gɛtn/
'well between and that time..he'd getten (got)...'

'cross: /krɔ:s/ is an aphetic form of across.

down: /dɛ:n/ 'down to, down in'.

The preposition does not necessarily relate to the geographical or topographical position of the speaker. Examples:

/i: weks dɛ:n 'mantʃɪsθə(r)/
'he works down Manchester'

/am 'gʏ:ɪn dɛ:nt mʏə(r)/
'I'm going down the Moor' (down Farnworth)

In the second sentence, /t/ does not represent <u>to the</u> - there is no alternative construction with /tət/ 'to the'.

<u>except for</u>: /ɛk'sɛp fə(r)/ 'except, excepting', e.g.

/ɛk'sɛp fər ɪm/
'except for him'

<u>for</u>: /fə(r)/

1. S.E. <u>for</u>;
2. 'from', as <u>fro</u> and <u>from</u> below.

<u>for to</u>: /fɔt, fə(r)t/ 'for to, to, in order to'.

This preposition is used extensively in the dialect before infinitives. Examples:

/wɪ wə(r) dlad fə(r)t gɛr ɛ:t/
'we were glad for to get out'

/am ri:t fe:n fə(r)t si: jə/
'I'm right fain (very glad) for to see you'

/ɪt as fɔt bi:/
'it has for to be'

/i: wants fə(r)t gʏ: | ðɛ no:z/
'he wants for to go..thou knows'

/ðat mɛnt fə(r)t sɪ/
'that meant for to say'

/av gɔt fɔt gɷ/
'I've got for to go'

and very many others.

Similarly: /jʏ:s fə(r)t/ 'used for to'.

'fore: /fʏə(r), foə(r)/ are aphetic forms of afore, or possibly before. Presumably either is possible, cf. 'cause from acause or because.[1]

fro: /frɒ, frɐ/ 'from', e.g.

/kɒmz frɐ 'bɜʏtn/
'comes from Bolton'

from: /frɒm, frɔm, frɐm/ 'from', is interchangeable with fro.

at t' front on, of: /ɐt frɒnt ɔn, ɐv, ɐ/ 'in front of'. Examples:

/ɐt frɒnt ɔn ɪm/
'at the front on him'

/ɐ mɛ:s rɒn ɐt frɒnt ɐv mɪ/
'a mouse run (ran) at the front of me'

'gain: /gɛn/ is an aphetic form of again.

i', in: /ɪ,ɪn/ 'in, into; (to; during; at)'.

The form with /n/ is compulsory before a vowel, and optional before a consonant. Examples:

/'pʏ:ɪn 'sɒmbdɪ ɪ 'pi:sɪz/
'pulling somebody in (to) pieces'

/ðɪ ʃɒd stɔp ɔ: ði:z 'aɪrɪʃ,mɛn 'kɒmɪn ɪt 'kɒnθrɪ/
'they should stop all these Irishmen coming in the country'

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1. See section 6.11.

/a bɑmpt ɪn ɪm/
'I bumped in (into) him.'

/i: lɪvd ɪt tɔp e 'θrafe(r)d sθri:t ðɪə(r)/
'he lived in (at) the top of Trafford Street there'

/ast ad e gɔd 'dʒe:(r)nɪ ɪt de:/
'Has thou had a good journey in the day?'

The form /ɪn/ is used when <u>in</u> is an adverbial particle:

/wɪ gɔr em ɪn bɪt naɪt/
'we got them in by the night'

It was noted above that prepositions such as <u>in</u> are not always required in adverbial phrases of time. However, in phrases such as <u>in a morning</u>, meaning 'every morning', <u>in</u> is required:

/we: jʏ:s tɛk em ɛ:t ɪn e 'mɔə(r)nɪn fer e wɔ:k/
'we used to take them out in a morning for a walk'

/ðɪ kɔmt fɑs θɪng ɪn e 'mɔə(r)nɪn/
'they come (came) the first thing in a morning'

<u>i'stead o'</u>: /ɪ'stɛd e/ 'instead of', is used as in S.E.

<u>nobbut</u>: /'nɔbɑt/ 'except, apart from', e.g.

/wer ɔ: 'gʏ:ɪn 'nɔbɑt e fjʏ:/
'we're all going <u>nobbut</u> a few'

<u>nor</u>: /ne(r)/ 'than', is used in the comparison of adjectives and adverbs, e.g.

/i: we(r) 'jɑnge(r) ner e(r)/
'he were (was) younger nor her'

o'er: /oə(r)/

1. 'over, above', e.g.

/oə(r)t sɪnk/
'over the sink'

2. 'about, concerning, on the subject of'

There are similar uses in S.E., but they are neither so frequent nor so wide-ranging, e.g.

/laɪk i: tɜʏd ðɪ oə(r)t 'daɪɪn 'pro:sɛs/
'like he told thee over the dyeing process'

The preposition is used after various verbs, such as grumble o'er, enquire o'er, swank o'er. In the phrase

/am 'gʏ:ɪn oə(r)t ro:d/
'I'm going over the road',

over the road may represent a known referent, e.g. some particular shop.[1]

o'er again: /oər ə'gɛn/ 'over against, in opposite situation to, in contrast with'.

This preposition is used quite a lot in the dialect:

/'tʃɛkɪn oər ə'gɛn nəm/
'checking over again them' (keeping score in addition to the contestants, who were also scoring)

/ə(r) ple:d oər ə'gɛn ɪm/
'her (she) played over again him' (i.e. played a corresponding part: male lead-female lead, husband-wife, or similar)

---

1. Cf. section 6.4.3, and also sections 6.7.4, 6.7.1.4 and 6.9.4.

of, o': /ɔv, ɑv, ev, e/ 'of; (at; on; in; each, every)'

1. Used in the pattern

MEASUREMENT/NUMBER + of + INDEFINITE ARTICLE + NOUN

Examples:

/'twɛntɪ'ɛɪt jæ:(r)dz ev e 'sɛtɪn ev e laɪn/
'twenty-eight yards of a setting of a line'

/wɔn men ed ðrɔ: e 'sekkel ||| 'ɛɪtti:n 'ɪntʃɪz
'one man would draw a circle - eighteen inches

er e 'kɑpel e fi:t ev e 'sekkel/
or a couple of feet of a circle'

/foə(r) fɑt sɪks ev e ðræ:ft/
'four foot six of a draught' (i.e. boats with a draught of 4'6")

/'e:ðe(r) saɪd e'bɜɪt | sɪks fɑt ev e pak
'either side about..six foot of a pack

'e:ðe(r) saɪd/
either side'

[modified speech]: /aɪ wɔz wɔn ev naɪn'ti:n ev e 'famlɪ/
'I was one of nineteen of a family'

2. The pattern

NOUN + of + INDEFINITE ARTICLE + NOUN

enjoys considerable use:

/ɪt we(r) laɪk e mɛ:θ ||| ev e spe:d/
'it were like a mouth..of a spade' (i.e. the spade was mouth-shaped)

/ɪt we(r) no: 'dɑmɪ ev e dʒɔb/
'it were no dummy of a job' (i.e. the job was not easy)

/e 'rɑbɪʃ ev e fe:(r)m/
'a rubbish of a firm'

3. = 'at, on, in, each, every' in expressions of time (habitual). The same basic construction exists in S.E., but is not as frequent there as in the dialect.

Examples:

/ɐv ɐ 'wɪkkɛnd/
'of a week-end' (i.e. at week-ends)

/ðɛ jʏ:st af gɛt ɑp et fʏər ɐv ɐ 'mɔə(r)nɪn/
'thou used to have to get up at four of a morning' (i.e. every morning)

Of is not always used after plenty:

/ðe(r) we(r) 'plɛntɪ ɜʏd 'brɔkn plant pɔts
'there were plenty old broken plant pots

ɔt flʏə(r)/
on the floor'

off: /ɔ:f, (ɔf)/ 'off'.

Can be used after the verb reckon, e.g.

/a de:nt 'rɛkn nɜʏt ɔ:f ɐ(r)/
'I don't reckon nowt (nothing) off her (I don't think much of her)'

o', on: /ɔn, ɔ, ɐn, ɐ/ 'on, onto; of'.

The forms with /n/ are compulsory before a vowel, and optional before a consonant. The form /ɔn/, like /ɪn/, is used when on is an adverbial particle.

1. 'of':

/al av 'e:ðer ɔn ɐm/
'I'll have either on them'

/t ɵe:v ɔn ɪt/
'the half on it'

etc.

2. on + a + day = on + day PLURAL

/ɔn ə 'sɑndɪ/
'on a Sunday' (i.e. on Sundays, every Sunday)

3. One goes /ɔt we:ks/ or /ɔt fə:r/ 'on the wakes, on the fair' in dialect, rather than to it. A preposition such as on may not be required, however, in expressions of time:

/ðɪ ɔəl be:k 'dɪferɑnt de:z/
'they all bake different days'

only: /'o:nɪ, ('o:nlɪ)/ 'but, apart from', e.g.

/ðe(r) jʏ:s bɪ nɜʏt 'o:nɪ 'blemɪn fɪəldz/
'there used to be nowt (nothing) only blooming fields' (the reference is not floral!)

only for: /'o:nɪ fe(r)/ 'but for, without'

/a de:nt θɪnk a ʃɑd ə no:d ɪm 'o:nɪ fər 'arɪ/
'I don't think I should have knowed (known) him only for Harry'

out: /ɛ:t/

1. 'out of'. Examples:

/gɛt ɛ:t ro:d/
'get out the road (way)'

/ki:p ɛ:t ro:d/
'keep out the road (way)'

2. (In the form out of) 'from' (cf. N.H.G. aus).

Examples:

/ə tjʏ:n θɪng nɜʏ ez wɪ gi:t ɛ:t ə ˌtandʒə'nɪə(r)z/
'a tune thing[1] now as (that) we geet (got) out of Tangeniers'[2]

---

1. The reference is to a primitive musical instrument.
2. Presumably Tanganyika or Tangier.

/i: kɔm ɛ:t ə 'kampbɔl sθri:t/
'he come (came) out of Campbell Street'

over: /'o:və(r)/ is a modified form of o'er.

at t' side of, o': /ət saɪd əv, ə/

1. 'by the side of'. Example:

/gɪ əm wɔn ət saɪd ət 'θɪərо:l/
'give them one at the side of the earhole'

2. 'compared with'. Example:

/am no:n sə bad ət saɪd ə sɔm fo:ks/
'I'm noan (not) so bad at the side of some folks'

sin: /sɪn/ 'since' has the same range of use as the S.E. equivalent since.

'stead o': /stɛd ə/ is an aphetic form of i'stead o'.

than: /ðən/ 'than' is used in the comparison of adjectives and adverbs. There is an apparent contraction in:

/'bɛtθərən/ 'better than'

till: /tɪl/ 'than' is used in the comparison of adjectives and adverbs, e.g.

/'fə:(r)ðə(r) dɛ:n tɪl ðat/
'further down till that'

tin: /tɪn/ 'than' is used in the comparison of adjectives and adverbs, e.g.

/'wɪmɪn we(r) wes tɪn mɛn ðɛm de:z/
'women were worse tin men them days (in those days)'

Tin also has the meaning 'until'.

to: 'to'.

When to has the form of a separate word, it is pronounced /tɐ/, or occasionally /tʏ:/. However, it is often realised as glottalisation or devoicing at the end of the preceding word, very much as is the definite article.[1] Glottal constriction may operate on the last consonant of the preceding word:

[ä wɛnt͡ʔ bak̥͡ʔ 'wɔ·əweks]
'I went back to Wallwork's'

Devoicing of a final voiced consonant is apparent in:

[at͡ʔ kʉt͡ʔ]
'had to cut'

[wɪ ḁf gɷ]
'we have to go'

[wɪst af bɪ]
'we shall have to be'

Again as in the case of the definite article, the phonetic context will determine the nature of the suspended consonant:

[a:m gamp͡ʔ gʉ·]
'I am game to go'

Before a vowel, to may be realised as /t/:

[ɹɔnt͡ʔ tɐ̈:ᵊɹɐ̈:s]
'run to our house'

[t'ɪm]
'to him'

although /tʏ:/ or /tɐ/ is also possible before a vowel,

---

1. Cf. section 6.2.1.1.

in which case a linking glide [w] will probably be heard between the two vowels. The sequence to the is realised either by the same glottal constriction which represents to alone, or by /tet/.

The sequence going to is sometimes realised as ['go:ne].

To is sometimes omitted in constructions of the type:

[wɔʔ skʉ̟: dəz ðɛ: gʉ]
'What school does thou go [to]?'

To is optional after the verb help:[1]

/ɛlp em kɪl/
'help them kill'

To is used after might as well:

/ðɛ mɛt tez wɪəlt gʏ:/
'thou might as well to go'

/ðɛ mɛt ez wɪəlt te 'wɔntɪd/
'thou might as well to have wanted...'

To appears to be fossilised in /lɛtstav/ 'let us [or me] to have', e.g.

/lɛtstav e lʏ:k/
'let's to have a look'

To was also noted in a number of other constructions and phrases:

/wɪ dɪd sɪks de:z tet wi:k ðɛm de:z/
'we did six days to the week them days (in those days)'

/te maɪ e'pɪnjən/
'to (in) my opinion'

---

1. As in N.H.G., U.S. English and to a lesser extent S.E.

/te maɪ 'θɪnkɪn/
'to my thinking' = more usual:
/te maɪ ro:d e 'θɪnkɪn/ 'to my road (way) of thinking'

/i:z e 'bɑge(r) te 'gambel/
'he's a bugger to gamble (for gambling)'

/fɔ:t sli:p/
'fall to sleep (asleep)'

To enjoys frequent usage in the sense 'compared with', e.g.

/ðe(r) mʏə(r) pɪts rɛ:n 'wɪgɪn te wɔt
'There [were] more pits round Wigan to what

ðe(r) we(r) rɛ:nd ɪə(r)/
there were round here'

To is also used in the sense of within, below.

tord(s): /tɔə(r)d(z)/
tort: /tɔə(r)t/
toward(s): /te'wɔə(r)d(z)/

1. 'compared with', e.g.

/ðɪ dɑ nɜʏt tɔə(r)dz wɔt we: dɪd/
'they do nowt (nothing) towards what we did'

2. 'towards, in the direction of', as in S.E.

There is also the idiom:

/wɪ mɑn bɪ 'gɛrɪn tɔə(r)t wɑm/
'we mun (must) be getting towards whoam (home)' = 'we must go now'

'tween: /twi:n/ is an aphetic form of between.

'tween an': /twi:n en/ is an aphetic form of between and.

up: /ɒp/. May be used as a preposition in the manner of down.

wi', with: /wɪ, (wɪð)/

1. 'with', as in S.E.

2. 'by'. In this sense it is used extensively in the passive:[1]

/av wɒn ɒm ɒp wɪt nɛk | wɪ ə ro:p/
'I've wun (wound) them up with the neck..with a rope'

/i: ˌdɪ'saɪdɪd i:d av ɪt | dɒn wɪt 'θɔ:lɪdʒ mɛn/
'he decided he'd have it..done with the haulage men'

/wɪ/ also means 'by' in certain other constructions, which are not passives:

/wɪ 'fɪnɪʃt ɒp wɪ 'pɒrɪn ɪt ɪn ɛ:(r) 'pɔkɪt/
'we finished up with putting it in our pocket'

/ðə(r)z 'o:nɪ tʏ: mæ:(r)ks ðɪ ken tɛl əm wi:/
'there's only two marks they can tell them with'

/ən am bɛ:nt 'fɪnɪʃ ɒp wɪ 'se:ɪn ðɪs nɛ:/
'and I'm boun to (going to) finish up with saying this now'

The vowel in /wɪ/ is fronted, and often lengthened before /j/ or a vowel; in the latter case, a linking [j] is usually interposed between the two vowels:

[wɪ̟ ʲ ɪt] 'with it'

[wĭ: ʲ ɪt] 'with it'

[wë·ɪ ʲ ə klɔ̟g] 'with a clog'

The form /wi:/ may be found when with functions as an adverbial particle.

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1. See section 6.8.8.

within: 'beyond, against'. I have only recorded this usage of the preposition in modified speech, e.g.

/i:z nɔt wɪ'ðɪn 'swɐ:rɪn/
'he's not within swearing' (i.e. he swears, swears on occasion, is not averse to swearing)

Pronunciations of within without /ð/ are possible. Whilst I do not have the evidence to prove that within can be used with the meaning 'beyond, against' in the most residual speech, I can say with certainty that to can be thus used.

Many of the above uses of prepositions are carried over into modified speech. Sometimes, of course, a change of pronunciation is involved. One or two items, however, such as till, tin, would probably be too residual or considered too broad to be used in modified speech.

6.11. Conjunctions and Conjunctional Phrases:

The following list of conjunctions is compiled chiefly on a comparative basis. A conjunction such as *though* is a part of the dialect, but is not included here because its form and use appear to be much as in other varieties of English. *That* is used, but not so often as in S.E.: *as* is far more usual, whether alone or in combination with other elements. *Than* may be used nowadays in the comparison of adjectives and adverbs, but *nor*, *till* and *tin* are often found in the most residual speech. Although it may be suspected that a conjunction such as *whilst* is of low frequency in the dialect, speakers nowadays are subjected to such a wide range of information from such a variety of sources that it is difficult to say that some particular conjunction is definitely not a part of the dialect. The usages which follow are common, and the examples widely representative, unless there is any statement to the contrary.

acause, *acoz*: /ə'kɔ:z, ə'kɔz/ 'because'.

Now rare, although possibly once more common.[1]

Cf. *cause*, *cos* below.

afore: /ə'fʏə(r), ə'foə(r)/ 'before', e.g.

/ə 'foə(r) ðɛ gi:t ə'we:t pɪt le:n/
'afore thou *geet* (got) away the pit lane'

---

1. The forms feature more extensively in literature and in glossaries, e.g. Partington (1920:1).

Sometimes /fœə(r)/ is encountered, in which case it is difficult to say whether afore or before is being used, e.g.

/fœə(r) ðɪ kɔpt ez/
'afore/before they copped (caught) us'

and: /ɷn, ən/ 'and'.

Sometimes there is extensive joining of clauses with and.[1] More specialised uses are:

(i) SUBJECT + NEGATIVE AUXILIARY + half and + VERB (+ too).

The construction intensifies the verb, e.g.

/ɪt 'dɪdnt æ:f ɷn stɪnk tʏ:/
'it didn't half and stink too!' - i.e. 'it stank dreadfully!'

Cf. further, won't half and, can't half and, BE NEGATIVE + half and + ADJECTIVE. The same constructions also occur without and.

(ii) In some dialect constructions, a negative clause may be followed by

and + SUBJECT + NEGATIVE FINITE VERB =
S.E. without + GERUND

e.g. /a no: wɪə(r) ðɪ a ðɛ no:z | av no:n
'I know whether they are thou knows..I've noan (not)

wɛkt ɪə(r) se lɷng ən a de:nt no:/
worked here so long and I don't know...' (= 'without knowing...')

(iii) bonny well and is an intensifier and emphatic device, e.g. /al bɛt av bɪn 'bɔnɪ wɪəl ɷn ble:md/
'I'll bet I've been bonny well and blamed!'

---

1. Peters (1968: 237) mentions this as a feature of O.E.

(iv) /wɪ we:(r)nt'gʏ:ɪn wɑm tɪl foər en 'e:fpast/
'we weren't going whoam (home) till four and half-past'

Any time around or between those mentioned is meant.

(v) try and + INFINITIVE 'try to'
go and + INFINITIVE 'go to'

Constructions of this type with and could be described as colloquial English.[1]

and then: /en ðɛn/ 'so that, in order that'. e.g.

/al raɪt ðɪs dɛ:n en ðɛn a de:nt fe(r)'gɛt/
'I'll write this down and then I don't forget'

Although the construction might be construed as CONJUNCTION + ADVERB, I am inclined to treat and then as one unit in this type of construction. Other uses of and + then, i.e. CONJUNCTION + ADVERB, are also found in the dialect. Nearer to this latter usage is and then = 'moreover, furthermore, in addition, and then again', e.g.

/ɪt we(r) dʒɑst e 'lɪkl bɪt mʏə(r) 'mɑnɪ
'it were (was) just a little bit more money..

en ðɛn mɪ 'brɑðe(r) wekt et ðe se:m pɪt/
and then my brother worked at the same pit'
[the full form of definite article is due to careful explanation]

And then also functions as a final tag, e.g.

/lɛts tav e lʏ:k en ðɛn#/
'let us (me) to have a look and then #'

---

1. Hornby (1975: 29) does so.

The meaning of the tag is 'and then I will answer your question, and then I will see what I can do, etc.'

as: /ez/.

1. 'so that', e.g.

/ɪts e 'blɷdɪ 'kare,van ðɛ: wants
'it's a bloody caravan thou wants (needs)

ez ðɛ ken gɷ wɪə(r) ðɛ wants/
as thou can go where thou wants'

2. 'that', e.g.

/o: e lɔt ɔn ɷm θɪnk ez we:ks wi:ks
'oh a lot on (of) them (people) think as Wakes Weeks

ɪz wɛn ðɪ a ðe(r) | 'ɔlɪdɪ de:nt ðɪ/
is when they have their..holiday, don't they?'

as how: /ez ɛ:, ez ɜʏ/ 'that', e.g.

/a θɪnk ez ɜʏ i: mɛt dʏ:/
'I think as how he might do'

as what: /ez wɔt/ 'in comparison to, when compared with', e.g.

/ɪts ɔ: tʃe:ndʒ tə'de: ez wɔr ɪt we(r)
'it's all change[d?] today as what it were (was)

'twɛntɪ je(r) sɪn/
twenty year sin (years since)'

beawt: /bɛ:t/ 'without', e.g.

/ɪt 'dɷznt we:(r) lɷng bɛ:t ɪts 'dettɪ/
'it doesn't wear long without it's dirty'.

Cf. without below.

<u>becaud</u>: /bɪ'kɔ:d/ 'because', e.g.

/bɪ'kɔ:d ðɪn 'gɛtn/
'because they have got'

Forms in /d/ are much less frequent than forms in /z/.

<u>becau(se)</u>: /bɪ'kɔ:(z), bɪ'kɔ(z)/ 'because'.

Occasionally one hears forms without /z/. Such forms might constitute a reduction of <u>becaud</u> or <u>because</u>:

[bɪ'kɔ^{2} ɪt̂ʔ]
'because it'

/bɪ'kɔ: ðe(r) we(r)/
'because there were'

<u>being, being as, being as how, (being how)</u>: /'bi:ɪn, 'bi:ɪn ez, 'bi:ɪn ez ɛ:, 'bi:ɪn ɛ:/ 'because, since, seeing that', e.g.

/aɪ ad tɛl ɪm 'bi:ɪn i:z 'aɪeːrɪʃ/
'I had to tell him being he's Irish'

<u>between and</u>: /bɪ'twi:n en/ 'by the time that, before'

This is very common indeed, e.g.

/bɪ'twi:n en a gi:t te 'mantʃɪsθe(r)/
'between and I <u>geet</u> (got) to Manchester'

<u>but</u>: final /t/ is often /r/ before a vowel.

<u>but what</u>: /bɔt wɔt/ 'but' in the sense:

/ðɛ nɛ:r az e 'mɪnɪt bɔt wɔt i:z 'mɛɪðerɪn ðɪ/
'thou never has a minute but what he's moidering thee'

'cause, 'cos: /kɔ:z, kɔz/ 'because'.

These are presumably reduced forms of either because or acause. Examples:

/kɔ:z ðɛ mɔn/
'because thou must'

/kɔz a want fɐ(r)t/
'because I want for to...'

chance: /tʃan(t)s/ 'in case, lest', e.g.

/tʃants i: kɔmz/
'chance he comes'

considering: /kɐn'sɪðerɪn/ 'in view of the fact that, seeing that', e.g.

/i: si:mp no: ɐ lɔt ɐ'bɛ:t ɪt kɐn'sɪðerɪn i:
'he seemed to know a lot about it considering he
we:nt ðɪɐ(r)/
weren't (wasn't) there'

directly: /dɐ'rɛklɪ/ 'as soon as', e.g.

/dɐ'rɛklɪ ɪt wɐ(r) dæ:(r)k/
'directly it were dark'

either: pronounced /'e:ðɐ(r)/, more modified /'aɪðɐ(r)/, occasional /'i:ðɐ(r)/.

except: /ɛk'sɛpt/ 'except that, only', e.g.

/i: 'wɔdnt ɐv kɔm ɛk'sɛpt i: 'wantɪd ɐ
'he wouldn't have come except he wanted a
we:(r)d wɪ ɐ(r)/
word with her'

except if: /ɛk'sɛpt ɪv/ 'unless', e.g.

/we(r) 'gɤ:ɪn ɛk'sɛpt ɪv ɪts 're:nɪn/
'we're going except if it's raining'

else: /ɛl(t)s/ 'or else', e.g.

/ðɛ jɤ:st at dɤ: wɔt ðɛ we(r) tɜɤd ɛlts
'thou used to have to do what thou were told else

ðɛ gi:t wɔn rɛɪt et saɪd et 'θɪərɔ:l/
thou geet (got) one right at the side of the earhole'

for all (as): /fər ɔ:, ɔəz/ 'for all (that), despite the fact that'.

Used more extensively than its S.E. equivalent.

Examples:

/e(r) we(r) ðat 'sɪərɪəs fər ɔ: 'ɛvrɪˌbɔdɪ
'her (she) were (was) that (so) serious for all everybody

we(r) 'lɜɤfɪn ðe(r) jɛdz ɔ:f/
were laughing their heads off'

/fər ɔəz i: ˌrɪ'taɪə(r)d laɪk/
'for all as he retired, like,...'

for if: /fər ɪv/ 'in case, lest', e.g.

/fər ɪv ɪt rɪngz/
'for if it [the telephone] rings'

heaw: /ɛ:/ 'how' = a rare form of as how.

if: /ɪv/ is the more usual pronunciation - it does not appear to be conditional upon a following vowel or lenis consonant. /ɪf/ is also met, but can indicate code-switching.

This conjunction is sometimes absent in the dialect when it would be present in S.E., e.g.

/ðɛ dʒɔgd ə bɪt ɪt wər ɛ:t/
'[If] thou jogged a bit, it were out'

less: /lɛs/ a form of unless.

lest: /lɛst/ 'lest'.

The meaning is as in S.E.

like: /laɪk/ 'as', is used very frequently as a conjunction in the dialect, e.g.

/laɪk ə sɛd bɪ'foə(r) we:/
'Like I said before, we...'

neither: pronounced /'no:ðə(r), 'ne:ðə(r)/, more modified /'naɪðə(r)/, and occasional /'ni:ðə(r)/.

nor: /nə(r)/ 'than' in the comparison of adjectives and adverbs, e.g.

/a no:d moə(r) nər ad tɛl/
'I knowed (knew) more nor I'd tell'

only: /'o:nɪ, 'o:nlɪ/ 'but, except that'.

The word is used very frequently as a conjunction, e.g.

/a də:nt 'rɪəlɪ no: 'o:nlɪ brɛ:n flɛ:(r)z
'I don't really know only brown flour is

sə'po:s tə be:t | θo:l et wi:t dʒə:(r)m/
supposed to be the..whole of the wheat-germ'

same as: /se:m ez/. See next entry.

samen: /'se:men/ 'just as, like, same as'.

This form was used by three informants as a variant of same as, e.g.

/'se:men a sɪ/
'samen I say'

saying, etc.: /'se:ɪn, etc./

Forms and function are as given for being, etc. above.

seeing, etc.: /'si:ɪn, etc./

Forms and function are as given for being, etc. above.

sin: /sɪn/ 'since', e.g.

/sɪn a wer ɛ: jɔng/
'Sin I were how young?'

so as, so'd, so's: /soəz, so:d, so:z/ 'so that', e.g.

/so:z wɪ no: ni:d tə/
'so's we [have] no need to...'

till: /tɪl/ 'than' is used in the comparison of adjectives and adverbs, as nor and tin 2.

tin: /tɪn/

1. 'until', e.g.

/a lɪvd ðɪə(r) tɪn a wer ɛɪt'ti:n/
'I lived there tin I were 18'

2. 'than' in the comparison of adjectives and adverbs, e.g.

/ad 're:ðe(r) go: ɔn e bo:t tɪn flaɪ ɪt/
'I'd rather go on a boat tin fly it'

up to: /ɔp te/ 'until', e.g.

/ɔp te a we(r) ˌsɪkstɪ'sɛvn/
'up to I were 67'

where: /wɪə(r)/ 'whereas', e.g.

/ɪt lɛt e bɪt ɛv e:r ɪn || wɪər ɪv i:
'it let a bit of air in .. where if he
ad ɪz kap ɔn/
had his cap on...'

which: /wɪtʃ/.

There are uses of the relative pronoun which that resemble uses of conjunctions in S.E.[1]

Equivalent meanings are approximately 'and; but; because; as'. Examples:

/ðɛ dʒɔs tɤ:k ɪt en 'dɔstɪd ɪt | wɪtʃ ðɛ
'thou just took it and dusted it..which thou
ken ɪ'madʒɪnt paɪl e dɔst wɔt dɪd kɔm ɔ:f/
can imagine the pile of dust what did come off'
(= approx. 'and')

/t land wer o:nd ðɛn wɪtʃ a θɪnk ɪt ɪz nɛ:
'the land were owned then which I think it is now
bɪt θɜɤd e:(r)l e 'bradfe(r)d/
by the old Earl of Bradford'
(approx. 'as')

---

1. See section 6.7.6.6.

without: /wɪ'ðɛ:t/ is equivalent to S.E. without (PREPOSITION) + GERUND, e.g.

/ðɛ 'kɑdnt 'karɪ ɪt wɪ'ðɛ:t ɪt fɔ:d ɛ:t/
'thou couldn't carry it without it falled (fell) out'

Sometimes the dialect does not use a conjunction when S.E. probably or certainly would. It is generally pointless to speculate about which conjunction is "not being used", even on a comparative basis, except in the case of if, as conditional clauses are relatively clear logical constructions, e.g.

/ɜʏt wɛnt rɑng ɪt we(r)t 'bɔnksmenz fɔlt/
'[If] owt (anything) went wrong it were the Banksman's fault'

The following constructions involving measurements bear comparison with constructions containing or or to, but nonetheless clearly form a pattern in their own right:

/wɪtʃ wɛnt fe:(r) | θri: foə(r) de:z/
'which went for .. three four days'

/æ: ʃed sɛ ðɪs las tɛn 'fɪfti:n je(r)/
'I should say this last ten fifteen year (years)'

/ɪts e'bɛ:t || e:f pas naɪn tɛn e'klɔk/
'it's about .. half-past nine ten o'clock'

/en e'bɛ:t 'sɪkstɪ 'sɛvntɪ fi:t ɛɪ/
'and about sixty seventy feet high'

etc.

Clauses are sometimes juxtaposed without a pause or conjunction:

/'anɪro:d i: kɔm ɪt θɛ:s i: sɪz/
'anyroad (anyway) he come (came) in the house he says...

/||| o:n dɪd ə'bɛ:t 'ɛitti:n mɒnθ a kɒm ɛ:t|||/
'[I] on[ly] did about 18 month (months) I come (came) out.'

Both of these examples might be analysed as consisting of two sentences, or might be compared with similar constructions in which the clauses are linked by a conjunction. The former suggestion might appear to be closer to the observable facts. However, a conjunction - presumably <u>when</u> - would be more usual in:

/wɛn jə θɪnk ə'bɛ:t wɔt wi: jɤ:s [t] dɤ:|
'when you think about what we used to do..

we: we(r) jɒng/
[when] we were young'

Error is certainly a possibility here, and may have resulted from <u>when</u>'s already having been used. However, it is difficult to insist upon such notions as error and reformulation, and a larger corpus would be required if more definite statements were to be made.

No conjunction is usually required in the construction <u>what's to do</u>:

/wɔts dɤ: jə(r) nɔt 'spɛɪkɪn tə mɪ/
'what's to do you're not speaking to me?'

although <u>as</u> might be added after <u>do</u>.

There are cases of clauses not joined by a conjunction in the dialect, where it is by no means certain that spoken S.E. would use a conjunction either, e.g.

/a θɪnkt ||| 'bɪgɪst ɛk'spɛns wə(r) 'flaɪɪn
'I think the..biggest expense were flying
ɪt ðɪə(r)/
it there'

It is quite likely that the dialect joins such clauses without a conjunction more often than does S.E., but a quantitative analysis lies outside of the scope of the present study.

Many of the distinctive conjunctional usages given in the above account are to be found in modified speech. I have heard between and and many others even in speech which is highly modified at the phonological level.

7. CONCLUSION

Inevitably in a study of this length, a number of conclusions have been drawn earlier in the body of the work. To some extent too, a description may stand qua description, and does not always require further comment. However, it may be useful to draw together here some of the principal points which were made in the study, and to attempt certain overall conclusions. In particular, it is appropriate to make a concluding assessment of the account of morphology and syntax, since a hypothesis concerning variation at the grammatical level in English dialects was advanced earlier in the study.

Theory was defined in section 1. as being characterised by an explicit approach. I have tried to be explicit by specifying the methods adopted in this study (placing them, to some extent, in a wider linguistic context), and by describing fieldwork and transcriptional experiences at some length. Theory was also defined as "a certain method justified". The methodology adopted here seems to be justified for the following reasons:

1. An inventory of phonemes has been drawn up, and a phonemic inventory constitutes a systematic and economical explanation of a very substantial amount of data.

2. The corpus has been accounted for more fully than is usual by a systematic and economical arrangement in the

form of a relatively small number of modification rules operating on the description of the comparative distribution of phonemes.

3. A considerable number of grammatical rules have been postulated.

It was also asserted in section 1. that theory is a prioristic because of the influence of the frame of reference. The study began with an account of the area of Farnworth and district, which suggested that this area constituted a cultural region of considerable homogeneity. This account was part of the initial frame of reference. After transcribing and analysing the tape recordings of the speech of the area, it is possible to say that the linguistic evidence would seem to bear out this impression of relative homogeneity. Of the variants in the phonology, some have been accounted for as positional, i.e. as allophones, some have been accounted for as stylistic by means of the modification rules, others still remained in free variation. However, the last would occur, I imagine, in any detailed examination of a dialect, and they have not proved to be so heterogeneous as to prevent the setting up of an inventory of phonemes. The basic assumption concerning the homogeneity of the area would therefore appear to have been correct.

Sections 1.2, 2 and 3 have sought to show the many different ways in which and the degree to which methods,

fieldwork and the process of transcription determine or affect the data. Whilst the accounts of fieldwork and transcription given here are to some extent subjective, and open to considerable refinement, they are nonetheless sufficient to show that a study is determined fundamentally and in many different ways by methods, fieldwork and transcription. It follows, then, that if fieldwork and transcription are not described in detail, a study is liable to be vague, or inexplicit, and therefore theoretically weaker. The usefulness and epistemological status of a study were seen to be further conditional upon the subsequent archiving of tape recordings, transcriptions and background materials, to allow for further evaluation and analysis by others in the future.

In the discussion of approaches to dialectology, and the specification of the approach adopted here, an important point to emerge was the fact that varieties of speech tend to be mixed together in monolingual repertoires, so that it is impossible to elicit stylistically uniform speech. Since, however, the methodology of working with a corpus required that the corpus should be evaluated <u>in toto</u>, it followed that some attempt had to be made to account for more and less broad types of speech. The rules of speech modification set up in this study were modest in number, and general in character, so as to cover a large number of variants. It was indicated that a more particular approach might be adopted in further work by entering in matrices

all the different variants used by different informants, with the aim of correlating linguistic variants with variable features in informants' socio-economic profiles. Even so, the approach adopted here, utilising modification rules of a general character, has been able to account for the corpus much more fully than would have been the case in a more idealised study. Furthermore, the fact that variants in the speech of dialect speakers could be understood in terms of the speech of relatives, children, and other more modified speakers around them illustrated a point made in section 1.1.1.7, namely that the standard language does not operate directly on the dialects, but that rather they are influenced by the next social level above them. The need for a concept of the type "modification to or towards a variety or varieties of Northern Regional Standard" is similarly illustrated.

In section 5 a phonology of the dialect was presented. Some matters relating to the phonology, such as the need to establish precise symbols for glottalisation, and the likely need for /e/ and /e:/ as phoneme symbols, were apparent from a fairly early stage in the transcription process.[1] The phonology was based upon both phonetic and phonemic considerations, and an attempt was made to account for the data at the systemic, distributional and realisational levels.[2]

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1. Cf. section 3.9.
2. Cf. section 5.

Not surprisingly, a lot of variants were found in the transcriptions of the corpus of spontaneous speech. Whilst some were accounted for as being positional, and others as stylistic, still others remained. This illustrated the need for a phonetic as well as a phonemic approach - unless one made very major assumptions indeed about the importance and accuracy of the phonemic analysis. At the systemic level, it proved possible, even if sometimes difficult, to set up an inventory of phonemes. This fact confirmed the initial hypothesis concerning the relatively homogeneous character of the area of Farnworth and district. The systematic character and economy of the phonemic approach satisfied theoretical requirements up to a point, but the addition of modification rules enabled the study to meet the requirements of corpus methodology more fully than would otherwise have been the case, by accounting more completely for the corpus. It was shown earlier that stylistic variation within a corpus was unavoidable.

The preparation of the phonology was complicated by ongoing change. A possible residual /ɑ:/-phoneme was subsumed under /aɪ/,[1] whilst a clear boundary between /ɛ:/ and /æ:/ could not always be drawn. Variants intermediate between /ɛ:/ and /æ:/ could therefore pose problems for the phonemicist, just as half-length variants of the type [ɵ·] did, for /ɵ/ and /ɵ:/ could be distinguished by length. A word such as <u>dog</u> might sometimes be phonemicised /dɑg/,

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1. For discussion see section 5.4.2.

and sometimes /dɔg/. Both occur, but a vowel midway between /ɔ/ and /ɑ/ is more difficult to handle. The opposition between two vowels may be neutralised in some phonemic environments, in some words, by some speakers, on some occasions... I have tried to indicate in the body of the thesis where such problems occurred. The subsection Diphthongs Not Accorded Phonemic Status was also a discussion of the problems of assigning phonetic variants to phonemes.[1] The recession of final and pre-consonantal /r/ caused problems of phonemicisation too, and the solution adopted here was to place the /r/ in brackets, usually after a diphthong.

Ongoing changes sometimes led to the question of different phonemic systems being in operation. Is the phoneme /ɛ:/ still needed in modified speech? At what point might [h] or perhaps [ŋ] be accounted a phoneme? Should /tr, dr/ be accounted phonemes in modified speech, when dialect /θ, ð/ give way to /t, d/ before /r/? These questions transcend the limits of the present study, but it is nonetheless important to raise them.

The accounts of the long vowel, short vowel, diphthong and consonant phonemes of the dialect revealed some interesting differences in the overall systems of the dialect and RP. These were summarised and illustrated in sections 5.2, 5.3, 5.4 and 5.5 respectively. The dialect oppositions /ɔ:/ ≠ /ɔə/ ≠ /oə/ yielded "extra"

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1. Cf. section 5.4.

distinctions vis-à-vis RP, again illustrating the point that change (if we assume that /ɔə, oə/ entered the system under the recession of post-vocalic /r/) is not necessarily or directly towards RP. The general absence of /h/ and /ŋ/-phonemes in modified speech also illustrated the need for a concept of the type "modification to or towards a variety or varieties of Northern Regional Standard".

The existence of long /æ:/ (and also long /o:/) before voiceless fricatives is an interesting feature of the area, which linguistic geographers have overlooked when regarding short versus long 'a' as a marker dividing the North from the South. The modification of dialect [ɑ:]-types before voiceless fricatives to [a]-types is a modification away from RP, which once again illustrates the need for a concept of modification towards a Northern Regional Standard.

The account of the consonant phonemes of the dialect proved to be longer than in many studies. Had resort been had to instrumental analysis, more information still would presumably have been forthcoming. It was found that quite a lot could be said about the consonants in terms of aspiration, affrication, gemination, glottalisation, devoicing, voicing, nasal release, syllabic quality, elision, assimilation, distribution, and so on. Certain features of interest were quite general, e.g. gemination. More specific features of interest included the distribution of /θ, ð/, and the comparatively heavier functional load borne by the opposition /θ/ ≠ /ð/; the voiced flap allophone [ɻ],

which exists as a variant of /t/ and sometimes in free variation with variants of /r/; the clusters /tl, dl/ which are quite distinctive in word-initial position; the uvular allophones of /k, g/; occurrences of initial /j/; and so on. Very many parts of the description yielded data which would be of interest to the historical linguist: occurrences of /j/ initially and in initial clusters; /f/ in /dɜʏf/ 'dough' and /'ɜʏfn/ 'Westhoughton/; /θ/ in /lɛɪθ/ 'Leigh'; and so on.

/r/ and /l/, when following a vowel or diphthong phoneme, constituted environments which were likely to condition variants. The velar quality of /l/ was an important factor - not only because many associate such a quality more with Southern dialects, but because this helped to explain precisely why /l/ formed such a influential environment in respect of vowel and diphthong phonemes. Furthermore, the need to include the diphthongs /oə, ɔə/ in the system could be understood in terms of the recession of historical post-vocalic /r/ rather than as being due to the influence of other varieties of English.

The devoicing of /d/, or the occurrence of /t/ for /d/ in context under the influence of the definite article, the preposition to, or the second person singular interrogative, together with the grammatical exceptions to the use of /θ, ð/ where RP has /t, d/, illustrated the point that the preparation of descriptions is not a purely linear process moving from phonology to grammar.

Whilst some features of the consonant system of the dialect may be peculiar to parts of Lancashire, and some perhaps highly localised, it nonetheless seems reasonable to suggest that many other dialects too might require a fairly protracted description of their consonant phonemes.

The present analysis did not include suprasegmentals, although it seems likely that a study of the suprasegmental features of the dialect would be interesting. It is also likely that instrumental analysis would make a significant contribution to the discussion of gemination, vowel length, and so on.

The account of the morphology and syntax of the dialect given in section 6 was offered first and foremost as a part of a description or grammar of the dialect, and secondly as a test of a hypothesis that English dialects differ significantly at the morphological and syntactic levels.[1] Partial though the account remains, it surely contains sufficient material to confirm the hypothesis. The account of the definite and indefinite articles - features which occur an enormous number of times in a large corpus - shows clearly that the articles differ extensively in both form and distribution from the articles in many other dialects of English. The account of the pronouns of the dialect - again features which occur frequently and on the basis of which one may therefore generalise more safely - also revealed very significant

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1. Cf. sections 1.1.1.8. and 6.1.

differences of form vis-à-vis SE, especially in the case of reflexive, demonstrative and relative pronouns; differences in the use of subject and object cases; and marked syntactic differences in the use of dependent pronouns. Indeed, the very length of the descriptions of the definite article and, say, the relative pronoun, is in itself instructive, and suggests that there is more to be said about such features than is usually said. Equally, the description of the verbs of the dialect includes many features which are highly distinctive in comparison with SE and other dialects. One might recall the use of -en plural endings, the distinctive immediate future construction with /bɛ:nt/ 'boun(d) to', weak verbs which are strong in SE and vice versa, the use of be as a past tense auxiliary, and so on. The modal and auxiliary verbs or anomalous finites in particular displayed many points of comparative interest, especially the highly distinctive second person singular interrogative forms. The account of affirmation and negation revealed a system of affirmative and negative particles which is richer than that of SE, and analogous to the systems of French and German. Yet other grammatically distinctive features were described in the discussion of adverbs, prepositions and conjunctions.

When preparing the description of the morphology and syntax of the dialect, it was of course impossible for me not to be constantly aware of the need for more material, more time, and subtler analytical tools. Thus, some areas of grammar warrant much more attention than they

have received here. For instance, it would be necessary to have a much larger corpus to deal adequately with all forms of the anomalous finites.

Nonetheless, it seems impossible to escape the conclusion that the dialect of Farnworth and district is grammatically distinctive when compared to SE, and many other dialects of English. It is furthermore extremely unlikely that this particular dialect should be unique in this respect, and it therefore seems reasonable to suggest that grammatical variation in English dialects is underestimated, and that further detailed descriptive work might profitably be carried out on English dialects at the morphological and syntactic levels. This is a major conclusion of the study, and has some bearing on the theory of English dialectology in general.[1]

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1. Cf. section 1.1.1.4.

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APPENDIX

Alphabet of the IPA

THE INTERNATIONAL PHONETIC ALPHABET.

(Revised to 1951.)

		Bi-labial	Labio-dental	Dental and Alveolar	Retroflex	Palato-alveolar	Alveolo-palatal	Palatal	Velar	Uvular	Pharyngal	Glottal
CONSONANTS	Plosive	p b		t d	ʈ ɖ			c ɟ	k g	q ɢ		ʔ
	Nasal	m	ɱ	n	ɳ			ɲ	ŋ	ɴ		
	Lateral Fricative			ɬ ɮ								
	Lateral Non-fricative			l	ɭ			ʎ				
	Rolled			r						ʀ		
	Flapped			ɾ	ɽ					ʁ		
	Fricative	ɸ β	f v	θ ð | s z | ɹ	ʂ ʐ	ʃ ʒ	ɕ ʑ	ç ʝ	x ɣ	χ ʁ	ħ ʕ	h ɦ
	Frictionless Continuants and Semi-vowels	w | ɥ	ʋ	ɹ				j (ɥ)	(w)	ʁ		

		Front	Central	Back
VOWELS	Close	(y u u)	i y ɨ u	ɯ u
	Half-close	(ø o)	e ø ɘ	ɤ o
	Half-open	(œ o)	ɛ œ ɜ ɞ	ʌ ɔ
	Open	(ɒ)	æ ɐ	a ɑ ɒ

(Secondary articulations are shown by symbols in brackets.)

OTHER SOUNDS.—Palatalized consonants: t̠, d̠, etc.; palatalized ʃ, ʒ: ʃ̠, ʒ̠. Velarized or pharyngalized consonants: ɬ, ɖ, s, etc. Ejective consonants (with simultaneous glottal stop): pʼ, tʼ, etc. Implosive voiced consonants: ɓ, ɗ, etc. ɾ fricative trill. σ, ϱ (labialized θ, ð, or s, z). ʧ, ʤ (labialized ʃ, ʒ). ʇ, ʗ, ʖ (clicks, Zulu c, q, x). ɭ (a sound between r and l). ŋ Japanese syllabic nasal. ʃ (combination of x and ʃ). ʍ (voiceless w). ɪ, ʏ, ɷ (lowered varieties of i, y, u). ɘ (a variety of o). o (a vowel between ɤ and o).

Affricates are normally represented by groups of two consonants (ts, tʃ, dʒ, etc.), but, when necessary, ligatures are used (ʦ, ʧ, ʤ, etc.), or the marks ‿ or ◡ (t͡s or t͜s, etc.). ‿ ◡ also denote synchronic articulation (m͡ŋ = simultaneous m and ŋ). c, ɟ may occasionally be used in place of tʃ, dʒ, and ʦ, ʣ for ts, dz. Aspirated plosives: ph, th, etc. r-coloured vowels: eɹ, aɹ, oɹ, etc., or eʴ, aʴ, oʴ, etc., or e˞, a˞, o˞, etc.; r-coloured ə: əɹ or əʴ or ɹ or ə˞ or ɚ.

LENGTH, STRESS, PITCH.— : (full length). ˑ (half length). ˈ (stress, placed at beginning of the stressed syllable). ˌ (secondary stress). ˉ (high level pitch); ˍ (low level); ˊ (high rising); ˎ (low rising); ˋ (high falling); ˏ (low falling); ˆ (rise-fall); ˇ (fall-rise).

MODIFIERS.— ̃ nasality. ̥ breath (l̥ = breathed l). ̬ voice (s̬ = z). ʰ slight aspiration following p, t, etc. ʷ labialization (n̪ʷ = labialized n). ̪ dental articulation (t̪ = dental t). ʲ palatalization (ż = ʒʲ). ̝ specially close vowel (e̝ = a very close e). ̞ specially open vowel (o̞ = a rather open e). ˔ tongue raised (e˔ or e̝ = e̞). ˕ tongue lowered (e˕ or e̞ = e̝). ˖ tongue advanced (u˖ or u̟ = an advanced u, t̟ = t̪). ˗ or ̠ tongue retracted (i˗ or i̠ = ɨ˖, t̠ = alveolar t). ˺ lips more rounded. ˻ lips more spread. Central vowels: ɏ (= ɨ), ʉ (= u), ɵ (= əʴ), ɤ̈ (= o), ɘ̈, ə̈. ̩ (e.g. n̩) syllabic consonant. ̯ consonantal vowel. ʃʲ variety of ʃ resembling s, etc.

APPENDIX

Collecting Slip of the Centre for
English Cultural Traditions and
Language at The University of Sheffield

THE SURVEY OF LANGUAGE AND FOLKLORE **COLLECTING SLI**

Please write item exactly as heard/remembered/practised, and full details of how, when and why it is said or done, together with all relevant background information. Continue overleaf if necessary.
PLEASE QUOTE EXACT WORDS IF POSSIBLE.

Collected by ..... Age .....Address .....

From whom did you learn this? .....Relationship to you.....

Occupation..... Age.....Born at .....Now living at .....

From whom, where and when did they learn/practise this?

.....

Where and when collected? .....Today's date.....

Please return to: The Centre for English Cultural Tradition and Language,
The University, Sheffield S10 2TN T.....P.....C.....

CS2/77

APPENDIX

Sample Tape Deposit Option Form

The University of Sheffield

The Archives of Cultural Tradition

TAPE ARCHIVE DEPOSITOR'S OPTION II — Form TA/2

DEPOSITOR _____ DATE _____ TAPE ACC. N° _____

INFORMANT _____ LOCALITY RECORDED _____

PART I

As depositor of this tape recording in The Archives of Cultural Tradition (hereinafter known as the Archives), Tape Archive, upon the observation of the conditions outlined in Part III of the Option by the Archives, I agree to :-

A. Make this original tape recording, Tape Archive copies or transcriptions thereof, at the discretion of the Director of the Archives, available for transcribing and indexing for the Archives and listening to within the Archives building for research purposes, by the following designated groups of individuals, upon their signing an agreement for access to tape recordings/transcriptions held in the Tape Archive (Form TA/5):

1. Members of the designated Survey Team of the Archives of Cultural Tradition (hereinafter known as the Survey Team) and registered students of the University of Sheffield conducting research.
2. Individuals or institutions conducting scholarly research, external to the Archives and not outlined in A1, above.

B. However, as depositor, I retain the right to restrict the making available of Tape Archive copies and transcriptions of the original recording for loan by the Archives for limited periods for research purposes. Such restrictions apply to loans to the groups of individuals listed below, until such individuals have obtained written permission from me, through the Director of the Archives and upon their signing the agreement to borrow tape recordings/transcriptions from the Tape Archive (Form TA/6):

1. Members of the Survey Team for use in illustrating exhibitions, lectures and seminars.
2. Members of the Survey Team and registered students of the University of Sheffield conducting research.
3. Individuals or institutions conducting scholarly research, external to the Archives and not outlined in B1 and 2, above.

PART II

As depositor, I retain all rights in the event of this original tape recording, Tape Archive copies or transcriptions thereof, being used in any commercial or other performance, recording, broadcast, telecast or film.

In addition, I retain all rights to publication of analyses, descriptive reports an verbatim transcriptions of sound, speech or music in this original tape recording.

However, I agree that the Archives may make this tape recording, Tape Archive copie or transcriptions thereof, available for scholarly research, within the terms of the above Option (Part I) and at the discretion of the Director of the Archives, provided the individual(s) or institution(s) outlined in the above Option, agree not to use thi material,without my consent, in any published form or for commercial or other performance, recording, broadcast, telecast or film.

Individuals or institutions wishing to make use of this original recording, Tape Archive copies or transcriptions thereof, for purposes other than scholarly research or uses as outlined in the above Option, must secure prior written premission from myself, through the Director of the Archives, and append to any resulting publication acknowledgements as designated by myself and the Director of the Archives.

In the event of my death, this Option shall be converted to Option I, and all rights held by me as depositor, outlined in the above Option, Parts I and II, shall, unless I specify otherwise, be transferred to the Director of the Archives of Cultural Tradition, to be administered by the Archives.

Special conditions/instructions - if any :-

_____

_____

_____

DEPOSITOR

SIGNED _____

ADDRESS _____

_____

_____

WITNESS

SIGNED _____

ADDRESS _____

_____

_____

PART III

As Director of the Archives of Cultural Tradition, I acknowledge receipt of this tape recording for our Tape Archive, and undertake to observe the conditions outlined in the above Option, and to ensure that this tape recording, Tape Archive copies or transcriptions thereof, are used only for scholarly research and the uses outlined in the above Options.

Under no circumstances will this tape recording, Tape Archive copies or transcriptions thereof, be made available to any individual(s), institution(s) or organisation(s) for commercial use without prior written permission from the depositor or his trustee.

SIGNED _____ DATE _____

Director Archives of Cultural Tradition